

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the dynamics of gender in agricultural development in Zambia from the British South Africa Company (BSAC) occupation of the territory in 1890 to the first 26 years of the country's independence. In this longitudinal study, we examined the impact of British South Africa Company and British Colonial Office (Crown government) policies on traditional farming systems of the country. It was argued, in our study that traditional gender roles in farming were distorted as a result of the formulation of certain policies by these two administrations. When the company took over the administration of the territory, little was done in the way of promoting African agriculture. Rather, it was supporting settler agriculture. It was during the reign of the Crown government, precisely in the period after the Second World War that attempts were made to foster the development of African agriculture. However, the Crown government did not perceive females as farmers and therefore the policies it put in place did not take into account the roles and responsibilities of men, women, boys and girls in the agricultural cycles of their communities. Its primary interest was incorporating males and not females into the country's agricultural development. Therefore, during its rule over the territory, gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector became apparent. Our study also investigated the extent to which the Government of the Republic of Zambia addressed issues of gender in agricultural development. It was our contention that visible cogent efforts were made by the Government of the Republic of Zambia to bridge gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector. However, a number of bottlenecks stood in the way of bridging gender imbalances in the sector. Ultimately, although some successes were scored in the way of reducing the gender gap in the agricultural sector, by 1990 the gap was still evident.

It is axiomatic in academic circles that in traditional African societies, there were complementary division of agricultural roles between males and females. Men, women, boys and girls worked side by side as they tried to wrest a living from the soil.

Scholarship generally argues that farming systems in which men performed the bulk of work with no female help was quite rare in Africa.¹ In these horticultural communities, males and females divided the work of food production according to the local systems of sexual division of labour. Sexual division of labour was cardinal in food production. Barber argued that in the three Central African territories (Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland), traditional organisation produced a unique division of labour within the family unit and called for specialization of functions according to age and sex.²

The pre-dominant agricultural practice among most ethnic groups of Zambia was shifting cultivation which was a form of migratory farming.³ In this farming practice, men's roles were restricted to tree cutting and turning of virgin soil although they sometimes helped with other stages in the agricultural cycle. Women did the weeding, planting as well as most of the harvesting. In certain instances, however, men would help out with weeding when the ground was over-grown with weeds. During peak seasons, entire households would participate in weeding and harvesting. Permanent cultivation was practised in the Barotse Plain of western Zambia where removable dry season gardens were made in the seepage areas.⁴ It was also common in

¹ This has been alluded to by a number of scholars documenting the agricultural history of Africa. See, for instance, Esther Boserup, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1970); Deborah Fahy Brycesson (ed.), *Woman Wielding the Hoe: Lessons from Rural Africa for Feminist Theory and Development Practice* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1995). This edited book consists of chapters from twelve Social Scientists. The central focus of the volume is the woman as the backbone of agricultural production in Africa. The important roles played by both sexes in the agricultural cycles of different communities in selected African countries in the pre-colonial era strongly comes out in all the chapters; Joycelin Massiah (ed.), *Women in Developing Economies: Making Visible the Invisible*. (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1993). Chapters documenting the agricultural histories of selected African countries point to the division of labour by gender as an important factor in agricultural production in the rural communities of these countries; Eleanor Leacock, Helen I. Safa and Contributors, *Woman's Work – Development and Division of Labour by Gender* (New York: Bergin and Garvey Publishers, 1986) In all the chapters, the central thrust of the arguments is the division of farming roles according to gender.

² William Barber, *The Economy of British Central Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 68.

³ For details on this type of farming, see NAZ., MAG 2/5/8, 'Factual Memorandum on Native Affairs', 23rd May, 1950 and C. G. Trapnell, *The Soils and Vegetation of North-Eastern Rhodesia: Report of the Ecological Survey* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1943).

⁴ See C. G. Trapnell and J. N. Clothier, *The Soils, Vegetation and Agricultural Systems of North-Western Rhodesia: Report of the Ecological Survey* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1957).

the Bangweulu swamps and islands of the Luapula Province in northern Zambia.⁵ Like shifting cultivators, these permanent cultivators also divided chores according to sex though in permanent cultivation, division of labour according to sex was not as strict as in shifting cultivation.

Ethnic groups of north-western Zambia, like other ethnic groups observed a rigid sexual division of labour in farming. Among the Luvale of Zambezi, the basic agricultural division of labour was that after men cleared the trees with axes, women planted, cultivated and harvested the crops using hoes.⁶ Among the Kaonde, women were supreme in the agricultural cycle, yet dividing roles in farming according to sex was also emphasised. Acknowledging the importance of both sexes in farming among the Kaonde, Crehan stated that, “As far as cultivation is concerned, even though a husband may have provided a significant input of labour, it is the wife who is perceived as being the primary producer.”⁷ This statement under-scores the importance that was attached to both sexes in the Kaonde agricultural cycle. From the earliest periods of colonial rule, the Lamba ethnic group which inhabited the North-Western and Copperbelt Provinces of Zambia were perceived as a lazy ethnic group. A common notion held by colonial officials was that the Lamba men had lethargy and were very lazy to work. A District Officer in describing the Lamba stated that:

In considering or discussing anything affecting the local Lamba or Lima, one must carry at the back of one’s mind the whole time, the words ‘the idleness and lethargy of the Local beggars’ description.... This is the characteristic of 90% of the population.⁸

⁵ See Trapnell, *The Soils and Vegetation of North-Eastern Rhodesia: Report of the Ecological Survey*.

⁶ Anita Spring and Art Hansen, ‘Women’s Agricultural Work in Rural Zambia: From Valuation to Subordination’, paper presented at the African Studies Association conference, Los Angeles, October 31, 1989, 13. See also, Achim Von Oppen, *Terms of Trade and Terms of Trust: The History and Context of pre-colonial market production around the upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Hamburg: Lit Verlag, 1993), 137. They out-line the sexual division of labour in farming among the Luvale, Luena, Lunda, Luchazi and Chokwe ethnic groups of the north-western part of Zambia prior to the advent of colonialism.

⁷ Kate Crehan, A. F., ‘Production, Reproduction and Gender in North-Western Zambia’, PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 1986, 86.

⁸ NAZ, MAG 2/5/9. Ndola Tour Report, No. 6, 22nd October, 1940; See also, Ann Whitehead, ‘Lazy men, time-use and rural development in Zambia’, in Caroline Sweetman (ed.), *Women, Land and Agriculture* (Oxford: Oxfam, 1999), 50. She argued that Europeans, from the on-set described the Lamba as timid,

While describing them as lazy, he was quick to point out, in the same report, that the Lamba were shifting cultivators, their agricultural cycle consisting of tree cutting, burning, hoeing and planting. Our argument is that his assertion that the Lamba were shifting cultivators, in essence indicated that both sexes participated in the agricultural cycle. We are in agreement with Doke, an Anthropologist who dismissed the notion that women did all the work among the Lamba. He pointed out that, “Among the Lamba, the sign of the man was the axe and spear while the sign of the woman was the hoe. It was this that determined the division of labour between the sexes.”⁹ Certainly, in spite of the Lamba being perceived as lazy, dividing chores according to sex was the norm among Lamba agricultural communities.

Like north-western ethnic groups, northern ethnic groups of the country also followed a division of labour in agriculture that was based on physiological differences. Among the Ushi and the Lunda of the Luapula Province, there was an active participation of males and females in farming. In the ‘fisebe’, where there was a lot of vegetation (weeds) to remove, men did most of the digging.¹⁰ The bulk of the subsequent work on food crops was performed by women especially weeding and harvesting. Among the Lunda of Ng’umbo, cutting of branches could only be done by men as it was considered dangerous work and one was said to need a lot of *amaka* (power/strength) to perform this task.¹¹ The Bemba, Mambwe and Lungu of the

lazy and backward. Such remarks were made against the Lamba primarily because efforts by the state to force them into agricultural labour and mining were met with a lot of resistance. After the Second World War, the colonial state introduced a number of peasant farming schemes. The Lamba were hesitant to join them. Hence, there were a lot of derogatory remarks against them.

⁹ Clement M. Doke, *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia: A Study of their Customs and Beliefs* (London: George Harrap and Co. Ltd., 1931), 96.

¹⁰ In ‘Fisebe’, unwanted vegetation is removed using a hoe. The vegetation is then buried in holes that are dug in the fields. The whole idea is for the vegetation to create humus upon rotting. It is on top of these that crops are grown. The ‘Fisebe’ farming practice was (and still is) not only practiced among the Ushi but was pre-dominant among all ethnic groups of the Luapula Province; See, also, Phillip Gatter Neal, ‘Indigenous and Institutional thought in the Practice of Rural Development: A Study of An Ushi Chiefdom in Luapula, Zambia’, PhD Thesis, London School of Oriental and African Studies, 1990, 138. He points to men as doing most work in the ‘Fisebe’; George Kay, *Chief Kalaba’s Village* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964), 47. He argued that there was a strict division of labour between men and women in the village of the Ushi.

Northern Province had farming practices that were identical. “Chitemene” methods were regarded as essentially typical of the Wemba (sic) ethnic group in its most general forms.¹² Amongst the Bemba speaking people, the cut-over area was known as ‘Chitemene’ but by common use amongst both Africans and Europeans, this word acquired value as an adjective and began to be indiscriminately used to describe the whole system and the cultivated crops.¹³ Like all ethnic groups that practiced shifting cultivation, the Bemba shifting cultivators dividing agricultural work according to sex. The hard work of cutting trees and burning the cut branches was described as a man’s job. It was other duties that were assigned to women. A colonial Agricultural Officer had a contrary view vis-à-vis the firing of branches. He observed that it was women who lit the branches after they were piled together.¹⁴ This was contrary to an Anthropological study by Richards on the Bemba. Richards illustrated that it was men who lit the fire after branches were stacked together.¹⁵ Kakeya and Sugiyama; and Kay did not specify which sex was assigned the role of lighting the cut branches in their studies on the Bemba.¹⁶ Watson, documenting the agricultural history of the Kaonde was also silent on which sex did the firing.¹⁷ Perhaps, it would be right to argue that

¹¹ Saskia A. A. M. Brand and Jacqueline C. M. Herkens, ‘Women, Labour and Maize: Changing Agricultural Systems and Labour relations in a Zambian Small-Holder Village’, M. A. Dissertation, University of Nijmegen, 1989, 50; See also, J. M. S. Allen and C. K. Chileya, ‘The Unbaptised: Farming in a Fishing Economy: A Case from the Mweru Lakeshore, Zambia’, paper presented at the 13th European Congress of Rural Sociologists, Braga, Portugal, 1st-4th April, 1986. They argued that land preparation was men’s work while the rest of the farm work was for women; but that in all fishing households, farming was done almost entirely by women once the initial land preparation had been completed.

¹² Trapnell, *The Soils and Vegetation of North-Eastern Rhodesia: Report of the Ecological Survey*, 42.

¹³ Kay, Chief Kalaba’s Village, 28.

¹⁴ NAZ, Kasama District Note-Book, Volume I.

¹⁵ See Audrey Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), 294 -295.

¹⁶ Makoto Kakeya and Yuko Sugimaya, “Chitemene, Finger-Millet and Bemba Culture: A Socio-Ecological Study of Slash and Burn Cultivation in North-Eastern Zambia”, *African Study Monographs*, 4 (1985), 11; George Kay, ‘Agricultural Change in the Luitikila Basin Development Area, Mpika District, Northern Rhodesia’, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 31 (1962). He just pointed out that the ‘Chitemene’ garden was fired in November but was silent on which sex did the firing.

firing of timber was not assigned to any particular sex. Rather, both sexes may have performed this task.

It was not only shifting cultivators that divided agricultural chores according to sex. Rather, dividing chores according to sex was also a feature of permanent and semi-permanent agriculture among the northern peoples of Zambia. In the semi-permanent village gardens of the Bemba, the mounds were dug by both men and women using the hoe.¹⁸ Among the Mambwe, division of labour between men and women was defined. It was part of the general social relationship of both sexes.¹⁹ In hoeing, men and women were interchangeable units. Even in the 'Fundikila' system of the Mambwe of Abercorn, agricultural sex roles were shared between males and females.²⁰ The opening garden of the sequence, the "Fundikila" was heavy work and invariably that of the husband, in much the same way that the original work of lopping in the chitemene was also a man's work.²¹ The importance of dividing agricultural chores by gender among the Mambwe was aptly demonstrated by Watson in his Doctoral thesis. He pointed out that while doing his Doctoral research, he witnessed three women in Chief Mpande's court being fined 5/- each for failing to weed their gardens. The husbands, though present were not charged.²² This statement invariably indicates the extent to which gender roles were appreciated and respected not only by the indigenous peoples but also by colonial officials. It was only in the village gardens, that is Vizule and

¹⁷ W. Watson, 'The Kaonde Village', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 15 (1954), 6. He alluded to the fact that the Kaonde set fire to the piled timber just before the rainy season. The sex which did the firing was not indicated.

¹⁸ See, for instance, Donald H. Bwalya, 'Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1948-1978: A Case Study of Maize Production in Kasama District', M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1989, 29; Anne Kristi Stolen, 'Peasants and Agricultural Change in Northern Zambia', report compiled for the Agricultural University of Norway, 1983, 26-28.

¹⁹ See William Watson, 'The Social Structure of the Mambwe of Northern Rhodesia', PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 1954, 59.

²⁰ 'Fundikila' was similar to 'Fisebe'. Unwanted vegetation was removed using hoes. It was then buried in holes (circular mounds) awaiting it to rot and act as humus.

²¹ NAZ, Box 25, Agriculture Miscellaneous, 'A Report on the Land Usage of the Aisa-Mambwe in Reserve IV, Abercorn', 1960.

²² Watson, 'The Social Structure of the Mambwe of Northern Rhodesia', 59.

Ntumba of the Mambwe that only women farmed with no help from men. The male garden (Usongo) was also theoretically for men but a woman could also help out.²³ The importance of dividing agricultural roles according to gender was stressed by a colonial officer in Abercorn. In a report of an investigation into 'chitemene' control, he noted that:

I have no record of a woman ever carrying out the task of lopping although Mr. J. R. E. Hindson, Agricultural Officer suggested that if larger trees were pollarded at shoulder height, women might be prevailed upon to lop the re-growth as this would not necessitate climbing the trees I think, however, that tradition is so closely ingrained in this respect that it would be unwise to attempt to alter it.²⁴

Clearly, that gender roles in agriculture had to be observed was traditional and the prosperity of farming systems of northern Zambia depended on these gender roles.

Like their counterparts in other provinces of Zambia, ethnic groups of central Zambia also followed a division of labour in agriculture based on physiological differences.²⁵ Among the Swaka and Lala farming communities in which both hoe cultivation and shifting cultivation were practised, chores were performed according to gender. While felling trees and lopping of branches was done by men, women concentrated on tasks involving the hoe such as planting, weeding and harvesting.²⁶

²³ For details on the Village gardens of the Mambwe and Lungu, see, NAZ, Box 25, Agriculture Miscellaneous, 'The General features of the Agriculture of the 'Maswepa', Mambwe and Lungu Tribes', June, 1958

²⁴ NAZ, Box 25, Agriculture Miscellaneous, 'The General Features of the Agriculture of the 'Maswepa', Mambwe and Lungu Tribes', June, 1958.

²⁵ This has been observed by Muntemba in a number of works on the Lenje of Central Province. See, for instance, Maud Muntemba, 'Thwarted Development: A Case Study of Economic Change in the Kabwe Rural District of Zambia, 1902–1970' in Robert Palmer and Neil Parsons (eds.), *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1977), 349; Maud Muntemba, 'Rural underdevelopment in Zambia, Kabwe Rural District, 1850–1970', PhD Thesis, University of California, 1977, 263; Maud Muntemba, 'Women in Agricultural Change in the Railway Region of Zambia: Dispossession and Agricultural Strategies, 1930–1970', paper presented to the symposium on 'Women and Work' in Africa," Urbana, Champaign, 1979, 3-4. In all these works, the importance of males and females in the agricultural cycles of Lenje farming communities is emphasised.

²⁶ See Zikani Kaira, 'A History of Poverty in Central Province, Zambia, 1850–2000', M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2005, 42; See, also Moffat Shamambo, 'A Report on the Adaptive Research Planning Team (ARPT), Central Province on-farm Research Programme', paper presented at CIMMYT Regional Workshop, Ridgeway Hotel, Lusaka. 26th April–1st May, 1987.

Evidence suggests that in southern Zambia both sexes were actively involved in farming. An Annual Report of 1906- 1907 described the Tonga of Kalomo as ‘an indolent race, cultivating just enough food for the present requirements’.²⁷ Holub, in his travels north of the Zambezi, however observed men in Seruera’s Village of the Batoka busy chopping and clearing to enlarge the fields. In describing the complementary roles in agriculture, he stated that, ‘the men of these Zambezi tribes help the women much more with their fieldwork than men of southern tribes’²⁸ Among the plateau Tonga, gardens were tended primarily by the whole household, that is his wife/wives, children and other attached relatives.²⁹ These complementary roles were also reported among the Tonga of Mazabuka where men’s work was conspicuous annually when new fields had to be cleared. However, males also took a hand at other moments in the agricultural cycle when work was largely that of women.³⁰ The valley Tonga were also good agriculturalists. Referring to the heavy involvement of males and females in the agricultural cycle among the valley Tonga, Scudder stated that:

Although women are the principal cultivators, there are no agricultural tasks that men are unwilling to undertake As throughout Central Africa, pioneer clearing of new lands is almost entirely in the hands of men as is the construction of garden structures and fencing.³¹

Among the Valley Tonga, there were rainy and dry season gardens. In the dry season gardens (jelele, kuti and Kalonga), it was the women who cultivated and produced the

²⁷ NAZ INC 2/1/6. Annual Report, Kalomo, 1906–1907.

²⁸ Emil Holub, *Travels North of the Zambezi, 1885 – 1886* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), 32

²⁹ Kenneth Powers Vickery, ‘The Making of a Peasantry: Imperialism and the Tonga Plateau Economy, 1890– 1936’, PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1978, 22-23; Vickery, ‘The Emergence of a Plateau Tonga Peasantry: Economic Change, 1890–1940’, in Chet Lancaster and Kenneth Vickery (eds.) *The Tonga Speaking Peoples of Zambia and Zimbabwe: Essays in Honour of Elizabeth Colson* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2007), 86.

³⁰ See Marcia Wright, ‘Technology, Marriage and Women’s Work in the History of Maize growers in Mazabuka, Zambia: A Reconnaissance’, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10, 1 (1983), 74.

³¹ Thayer Scudder, *The Ecology of the Gwembe Tonga* (Lusaka: Institute of African Studies, 1975), 32. See also Scudder, *Gathering among African Woodland Savannah Cultivators: A Case study of the Gwembe Tonga: Zambia Papers No. 5* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), 11-13. She alludes to the involvement of all family members in agriculture among the Valley Tonga.

crops while in the rainy season gardens, farming was a shared venture between husbands and wives.³²

These arguments on gender roles in farming among the Tonga show that there was no credence in the report of 1906–1907 which described the Tonga of Kalomo as a most improvident people, who worked as little as possible and cultivated barely enough to feed them till the next crop. Paradoxically, an earlier Annual Report, of 1905 indicated that the Tonga were active farmers, their roles in agriculture being shared by males and females. The report indicated that men occasionally worked at breaking land or cutting poles while the women did all general work.³³ The Ila, also a southern ethnic group practiced a system of shifting cultivation (not the ‘chitemene’) in farming. In their agricultural cycle, there was a broad division of labour between males and females. Men cleared the fields while women prepared them by hoeing, planted and tended the standing crop.³⁴ Among the Goba, men made most of their contribution to the agricultural subsistence in early clearing and ploughing while women bore the heavy brunt of final guarding and harvesting.³⁵

Throughout eastern Zambia, family labour was used to grow a variety of crops. Among the Senga of Chama, the clear division of labour between males and females made it possible to specialize in specific tasks and increase production.³⁶ Among these eastern peoples, generally, all members of the family were required to work at harvest

³² Samuel N. Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia* (Lusaka: Historical Association of Zambia, 1988), 117.

³³ NAZ INC 2/1/6, Annual Report of Batonga, 7th March, 1905.

³⁴ See M. A. Jaspan, *The Ila-Tonga Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia* (London: International African Institute, 1953), 28.

³⁵ Chet Lancaster. *The Goba of the Zambezi: Sex Roles, Economics and Change* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 46 – 54. The ancient home of the Goba was the Zambezi Valley between Zambia and Zimbabwe. They were pushed out of that area during the construction of major hydro-electric power projects in Zambia and Zimbabwe. Today, they are in Siavonga and Chirundu districts of southern Zambia.

³⁶ Y. A. Chondoka, ‘Labour Migration and Rural Transformation in Chama, North-Eastern Rhodesia, 1890– 1964’, PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1992, 20.

time but prior to the harvest, roles in agriculture were divided according to sex.³⁷ Strenuous tasks like clearing virgin land for crop production was a male preserve.

Farming systems of western Zambia were complex in nature. The Lozi ethnic group of Barotse Province had adopted eight different farming systems.³⁸ The 'sishanjo' gardens were labour intensive gardens which involved the cultivation of seepage peats found along the dambo margins. In these gardens, male labour was used primarily for opening canals and digging drainage ditches.³⁹ These were complex activities that could not be performed by women. In the 'matema' fields, there was a lot of cutting, stumping and lopping of branches. Like in the 'slash and burn' method of cultivation, this was a specialised task which only men could perform. Lozi women actively participated in farm activities like weeding, planting and harvesting.

In all the country's ethnic groups, boys and girls also helped out at certain stages in the agricultural cycle. Girls helped out women with weeding and harvesting while boys were assigned tasks of scaring away birds and other marauding animals. In certain instances, they also helped out with weeding and harvesting.

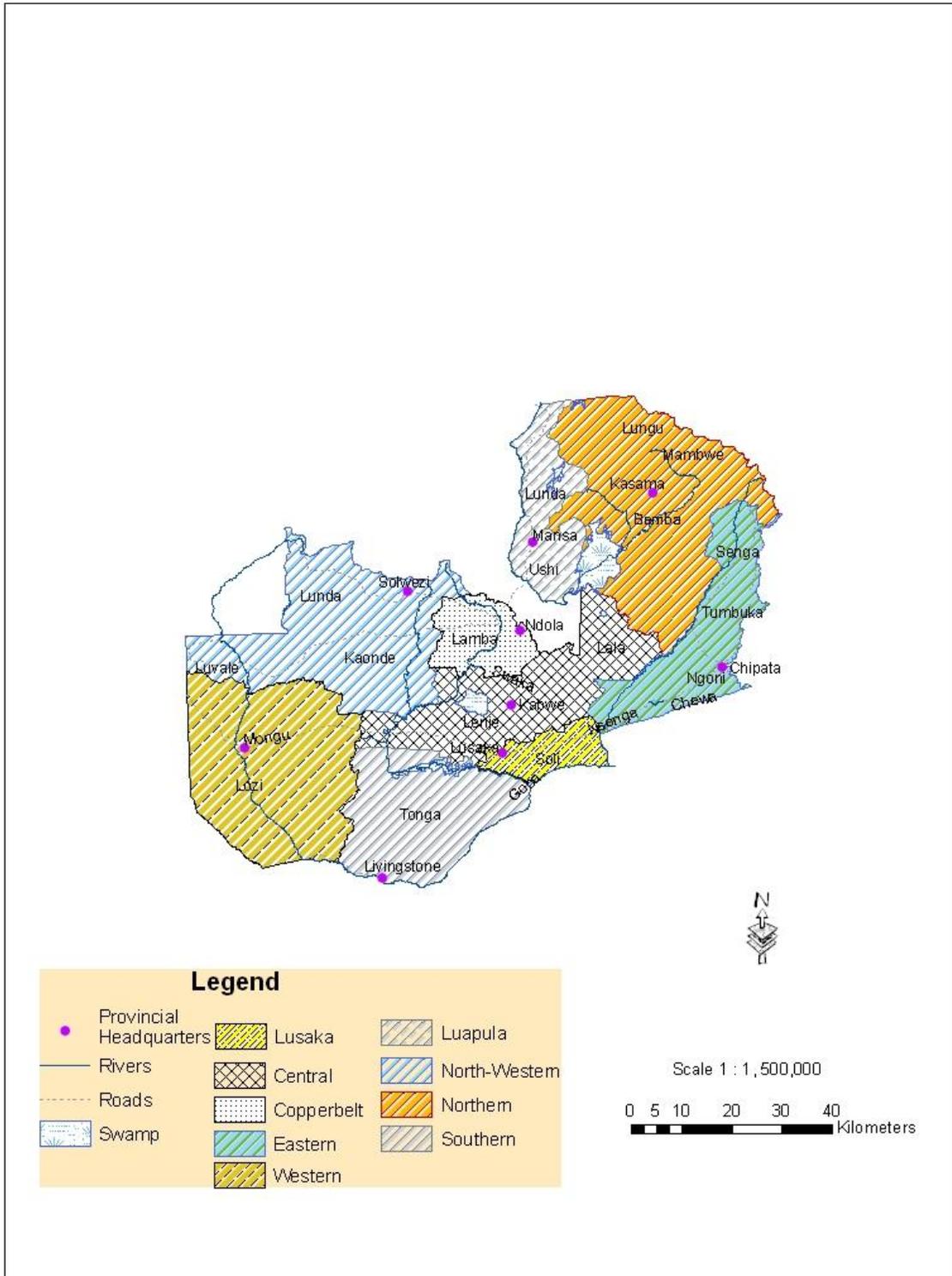
It is clearly demonstrated from the arguments above that at the time the company was taking over the administration of the territory, gender roles in agriculture throughout the country were well defined. We have, however, not exhausted all the ethnic groups of Zambia. Rather, we have given a general over-view of gender roles in agriculture in the pre-colonial period in all the provinces of Zambia (See Map 1 for the location of the ethnic groups we have discussed).

³⁷ George Kay, *Changing Patterns of Settlement and Land-use in the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia* (Yorkshire: University of Hull, 1965), 41.

³⁸ For details on the traditional farming systems of western Zambia, refer to W. Heemskerk (ed.) MAFF, ARPT, Western Province Lima Crop Memo for Traditional Subsistence Agricultural System, Mongu Research Station, November, 1993. In this memorandum, traditional farming systems of the Western Province are described at length; See also, Kafuba Mboma, 'The Changing role of Women in Agriculture: A Case Study of Kalabo District, 1906-1986', M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1991, 17-33; See also Trapnell and Clothier, *The Soils, Vegetation and Agricultural Systems of North-Western Rhodesia* and Gear M. Kajoba, 'Vulnerability and Resilience of Rural Society in Zambia from the View Point of Land Tenure and Food Security', Working Paper on Social-Ecological Resilience Series: No. 2008-003, March, 2008, 7-8.

³⁹ Mboma, 'The Changing Role of Women in Agriculture: A Case Study of Kalabo District, 1906-1986', 17.

Map 1: Selected Ethnic Groups of Zambia



Source: Drawn by Chanda Mwendapole, Cartography Section, UNZA

What has strongly come out is that assigning labour roles in agriculture according to gender was held in high esteem. Certainly, the prosperity of the African husbandman depended on observing these roles. Dividing farming roles according to gender was not unique to Zambia but was a common feature in farming communities throughout Africa. Marks and Unterhalter pointed to the importance of dividing agricultural shores according to gender in Africa when they stated that:

... there were and are important differences between the social organization of the matrilineal people of Zambia and Malawi and the predominantly patrilineal people to the South and between those societies which were more centrally organized in a State system and those which were not In all these societies, the sexual division of labour was neither egalitarian nor simply biologically based. While men were usually responsible for clearing trees from the fields, actual cultivation, that is, the clearing of bush, planting, weeding, harvesting and threshing were all tasks for the women of the household, which was the site and unit of production for both use and exchange.⁴⁰

Mandala argued that the Mangánja, an ethnic group in the lower Tchiri Valley of Malawi traditionally divided chores in agriculture according to sex with all members of the household participating in farming.⁴¹ His argument was that the opening of a new field was a strenuous exercise that fell on men who cut down bush and trees using the axe. Thereafter, they set them on fire while planting and weeding was done by both sexes. Children came in to guard crops against birds and other predatory animals with their parents coming in to scare larger animals like baboons.

During the colonial period, the communally oriented household production system where both men and women produced for consumption was undermined. Government economic policies were aimed at increasing agricultural and commodity production for the market. The labour the colonial governments sought to involve in economic activities was male. Ultimately, the traditional division of labour between

⁴⁰ Shula Marks and E. Unterhalter, 'Women and the Migrant Labour System in Southern Africa', in U.N.O (ECA) *Migratory Labour in Southern Africa* (Lusaka: UNO/ECA, 1978), 600.

⁴¹ Elias C. Mandala, *Work and Control in a Peasant Economy: A History of the Lower Tchiri Valley, 1859–1960* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin, 1990), 52–54.

males and females changed. Like other colonised African countries, communalism that had hitherto prevailed in Zambia underwent change. Policies introduced by BSAC and the Crown government had deleterious effects on gender roles in farming. Worse still, gender imbalances in the agricultural sector became apparent when the Crown government began marginalizing women in farming. It is against this back-ground that we investigated the extent to which issues of gender in agricultural development were addressed by successive governments in power from 1890-1990. We started at 1890 because this was the year in which the British South Africa Company took over the administration of the territory. We ended at 1990 because this year marked the end of the rule of the Second Republic in the country. In 1991, the Third Republic was born in Zambia with a different approach towards gender issues in agricultural development.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In traditional farming communities of Zambia, males and females complemented each other in agricultural-related activities. Men, women, boys and girls divided farming roles according to the local systems of sexual division of labour. From the on-set of colonialism, there have been dynamics in gender in agricultural development. Successive governments in power have introduced different policies in the agricultural sector, some of which have led to changes in traditional gender roles in farming. The study investigated the extent to which the agricultural policies formulated by successive governments in power addressed the needs of both sexes. It also investigated the extent to which the policies took into account the roles and responsibilities of men, women, boys and girls in the agricultural cycles of their farming communities.

GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The general objective of the study was to examine the dynamics of gender roles in agriculture in Zambia and analyse the extent to which changing gender roles have been influenced by changing government policies in agriculture.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The specific objectives of the study were:

1. To examine gender roles in agriculture in colonial and post-colonial Zambia.
2. To analyse the efforts made by the Government of the Republic of Zambia to address gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector.
3. To analyse the major constraints that stood in the way of bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector.
4. To identify the major beneficiaries of donor supported agricultural projects between male and female farmers.
5. To examine the extent to which the Research and Extension Branches of the Ministry of Agriculture liaised with each other in reaching out to farmers of both sexes.

RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

While there is a lot of literature on different aspects of Zambia's agricultural history, there is a paucity of literature on gender in agricultural development in the country. The roles played by both sexes in Zambia's agricultural development and male-female relationships in agricultural-related activities have been ignored or treated summarily by scholars. It is hoped that this study will stimulate further research into gender and the country's agricultural development. Being multidisciplinary in nature, historians, agriculturalists and all engaged in agricultural and rural studies will find this study valuable.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A lot has been written about the important roles played by both sexes in the farming communities of different countries around the world. However, no comprehensive piece of work exists on gender in agricultural development in Zambia. This failure to adequately document issues of gender in agricultural development has created a gap in the country's agricultural historiography. Our argument is that, like in

other parts of the world, both sexes contributed greatly to Zambia's agricultural development.

Among the works that exist on gender in agricultural development outside Africa are the works by Franklin, Agarwal, Barndt, Qamar and Rivera, IBRD-FAO-IFAD, Qamar, and Quisumbing et al.⁴² Franklin, a Geographer documented aspects of farming life among farming families in the 1960s in Germany, France, Yugoslavia and Poland. His argument was that while entire households participated in farming activities among the peasantry of those countries, it was females who played a central role in farming. He pointed out that in Germany, the availability of female members was significant and that between a quarter and a third of cultivation of row crops, whatever the type of farming was the responsibility of women. His contention was that although men confined themselves predominantly to farm work, one would hesitate to say they always undertook the heaviest hours.⁴³ He noted of France that the mother in a family was the queen of the hearth and the hearth was the centre of attraction and convergence of the farm and family. He also acknowledged the importance of children in farming noting that under the direction of their parents, the children worked according to their capacity and contributed to the success of the farm.⁴⁴ We related Franklin's work to the Zambian farming families where the whole family took part in farming activities with females playing a central role in food production.

Like Franklin, Barndt acknowledged the central role played by women in agricultural-related activities. She described the transnational tomato chain, noting that as tomatoes were transported on the export route from Mexico to the United States of

⁴² S. H. Franklin, *The European Peasantry* (London: Methuen and Company, 1969); Bina Agarwal, 'Women, Poverty and Agricultural Growth in India, *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 13, 4 (1986), 203-207; Deborah Barndt, *Tangled Routes: Women, Work and Globalisation on the Tomato Trail* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2002); William McLeod Rivera in Collaboration with M. Kalim Qamar, *Agricultural Extension, Rural Development and the Food Security Challenge* (Rome: FAO, 2003); K. Kalim Qamar, *Introducing a Demand-Driven Extension Approach in a Traditional Region: A Case Study from Pakistan* (Rome: FAO, 2011); IBRD-FAO-IFAD, *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook* (Washington: IBRD, 2009) and Agnes R. Quisumbing; Ruth Meizen-Dick; Terri L. Raney; Andre Croppenstedt; Julia A. Behrman and Amber Peterman (eds.) *Gender in Agriculture: Closing the Knowledge Gap* (Rome: FAO, 2014).

⁴³ Franklin, *The European Peasantry*, 41.

⁴⁴ Franklin, *The European Peasantry*, 73.

America, it was the women who played a central role in the chain; working the fields, processing the tomatoes in factories and working in fast food out-lets. She traced distortions in gender roles in farming in Mexico to the period of the Spanish colonisation of the territory between 1500 and 1800. Her argument was that the colonisation process set into motion migrations of males from the country-side, ultimately leading to females assuming male roles in farming. She pointed out that:

Spanish colonisers laid the ground work for on-going migration north by forcing indigenous people (mainly men) to migrate to work in the mines and haciendas; women's role in subsistence agriculture was critical then, as they were left behind to tend the land and children As more and more men went to the northern Mexico or the United States of America as migrant farm workers for months or even years, Campesino women took greater agricultural responsibility at home.⁴⁵

The significance of her work to our study lies in the fact that her conclusions were similar to findings on Zambia where gender roles in some farming communities were distorted after Britain colonised the territory. Like Mexico, the introduction of tax payments in Zambia set into motion migrations en masse of able-bodied men to employment centres in search of money to fulfill tax obligations. Consequently, women in such communities were burdened with greater agricultural responsibilities.

A common theme running in works on gender in agriculture in Africa and the rest of the developing world is the gender gap in resources and extension advice. It is axiomatic in scholarship on these countries' agricultural development that females generally lacked access to resources and extension advice. Agarwal explored the relationship between gender, poverty and agricultural growth in India. Her contention was that although females played a central role in farming in the country, they lacked access to technology and land. The consequence, she noted was high levels of poverty among female farmers.⁴⁶ These views expressed by Agarwal were similar to findings by the World Bank in association with FAO and IFAD in their *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook*. Their central argument was that poor women world-wide have

⁴⁵ Deborah Barndt, *Tangled Routes: Women, Work and Globalisation on the Tomato Trail*, 169-170.

⁴⁶ Agarwal, 'Women, Poverty and Agricultural Growth in India', 203-207.

traditionally had limited access to crucial services and opportunities because of persistent cultural, social and political biases. Therefore, the purpose of the Sourcebook was, 'to act as a guide for practitioners and technical staff in addressing gender issues and integrating gender-responsive actions in the design and implementation of agricultural projects and programmes.'⁴⁷ The authors alluded to the fact that 1975 was significant in as far as bridging gender imbalances in agriculture was concerned. They stated that:

The Mexico Declaration and Plan of Action in the 1970s, the first international instrument to introduce the concept of national machineries for the advancement of women to advocate for attention to women's advancements provide policy direction, undertake research and build alliances.⁴⁸

These two works brought to the fore gender biases in resources in other parts of the world, a scenario also prevalent in Zambia. We also explored the extent to which the Mexico Declaration and Plan of Action contributed to the drive towards ending gender imbalances in Zambia's agricultural sector.

Our study also benefited from Qamar's work on South-East Asia. He lamented about gender imbalances in agriculture in the area arguing that extension services were usually unsatisfactory following top-down and technologically driven approaches with lack of concern for gender sensitivity. He gave an example of a Women Extension Cell that was established in Pakistan with the main responsibility of delivering extension services to rural women. His argument was that the myriad of problems the cell faced stood in the way of reaching out to the rural women. The problems included the lack of career development as none of the women in the cell had been promoted since joining the cell 17 years earlier; no refresher courses on offer to staff; the use of old vehicles making mobility of the extension staff being curtailed and funding constraints making it hard for members to buy farm materials for demonstration and experimental purposes.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ IBRD-FAO-IFAD, *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook*, 3, 4.

⁴⁸ IBRD-FAO-IFAD, *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook*, 45.

Qamar's work was relevant to our study as it showed that the constraints that stood in the way of the functioning of the Home Economics Section of the Department of Agriculture in Zambia were similar to challenges that the Women's Extension Cell in Pakistan faced. It also showed similarities in the delivery of extension services in South-East Asia and Zambia. Like South-East Asia, our study argued that the extension service in Zambia suffered from gender biases as women were, for the past part marginalized.

Rivera and Qamar were of the view that traditional extension systems were gender biased. Arising out of what they saw as gender insensitive extension systems in the developing world, they argued that there were global changes in farming and therefore there was need to reform traditional extension systems to successfully meet the new demands. They pointed out that field personnel in developing countries needed to ensure that women were recognized for their contribution and that there was need for investment in extension for women in agriculture.⁵⁰ We explored how their arguments related to the Zambian context. Our study established the extent to which Zambia suffered from gender imbalances in the extension service. We also explored the deliberate efforts made by the Government of the Republic of Zambia to invest in extension services for women.

Arising out of collaboration between FAO and IFPRI, *Gender in Agriculture: Closing the Knowledge Gap* was published in 2014. The purpose of the publication was to highlight gender gaps in agriculture in the developing world (Asia, Africa and Latin America) and offer suggestions to close those gaps. The central theme of the book was that women were marginalized in the agricultural sectors of countries in the developing world and therefore, there was need to close this gender gap. All the chapters were relevant to our study as they showed that the problems that women farmers in Zambia faced like limited access to assets and extension services were not unique to the country but were a common occurrence in the rest of the developing world. In a chapter by Meizen Dick et al, for instance the central theme was the gender asset gap between men

⁴⁹ Qamar, *Introducing a Demand-Driven Extension Approach in a Traditional Region: A Case Study from Pakistan*, 1-13.

⁵⁰ Rivera in Collaboration with Qamar, *Agricultural Extension, Rural Development and the Food Security Challenge*, 33-36.

and women.⁵¹ They acknowledged the fact that women had fewer assets than men. Meizen-Dick, Quisumbing and Behrman, in their chapter alluded to gaps in agricultural research.⁵² They lamented that, “In the world of national and international agricultural research, women continue to be under-represented and under-served and their contributions are not fully tapped.”⁵³ Their arguments provided the basis for investigating into gender gap in Zambia’s agricultural sector.

Studies from specific African countries gave us insights on issues of gender in agriculture in Africa. The works by Fuggles-Couchman and Kettlewell on Tanganyika and Nyasaland respectively gave us insights on the post-Second World War African development plans in the two countries.⁵⁴ While Fuggles-Couchman gave a detailed description of African agricultural schemes that were established in the Tanganyika territory under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, Kettlewell demonstrated that as part of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, African agricultural schemes were established in Nyasaland. While these two studies gave a detailed account of the African agricultural schemes that were set up in the post-World War Two period, they were silent on issues of gender in the schemes. This is understandable as they were published in the colonial era when scholarship on Africa’s agricultural history was generally silent on gender issues in farming. Concentration was on men in farming as opposed to gender in farming. We were, however able to deduce gender imbalances in the Act through statements like this one in Fuggle-Couchman’s work which read in part, “... important changes in policy in extension work have made considerable

⁵¹ Ruth Meizen-Dick, Nancy Johnson, Agnes R. Quisumbing; Jemimah Njuki, Julia Behrman, Deborah Rubin, Amber Peterman and Elizabeth Waithanji, ‘The Gender Asset Gap and Its Implications for Agricultural and Rural Development’ in Quisumbing et al (eds.), *Gender in Agriculture: Closing the Knowledge Gap* (Rome: FAO, 2014), 91-115.

⁵² Ruth Meizen-Dick, Agnes, R. Quisumbing and Julia A. Behrman, ‘A System that Delivers: Integrating Gender into Agricultural Research, Development and Extension’ in Quisumbing et al (eds.), *Gender in Agriculture: Closing the Knowledge Gap*, 373-392.

⁵³ Meizen-Dick, Quisumbing and Behrman, ‘A System that Delivers: Integrating Gender into Agricultural Research, Development and Extension’, 374.

⁵⁴ N. R. Fuggles-Couchman, *Agricultural Change in Tanganyika, 1945-1960* (California: Food Research Institute, 1964) and R.W. Kettlewell, *Agricultural Change in Nyasaland* (California: Food Research Institute, 1965)

contributions to the rising productivity of African farmers. Of these, the most important have been the change in the role of the Extension Officer *himself*.⁵⁵ A statement in Kettlewell's work read in part, "... in the field of agricultural extension where the government field staff increased from about eighteen professionally and technically trained *men* in 1945 to approximately sixty in 1960"⁵⁶ Like the two studies we have cited, we have also argued in our study that post-World War Two African agricultural development planning in Zambia was gender specific as it was to the benefit of males who the colonial state perceived as farmers and not females who were perceived by the state as housewives.

In the 1970s, there was a new wave of scholarship on Africa's agricultural development. There was a gradual shift from works concentrating on men's roles in agriculture to discussing the important roles played by women in farming as well. Eicher and Baker, in their illuminating study, *Research on Agricultural Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Critical Survey*, argued that research on women in Africa mushroomed in the 1970s following the publication of Ester Boserup's influential, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* in 1970.⁵⁷ Eicher and Baker surveyed literature on the rural economies of Sub-Saharan Africa and hailed Boserup's work for being a pioneering study on the role of women in the third world's economic development. With examples from several case studies and surveys, Boserup, a Danish Social Scientist argued that women in the third world played significant roles in agricultural and rural development. Her view was that in Africa south of the Sahara, women performed most agricultural tasks while in countries north of the Sahara, it was males who did most of the farm work.⁵⁸ Like our conclusion on Zambia, she also acknowledged the fact that all members of the family participated in farming when she pointed out that:

⁵⁵ Fuggles-Couchman, *Agricultural Change in Tanganyika*, 75.

⁵⁶ Kettlewell, *Agricultural Change in Nyasaland*, 244.

⁵⁷ See Carl K. Eicher and Doyle C. Baker, *Research on Agricultural Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Critical Survey* (Michigan: Michigan State University, 1982) and Ester Boserup, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1970)

⁵⁸ Boserup, *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, 15-65.

Even at the most primitive stages of family autarky, there is some division of labour within the family, the main criteria for the division being that of age and sex. Some particularly light tasks, such as guarding domestic animals or scaring away wild animals from the crops are usually left to children or old persons; certain other tasks are performed only by women, while some tasks are the exclusive responsibility of adult men.⁵⁹

Indeed, Boserup's publication played a pioneering role in the area of research on women's roles in farming. After her book was published, several other studies on women in farming began to be published. Apparently, most of these works were authored by females. This was partly due to the fact that most African countries attained independence in the 1960s and the post-independence era saw the education of females being promoted in most of the newly independent states. Ultimately, through their works, these emerging scholars were able to bring out issues of gender imbalances in the agricultural sectors of their countries. Another reason why many women began researching on gender relations was that during this period, the aspect of feminism was gaining ground. Feminists embarked on a process of studying the position of women in different societies and advocating for same rights and opportunities between men and women in all spheres of life.

Like scholarship on the agricultural development of countries outside Africa, scholarship on Africa also pointed to gender gaps in resources between men and women with men being the advantaged sex. These included works by Afonja on the Yoruba of Nigeria; Okine on Ghana; Staudt on Kenya; Goheen on Cameroon; Mlay, Kartik and Tisdell on Tanzania; Archer and Meer on South Africa and a book edited by Wanyeki on different African countries.⁶⁰ Based on field-work conducted among the Yoruba of

⁵⁹ Boserup, *Woman's Role in Economic Development*, 15.

⁶⁰ Simi Afonja, 'Changing Modes of Production and the Sexual Division of Labour among the Yoruba' in Eleanor Leacock, Helen I. Safa and Contributors, *Women's Work and the Division of Labour by Gender* (New York: Bergin and Garvey Publishers, 1986), 122-135; Vicky Okine, 'The Survival Strategies of poor families in Ghana and the role of Women therein', in Joycelin Massiah (ed.), *Women in Developing Economies: Making Visible the Invisible* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1993), 169-174; Kathleen A. Staudt, 'Women Farmers and Inequities in Agricultural Services' in Margaret Jean Hay and Sharon Stichter (eds.) *African Women South of the Sahara* (London: Longman, 1995); Mirriam Goheen, *Men Own the Fields, Women own the Crops: Gender and Power in the Cameroon Highlands* (London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996); Felix J. Mlay, Kartik C. Roy and Clement A. Tisdell, 'Women and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa with Special Reference to Tanzania', in Kartik C. Roy, Clement A. Tisdell and Hans C. Blomqvist (eds.), *Economic Development and Women in the World Community* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 124-138; Fioner Archer and Shamim Meer, 'Women, Tenure and Land

Nigeria, Afonja's core argument was that Yoruba men in independent Nigeria had a lot of control over resources and capital. She traced this control to the pre-colonial period and argued that traditional values in which men controlled technology and capital persisted in both colonial and post-colonial Yoruba communities of Nigeria.⁶¹ Similar sentiments were expressed by Okine in her scholarship on Ghana. She noted that gender biases in the agricultural sector were traced to the arrival of British colonial rule when women began to be side-lined with the introduction of cash crop production. Her contention was that gender biases in the country's agricultural sector continued at independence leading to the majority of women being relatively unaffected by new developments as they were hardly ever reached by male extension agents.⁶² Staudt's article that was based on information collected from Kakemega in Kenya pointed to inequalities in agricultural services in the area. The article revealed that like in the colonial era, even in the post-colonial period, there was no explicit recognition of women's role in agriculture. She pointed out that extension staff was, for all intents and purposes male who viewed women farmers as backward. The article noted that at agricultural training institutions where a third of the trainees were reported to be women, a closer examination of courses revealed that they were generally found in Home Economics in which a primary thrust was domestic rather than agricultural sciences.⁶³

In her study of gender relations in the Nso Chiefdom in western Cameroon, Goheen argued that men in Cameroon continued to acknowledge women's farm labour as the most critical factor in agriculture. She lamented about women's lack of access to resources noting that although officially credit was available to men and women,

Reform: The Case of Namaqualand Reserves' in Kit Tropical Institute (ed.) *Gender Perspectives on Property and Inheritance: A Global Sourcebook* (Amsterdam: Kit Publishers, 2001); L. Muthonyi Wanyeki (ed.), *Women and Land in Africa: Culture, Religion and realising Women's Rights* (London: Zed Books, 2003)

⁶¹ Afonja, 'Changing Modes of Production and the Sexual Division of Labour among the Yoruba', 131.

⁶² Vicky Okine, 'The Survival Strategies of poor families in Ghana and the role of women therein', in Joycelin Massiah (ed.), *Women in Developing Economies: Making Visible the Invisible* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1993), 171-182.

⁶³ Staudt, 'Women Farmers and Inequities in Agricultural Services', 210.

women's access was limited because women did not own land.⁶⁴ Mlay, Kartik and Tisdell pointed to gender imbalances in resources in Tanzania. They pointed out that after the country became independent in 1961, land was nationalized declaring all land (cultivable and residential) as public; allowing any citizen to take up and cultivate a piece of unused land. They however, lamented that:

Nationalisation of land, though theoretically implying equal access to land has not necessarily led to the same access between men and women in Tanzania. In most rural households, women have a minimal role related to either land distribution or agricultural production, bringing little change in women's relationship to the land as their rights to hold it is still through husbands.⁶⁵

They further argued that in the Mbeya region of Tanzania, in early 1981 and late 1982, women protested bitterly against, amongst other issues, the regulations governing access to and control over land, labour, cash, farm inputs and equipment.⁶⁶

Archer and Meer documented issues to do with women, tenure and land reforms in the Namaqualand Reserves of South Africa. They argued that the impact of state formation and capitalist accumulation over time resulted in changes in gender roles and meanings. Their contention was that in the traditional Nama society, women played a very important role in farming and had access to some private property but due to the discovery of minerals, Nama men were pushed into wage employment and the accompanying introduction of a cash economy led to a process of differentiation along the lines of income and gender and that even among the most severely marginalized, resources shifted into the hands of men.⁶⁷ In a book edited by Wanyeki, the authors pointed to gender biases in land tenure in different countries in Africa. The primary objective of the book was to examine women's land rights and evolutionary prospects

⁶⁴ Goheen, *Men Own the Fields, Women own the Crops: Gender and Power in the Cameroon Highlands*, 93-117.

⁶⁵ Mlay, Kartik and Tisdell, 'Women and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa with special reference to Tanzania,' 131- 132.

⁶⁶ Mlay, Kartik and Tisdell, "Women and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa with special reference to Tanzania', 132.

⁶⁷ Archer and Meer, "Women, Tenure and Land Reforms: the Case of Namaqualand Reserves", 57-59.

with respect to customary, religious and statutory regulation of land in Africa. Based on primary and empirical research in different countries, the authors pointed to gender discrimination in land tenure. Logo and Bikie, for instance observed that in Cameroon, with respect to statutory law, the 1974 land reforms appeared on the surface to affirm land rights and not to discriminate against women but in practice, barriers existed to the equal application and impact of the reforms on women.⁶⁸

These seven works we have reviewed above were illuminating to our study in the sense that they brought out the gender gaps in resources in different countries similar to gender gaps in resources in Zambia. Of great significance were the findings by Staudt on Kenya who apart from gender gaps in resources also pointed to gender gaps in courses at farmer training institutions. Her conclusion that women in agricultural training institutions in Kenya were mainly instructed in Home Economics was the same as our finding on Zambia. Our study concluded that women in Zambia's agricultural training institutions received more instruction in Home Economics than agricultural-related courses.

The Mexico declaration in Mexico in 1975 saw countries in Africa making visible cogent efforts to incorporate women in their countries' agricultural development. Countries that responded to the Mexico declaration included countries of the Sahel and Mali as highlighted in an edited book on women and rural development in Mali and the Sahel.⁶⁹ Papers presented at a conference held in Bamako in 1983 were developed into chapters. The conference mainly looked at the status of women farmers due to what was termed as the perpetuation of pro-male and anti-female biases in different spheres.⁷⁰ Of significance to our study was Traore's chapter who at the time of writing was Director of the Training Centre for Rural Women Extension Agents at Ouelesebougou.⁷¹ Her chapter was based on the work of this project which was born

⁶⁸ Patrice Bigombe Logo and Elise-Henriette Bikie, 'Cameroon: Overcoming Custom, Discrimination and Powerlessness' in Wanyeki (ed.), *Women and Land in Africa*, 281-287.

⁶⁹ Lucy E. Creevey (ed.), *Women Farmers in Africa: Rural Development in Mali and Sahel* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986).

⁷⁰ Introduction, Creevey (ed.), *Women Farmers in Africa: Rural Development in Mali and Sahel*, 1.

after a visit to the Republic of Mali in 1975 by two women belonging to the “Black Women’s” Organisation in the United States of America. Their visit culminated into the signing of a grant agreement between the Government of the Republic of Mali and the United States of America on August 1, 1980 to start a project there. The Training Centre, known by the initials, DFAR-UNFM was thus opened with the objective of developing the body of knowledge about rural women, lighten their work-load, decrease literacy rate and give women a greater opportunity to play an active role in the rural economy.⁷² It offered to rural women courses which could lead to an improvement of their agricultural productivity, health and literacy level. Another chapter that was illuminating was the one by Kantara who was in charge of a donor funded project.⁷³ Jointly funded by the Saudi Arabian Development Fund, the government of Mali and FAO, the Stock-Farming Development Project was concerned with animal husbandry, one of the pillars of the Malian economy. It sought to improve the life of rural women in production, domestic tasks and in general well-being. It had problems like introduction of inappropriate or expensive and complex domestic technology leading to discontinued funding of the project.⁷⁴

The chapters cited above were significant in the understanding of the work of donor agencies in Zambia. In our study, we have argued that, like in Mali and the Sahel, donor funded projects catering for the needs of female farmers were also born in Zambia after the Mexico Declaration. We have also argued that the constraints the Malian donor supported Stock-Farming Development project faced of inappropriate technology introduction were similar to the constraints faced by the Women’s Appropriate Village Technology Project that was born in 1981 in Zambia.⁷⁵ Like the

⁷¹ Halimatou Traore, ‘The Ouelessebougou Training Centre for Rural Women Extension Agents’ in Creevey (ed.), *Women Farmers in Africa: Rural Development in Mali and Sahel*, 105-116.

⁷² Halimatou Traore, ‘The Ouelessebougou Training Centre for Rural Women Extension Agents’ in Creevey (ed.), *Women Farmers in Africa: Rural Development in Mali and Sahel*, 106

⁷³ Coulibay Emilie Kantara, ‘Training of Rural Women with the Stock-Farming Development Project in Western Sahel’, in Creevey (ed.), *Women Farmers in Africa: Rural Development in Mali and Sahel*, 117-131.

⁷⁴ Kantara, ‘Training of Rural Women with the Stock-Farming Development Project in Western Sahel’, 118.

training centres for women born in Mali, we have argued, in our study that the Home Economics Section embarked on a deliberate policy of training rural women at farmer training centres with the purpose of enabling them to be active in the rural economy.

The book edited by Moock was an important source of information on farming systems research in Africa.⁷⁶ In all the chapters, gender issues in farming systems research was the central theme. In her introduction, Moock alluded to the fact that her interest in gender relations was derived from the explanatory power of gender as a primary organising principle of society, including the society's agricultural production.⁷⁷ With examples from different parts of Africa, contributors described the work of Farming Systems Research Teams (FSRTs). Of significance to our study was the chapter by Low which discussed on-farm researches in eastern and southern Africa carried out by different FSRTs. Low was of the view that as on-farm researchers conducted surveys in eastern and southern Africa, they increasingly found themselves dealing with women farmers and that at group meetings, women invariably outnumbered men.⁷⁸ This book provided us with background information on the work of Farming Systems Research Teams. Using Low's arguments, we investigated the extent to which on-farm researchers liaised with extension workers in reaching out to rural Zambian women.

These books on Africa have given us background information on gender issues in agricultural development in Africa. While a lot has been documented on different aspects of Zambia's agricultural history, no comprehensive piece of work documents the link between gender and the country's agricultural development. A review of literature identifies this gap in Zambia's agricultural historiography. Scholars that documented Zambia's agricultural history can be divided into two categories: those

⁷⁵ See Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1984-1985*, 35 and Provincial Agricultural Officer's Report, Eastern Province, 1984-1985, 79.

⁷⁶ Joyce Lewinger Moock (ed.), *Understanding Africa's Rural Households and Farming Systems* (Colorado: Westview Press, 1986)

⁷⁷ Introduction, Moock (ed.), *Understanding Africa's Rural Households and Farming Systems*, 7

⁷⁸ Allan Low, 'On-Farm Research and Household Economics' in Moock (ed.), *Understanding Africa's Rural Households and Farming Systems*, 79-80.

who wrote about the agricultural history of colonial Zambia and those who wrote about the agricultural history of post-colonial Zambia. Such scholars included Anthropologists, Historians, and Geographers.

Earliest anthropological works on Zambia's colonial history include works by Doke, Richards, Jaspan and Scudder.⁷⁹ Doke's anthropological study was based on evidence collected while serving as a missionary among the Lamba of North-Western Rhodesia between 1914 and 1921 followed by interviews between 1927 and 1928. He pointed out that chores in farming were based on a rigid division of labour between males and females and that it was only roles like sowing and weeding which were interchangeable.⁸⁰

Based largely on her experiences and observations, Richards, an Anthropologist provided a detailed analysis on aspects of land, labour and diet among the Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia. She was of the view that there was an interchange of farming roles arguing that there was no strong taboo preventing a man doing a woman's work or vice-versa.⁸¹ Jaspan's work on the Tonga and Ila of southern Zambia was one section of the Ethnographic survey of Africa which the International African Institute was preparing with the aid of a grant made by the Secretary of State under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. He described gender roles among these two ethnic groups noting that the Ila practised a system of ash and fertilization in which men did the initial clearing while women tended to them.⁸² His study on the Tonga showed similar conclusions noting that in the bush and village gardens of the Tonga, men cleared forests while women performed other tasks.⁸³ Another illuminating study on

⁷⁹ Clement M. Doke, *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia: A Study of their Customs and Beliefs* (London: George Harrap and Company, 1931); Audrey I. Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939); M. A. Jaspan, *The Ila-Tonga Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia* (London: International African Institute, 1953) and Thayer Scudder, *The Ecology of the Gwembe Tonga* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962)

⁸⁰ Doke, *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia: A Study of their Customs and Beliefs*, 94-97.

⁸¹ Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia: An Economic Study of the Bemba Tribe*, 382.

⁸² Jaspan, *The Ila-Tonga Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia*, 28.

⁸³ Jaspan, *The Ila-Tonga Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia*, 48

aspects of Tonga life was the work by Scudder, an Anthropologist. Based on field work conducted in the valley from 1956 to 1957, he discussed gender roles in agriculture among the Valley Tonga. Describing gender roles in the agricultural cycle, he stated that, “Throughout the valley, women are the principal cultivators expected to work in their husbands’ gardens as well as their own When not away as labour migrants, men clear new or regenerated land for their families.”⁸⁴

A more recent account on aspects of Tonga life was the work by Vickery.⁸⁵ He documented aspects of the farming life among the Plateau Tonga peasantry from 1890 to 1940. Like earlier studies on the Tonga, he pointed out that heavy clearing fell to men and that some chores were interchangeable, for example burning, hoeing, planting, weeding, harvesting. The works above were relevant to our study on account that they provided a good background to understanding gender roles in agriculture among Zambia’s ethnic groups during the colonial period which our study investigated.

We also benefited from the work of Geographers. These included Kay, Allan and Hellen.⁸⁶ Based on recording the daily life of inhabitants of an Ushi village in the Luapula Province, Kay a Geographer from the Department of Geography, University of Hull out-lined in detail their agricultural systems, aspects of land tenure and gender roles in farming. He noted that although roles were shared according to sex, it was generally women who did most of the work.⁸⁷ It was an important source of study for the general understanding of Ushi farming systems. It was also illuminating to our study as he discussed gender roles among this ethnic group. In another study, Kay documented aspects of land-use in the Eastern Province. The study covered the period

⁸⁴ Scudder, *The Ecology of the Gwembe Tonga*, 74.

⁸⁵ Kenneth Vickery, ‘The Emergence of a Plateau Tonga Peasantry: Economic Change, 1890-1940’ in Chet Lancaster and Kenneth Vickery (eds.), *The Tonga Speaking Peoples of Zambia and Zimbabwe: Essays in Honour of Elizabeth Colson* (Lanham: University Press of America), 2009, 86-93.

⁸⁶ George Kay, *Chief Kalaba’s Village* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1964); William Allan, *The African Husbandman* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965); George Kay, *Changing Patterns of Settlement and Land-use in the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia* (Yorkshire: University of Hull, 1965) and John A. Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia, 1890 -1964* (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1968)

⁸⁷ George Kay, *Chief Kalaba’s Village*, 29-47.

stretching from 1895 to 1964. He argued that during and after World War Two, the Department of Agriculture introduced several simple but effective improvements in land husbandry. He noted that the first African peasant farming scheme established at Kawaza near Katete in 1948 was so successful that there was a lot of optimism that peasant farming schemes could be extended to the rest of Northern Rhodesia.⁸⁸ Unlike his work on the Ushi, in his work on eastern Zambia, he was silent on gender issues in agriculture among the eastern peoples. Our study investigated issues of gender in agricultural development in that region.

Allan described farming systems of the country's ethnic groups and the inauguration of African peasant farming schemes.⁸⁹ He was however silent on issues of gender in the farming activities of these ethnic groups and in the African farming schemes. Hellen gave a regional analysis of the economic exploitation of resources in all the provinces of colonial Zambia. He further made mention of the introduction of peasant farming schemes for Africans in the country after World War Two. He was, however silent on gender issues in the agricultural cycles of Zambia's ethnic groups and on gender participation in these schemes which our study explored into.⁹⁰ Though silent on gender issues, these three studies by Kay, Allan and Hellen gave us background information on the farming systems of the areas they studied.

Tembo's recent scholarship on the impact of the Second World War on Zambia, out-lined the genesis of the African farming schemes established after the war.⁹¹ Like the Geographers' works we have reviewed, he was silent on issues of gender in the schemes. The significance of his work lies in the fact that it provided us with information on the birth of these schemes and their goals.

Some scholars documented aspects of the impact of colonial rule on the farming systems of certain ethnic groups of Zambia. These included Mtisi, Chondoka,

⁸⁸ Kay, *Changing Patterns of Settlement and Land-use in the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia*, 44.

⁸⁹ William Allan, *The African Husbandman* (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965), 67-157.

⁹⁰ Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia*, 271.

⁹¹ Alfred Tembo, 'The Impact of the Second World War on Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), 1939-1953', PhD Thesis, University of Free State, 2016', 213-219.

Chabatama and Tembo.⁹² Mtisi documented aspects of the impact of colonial rule on the Ngoni of Chipata and the Nsenga of Petauke districts of eastern Zambia between 1900 and 1953. He was of the view that labour migration set into motion as a result of the introduction of taxation by the colonial state led to a distortion of gender roles in farming among the Ngoni of Chipata and the Nsenga of Petauke noting that in Petauke, the absence of men led to reduced cultivation and the resultant famine as heavy work in the gardens fell on men.⁹³ He also argued that Chipata and Petauke were among the districts from which men were conscripted to serve under the British flag during the First and Second World Wars. In consequence, these areas recorded decreased food production.⁹⁴ Chondoka documented issues of labour migration and rural transformation among the Senga of Chama, eastern Zambia. He pointed out the Senga country was among areas which were a reservoir of labour locally and externally. His argument was that the initiative to improve peasant production in Chama came from the returning labour migrants, who invested their money in it and that it was only then that the government came in with some assistance to help progressive farmers. He argued that the effect of labour migration was not detrimental on agriculture as concrete arrangements were made with kinsmen to look after their wives until they came back from labour migration.⁹⁵

Chabatama documented issues of peasant farming and food security among the peoples of North-Western Zambia from 1902-1964. Like Chondoka's scholarship on the Senga, he was also of the view that food security was assured in the absence of able-bodied men who had left their villages as labour migrants. He argued that in the Zambezi District of north-western Zambia, in the absence of men, labour migrants'

⁹³ Joseph Phillip Mtisi, 'The Economic Impact of Colonial Rule on Eastern Zambia, 1900-1953: The Experiences of Chipata and Petauke', PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1979; Yizenge A. Chondoka, 'Labour migration and Rural Transformation in Chama District, 1890-1964,' PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1992; Mebbiens C. Chabatama, 'Peasant Farming, the State and Food Security in North-Western Province of Zambia, 1902 - 1964,' PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1999; Alfred Tembo, 'The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia, 1895-1964. M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2010.

⁹⁴ Mtisi, 'The Economic Impact of Colonial Rule on Eastern Zambia, 1900-1953: The Experiences of Chipata and Petauke', 367.

⁹⁵ Chondoka, 'Labour migration and Rural Transformation in Chama District, 1890-1964,' 120-125.

wives and their children became responsible for their domestic food supply; they cleared and cultivated land, weeded and harvested their gardens.⁹⁶ Tembo's recent scholarship on the Nsenga contrasts with Mtisi's earlier work. Tembo outlined the relationship between the colonial state and African agriculture in the Chipata district of Northern Rhodesia from 1895-1964. He argued that labour migration traced its roots to the period around 1880 and that taxation did not constitute its original or indeed its only cause but acted as a push and pull factor in a process already in motion. Unlike Mtisi who saw labour migration as having a deleterious impact on harvests, Tembo contended that peasant farming wasn't undermined as the Chewa, Ngoni and Nsenga controlled the timing and length of the migrants' absence and African peasant farmers adopted strategies and sufficient able-bodied men remained home to continue with daily village activities.⁹⁷ The significance of these four works we have reviewed lies in the fact that they are important sources of information on how different scholars have debated the relationship between colonial policies and gender roles in farming. Our study investigated the impact of colonial policies on traditional gender roles in farming.

Like the rest of Africa, the 1970s and the period that followed saw a proliferation of literature on women in farming in Zambia. In most of these works, authors argued that women were generally undermined in Zambia's agricultural sector. Muntemba documented aspects of rural underdevelopment in Zambia's Kabwe rural district from 1850 to 1970.⁹⁸ Her major argument was that gender biases in the agricultural sector that started at the onset of colonialism were perpetuated even after the country became independent. She noted, for instance that there were no significant changes in biases in the extension service, in the type of courses offered to women and in women's access to loans.⁹⁹ Wright examined the connection between technology,

⁹⁶ Chabatama, 'Peasant Farming, the State and Food Security in North-Western Province of Zambia, 1902 – 1964,' 196-199.

⁹⁷ Tembo, 'The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia, 1895-1964,' 27-32.

⁹⁸ M. S. Muntemba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia Kabwe Rural District, 1850-1970', PhD Thesis, University of California, 1977

⁹⁹ Muntemba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia Kabwe Rural District, 1850-1970', 277-351.

marriage and women's work in the history of Mazabuka from 1900 to 1980. She argued that the comparatively strong position of Tonga women was undermined by the imposition of colonial rule and that by the 1950s, paternal power had become the ideal of Tonga men generally. She further noted that even after Zambia attained her independence, women continued to be side-lined in the agricultural sector.¹⁰⁰ Informed by oral and written sources, Hurlich profiled the status of women in Zambia.¹⁰¹ The core argument in her chapters on agriculture was that women were marginalized and suffered from gender discrimination in areas like extension, cooperatives and farmer training centres. Mboma documented aspects of women in agriculture in farming in Kalabo district of Western Province from 1906 to 1986 tracing the marginalization of women in Kalabo to colonialism.¹⁰² He contended that the agricultural changes that took place from 1964 to 1986 were more inclined to intensifying the exploitation of female labour than improving their conditions in production. Citing an example of the Home Economics Section set up in Kalabo after 1970 with the goal of conducting village courses, he lamented that the section tended not to give priority to solving problems faced by women in agricultural production but had bias to the aspect of inculcating nutritional knowledge among women. He pointed out that, "This approach was 'up-side' down because learning to cook food without the means to produce it was not helpful to village women."¹⁰³

These works reviewed above brought to the fore gender imbalances in the agricultural sector, a view that we also shared. They were, therefore important sources of information on the under-development that female farmers in Zambia went through during the period under study.

¹⁰⁰ Marcia Wright, 'Technology, Marriage and Women's Work in the History of Maize Growers in Mazabuka, Zambia: A Reconnaissance,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10, 1 (1983), 71-85.

¹⁰¹ See Susan Hurlich, 'Women in Zambia', Vols. I and II, reports prepared for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), June 1986.

¹⁰² Kafuba Mboma, 'The Changing Role of Women in Agriculture: A Case Study of Kalabo District, 1906-1986', M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1991.

¹⁰³ Mboma, 'The Changing Role of Women in Agriculture: A Case Study of Kalabo District, 1906-1986', 86.

We also benefited from Chipungu's study on the peasantry of Southern Province.¹⁰⁴ The book focused on the impact of technology and the role of state in the process of peasant differentiation. Of significance to our study was his analysis of the link between gender and extension services in the country. He shared our view that although major extension services were established during the post-colonial period, utilization of these facilities by women was hardly impressive.¹⁰⁵ Building on his analysis, we examined the extent to which issues of gender imbalances in agricultural extension were addressed not only in Southern Province but the rest of the country as well.

Another illuminating study was the work by Skjonsberg.¹⁰⁶ Based on oral interviews, she documented aspects of the day to day lives of inhabitants of Kefa Village in Chipata district of eastern Zambia in the 1980s. While acknowledging the fact that women suffered from biases in the extension service, she departed from scholarship which pointed to gender biases in acquiring farm loans. She contended that even among the men, there was discrimination based on class citing an interview in which her male respondent pointed out that it was only rich men that managed to get loans.¹⁰⁷ Based on her interviews, she also dismissed the notion that female labour in Africa contributed to agricultural out-put more than males. She stated that, "Contrary to findings elsewhere in Africa, in Kefa Village, women spent less time cultivating than did the men. It was the male villagers under 40 who contributed to male agricultural dominance."¹⁰⁸ This was an important study for our work as it brought out new views on gender power relations. It showed that discrimination was not only based on which sex one belonged to but also on which class in society one belonged to. Thus, the poor

¹⁰⁴ Samuel N. Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation In Zambia: A Case Study of the Southern Province, 1930-1986* (Lusaka: Historical Association Of Zambia, 1988)

¹⁰⁵ Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia: A Case Study of the Southern Province*, 155.

¹⁰⁶ Else Skjonsberg, *Changing an African Village: Kefa Speaks* (West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1989)

¹⁰⁷ Skjonsberg, *Changing an African Village: Kefa Speaks*, 43.

¹⁰⁸ Skjonsberg, *Changing an African Village: Kefa Speaks*, 210.

male peasant farmers in Kefa village felt it was the rich male peasant farmers in that village who had access to loans.

The publication by the Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD) also provided us with in-sight on the problems faced by female farmers in Zambia.¹⁰⁹ It was among a series of publications profiling the status of women in Southern Africa and initiatives being made to mainstream gender in development processes in the region. The core argument in the chapter on agriculture in Zambia was that women's productivity in agriculture was constrained by lack of access to productive resources like credit, improved technology, land and extension services – that there was generally a gender gap in these services.¹¹⁰ The significance of this chapter lies in the fact that it gave us in-sight on the bottlenecks that stood in the way of bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector which our study investigated into.

It has generally been argued that donor funded agricultural projects were more to the benefit of males than females. This view was held by Keller, Phiri and Milimo; Baser and Lesa; Munachonga and Glassmire in their chapters in a book edited by Wood et al.¹¹¹ Keller, Phiri and Milimo assessed the role played by women in the country's agricultural development from the pre-colonial period up to the late 1990s. They were of the view that prior to the advent of colonialism, women had access to productive resources and were therefore able to contribute effectively to the food self-sufficiency of their communities. With colonialism, they were relegated to an inferior status, a phenomenon prevalent even in post-colonial Zambia. Thus, in international projects, land allocation, extension and other services, women were marginalized.¹¹² Baser and Lesa evaluated the role played by women in the Lima project, a donor supported programme. They noted that the percentage of women participating in the Lima

¹⁰⁹ Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD), *Beyond Inequalities: Women in Zambia* (Lusaka: Zambia Agricultural Research Department, 1986)

¹¹⁰ ZARD, *Beyond Inequalities: Women in Zambia*, 23-25.

¹¹¹ Adrian Paul Wood, Stuart A. Kean, John J. Milimo and Dennis Michael Warren (eds.), *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia* (Iowa: Iowa University Press, 1990)

¹¹² Bonnie Keller, Elizabeth Chola Phiri and Mabel C. Milimo, "Women and Agricultural development," in Wood et al (eds.), *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia*, 241-262.

programme was substantially lower than men despite the fact that female-headed households represented about one third of all rural households in Zambia.¹¹³ With specific reference to aid agencies in the Eastern Province, Munachonga attempted to establish the extent to which the state conceptualized the role of women in development. She was of the view that women have, on the whole been marginalized. She stated that:

Despite evidence that many women are heading households and supporting their children and dependents in Eastern Province, development projects have continued to be geared towards the involvement of male heads of households. Even projects that have been supported by aid agencies have tended to exclude women.¹¹⁴

With specific reference to the Eastern Province Agricultural Development (EPAD), Glassmire shared Munachonga's sentiments. She argued that this project initiated in the province with the purpose of increasing agricultural productivity particularly among traditional farmers and subsistence farmers was gender biased. She lamented that in spite of the province containing a high number of female headed households, 95 % of contact farmers in the project in 1985 was male.¹¹⁵ The significance of these studies on women in donor supported agricultural projects was that they provided the basis for investigating the extent to which other donor supported agricultural projects catered for the needs of both sexes in the country. Our study investigated the extent to which donor funded projects catered for the needs of male and female farmers.

The starting point of our thesis was the publication by Moore and Vaughan.¹¹⁶ Based on oral and written sources, the authors conducted a longitudinal study on

¹¹³ Heather Baser and Rosemary Mwanga Lesa, 'Women in the Lima Programme', in Wood et al (eds.), *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia*, 541-553.

¹¹⁴ Heather Munachonga, 'Women, Rural Development and Aid Agencies', in Ackson M. Kanduza (ed.), *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia: Pre-Colonial to the 1980s* (Lusaka: Historical Association of Zambia, 1992), 174.

¹¹⁵ Glassmire, 'Gender Inequalities in Agricultural Development: A Case Study of the EPAD project in Eastern Province, Zambia', in Kanduza (ed.), *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia: Pre-Colonial to the 1980s*, 191.

¹¹⁶ Henrietta L. Moore and Megan Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees: Gender, Nutrition and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-1990* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1994)

aspects of gender, nutrition and agricultural change among the peoples of the Northern Province of Zambia. The book was of significance to our study as the authors did not focus on either of the sexes but examined in detail roles played by both sexes in the agricultural history of the Northern Province. We, therefore related gender issues in the area to other ethnic groups. We also filled in gaps which the authors did not examine like issues of gender in agricultural education. While they acknowledged the fact that there was no mention of the role played by women in the agricultural schemes set up under the ten-year development plan of 1947 to 1957, they did not describe the efforts made by the Government of the Republic of Zambia to address issues of gender in agricultural education.¹¹⁷ Our study endeavoured to investigate the extent to which the government of independent Zambia attempted to bridge gender imbalances in the agricultural education in the whole country.

Our study also benefited from publications of the Ministry of Agriculture. In particular, we got a lot of information from the *Farming in Zambia Journal*. The articles in the Journal were written by then employees of the Ministry of Agriculture. The Journal had a lot of articles that discussed issues to do with men and women in farming. Similarly, we utilized a series of Handbooks published by the Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development in 1983 which dealt with issues to do with the Extension Branch. It gave us insight on issues to do with men and women in the Extension Service.

As demonstrated, a lot has been written about gender in agricultural development in different parts of the world. Studies have been under-taken in other countries on male-female relationships in agricultural-related activities. However, a review of literature on Zambia's agricultural history reveals the absence of a comprehensive document on gender relations in agricultural-related activities. Surveyed literature has indicated that like in Zambia, ethnic groups of several other countries observed a rigid division of roles in farming based on sex. It has also been demonstrated, from various documents reviewed that the gender gap in resources in Zambia was also recorded in other developing countries. Arguments in these works

¹¹⁷ Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees: Gender, Nutrition and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890-1990*, 121,

were related to the Zambian context. Works on specific ethnic groups of Zambia's farming communities were illuminating to this study as they gave us background information on the roles played by men and women in farming in these communities. While some works exist on gender in farming activities among specific ethnic groups of Zambia, no comprehensive piece of work examines gender relations in the country as a whole. Our study is a quest to provide an integrated study on gender in agricultural development in Zambia.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This study draws its conceptual framework based on scholarship on gender in agricultural development in the developing world. The scholarship arose especially after 1970 when Boserup published the pioneering study on the important roles played by women in the economic development of the developing world arguing that women played a cardinal role in the agricultural development of such economies.¹¹⁸ Scholars in this school grappled with the question of the gender gap in the agricultural development of developing economies. They viewed the agricultural sectors of developing countries as possessing a gender gap with males dominating and females being on the inferior side. To them, colonial and post-colonial state policy was insensitive to issues of gender in agricultural development.

For the purpose of our study, we adopted the descriptions of 'gender' by the World Health Organisation (WHO), Quisumbing et al and the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO). WHO defines gender as, "the characteristics, roles and responsibilities of women and men, boys and girls which are socially constructed."¹¹⁹ WHO further states that gender is related to how we are perceived and expected to think and act as women and men because of the way society is organised, not because of our biological definition. Building on the WHO description of the term 'gender', we argued in our study that gender roles and relations in Zambian societies were determined by the

¹¹⁸ Ester Boserup, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1970). We made reference to this important publication in our Historiography section.

¹¹⁹ From: <http://www.genderandhealth.ca> (Accessed 15/9/2010).

way those societies were organised. Every society had its own norms and it was upon those norms that gender roles and relations developed.

Quisumbing et al use the term, ‘gender’ to refer to the social roles and identities associated with what it means to be a man or woman in a given society or context.¹²⁰ They further note that because gender roles are socially rather than biologically determined, they are fluid and subject to change based on changing norms, resources, policies and contexts. In our study, we argued that gender roles among Zambia’s ethnic groups were fluid and therefore changed over time. Because of the policies put in place by successive governments in power, there was a change in the traditional gender roles.

FAO defines gender as, “the relations between men and women, both perceptual and material.”¹²¹ FAO further argues that, gender issues focus on women and on the relationship between men and women, their roles, access to and control over resources, division of labour, interests and needs. Building on this FAO definition, we discussed, in our study, issues like relationships between male extension agents and female farmers in which female farmers were over-looked by male extension agents. We also examined division of labour in the farming communities of the country and most importantly how the limited access to resources by female farmers was an important factor in the failure by them to fully participate in the country’s agricultural development.

We conceptualised, in our study that during the period under study, the prosperity of Zambia’s agricultural sector depended on the maximum in-put of both sexes in farming, the availability of resources to both sexes and gender sensitive government policies. The advent of colonialism saw gender roles in farming being distorted due to policies put in place by the BSAC and the Crown government. When African agriculture began to be promoted, female farmers were marginalised. Without the maximum participation of both sexes in the country’s agricultural development,

¹²⁰ Agnes R. Quisumbing; Ruth Meizen-Dick; Terri L. Raney; Andre Croppenstedt; Julia A. Behrman and Amber Peterman (eds.), “Closing the Knowledge Gap on Gender in Agriculture” in Quisumbing et al (eds.), *Gender in Agriculture: Closing the Knowledge Gap* (Rome: FAO, 2014), 6.

¹²¹ From: <http://www.fao.org>. (Accessed 15/9/2010).

agricultural prosperity was not guaranteed. That both sexes were needed to ensure development of the agricultural sector was re-affirmed by Hellen when he argued that, “reserve pools of labour in Zambia have been increasingly tapped by white employers to bring more Africans into the money economy and to heighten the relative stagnation of rural areas.”¹²² This statement shows that the absence of either of the sexes implied stagnation and not prosperity.

Worse still, women in Zambian farming communities did not have as much access to resources as men. Consequently, even when they desired to play active roles in the country’s agricultural development, they were constrained by this limited access to resources. Although gender sensitive government policies were a crucial factor in determining the prosperity of Zambia’s agricultural sector, for the most part, colonial and government policies did not take gender into account. Most policies favoured males as opposed to females. This is what prompted FAO to publish the Quisumbing et al edited *Gender in Agriculture: Closing the Knowledge Gap* book as a way of encouraging policy makers to bridge this gap in agricultural knowledge between men and women in the developing world.¹²³ In our study, we sought to establish the extent to which successive governments in power attempted to bridge the gender gap in Zambia’s agricultural sector.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Data Collection

We utilised primary and secondary sources of information. Secondary sources of information were obtained from various institutions. At the University of Zambia, we accessed secondary information from the main library, the Gender Studies Department library, the School of Agriculture and the Institute of Economic and Social Research. We also obtained secondary information from the Zambia Agricultural Research Institute (ZARI), formerly Mount Makulu Central Research Station. We were also

¹²² Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia*, 97.

¹²³ We reviewed this book in our *Historiography* section.

privileged to have access to the personal library of Mr Namukolo Mukutu, a former Extension Officer and retired Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture. At the University of Zambia, the major documents we consulted were published books and Journals. They gave us information on different aspects not only on Zambia's agricultural history but the agricultural histories of the rest of the globe. Most of the books on Zambia were limited in scope as they did not dwell so much on issues of gender in agricultural development. We filled in this gap through consulting a Journal published by the Ministry of Agriculture, that is, *Farming in Zambia* though a number of issues were not available in the university library. Luckily, we accessed most of the issues from Mr. Mukutu's library. The articles in the Journal were written by employees of the Ministry of Agriculture who recorded events as they happened then. Therefore, we were able to get first-hand information on Zambia's post-independence agricultural history from them. In Mr. Mukutu's library, we also utilised other secondary sources of information like *Agricultural Handbooks* published by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1983. We obtained valuable information on agricultural extension services in post-colonial Zambia from the handbooks. In UNZA main library, we also utilised a few copies of the *African Affairs* Journal. The issues of the mid-1950s gave us vital information on issues of gender and agricultural education in colonial Zambia. There were a few edited books which gave us valuable information on issues of gender in agricultural development. These included the Wood et al edited, *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia* and the Kanduza edited, *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia: Pre-Colonial to the 1980s*. Of benefit to us were recent publications by the Food and Agricultural Organisation enabling us to be enlightened on recent debates on issues of gender in agricultural development.

We also consulted unpublished Masters Dissertations and PhD Theses. These gave us vital information especially on the agricultural histories of specific ethnic groups in the country. We also consulted some colonial reports like the *Pim Commission* Report and the *Ten-Year Development Plan, 1947-1957* which gave us first-hand information on the post-Second World War development of African agriculture. At the Gender Studies Department, we consulted books focusing not only on gender issues in Zambia's agricultural development but the rest of the globe as well.

We were able to access some secondary information on-line like a recently introduced Journal, *Journal of Gender and Agriculture* and the *Gender in Agriculture Source-book* and a few other articles. These documents gave us in-sights on recent debates on issues of gender in agricultural development across the world.

Our study rested heavily upon primary sources of information. We obtained these from the University of Zambia library, INESOR, NAZ and the ZARI. A greater part of our research was conducted at ZARI. It is a depository of Annual Reports of the Ministry of Agriculture from all provinces and other miscellaneous reports. There, we consulted Annual Reports of the Ministry of African Agriculture (Northern Rhodesia), Annual Reports of Zambia's Ministry of Agriculture, Annual Reports of the Research Branch, Regional Agricultural Officers' reports, Provincial Agricultural Officers' Reports and other miscellaneous reports. These reports gave us first-hand information on issues to do with the important roles played by men and women in the country's agricultural development. The National Archives of Zambia was a valuable source of information on Zambia's colonial and early post-colonial history. There, we consulted District Note-books, miscellaneous reports and other library collections. We also consulted the *Mutende Newspaper*, a colonial newspaper on various aspects of Zambia's agricultural development. Disappointingly, we could not access some files we requested for as they could not be located despite having used some of them during our Master of Arts research in 1999. Both INESOR and the University of Zambia main library were important sources of primary sources of information. In the Special Collections Section of the University of Zambia library, in particular we made use of *Women's Collections*, a collection of papers written by female scholars on aspects to do with women in farming. Such collections included articles by Maud Muntemba, Dorothy Muntemba and Bonnie Keller.

We also accessed reports of the Adaptive Research Planning Team (ARPT). This was a team that was constituted at Mount Makulu Research Station in 1980 primarily to address the needs of small-scale farmers through conducting adaptive research on their farms. We accessed the team's reports from a data base availed to us by a former team leader and former Chief Agricultural Research Officer of Mount

Makulu Central Research Station. We were able to access not only reports of ARPT but other miscellaneous reports and conference papers from the data base

Oral Interviews

Apart from secondary data, our research also benefited from oral testimonies. While oral history may not be a very reliable method of historical research, it has its own advantages. Oral interviews may be used to correct the written record and to give voice to what is left out of the archival record.¹²⁴ Used cautiously, oral testimonies complement written records well. We used oral interviews to elicit information from serving and retired professionals in the Ministry of Agriculture. These included serving District Agricultural Coordinators (DACOs); former students of agricultural colleges and the University of Zambia, School of Agriculture; Lecturers in the School of Agricultural Sciences, UNZA; a retired Extension Officer and Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture; former employees of Mount Makulu Central Research station and former female Extension Officers. We benefited from interviews with former employees of the Ministry of Agriculture as they gave us first-hand information on their experiences as professionals in the Ministry of Agriculture. We were privileged to interview a former Permanent Secretary who contributed articles to the *Farming in Zambia* Journal while serving as Extension Officer in the 1970s. We also interviewed the former CARO of Mount Makulu Central Research Station and team leader of ARPT who also wrote a lot of articles on the work of ARPT while serving in the Ministry of Agriculture. A former Chemist, Mount Makulu Research Station and former Deputy Director, Research in the Ministry of Agriculture also gave us insights on issues of gender in agriculture in the Ministry of Agriculture. We also interviewed peasant farmers in Mazabuka and Monze and two former peasant farmers from the Luapula and Eastern Provinces respectively. They provided us with information on challenges they faced as farmers. Interviews with female peasant farmers, in particular were valuable as there was a lack of voices from female peasant farmers in written records. We are in agreement with Hadfield that some information from female villagers can only be obtained through oral interviews. During her research on the Black Consciousness

¹²⁴ Luise White, "Writing the History of Africa after 1960: Hodgepodge Historiography, Itineraries, and the Absence of Archives", *History in Africa* 42, (2015), 316.

Black Community Programs (BCP) in the Eastern Cape, she observed that the voices of female village women were missing in written documents. She stated that:

I knew that to understand the impact its projects had on individuals and communities, I would need to conduct interviews with people whose perspectives would not have featured in archives – such as village women whose reflections are often left out or overlooked in written historical record.”¹²⁵

Indeed, we also had challenges obtaining voices of female villagers from the archives we visited.

Interviews with peasant farmers were in their local languages (using interpreters where we could not communicate effectively). For the others, English was the medium of communication. As we conducted the oral interviews, we were weary of the fact that oral history has its own pitfalls. Among the pitfalls is that the transmission of oral information depends on the power memories of respondents. Vansina pointed out that, “Eyewitness accounts are only partly reliable Events and situations are forgotten when irrelevant or inconvenient.”¹²⁶ Indeed, some respondents stated that they could not remember certain events as they deemed them as not being of importance. Consequently, we had to corroborate some information from oral interviews with other respondents or documents before taking them as facts. We are in agreement with Hadfield’s view that, “Oral sources should be used without accepting them blindly or wholly dismantling their integrity.”¹²⁷ All the interviews were unstructured.

Data Analysis

Both primary and secondary sources of information were analysed qualitatively. Information obtained from oral interviews was used for the purpose of supplementing written sources.

¹²⁵ Leslie Anne Hadfield, “Can we believe stories about Biko? Oral Sources, Meaning, and Emotion in South African Struggle History”, *History in Africa* 42 (2015), 244.

¹²⁶ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 5-8.

¹²⁷ Hadfield, “Can we believe stories about Biko? Oral Sources, Meaning, and Emotion in South African Struggle History”, 26.

CHAPTER TWO: IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES ON GENDER ROLES IN AGRICULTURE, 1890 – 1945

Introduction

After Zambia fell under the rule of the British South Africa Company, women as food producers faced a lot of challenges as production, for the most part fell into their hands. This was as a result of some policies formulated by the company which distorted gender roles in farming. They faced similar challenges even during British Colonial Office rule. When the Colonial Office took over the administration of the territory, like its predecessor, it also formulated some policies that had adverse effects on traditional gender roles in farming. Because of these policies that ranged from political to socio-economic, women were forced to assume farming roles previously regarded as a male preserve. It is against this background that this chapter examines the extent to which policies formulated by these two administrations impacted on gender roles in farming among the country's ethnic groups. It is argued, in this chapter that during its rule, BSAC introduced taxation into the territory and banned the 'chitemene' farming practice. We argue that when the British Colonial Office took over the administration of the country, it formulated policies like the creation of Native Reserves and the recruitment of African men to fight under the British flag during the two world wars. It is contended that the ban on 'chitemene' signaled the collapse of an age-old practice based on well- defined gender farming roles. We further argue that as a result of taxation and its 'twin', labour migration, the creation of Native Reserves (which led men into migrating in search of fertile areas) and the two world wars, the countryside was deprived of able-bodied men. Ultimately, females assumed male roles in farming. Using collaborative evidence from reports, it is argued that because of these policies slow but radical change in the traditional division of labour was stimulated. It is contended that by the end of World War Two, policies introduced into the country had disrupted whatever reciprocal division of labour had hitherto existed.

Taxation and Labour Migration, 1900-1945

The introduction of tax payments into the territory negatively impacted on gender roles in farming. Native taxation was introduced in North-Eastern Rhodesia in 1900. In North-Western Rhodesia, it was authorized a year later but delayed at Cecil Rhodes's request till the administration was established.¹ It was fixed at One Pound per year in North-Western Rhodesia in 1902.² In a bid to raise money to fulfill their tax obligations, therefore, the men-folk of the territory had no choice but to embark on long journeys in pursuit of job opportunities. The majority of the early migrations were out of the territory to the mines of Southern Rhodesia, Katanga and South Africa. There was a dire need for labourers on the mines of Southern Rhodesia as there was hesitance on the part of the local inhabitants of Southern Rhodesia to work on the mines. In consequence, recruiters looked to Northern Rhodesia to solve their labour problems. By 1900, a number of labourers had been recruited from North-Eastern Rhodesia to work on the Transvaal mines. Later on, some were recruited to work on the settler farms. By 1911, organized recruiting under defined regulations and conditions had begun.

Taxation: A Trigger for Labour Migration?

We contend that the focus of policies to uproot men from rural African economies throughout Zambia through tax imposed on men implied that rural economic reproduction fell on women. There was a debate on the extent to which taxation acted as a trigger for labour migration. In 1938, the Pim Commission appointed to inquire into the financial and economic position of Northern Rhodesia released its findings.³ While pointing out that taxation was a major impetus for labour migration, the Commission, also observed that apart from taxation, there were other overriding factors

¹ Before 1911, Zambia (Northern Rhodesia, then) was administered as two separate territories, that is, North-Eastern Rhodesia and North-Western Rhodesia. North-Eastern Rhodesia was composed of the Copperbelt, Eastern, Luapula and the Northern Provinces while North-Western Rhodesia was composed of Central, Southern, Barotse (now known as Western Province) and North-Western Provinces. The two were amalgamated in 1911 and began to be administered centrally as the territory of Northern Rhodesia.

² NAZ, HC 1/2/4. Letter from Cox to the Secretary, BSAC, 17th December, 1902.

³ See *Pim Commission: Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the Financial and Economic Position of Northern Rhodesia* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938)

leading to labour migration. In some areas, especially, the Northern Province the view was fairly general that taxation was still, at the time of submission of the Commission's findings, the main cause of emigration. In other areas such as Eastern Province, it was considered that taxation, while still very important was outweighed by other factors. These included the desire for adventure, effort to escape tribal obligations as well as the desire to escape from the monotony of village life. The desire to earn money to meet new wants or to buy luxuries, the lack of local employment and low rate local wages were cited as other reasons for the migrations.⁴ The *Pim Commission*, in its findings, made reference to a questionnaire that was circulated in selected provinces of the country. In response to the questionnaire, a majority of those consulted in the Northern Province regarded tax as the chief cause of exodus. Responses to the questionnaire further indicated that in the Eastern Province, opinion was more divided although tax was generally regarded as an important cause. In Barotseland, there was support for the view that tax was the main cause of going out. In its final submissions, the Commission concluded that taxation was the major cause of the migrations. The Commission argued that:

Whatever view may be held on the degree of importance of the various causes of emigration, it is certain that unless a large percentage of the male population went out for work, the natives could not, under present conditions meet their tax obligations in outlying districts.⁵

Hellen disputed the fact that taxation was the primary cause of the migrations. His observation was that taxation just accelerated the process of labour migration which had begun before the imposition of colonial rule. He noted that from an early stage in Zambia, there was reluctance on the part of Africans to work on white farms and preferred the often longer journey to the railway area. To give credence to this viewpoint, he argued that reluctance to work on white farms was understandable because land work was dominantly women's labour.⁶ A Ngoni-land utilization survey

⁴ *Pim Commission*, 39.

⁵ *Pim Commission*, 120.

⁶ John Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia, 1890 – 1964* (London: C. Hurst and Company, 1968), 95.

report pointed to the increase in poll tax in Ngoni-land from 5s to 10s in 1920 as being an important factor in labour migration from the Ngoni-land.⁷ In the same report, however, Orde-Brown maintained that the influence of tax on the rate of labour migrations was “ephemeral only”. Van Onselen contended that it was taxation that triggered labour migrations. His argument was that during the early years of reconstruction, BSAC put severe pressure on the Northern Rhodesian peasantry to pay tax. He cited the company’s minutes of 1904 which described how the police raided villages of ‘tax defaulters’ in Northern-Western Rhodesia, burning homes, crops and grain stores of those Africans who did not have the necessary cash.⁸ He lamented that these harsh conditions were designed to turn the peasants rapidly into proletarians and to force them to earn cash at the largest labour market close by, that is, the Rhodesian mines. Gann was of the view that the need to earn tax money was one of the most important incentives to induce Africans to take up paid employment. He argued that tax was paid both in cash and kind but due to the non-existence of markets for tax stock, grain or poultry, the administration became averse to accepting such unsalable commodities. Ultimately, the company stopped accepting tax payments in kind throughout Northern Rhodesia in 1905.⁹ His views were echoed by Chondoka who argued that the fact that men began migrating from the north-eastern part of Northern Rhodesia to other countries did not mean there were no employment opportunities in the region. He noted that employment opportunities were there except the men were paying in kind, a kind of payment which was withdrawn as it wasn’t helping nascent capitalist enterprises.¹⁰ Meebelo noted that of the many factors in the colonial situation which caused the people of the Northern Province constant disquiet, forced labour and taxation seemed to have been the most potent and irritating. He pointed out that:

⁷ NRG., Department of Agriculture, *Ngoni-land Utilisation Survey, 1954-1955* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1956), 44.

⁸ Charles Van Onselen, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia* (London: Pluto Press, 1976), 106.

⁹ L.H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 77-83.

¹⁰ Yizenge A. Chondoka, ‘Government Technical Assistance to African Farmers in Mazabuka District, 1924–1954’, in Maud Shimwayi Muntamba (ed.), *Zambian Land and Labour Studies IV*, University of Zambia, Occasional Paper Number One, 1983, 38.

The imposition of hut tax in 1901 on the people of the Northern Province together with the activities of recruiting agents ushered in an era of labour migration unknown during the province's two decades and it appeared as if the administration had achieved its objective of galvanizing the supposedly indolent and indulgent African male population into taking up paid employment in white farming and industrial centres.¹¹

To him, therefore, it was the introduction of taxation in the territory that was a primary cause of the migrations.

This then was the debate on the extent to which the imposition of taxation in the territory triggered migrations of men to different areas in search of jobs that would enable them to earn money to pay tax. We are in contention with scholars that saw tax obligations as being the primary impetus for labour migration. The need for money to pay tax as an impetus for labour migration was expressed in testimonies in the Luapula Province. One respondent recounted that:

Old people told us our people did not seek work in far away places of their own accord, but were forced to do so. They were rounded up in their villages. Those who had not paid tax were forced to go whether they liked it or not. Those who defaulted on their tax were escorted to the Boma by messengers carrying guns.¹²

A letter to the District Commissioner, Mwinilunga from the Native Commissioner, Kafue read in part:

I think the right moment has come to allow a reliable recruiter to enter the district – the people have got to get money for their tax. I have spoken to the natives on the subject All express determination to work on the mine.¹³

¹¹ Henry S. Meebelo, *Reaction to Colonialism: A Prelude to the Politics of Independence in Northern Rhodesia, 1893 – 1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), 88

¹² M. C. Musambachime (ed.), *The Oral History of Mansa* (M. C. Musambachime, 1996), p.85. This edited book is a collection of interviews conducted by researchers in 1974 in Mansa, Luapula Province and edited by the author. The quote here referred to was from an interview conducted on 24th April, 1974 at Chief Mabumba's Palace.

¹³ NAZ, A2/1/4, From Native Commissioner, Kafue to District Commissioner, Kasempa, 25th February, 1914.

In correspondence between the District Commissioners of Kafue and Kasempa, the District Commissioner of Kafue justified a uniform tax rate of 10/- in 1911 thus:

With the opportunities which are offered to them of obtaining employment on the mines, railway, farms, and by the RNLB, the natives have ample chance of earning more than enough to pay such a tax and a strong inducement to work is provided by the imposition of tax.¹⁴

These quotations are significant in understanding the extent to which the introduction of tax in Zambia induced migrations of able-bodied men to employment centres both within and outside the territory. Ultimately, farming activities fell into the hands of women.

In the 1920s, copper was discovered in Ndola on the Copperbelt Province. As a consequence, Zambian menfolk began flocking to the area in search of jobs. Phiri argued that Governors of Northern Rhodesia were increasingly under pressure to ensure that both settler farmers and the mining industry were not starved of African labour.¹⁵ His contention was that, to encourage economic development, the Northern Rhodesian Government attempted to mollify both the mine owners and the settlers by providing them with sufficiently cheap and controllable labour.¹⁶ By the mid-1920s, mining ventures in the territory had attracted a large number of natives. Though recruitment for Southern Rhodesia dropped to 308 in 1926, it was reported that:

Despite the slump in recruiting by the agencies, there is an ever increasing number of natives who proceed to the various labour centres. The various mining ventures in the Ndola, Mkushi and Broken hill districts absorb the majority of these but Tanganyika territory and the Congo are also popular.¹⁷

¹⁴ NAZ A2/1/4, From District Commissioner, Kafue to District Commissioner, Kasempa, 11th June, 1911.

¹⁵ B. J. Phiri, 'The Capricorn African Society: A Study of Liberal Politics in Northern Rhodesia, Zambia, 1949 – 1972', PhD Thesis, Dalhousie University, 1991, 21.

¹⁶ Phiri, 'The Capricorn African Society', 24.

¹⁷ NAZ, Kasama District Note-book, Volume I.

In 1928, during district travelling, it was found that an average 45-50% of the taxable males were away at work away from home in Chinsali district.¹⁸ In Kasama, in 1931 some 3000 natives found work in the mining centres in North-Western Rhodesia.¹⁹ By 1945, out of an adult male population of some 275, 000, some 106, 000 were employed as wage earners inside the territory and 61,000 outside the territory, the great majority in Southern Rhodesia.²⁰

Certainly, taxation played a primary role in the migration en masse of the menfolk from their villages to employment centres. Evidence presented above has unequivocally suggested that most of the migrations from rural areas were tax induced. We are in agreement with Oddo who conceptualises that although migration is a widespread phenomenon, hardly any people migrate simply because they want to migrate. Conceptualising the causes of migrations, she pointed out that, “It is a symptom of many underlying causes that affect an individual and a community. While the causes of migrating are complex, they can be summed up as limited resources and personal dissatisfaction.”²¹ We contend, in this case that the menfolk embarked on long journeys from their villages in Northern Rhodesia to employment centres because they had limited resources to meet tax obligations and in certain cases, they were dissatisfied with high tax and therefore opted to move to areas where tax was lower. We argue that the British South Africa Company policy of introducing tax and the subsequent migrations of the menfolk in their recourse to earn money to pay tax had a negative impact on gender roles in agriculture. In the absence of the menfolk, agricultural roles previously performed by men were assumed by women. This entailed the distortion of traditional gender roles. Ultimately, yields in agriculture became low.

¹⁸ NAZ, Chinsali District Note-book, Volume I.

¹⁹ NAZ, Kasama District Note-book Volume I.

²⁰ NRG, C. F. Clay, *Memorandum on Post-War Development Planning in Northern Rhodesia* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1945), 7.

²¹ Christine Obbo, *African Women: Their Struggle for Economic Independence* (London: Zed Press, 1980), 70.

Some students of food security issues argue that the absence of energetic men did not significantly impact on harvests of some ethnic groups. They contend that in such ethnic groups, in the absence of the menfolk, measures were put in place to mitigate hunger, hence assuring food security. Our argument is that putting such measures in place meant altering the whole fabric of these rural societies. While food security was assured, gender roles in agriculture were distorted. Ultimately, the capacity to produce was adversely affected due to a reduction in labour resources. Our study is not concerned with food security but rather with gender roles in agriculture. We, therefore, will not dwell a lot on how issues of food security were addressed in the absence of the menfolk. We will, however, briefly discuss these issues in order to give credence to our argument that labour migration distorted gender roles in agriculture.

Labour migration and its impact on gender roles in farming: Historiographical issues

There were regional differences in how the absence of the menfolk impacted on gender roles in the traditional agricultural cycles. The impact depended on the nature of the social structure and the degree of reliance on male labour. Scholars like Colson and Watson argue that in some agrarian communities of Zambia, measures were put in place to mitigate hunger in the wake of the migration en masse of able-bodied men.²² Therefore, in such communities the impact of their absence was not felt and food security was guaranteed. Such societies include the Tonga, Mambwe and Ngoni farming communities. Colson and Vickery contended that the peasantry of the Southern Province had successful agricultural cycles in spite of having a large number of male migrants.²³ Their argument was that going to work did not involve great separation from family and kinsmen as the farms, railways, and various government projects

²² See, for instance, E. Colson, *Marriage and Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), 68 and William Watson, 'The Social Structure of the Mambwe of Northern Rhodesia', PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 1954, 38-59.

²³ Colson, *Marriage and Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*, 68; Kenneth Powers Vickery, 'The Making of a Peasantry: Imperialism and the Tonga Plateau Economy, 1890-1936', PhD Thesis, Yale University, 1978, 406; Vickery, 'The Emergence of a Plateau Tonga Peasantry: Economic Change, 1890-1940', in Chet Lancaster and Kenneth Vickery (eds.), *The Tonga Speaking Peoples of Zambia and Zimbabwe: Essays in Honour of Elizabeth Colson* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2007), 89; Vickery, "Aspects of Plateau Tonga Economic History", paper presented at History Department seminar, University of Zambia, 10th January, 1974.

provided a labour market close to the Tonga villages. Therefore, the migrants regularly returned to the villages at which time they could perform any particular strenuous task. Watson, Marks and Unterhalter documenting the history of the Mambwe and Lungu viewed these two ethnic groups that were patrilineal in descent as not having been significantly affected by labour migration.²⁴ They argued that Mambwe and Lungu men had fixed virilocal villages in which they had land rights. Therefore, in their absence, their interests were taken care of by their relatives. Watson's argument was that co-operation in production and consumption within the village unit was the fundamental pre-requisite of the system of migrant labour and therefore, a man's wife could take her place in the co-operative work parties and ensure the cultivation of her absent husband's fields.²⁵ Marks and Unterhalter were of the view that among the Mambwe, male and female roles in agriculture were not greatly differentiated because the non-intensive cassava was the main crop.²⁶ In such societies, it was by complementing and coordinating each other that men and women performed agricultural tasks. Ultimately, rural productivity was not necessarily impaired by labour migration.

Scholarship on the Eastern Province holds it that the withdrawal of males from the region did not undermine peasant farming.²⁷ Chondoka asserted that the Senga developed strategies for the effective utilisation of labour resources which included changes in gender roles in the family. Commenting on measures put in place to avert crises, he argued that:

In the absence of their husbands, wives of labour migrants became temporary heads of their families and assumed some of the economic roles previously performed by their husbands. This meant that in addition to

²⁴ William Watson, 'The Social Structure of the Mambwe of Northern Rhodesia', PhD Thesis, University of Manchester, 1954, 38-59. See also Shula Marks and E. Unterhalter, 'Women and the Migrant Labour System in Southern Africa', in UNO/ECA (eds.), *Migratory Labour in Southern Africa* (Lusaka: UNO (ECA), 1978), 597-611.

²⁵ Watson, 'The Social Structure of the Mambwe of Northern Rhodesia', 59.

²⁶ Marks and Unterhalter, 'Women and the Migrant Labour System in Southern Africa', 603.

²⁷ Yizenge Chondoka, 'Labour Migration and Rural Transformation in Chama, North-Eastern Rhodesia', 1890 -1964, PhD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1992 and Alfred Tembo, 'The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia, 1895 – 1964', M. A. Dissertation. University of Zambia, 2010.

their traditional chores, women took up non-female responsibilities, not only as a response to out-migration but also as a strategy to cope with the physical loss of the adult population in the community.²⁸

There is a paradox on how the impact of labour migration on the agricultural systems of the Ngoni, Chewa and Nsenga ethnic groups of the Eastern Province has been interpreted. Zgambo's scholarship on these ethnic groups was in sharp contrast with Tembo's recent scholarship. Zgambo pointed to three variables as determining the adaptability of the rural community in the absence of male labour; the degree of control the community was able to exert over the timing and length of the migrants' absence, the quantity and frequency of incomes transferred from wage labour and finally the type and efficiency of the existing co-operation in the community that helped it adapt favourably to the absence of migrants. His argument was that in Chipata and Petauke districts, neither of the above variables worked so as not to disrupt the traditional socio-economic order. He was of the view that Chewa, Ngoni and Nsenga communities had no mechanism of controlling the timing and length of the migrants' absence. Many migrants, he noted left their areas at almost the same periods and stayed in labour markets for periods preferred by the individual employee and employer. To him, withdrawal of one major factor of production, that is, labour deprived traditional agriculture of the potential basis for development and women whose husbands were away had too many tasks to cope with as traditional tasks came under them. Ultimately, the productive capacity of the family units in the area was reduced.²⁹ Tembo was of the opposite view noting that the temporal withdrawal of male labour did not undermine peasant farming among the Chewa, Ngoni and Nsenga as the timing and length of the migrants' absence was controlled. He argued that they carefully deployed their labour force on both fronts, that is wage employment and the traditional economy. He was also of the view that patrilineal villages like the Ngoni were better able to cope with labour migration because their villages were organised on cores of related male relatives and

²⁸ Chondoka, 'Labour Migration and Rural Transformation in Chama, North-Eastern Rhodesia', 1890 - 1964, 100.

²⁹ L. H. Zgambo, 'Workers' Responses to conditions on the settler farms of the Eastern Province, 1898-1904', in Kanduza, *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia: Pre-Colonial to the 1980s*, 88-93.

thus had a stability and solidarity missing from matrilineal societies.³⁰ Later in the chapter, we will re-examine their arguments in view of the findings of our study.

North-Western Zambia was, like many other areas of the country, a labour reservoir for the expanding mining economy of the territory and other territories across the borders. While acknowledging the fact that north-western districts were subjected to more intensive recruitment after 1924, Chabatama was quick to point out that in spite of the high male labour migration, peasant households in most parts of the province had sufficient food between 1924 and 1930. He noted that wives and children of labour migrants grew and acquired enough food to live on and were also assisted by their relatives. They successfully assumed agricultural roles previously performed by the menfolk.³¹ Therefore, labour migration did not have serious repercussions on the agricultural cycles of these north-western peoples.

These, then were the views held by scholars who saw labour migration as not negatively impacting on the farming systems of certain ethnic groups, especially those that were patrilineal in descent. Later, in this section we re-examine the above historiographical issues in the light of the findings of our study. We share a similar view with those who argue that the policies by colonial officials which triggered labour migration from the rural areas created vulnerability of rural areas as food production systems were negatively affected. We contend that in these societies, food security was guaranteed at the expense of altering traditional gender roles in farming. Without altering gender roles in farming, food security was not going to be guaranteed.

Labour Migration: Its detrimental impact on gender roles in agriculture

Farming systems (patterns) can change profoundly and quickly and Zambia provides an excellent example of how farming systems have changed Demographic and socio-economic changes, particularly the development of the mining industry and the consequent male migration

³⁰ Alfred Tembo, 'The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia, 1895-1964', M. A. Dissertation. University of Zambia, 2010, 25-27.

³¹ Chabatama, 'Peasant Farming, the State and Food Security in North-Western Province of Zambia, 1902 – 1964', 196 – 197.

from rural areas have had a major impact on the traditional gender pattern of farming.³²

We are in agreement with these views expressed by Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling. Diversified changes began to be seen in the farming patterns of Zambia with the imposition of colonialism. The continued sapping of labour force from Zambia was fraught with great dangers. We argue that the prolonged absence of a large population of able-bodied men distorted the agricultural cycles of many ethnic groups. This view was expressed by an Assistant Agriculturalist in 1929 when he lamented that:

It is becoming more and more evident that the exodus of youths and men from the villages, consequent upon the greatly increased demands for labour is having a serious effect upon native agriculture. Although the major portion of the cultivation of crops has always fallen upon the women, the men have been responsible for the work.³³

His statement showed the importance that was attached to labour practices based on gender in the traditional farming systems of the country. Clearly, although most of the cultivation was done by women, a greater part of the initial work on the land was done by men. Therefore, although measures were put in place to avert crises, it was to the detriment of the traditional gender roles. When females assumed labour roles in agriculture previously reserved for males, the fabric of the traditional agrarian societies was threatened. Commenting on the impact of labour migration on Zambia's countryside, Hellen stated that the prolonged absence of an unduly large population of the able-bodied men led to insufficient cultivation and consequent shortage in food supply.³⁴

In the Central and Northern Provinces, some 40-50% of the adult males were estimated to be normally absent from their homes in Serenje, Fort Rosebery (Mansa), Kawambwa, Kasama and Abercorn (Mbala) districts, and some 40-70% in Mporokoso

³² Katrine A. Saito with contributions from Hailu Mekonnen and Daphne Spurling, "Raising the Productivity of Women Farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa", *World Bank Discussion Papers* (Washington: World Bank, 1994), 15.

³³ NRG., Department of Agriculture. *Annual Report for the year 1929* (London: Crown Agents for the Colonies), 1930), 5.

³⁴ Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia*, 94.

while in Eastern Province, from 50-60% were normally absent from all districts.³⁵ Doubtless, these absentee rates had effects on native agriculture. This applied especially to the 'chitemene' regions of the Northern Province where the annual clearing and fencing of gardens could only be done by men and hastily made or neglected gardens were often seen in consequence.³⁶ Certainly, these agricultural roles, previously the preserve of men could not be properly executed by women.

Making reference to the impact of male absence on labour roles in farming, Gann noted that:

The work of cutting down branches up to a height of 20/30 feet high is one that requires great skill in doing it. It can't be done by women, children or old men, the people who stay behind in the villages.³⁷

This absence of men to cut down the trees meant 'chitemene' agriculture together with the Bemba village economy suffered. Touring Bemba land in the 1930s, Richards found that the diet of those left behind seemed to be worse. A number of women without men to support them purchased food.³⁸ Cliffe attributed the breakdown of the Bemba farming systems to the marked collapse of the sexual division of labour that had existed. He argued that the Bemba relied heavily on a specialised male task. Therefore, the consequence of the male absence was less frequent land clearance and bush cutting and burning, and thus a greater burden on women forced to eke out a living on soils of declining fertility.³⁹ Mvusi shared a similar view noting that men had to leave the district of Kasama as well as the whole of Bemba-land in order to meet their monetary

³⁵ Trapnell, *The Soils and Vegetation of North-Eastern Rhodesia*, 118.

³⁶ Trapnell, *The Soils and Vegetation of North-Eastern Rhodesia*, 118.

³⁷ Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953*, 108. See also Saskia A. A. M. Brand and Jacqueline M. C. Heerkens, *Women, Labour and Maize: Changing Agricultural Systems in a Zambian Small-holder's Village* (Nijmegen: University of Nijmegen, 1990), 25-50. They allude to the detrimental impact on gender roles in agriculture of the migration of Bemba men to employment centres.

³⁸ Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, 406.

³⁹ Lionel Cliffe, 'Labour Migration and Peasant Differentiation: Zambian Experiences', in Ben Turok (ed.), *Development in Zambia: A Reader* (London: Zed Books, 1979), 162.

requirements.⁴⁰ She further noted that the presence of men in the villages to conduct the arduous task of cutting trees was necessary throughout the agricultural cycle.⁴¹ Bwalya pointed out that in the 'chitemene' agricultural practice, the presence of men in villages was important since men performed the initial arduous task of lopping branches. He further pointed out that between 1906 and the 1930s, the volume of labour migration from Kasama district had adversely affected food production of the Bemba society.⁴² Hall argued that a factor which inhibited improvement in the rural areas was the lack of able bodied men, many of whom had travelled away from their homes to find work. Shortly before World War Two, half of the men were away from the Bemba country. He lamented thus about this large scale absenteeism when he pointed out that:

It is, of course, possible to over-estimate the effect of this large-scale absenteeism, women would in any case supply most of the labour in gardens since the Bemba are not natural farmers, they might have done little had they stayed home; yet the social depression caused by having such a large proportion of the community away made it inevitable that agriculture would at least remain static.⁴³

In the planned Agricultural and Forestry Plans of Northern Rhodesia that ran were to run from 1947 to 1957, it was noted that the migration of able-bodied men had serious harmful repercussions on traditional agriculture and that while migration lasted, the village labour power would be inadequate to allow any substantial general improvement.⁴⁴ In Fort Rosebery, famine in 1913 was attributed partly to the shortage of men. In that year, 1,216 natives were registered for work in Southern Rhodesia by the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau while 900 natives were registered for employment with

⁴⁰ Thandekile Ruth Mason Mvusi, 'The Creation of Unemployment in Northern Rhodesia, 1899-1936', PhD Thesis, North-Western University, 1984, 85.

⁴¹ Mvusi, 'The Creation of Unemployment in Northern Rhodesia, 1899-1936', 35.

⁴² Donald Hezie Bwalya, 'Agricultural Change in the Northern Province, 1948-1978: A Case Study of Maize Production in Kasama district', M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1989, 16-19.

⁴³ Richard Hall, *Zambia* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965), 29.

⁴⁴ C. J. Lewin, *Agricultural and Forestry Development Plans for 10 Years* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1945), 18.

R. Williams and Company in Lubumbashi in Belgian Congo.⁴⁵ During proceedings at a meeting of Chiefs held in Fort Rosebery on the 3rd of March, 1913, the question of famine was discussed. Chief Milambo in discussing the reasons for famine stated that:

All the young able-bodied men are being taken out for work. Old men and women who remain are unable to supply the needs of repatriates. The repatriates when they return from work are lazy to cultivate themselves and sometimes they employ others to do so with the result that small and totally inadequate gardens are made.⁴⁶

To make matters worse, unlike ethnic groups like the Lungu and Mambwe, among the Bemba residence was in the wife's village and therefore, the wives could not claim support from the husband's male kin. Inevitably, they assumed male roles in farming.

It was not only Bemba farming systems that were affected by labour migration but other farming systems as well. In the 1920s, people began migrating from villages in the Central Province in search of work at the Broken Hill Mine and the Copperbelt mines. Consequently, villages began to experience severe food shortages. In 1937, in Chief Kabamba's area, the District Commissioner of Serenje lamented that there was hunger in the area because many able-bodied men were away at work.⁴⁷ Muntemba also argued that among the Lenje of Central Zambia, in subsistence agriculture, it was most probable that, as in the case of few women who testified to the effect of labour migration, production generally decreased.⁴⁸

Barotse Province was also not spared from the effects of labour migration. The Lozi were the biggest and ruling ethnic group in the province. In the period stretching from 1912 to 1925, the number of migrants recruited by the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau (RNLB) showed a significant upward movement (See Table 1).

⁴⁵ NAZ, Fort Rosebery District Note-book, Volume III.

⁴⁶ NAZ, Fort Rosebery District Notebook, Volume III.

⁴⁷ NAZ, SEC 2/657, Serenje Tour Report, No 2, 1937

⁴⁸ Muntemba, 'Rural underdevelopment in Zambia Kabwe Rural District, 1850 – 1970', 263.

Table 1: Labour Migrations from Kalabo (Barotse Province), 1912-1925

Year	Number of Migrants
1912/1913	304
1915/1916	793
1917/1918	1, 223
1924/1925	1, 996

Source: NAZ Kalabo District Note-book, Volume II

Table 1 shows that there was a yearly increase in the number of migrants from Kalabo between 1912 and 1925. These were the migrants that were passing through the Bureau's hands in Livingstone. It was argued that 'probably, quite a large number of natives apply each year for work on their own, particularly those who have been drawn for work before.'⁴⁹ These migrations adversely impacted on agricultural production in the area. Because of the complexity of their agricultural systems, it was not easy for the Lozi to make agricultural adjustments in the absence of the menfolk. Initially, the migrations from Kalabo were seasonal and the migrants would return to their homes when the agricultural cycle needed their labour. This was particularly the case for tasks such as cutting new 'matema' fields and drainage season work in the 'sishanjo' gardens.⁵⁰ This was not possible for labour migrants in distant places such as South Africa's WENELA.⁵¹ Where labour migrants were in such distant places, agricultural

⁴⁹ NAZ, Kalabo District Note-book, Volume II

⁵⁰ For a description of the 'matema' and 'sishanjo' gardens, see W. Heemskerck (ed.), MAFF, ARPT Western Province Lima Crop Memo for Traditional Subsistence Agricultural System, Mongu Research Station, November 1983 and Kafuba Mboma, 'The Changing Role of Women in Agriculture: A Case Study of Kalabo District, 1906-1986', M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1991, 17-33.

roles previously assigned to men were assumed by women. As a result of the many labour migrants from the Barotse Province, there was a collapse of drainage works with the consequent water logging of some of the most fertile soils on the plain. This was due to the fact that there was no male labour to drain the water.⁵² Van Horn argued that the debilitating effects of labour migration on Lozi agriculture were evident after 1935 by which time 29,500 men were reported to be absent from the province or an average of 45% of the able-bodied male population.⁵³ The women who remained on the land could cultivate the gardens in the plain, but did not plough, prepare bush gardens for planting, or do drainage ditches. He argued that with the men of the village away, they cultivated less land and crops normally grown in the plain which could easily be destroyed by flooding were increasingly abandoned in favour of cassava. Sishanjo gardens, he noted because of the labour required, were being neglected. Certainly, labour migration dealt a blow to agriculture in Barotse Province. Every chance of development in the kingdom was militated against by the periodical absence of the majority of able-bodied men making it difficult for agricultural work for which men were necessary to be done properly.⁵⁴

Certainly, labour migration negatively impacted on gender roles in farming and ultimately on harvests. Worse still, some labour migrants did not return to their farming communities as they succumbed to disease. Different ailments afflicted the labour migrants.

Van Onselen argued that:

⁵¹ Mboma, 'The Changing role of Women in Agriculture', 86.

⁵² Gear M. Kajoba, 'Vulnerability and Resilience of Rural Society in Zambia: From the View Point of Land Tenure and Food Security', *Working Paper on Social-Ecological Resilience Series* No. 2008-003, March 2008, 15.

⁵³ Laurel Van Horn, 'The Agricultural History of Barotseland', paper presented at History Departmental Seminar, The University of Zambia, 7th February, 1974, 15.

⁵⁴ This view was expressed by Gluckman, Quoted in Chondoka, 'Labour Migration and Rural Transformation in Chama, North-Eastern Rhodesia, 1890 – 1964', 255. Ranger also held a similar view arguing that in Barotseland, the movement of male labour out of African agricultural systems undermined the traditional economy. See T. O. Ranger, *The Agricultural History of Zambia* (Lusaka: National Education Company, 1971), 20-21.

In the mining compounds of Southern Rhodesia, in the early years of the industry, dysentery and diarrhea were amongst the most common diseases to be found among the miners. The general filth and dirt of the compounds, together with the suspect quality of some of the drinking water made their contribution to the spread of the disease; as did the poorly ground mealie meal issued to workers. Workers from Northern Rhodesia where the diet consisted of fish and cassava were simply unfamiliar with mealie meal and did not know how to cook it.⁵⁵

Such deaths perpetuated the gender distortions in agriculture as able-bodied men were reduced in number.

The arguments above have shown that taxation and the accompanying labour migration from different parts of Zambia spelt doom on the previously well-defined gender roles in farming. We contend that although some students of food security have argued that in some ethnic groups, in spite of the absence of men, food security was assured, this assurance was at a price. This price was the distortion of traditional gender roles in farming. If food security was to be assured, chores previously reserved for men had to be assumed by women. Arguments by Colson and Vickery that labour markets were close to Tonga villages, indeed, give credence to their arguments that food security was assured. However, it is also right to argue that during the short periods, they were away; their usual chores had to be assumed by the women-folk. Certainly, those chores were not abandoned by the women awaiting the return of the menfolk. Otherwise, food security was not going to be assured. This, indeed, gives credence to our view that colonialism distorted gender roles in agriculture. Chondoka's and Chabatama's arguments on the Senga and Lunda of Eastern and North-Western Zambia respectively solidify their arguments that food security was assured in the two provinces as women assumed agricultural roles previously undertaken by men. In essence, this meant distorting roles in agriculture. This justifies our argument that gender roles were distorted in spite of surviving amidst the absence of the menfolk. With the absence of men, the women had to devote a greater part of their time attending to chores previously the preserve of men. While Tembo argued that labour migration did not undermine peasant farming in Chipata district, he was quick to underscore the importance attached to male labour in the district. Thus, he lamented that the 10-1 ratio of women to men in

⁵⁵ Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, p.51

Chipata in 1937 as per the findings of the Pim Commission was significant because male labour played a key role in the preparations of the gardens.⁵⁶ His conclusion implied that both men and women were great contributors to peasant farming in the area which had the highest percentage of absent adult males in the province. That gender roles were important in eastern Zambia was also emphasised by Vail. He lamented that the migration of men from eastern Zambia was affecting agricultural out-put when he pointed out that:

With young men to whom fell traditionally the task of clearing new land absent, the peoples' ability to open fresh land lessened and productivity diminished. In areas which in earlier times produced food surpluses, there developed a situation of precariously balanced food supplies.⁵⁷

The implication of these sentiments cannot be over-emphasised; the negative impact of the absence of men on gender roles in farming in eastern Zambia due to labour migration.

Making reference to the impact of the absence of males on fencing gardens among the Mambwe, a colonial official pointed out that, "It was noticeable that where a woman's husband was absent, this work was invariably carried out by her husband's relatives often more crudely than it would be carried out by her husband."⁵⁸ This statement shows that although Watson argued that the Mambwe adopted survival strategies in the absence of men, the strategies were at a price; agricultural work was poorly executed. In fact, a report of 1948 indicated that the District Commissioner seemed not to have been happy with the migrations of young men from the Mambwe country. In long deliberations with the Native Authority, he lamented that:

About 1/3 of the number of energetic young men in each village seems to absent itself more or less permanently in the Tanganyika territory ... at

⁵⁶ See Tembo, 'The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia, 1895-1964', 24-27.

⁵⁷ Leroy Vail, 'Ecology and History: The Example of Eastern Zambia,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 3, 2(1978), 137.

⁵⁸ NAZ, MAG, Box 25, Agriculture Miscellaneous, 'The General Features of the Agriculture of the 'Maswepa', Mambwe and Lungu tribes', 11. This report was written by Alder, an Agricultural Supervisor in Abercorn

cutting time, the village has half of its proper manpower. Action is needed to divert the energies of the younger generation of Mambwe from distant fields to the vital local problem of keeping the bodies and souls not only of themselves during their home-comings, but of their relict wives and children together.⁵⁹

The same report cautioned Mambwe men from absenting themselves at harvest time. This was an indication that even Colonial Officials were aware of the impact men's absence was having on gender roles in farming.

We, therefore, cannot negate the important roles played by both sexes in agriculture among both the matrilineal and patrilineal societies of Zambia prior to the introduction of taxation. It was the dire need by men to earn money to fulfill their tax obligations that sparked off the migrations. Ultimately, their absence led to survival strategies being adopted by the people that had remained in the villages. This meant abandoning traditional gender roles and adopting new ones. In the "new" traditional agriculture, women assumed gender roles previously reserved for men. Thus, the traditional agricultural cycles were re-defined. Clearly, industrial capitalism brought in a new division of labour, ultimately distorting traditional farming practices and the resultant rural stagnation.

The Ban on 'Chitemene' and its impact on gender roles in farming, 1906-1945

In 'chitemene' communities, women's roles in the agricultural cycle were modified with the banning of this agricultural practice. One of the most far reaching measures which the British South Africa Company adopted was the abolition of 'chitemene'. The 'chitemene' system of agriculture was, from the on-set, perceived as a wasteful system of agriculture. It was felt that the indiscriminate cutting of trees was leading to deforestation and that a better method of farming needed to replace it. At a meeting of Bemba Chiefs in August, 1905, the Acting Administrator of North-Eastern Rhodesia told Chiefs that the "wasteful method of cultivation involving cutting down

⁵⁹ NAZ, MAG 2/5/23, Abercorn Tour Report, No. 4, 1948.

trees and thus deforesting the country would have to stop”⁶⁰ Indeed, ‘chitemene’ was abolished in 1906. This abolition was motivated by the need to change the agricultural methods of the Bemba to a less wasteful system of cultivation. Bwalya attributed the ban on ‘chitemene’ in Kasama between 1905 and 1909 to the desire by BSAC to shift people from producing millet and cassava. He pointed out that in the company’s opinion, cassava made tax collection and administration easy because it encouraged permanent settlement.⁶¹ After the ban on ‘chitemene’, prosecution was employed as a way of compelling Africans to abandon this agricultural practice. On 30th July, 1909, for instance, three ‘vitemene’ cutters were arrested. During the year, several arrests were made for indiscriminate cutting of forbidden trees.⁶²

Doubtless, the disturbing of an age-old agricultural practice based on a clear division and complementarity of men and women in agriculture spelt doom for the Bemba and related ethnic groups. They could not function without this farming practice. Its ban gave rise to serious and widespread consequences and famine was the result. When famine occurred from 1906–1907, among the Bemba, blame was on ‘chitemene’ controls.⁶³ Chief Chitimukulu, speaking on behalf of the Bemba Chiefs, appealed to the administration to lift these measures arguing, “We want to cut ‘fitemene’ (burnt-out gardens). We are hungry and can get food by this means. If ‘fitemene’ are plentiful as before, this country will be prosperous.”⁶⁴ Ranger also argued that when efforts were made by the British to prevent the lopping of trees, the results were a massive discontent, passive resistance and a serious famine.⁶⁵ The resumption of ‘chitemene’ was allowed in 1909 but only close to villages.

⁶⁰ Quoted in Mwelwa C. Musambachime, ‘Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia, 1890–1964,’ in Samuel N. Chipungu (ed.) *Guardians in their time: Experiences of Zambians under colonial rule, 1890–1964* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1992), 11.

⁶¹ Bwalya, ‘Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia’, v.

⁶² NAZ, Abercorn District Note-book, Volume II.

⁶³ Bennet S. Siamwiza, ‘A History of Famine in Zambia, 1825-1949,’ PhD Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1998, 106

⁶⁴ Quoted in Musambachime, ‘Colonialism and the Environment in Zambia, 1890 – 1924’, 11

⁶⁵ T. O. Ranger, *The Agricultural History of Zambia* (Lusaka: National Education Company, 1971), 14.

Although the resumption of chitemene was allowed in 1909, there were still 'chitemene' controls. Alternative farming practices to 'chitemene' also began to be experimented on. At Abercorn, U. J. Moffat, the Assistant Agriculturalist reported that 'chitemene' experiments were instituted. Certain plots were planted and treated in a manner similar to that which was usually adopted by the ethnic groups of the area while others were treated with certain fertilisers in other methods which might demonstrate that the frequent changing of gardens necessitating the cutting and destroying of timber was not essential.⁶⁶ In 1938, a Chitemene Control Scheme was introduced in Abercorn. Efforts were made to encourage the development of "dug" gardens cultivated in the ordinary way with hoes. Within four years, some 230 villages comprising a population of about 17, 500 had been brought under the scheme which covered 3000 square miles of the country. Each village area was subdivided into 15 annual cutting blocks and lopping outside the blocks allocated to a particular year was prohibited during that year. It was argued that:

This scheme is frankly an attempt to rationalize a system which will eventually have to disappear The elementary attempts at improving the regeneration of lopped areas by "early burning" and better lopping methods have already proved their worth sufficiently to impress a naturally skeptical population.⁶⁷

Colonial officials had preference for mound cultivation practiced by the Mambwe and the Lungu. Pointing out the dangers of 'chitemene', the District Commissioner of Chinsali argued that:

The absence of able-bodied men in a chitemene country reveals many agricultural dangers that have often been pointed out, and the introduction of a hoe culture that can be worked by the women and old men has many points to commend it.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ NRG, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report for 1929*, 52

⁶⁷ NAZ, Box 26 Agricultural Research Miscellaneous, 'The Resettlement of Native Peoples in Northern Rhodesia: The Chitemene Control Scheme.

⁶⁸ NAZ, MAG 2/5/9 Chinsali Tour Report No. 6, June, 1939.

We argue that this absence of able-bodied men which the District Commissioner complained about was not a creation of the Bemba. It was not out of their volition. In fact, it was the colonial state that was responsible for the problems that befell this agricultural practice. Before the introduction of taxation, able-bodied men would always be available to work side by side with the womenfolk. It was the phenomenon of labour migration that depleted the country-side of its men. Therefore, this argument was no justification for introducing a hoe culture as asserted by the District Commissioner. 'Chitemene' cultivators were encouraged to grow cassava, a famine crop which would be grown without 'chitemene'. It was a handy crop which women would grow without the menfolk. In fact, in the Luapula Province, women without the menfolk would shift to the cultivation of cassava.⁶⁹

'Chitemene' controls were not only effected in Abercorn but in other 'chitemene' regions as well. During a tour of Kasama, the District Commissioner pointed out that:

I suggest that it is a matter for the District Agricultural Officer who could employ dependable native agriculturalists to see that the orders are obeyed and prosecute offenders in the courts of Native Authorities The present wasteful and inefficient agricultural methods can be changed by two things only – famine when their timber is exhausted or the enforcement of an order for the growing of a reasonable quality of cassava...once the Bemba have learnt to dig, they can produce mealies, kaffir corn and millet by normal agricultural methods as well as anyone else.⁷⁰

A similar view was expressed by the Provincial Commissioner in a minute of 24th July, 1940. It read in part:

Makasa's people should be ordered to grow cassava by their Authority and prosecution if they don't is very reasonable. It is time someone made up the minds of these wasteful cultivators for them We ought to teach them to hoe with a hoe rather than with an axe!⁷¹

⁶⁹ See Cliffe, 'Labour Migration and Peasant Differentiation: Zambian Experiences', 162.

⁷⁰ NAZ, MAG 2/5/9 Kasama Tour Report Number 5, 1940.

⁷¹ NAZ, MAG 2/5/9 Extract from Northern Province Commissioner's Minute, 24th July, 1940.

The cases provided above show the distaste that colonial officials had for ‘chitemene’, an age-old agricultural practice. Its condemnation and subsequent ban and controls disturbed traditional gender roles among the Bemba and related ethnic groups. The hoed gardens were not a basis for agriculture among the Bemba. Rather, village gardens just substituted ‘chitemene’. The work in village gardens was not strenuous and was carried out almost entirely by women. It was ‘chitemene’ that dominated. Banning it, therefore, led to a distortion of gender roles in the agricultural cycle. The ‘chitemene’ agricultural practice worked under a calendar and at any time during the year, either of the sexes knew which chore they needed to perform. The introduction of dug gardens under the Chitemene Control Scheme meant the abandoning of their former gender roles and the introduction of new roles. We contend that although ‘chitemene’ was condemned for its wastefulness, the division of labour on which it was based was also hailed for its effectiveness. One Agriculturalist pointed out that:

The method of cultivation, though wasteful of otherwise useless woodland is extremely reliable and the average yield of grain from wretchedly poor soil compares favourably with the average maize yields on European farms on which are better soils in Central and Southern Africa. Moreover, the sharp division of man’s and woman’s work and the brief, if hectic periods of activity fit in well with the psychology of the people.⁷²

In an experiment to assess the advantages of the typical ‘chitemene’ agricultural practice at Lunzuwa Experimental Station in northern Zambia in 1939, gratified by the results of the experiment, the District Agricultural Officer of Abercorn was so proud to state that, “The benefit of chitemene practice lies in both the sterilizing effect of the heat from the burning and also in the fertilizing effect of the ash. The experiment proves the soundness of the ordinary native practices over other modifications.”⁷³

That the colonial state also appreciated gender roles in chitemene was demonstrated by Moore and Vaughan when they pointed out that the response of the

⁷² NAZ, Box 26, Agricultural Research Miscellaneous: ‘The Resettlement of Native Populations in Northern Rhodesia: The Chitemene Control Scheme.’

⁷³ Quoted in Dorothy Mwansa, ‘A History of Mount Makulu Central Research Station, 1950 – 1980’, M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2001, 27–28.

state to the consequences of labour migration from northern Zambia for the ‘chitemene’ agricultural system was frequently contradictory. Making reference to the state’s contradictory views on the ‘chitemene’ system of agriculture, they stated that:

They continued to regard the chitemene system as primitive and destructive and continued with sporadic attempts to prevent the shifting of population consequent on the system and restrict the lopping of trees and the burning of bush. At the same time, they were worried that the absence of male labour would threaten the very viability of the chitemene system and thus leave them in charge of an area that could no longer feed itself – every colonial official’s nightmare.⁷⁴

This traditional system of agriculture had been held in high esteem. Banning it, no doubt spelt doom for the affected people. The colonial state, certainly, disturbed the fabric of these traditional societies. We hold similar views with scholars like Kay who argued that the slash and burn method of cultivation was not as destructive as perceived by the colonial state.

Kay was of the view that:

Trees within the burnt area are often killed by the burn, but those in the surrounding cut-over bush recover rapidly. The cultivated area is thus insulated and “with scattered plots constantly changing over a wide area, there is little chance for tropical rain and sun to cause permanent soil deterioration and erosion.”⁷⁵

Certainly, as he further noted, “the ‘chitemene’ system was admirably adapted to the physical environment, the technology and traditions of the villagers, and to their dietetic requirements and tastes.”⁷⁶

The First World War and its impact on agricultural gender roles

The First World War had a deleterious impact on gender roles in farming. The war broke out in 1914 and went on till 1918. Though being a European war, its impact

⁷⁴ Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, 139

⁷⁵ Kay, ‘Agricultural Change in the Luitikila Basin Development Area, Mpika District, Northern Rhodesia’, 33-34

⁷⁶ Kay, *Chief Kalaba’s Village*, 28

was not confined to the European continent only. From the on-set, there were fears by some British colonial officials in Northern Rhodesia that the war would in one way or another affect Northern Rhodesia. Such fears were expressed by the Assistant Magistrate of Fort Rosebery in an address to Chiefs and District Headmen in August, 1914. He stated that:

In Europe, Germany has gone to war with England – England and France are fighting Germany in Europe. We do not think any war will come here, but it is necessary for natives in districts near the German territory to keep their eyes open and inform the government what is going on near borders.⁷⁷

Rennie's fear became a reality when, during the war Britain began to use the human resources of colonised powers. Zambian men, like their counterparts in other British colonies were also taken into the British colonial army as soldiers (askaris), porters and even as servants. This was marked especially in North-Eastern Rhodesia. In the northern districts, the outbreak of the war brought new levels of disruption, entailing as it did a massively increased extraction of both labour and food supplies.⁷⁸ The Isoka, Abercorn and Chinsali districts were declared "war-zones" but other parts of the then 'Awemba' Province were deeply affected.⁷⁹ That indigenous people were massively recruited from northern Zambia was expressed in a memo of 1914. It read:

The amount of labour which has been collected for the transport of food and stores and for defensive works has been unprecedented. Relay letter carriers on the Abercorn/Kasama, Mporokoso and Sumbu routes, special messengers and casual runners, as well as miscellaneous carriers are also being employed and a considerable number of women have been engaged in grinding corn.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ NAZ, Fort Rosebery District Note-book, Volume III

⁷⁸ Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, 16.

⁷⁹ Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, 17.

⁸⁰ NAZ, A2/3/2, From District Commissioner, Abercorn to the Secretary, Livingstone, 31st December, 1914.

From April, 1916 to 31st January, 1917, 3,197 men were recruited from Abercorn. 1,444 were recruited from Fife. They were all working on the northern border. In the same period, 2,129 were Porters with the column in German East Africa.⁸¹

Recruitment was not only confined to the Northern Province. In the Central Province, recruitment, not only of men but women as well was done. In Serenje and Mkushi, several women and children were recruited to carry or to cook for soldiers. Only old men, women and very young children were left in the villages.⁸² War carriers were also supplied from Mkushi for the Ndola-Kabunda route.⁸³ In Ngoni-land, at first, most migrants were assisted by various recruiting agencies, notably the RNLB who recruited labour for fixed periods of time on a system of deferred pay. The 1914-1918 war brought a major change in the machinery of migration. Many men were away as carriers for the comparatively high wages in the East African campaign. Many were made more money conscious and a growing number undertook labour migrations without any assistance from recruiting agencies.⁸⁴ Under this system, they naturally tended to stay away from their homes for longer periods. Among the Nsenga and Ngoni of Petauke and Chipata districts respectively, mobilization was high. Both Chipata and Petauke were part of the British colonial empire. When both world wars broke out, the Africans were forced to take part on the side of Britain. In some cases, force was used to recruit Porters. A memorandum from the Administrator to the Magistrate, Fort Jameson read:

Call in Mpezeni and his sub-Chiefs and Headmen and give Mpezeni a message from me. Many carriers are needed to take food to British troops. I wish you, therefore and all your Headmen to call up young men from every village to go to KotaKota or Ukata Bay as Mr. Cookson directs for the purpose of carrying supplies to British troops. I wish this to be done quickly and Mr. Cookson will help you to punish all men who refuse to obey your orders.⁸⁵

⁸¹ NAZ, A2/3/4, From Magistrate, Fort Jameson to Administrator, Livingstone, 2nd February, 1917.

⁸² Kaira, 'A History of Poverty in Central Province,' 16.

⁸³ NAZ, Mkushi District Note-Book Volume I.

⁸⁴ NRG, *Ngoni-land Utilisation Survey*, 44.

Similar messages, the memo indicated, had to be read to Chiefs of the Achewa and Wakunda and to Chiefs of Lundazi sub-district. The British government seemed to be in so desperate a situation that paying of Chiefs began to be used to induce them into recruiting men to serve in the war. The memorandum further read:

You may consider the question of extra payment to Chiefs and Headmen for the extra work imposed on them in addition to their ordinary duties provided they loyally carry out this extra work. I do not anticipate resistance on the part of the Chiefs to obey my orders and possibly punishment for those who may at first be disposed to disobey Chiefs' orders without causing friction will impress on the rest the need to obey.⁸⁶

The response from Mpezeni was affirmative. In response to the memorandum of 29th January 1917, Mpezeni promised to do anything to assist in recruiting men from his Chiefdom and many men were subsequently recruited.⁸⁷ To make matters worse, deserters from the war-front faced punishment upon being caught. This compelled some deserters to start reporting themselves to authorities. A memorandum of October 6, 1917 read, "We have had 30 deserters and further threats of wholesale desertion. All deserters must be immediately punished, arrested and returned to the column where they will be dealt with by court martial situation seriously."⁸⁸ Indeed, many were punished upon being arrested. Sadly, in some cases, local Headmen would assist in detecting them. The Senga of Chama district were also recruited during the war. When World War One broke out, the British army needed native labour to carry war supplies to the front on the Northern Rhodesia – Tanganyika border. Being close to the theatre of

⁸⁵ NAZ, A2/3/4, From Administrator to Magistrate, Fort Jameson, 29th January, 1917.

⁸⁶ NAZ, A2/3/4, From Administrator to Magistrate, Fort Jameson, 29th January, 1917.

⁸⁷ For statistics of the number of men recruited from his Chiefdom, see NAZ, A2/3/4: Telegram from Magistrate, Fort Jameson to Administrator, Livingstone, 2nd February, 1917. It gives a break-down of the number of men recruited, not only from Fort Jameson but also Abercorn and Fife.

⁸⁸ NAZ, A2/3/4, Telegram from Colonel Murray to Defense (Salisbury), 6th October, 1917.

war, Chama was an ideal place to recruit from. Many Senga males were recruited as military porters to carry supplies to the Fife garrison in the Northern Province.⁸⁹

Recruiting of porters was also recorded in north-western districts. Between 1915 and 1918, many Kaonde and Lamba men were forcibly recruited by the British army in Northern Rhodesia as war material carriers on three to four-month contracts with 48 Shillings.⁹⁰ Of the local 7,400 able-bodied men in Kasempa and Solwezi districts, 6,500 worked as war carriers and migrant miners per year.⁹¹ In Mwinilunga, in 1916, 400 carriers were asked for transport work, carrying loads between Ndola and Kasama.⁹² Carriers were away from their homes for about four months. Requests for the supply of carriers from Zambia were also received from Nyasaland. In a memo of 12th February, 1917, the Governor of Nyasaland asked for a supply of from 500 to 1000 carriers per month for six months as the Nyasaland resources were getting exhausted.⁹³ In the memo, it was emphasized that Chiefs would be helped to carry out the exercise through authorities punishing those who resisted being mobilized to serve as porters. This shows the force that was used to coerce Africans to serve in a war which they had not even contributed to breaking out.

This mass recruitment of men from Northern Rhodesia as carriers to serve in the war had a deleterious impact on traditional agricultural cycles. Gender roles in farming were distorted in areas that supplied men to serve in the war. Lane Poole reported that a heavy demand was made upon the able-bodied population of the Nsenga and Ambo for the war purposes resulting in a shortage of labour for agricultural practices. The harvest of 1916–1917 season was to reveal this noticeably. It became more pronounced in the

⁸⁹ Chondoka, 'Labour Migration and Rural Transformation in Chama', 59.

⁹⁰ Chabatama, 'Peasant Farming, the State and Food Security in North-Western Province of Zambia', 100.

⁹¹ NAZ, Kasempa District Note-book Volume I.

⁹² NAZ, Mwinilunga District Note-book Volume I. See also NAZ, A2/3/, Memorandum: From Administrator, Livingstone to the Secretary (BSAC), London, 17th April 1917. According to the memorandum, carriers were arriving from Kasempa, Kafue and Barotse districts for work in transport between Ndola and Luapula (Kabunda) for the canoe route to Kasama.

⁹³ NAZ, A2/3/4, From the Administrator, Livingstone to the Secretary, BSAC, 12th February, 1917.

season of 1918–1919.⁹⁴ With reference to the Northern Province, Mvusi pointed out that:

The war effort kept most of the able-bodied natives employed in carrying loads. In their absence, villages would suffer the ravages of large animals since the fences and game pits were not being built, leaving the gardens susceptible to attack by animals.⁹⁵

It was reported that men who worked as carriers ran out of food along the way and were then made to work in the gardens (of people along the way also in need of male labour) for their food or else they would go without food.⁹⁶ Agricultural production is said to have been adversely affected among the Lunda and Mbwela finger millet growers where men usually cut down the woodland for ‘chitemene’ farming and performed most agricultural tasks.⁹⁷ That the absence of men was a draw-back in agriculture was aptly demonstrated by the District Commissioner of Abercorn in a memorandum when he stated that:

In consequence of the large withdrawal of the able-bodied population at a period of the year which natives usually devote to cultivation, a falling-off may be expected in the supply of native food next year although every effort is being made to avoid a scarcity in any one portion of the district by uniform collection of labour.⁹⁸

Gender roles were also affected by the security measures that were put in place. One report, for instance, indicated that all women, property and stock belonging to villages on the Tanganyika-Zambia border were withdrawn some distance in order to eliminate the danger from raiding parties of the enemy, as far as possible and to enable them to cultivate in peace. The able-bodied men were asked to remain in their villages to assist

⁹⁴ Quoted in Joseph Phillip Mtisi, ‘The Economic Impact of Colonial Rule on Eastern Zambia, 1900-1953: The Experiences of Chipata and Petauke,’ PhD Thesis, University of Ibadan, 1979, 368.

⁹⁵ Mvusi, ‘The Creation of Unemployment in Northern Rhodesia, 1899-1936’, 85.

⁹⁶ Quoted in Mvusi, ‘The Creation of Unemployment in Northern Rhodesia, 1899-1936’, 85-86.

⁹⁷ Chabatama, ‘Peasant Farming, the State and Food Security in North-western Province of Zambia’, 102.

⁹⁸ NAZ, A2/3/2, Report on affairs at Abercorn and in Tanganyika District from 20th September, 1914 to 31st December, 1914.

the messengers to watch the border and till their old fields when opportunity occurred.⁹⁹ This measure to separate women from the men was a detriment to farming. Inevitably, both sexes now on their own, had to perform agricultural tasks traditionally not assigned to them. The interest of the colonial state was the security of the border areas from enemy forces and not the welfare of the farming communities.

To pay for heavy expenses of war, Britain put more taxation on the colonized peoples of Zambia. In a bid to force taxable men into joining war efforts, in North-Eastern Rhodesia, tax was increased in 1915 from 3s. to 5s. while in North-Western Rhodesia, it was increased from 5s to 10s.¹⁰⁰ This meant more migrations from rural areas. It was a profoundly disturbing influence as many rural communities were undermined. Countless families were deprived of active men taken for war service. To make matters worse, during the war many Zambians who had been mobilized for war work succumbed to diseases like dysentery and influenza. The death rates were so high that Gelfand lamented that, “It is most unfortunate that this great contribution to the war effort by Porters should be accompanied by such losses, for the death rate amongst them was higher than possibly could have been anticipated.”¹⁰¹ The impact of such deaths cannot be over-emphasised. Agriculture suffered as chores like cutting down trees and clearing the cut areas had to be assumed by women. This taking over of male roles in agriculture by women had severe consequences. In some instances, famine was the result. In Fort Rosebery (now Mansa) in the Luapula Province, ‘Insala yakwa na Mumba’ (the famine of Mumba’s mother) came after World War One. This was attributed to the absence of a large number of men who had been recruited as Porters in the war. Lasting from 1915 to 1917, it affected the Ushi and the Lunda of the Luapula Province.¹⁰² To make matters worse, the post-war era witnessed a rise in the prices of

⁹⁹ NAZ, A2/3/2, Report on affairs at Abercorn and in Tanganyika District from 20th September, 1914 to 31st December, 1914.

¹⁰⁰ *The Pim Commission*, 111.

¹⁰¹ Michael Gelfand, *Northern Rhodesia in the days of the Charter: A Medieval Social Study, 1878-1924* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961, 271. See also Mvusi, ‘The Creation of Unemployment in Northern Rhodesia, 1899-1936’, 111-112. She alluded to the prevalence of diseases in the mining compounds occupied by migrant workers.

goods. This post-war inflation increased attractions of labour migration. In 1918 to 1919, prices of “native goods” rose over 300%. The depressed market for the products of Northern Rhodesia made employment within the territory increasingly difficult to obtain.¹⁰³ Hence, migrations were accelerated leading to a shortage of men in the country-side. Ultimately, a change in gender roles was the result.

Certainly, the war spelt doom for societies from which males had been drawn to serve in the war. Because of the absence of men, women assumed male gender roles signaling the collapse of traditional gender roles in farming. Paradoxically, some colonial reports indicated that Africans were not pushed into serving in the war. A report of 1914 read in part, “The attitude of the natives during the present crisis has been on the whole quite satisfactory and in some cases highly commendable. Large demands for food and labour have been met cheerfully.”¹⁰⁴ Meebelo attributed the enthusiasm that Africans had to serve in the war to psychological and other means which the administration employed to interest people to go forward for military work. His argument was that Africans were made to understand that they were not merely fighting a European war, but were engaged in the noble task of defending their motherland against white imperialist aggressors. Germans were portrayed as cruel colonial masters and hence the need for people to avert a possible replacement of a less detestable English administration by a more ruthless German regime. It was this emotional appeal that, to him must have had a profound impact on people living in places like Abercorn and Isoka divisions where the fighting was taking place, and possibly explained the prevalence of the general co-operative attitude in Abercorn.¹⁰⁵ The need to fight in the war and avert a possible replacement by the German regime was also expressed by a former Porter in the war. Daniel Soko recounted how as a young man, he offered to be Porter in World War One. His experiences in the war made

¹⁰² See Musambachime’s remarks in, Musambachime, *The Oral History of Mansa*, 44 and the interview between the researchers and Mukonka Silus in the same book on 19th April, 1974, 150.

¹⁰³ Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting down trees*, 17.

¹⁰⁴ NAZ, A2/3/2, Report on affairs at Abercorn and in the Tanganyika District from 20th September 1914 to 31st December, 1914.

¹⁰⁵ See Henry Meebelo, *Reaction to Colonialism: A Prelude to the Politics of Independence in Northern Rhodesia, 1893-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), 133-134.

him to call upon Africans to volunteer and serve in World War Two. He argued that the British treated soldiers with care and generosity while Germans ill-treated them. His cry was for Africans to help in all ways – give money work hard and do not complain.¹⁰⁶ However, volunteering (if it was there) was minimal.

Evidence we have presented above has unequivocally demonstrated that, in most instances force was used to recruit Porters and others to serve in the war.¹⁰⁷ The official reports we earlier referred to justify our argument. Indeed, the war disturbed the farming systems of the areas from which Africans were mobilized. New strategies had to be adopted by the remaining women to survive. Certainly, assuming male gender roles was the resolve. The war, apart from resulting in the temporal and often brutal extraction of male labour to serve in the British Army also contributed to the development of a more permanent labour migrant economy. Having returned from conscription as porters for the war, many men turned around immediately and set off for the mines of Katanga or the railways of Southern Rhodesia.¹⁰⁸ Inevitably, females continued performing tasks traditionally deemed male tasks.

The Creation of Native Reserves: impact on gender roles in farming, 1926-1945

The creation of Native Reserves and its accompanying migration of able-bodied in search of fertile areas had a deleterious impact on traditional gender roles in farming in the territory. Increasing pressure from the settlers in the farming regions of the country to alienate lands for settler occupation forced BSAC to set up Native Reserves in the territory. From 1926, Africans began to be relocated from land which they had previously occupied to the reserves. Living conditions in the reserves were deplorable.

¹⁰⁶ Daniel Soko, 'The Lost War in Tanganyika', *Mutende Newspaper*, 29th August, 1940, 11.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Mrs. Elizabeth Kaluba, Lusaka, 10th August, 2009. When I interviewed my grandmother, Mrs. Elizabeth Kaluba, she recounted that her father was recruited by force from Mulundu's village, Mwense district in the Luapula Province to serve as a Porter, first in Mbala and then in Tanganyika. She pointed out that the people of the area were being coerced to serve in the British army as Porters. She recalled her father narrating to her how his cousin, in fear of being enlisted rubbed fresh chilli in his eyes to make them sore so that he would be declared unfit for service. Indeed, when the recruiters went to Mulundu's village, he was declared unfit although he had a strong physique.

¹⁰⁸ Read Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down trees*, 16-19. She highlights the impact of the war on the northern border districts. What strongly comes out is that the returned war veterans did not stay for long in their villages of origin. In their quest for wages, they headed for Southern Rhodesia and Katanga.

They were overcrowded not only with human beings but also with stock. Worse still, the land in the reserves was barren and unproductive. In areas where the 'chitemene' system of agriculture was employed before the introduction of the reserves, the system could no longer work as the reserves were small and populous.¹⁰⁹ Soil degradation, soil erosion and famine became the order of the day. The deplorable conditions in the reserves forced men to start leaving en masse in search of better areas. Many of them embarked on long journeys in search of wage employment. In Chipata and Petauke districts, for instance, land alienation turned some people into wage seekers. The deterioration of living conditions in the Native Reserves in the 1930s increased the tempo of labour migration from the Eastern Province.¹¹⁰

A Ngoni-land Utilisation Survey concluded that:

The hopelessness of their position as purely subsistence cultivators in the overcrowded reserve, combined with their traditional distaste for cultivating, resulted in them turning to wage labour more completely and more rapidly than other tribes.¹¹¹

These migrations led to a shortage of able-bodied men leading to women assuming agricultural roles previously performed by men. In 1935, the District Commissioner of Petauke lamented that, "The stream of labour to Southern Rhodesia markets is steadily increasing and in large villages in the Nsenga Reserve, it is the exception to see more than half a dozen able-bodied men."¹¹² Women whose husbands were away had too many tasks to cope with as traditional tasks came under them.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Yizenge Adorn Chondoka, 'Government Technical Assistance to African Farmers in Mazabuka District, 1924-1954' in M. Shimwayi Muntemba (ed.), *Zambian Land and Labour Studies*, Vol. IV, History Occasional Paper No. 1, 1981, 36. See also Chondoka, 'Economy and Society in North-Eastern Rhodesia', in Kanduza (ed.), *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia: Pre-Colonial to the 1980s*, 40.

¹¹⁰ Zgambo, 'Workers' responses to conditions on the settler farms of the Eastern Province, 1898 -1904', 83. He pointed out that in 1934, about 15, 600 taxable males were estimated to be away at work in the Southern Rhodesia for average periods of three to four years.

¹¹¹ Ngoni-land Utilisation Survey, 1956, 43.

¹¹² NAZ, Box 25, 'Agriculture Miscellaneous', *Annual Report for the Department of Native Affairs*, 1936 (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1937), 75.

Before the introduction of the reserves, 'chitemene' agriculture was very effective in the areas in which it was practiced. As there was no land shortage, both sexes actively took part in farming and would only move to a new area when the soil got exhausted. However, the over-use of land culminating into soil erosion turned the African husbandman into a nomad, always on the move in search of better places. Ultimately, the process of labour migration was accelerated. Doubtless, the establishment of Native Reserves gained capitalist control over labour as Africans turned to wage labour not only within Northern Rhodesia but also in other areas in the Southern African regional economic system.¹¹⁴ Such migrations dealt a blow on traditional farming systems and ultimately on gender roles in farming.

The Second World War and its impact on gender roles in agriculture, 1939-1945

For the period of war at least – it seems likely that there will be an increasing drain upon the male population of the District (Kasama) as labourers on the copper mines and as soldiers and in road work. Fitemene is man's work and in consequence the present situation might surely be regarded as of sufficient emergency to merit orders for the planting of adequate acreages of cassava and to avoid the possibility of food shortage in 1941 – 1942.¹¹⁵

These were the words of a British Colonial Officer on his tour of Kasama in 1940. Indeed, as he pointed out, during the period of the war, there was a drain of able-bodied men, not only from Kasama but other areas from which men were recruited during the course of the war. Inevitably, agriculture suffered as women assumed agricultural roles previously performed by men.

World War Two began in 1939 and ended in 1945. Northern Rhodesia joined the war on the side of Britain, its colonial master on September 3, 1939. In spite of it being a European war, Africans had to pay in men and labour. Large numbers of men

¹¹³ See, for instance, L. H. Zgambo, "Workers' responses to conditions on the settler farms of the Eastern Province, 1898-1964", in Kanduza (ed.), *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia*, 88-93.

¹¹⁴ See Muntemba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia, Kabwe Rural District, 1850-1970', 225 – 236 and Simon M. C. Nkhata, 'Resettlement in Chipata District, 1951-1980' in Kanduza (ed.), *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia: Pre-Colonial to the 1980s*, 125. Both argue that the policy of Native Reserves accelerated the process of labour migration from the areas in which they were set up.

¹¹⁵ NAZ, MAG 2/5/9, Kasama Tour Report No. 5, 1940

from Zambia were compelled to serve in the forces of Britain and France. Though some volunteered in the cause of freedom, others were recruited by conscription. The British recruited the tallest and healthiest men to serve as soldiers under the British flag. A total of 15, 000 African Servicemen were raised in Zambia to serve in the war.¹¹⁶ In some instances, Chiefs were told to release some of their best men to fight in the war. Towards the end of the war when British forces seemed to be out-numbered by rival armies, British recruiting officers began going to schools with height rulers. Students within the height range they were looking for would instantly be recruited whether they liked it or not. Then, they would proceed to Lusaka and Livingstone for training. Upon completing the short course, they would be deployed to different countries to fight under the British flag. Recruits from Zambia were involved in military campaigns in the Horn of Africa (Somaliland), the Middle East as far as Iraq, Italy, Burma, Malaya, Singapore and Japan. Some were combatants while some were not, but were involved in other works. In 1940, it was reported that 100 African motor drivers were being trained every month.¹¹⁷ In the same year, it was reported that 71 Africans from Northern Rhodesia were doing hospital work. In September, 1940, 32 had registered as soldiers from Luwingu in the Northern Province.¹¹⁸

This long war effort was severe in its effects on rural peoples. The strain of these war years worsened rural poverty. Worse still, farming systems were grossly undermined. Rural Zambia was deprived of its energetic young men. Reports indicated that many men died serving under the British flag. On November 30, 1940, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia indicated that 11 Africans had been killed in Somaliland, 31 were wounded and 51 were missing. The missing were believed to have been killed while 26 had been taken as Prisoners of War. These were from different

¹¹⁶ Quoted in Alfred Tembo, "The Impact of the Second World War on Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), 1939-1953", PhD Thesis, University of Free State, 2016, 3.

¹¹⁷ 'Northern Rhodesia's Part in the War: His Excellency the Governor Speaks at Lusaka', *Mutende Newspaper*, 12th September, 1940, 1.

¹¹⁸ See *Mutende Newspaper*, 11th April, 1940, 4. It was a short article written in Bemba. We translated what we extracted from it into English. See also, *Mutende Newspaper*, 26th September, 1940, 10. This article on the recruitment of Askaris from Luwingu was also written in Bemba.

parts of Northern Rhodesia.¹¹⁹ In Burma, many succumbed to malaria due to mosquitoes in the jungles. Assumption of male roles by women also meant the agricultural cycles of the communities from which these men were recruited were disturbed. Such views were expressed by a District Officer of Broken Hill. In a tour report, he stated:

With regard to the preservation and increase of food supplies, I would point out that as the calls for able-bodied men grow – mine, farm, road labour and now recruits, villages tend to be depleted of young men...one cannot have it both ways – increased food production and decrease in the number of producers ... absentees during the planting season are liable to affect food production.¹²⁰

In the North-Western part of Zambia, too, when war broke out, many local men were recruited as war material carriers for the British army. In Kasempa and Solwezi, a touring colonial official concluded that the absence of about 40% of able-bodied men in the early 1940s had a noticeable effect upon normal village organisation as the cutting of new gardens was behind schedule.¹²¹ This sentiment was in sharp contrast to Chabatama who argued that the absence of male labour did not seriously impair domestic food supply in the North-Western Province as female and child labour successfully replaced the absent male labour.¹²² The sentiment expressed by the touring official solidifies our viewpoint that up-rooting of the men-folk distorted gender roles in agriculture. The ultimate was negative repercussions on subsistence farming as was expressed by the official. In Kasama, it was reported that in Chief Chitimukulu's area, the local headmen reported that food shortages had grown worse after the war because of the absence of young men who did not always come back to cut their 'fitemene'.¹²³

¹¹⁹ *Mutende Newspaper*, 5th December, 1940.

¹²⁰ NAZ, MAG, 2/5/9 Broken Hill Tour Report No. 7, 1940.

¹²¹ NAZ, SEC 2/936, Kasempa and Solwezi Tour Reports, 1940-1947.

¹²² Chabatama, 'Peasant Farming, the State and Food Security in North-Western Province of Zambia', 180.

¹²³ NAZ, SEC 2/789, Kasama Tour Report No. 2, 1948.

It is clear from the above arguments that agricultural cycles of Zambia's ethnic groups were transformed and distorted by the recruitment of men to serve in the war. It is also right to argue that it was not always that coercion was used by the British when it came to recruiting Zambians to serve in this war. From the on-set, there was willingness on the part of Zambians to voluntarily serve in the war. Chitimukulu was on record as having said that his people were willing and ready to offer their services in defence of their country and empire.¹²⁴ In fact, some Chiefs and their people were even offering monetary help as a contribution to the war effort. That some men contributed to the war effort voluntarily does not change the fact that their absence spelt doom for their farming systems. Perhaps, as Rodney stated, "A number of Africans served as colonial soldiers with pride because they mistakenly hoped that the army would be an avenue for displaying the courage and dignity of Africans, and perhaps in the process, even earning the freedom of the continent by making Europeans pleased and grateful."¹²⁵

Conclusion

The chapter has demonstrated that division of roles in farming according to gender was a salient feature of the agricultural cycles of Zambia's ethnic groups prior to the advent of BSAC and British Colonial Office rule. We have underscored the important roles played by males and females in agriculture in the traditional Zambian societies. It has been argued that taxation and its 'twin', labour migration, the ban on 'chitemene', the creation of Native Reserves, and the two world wars were important phenomena that led to a distortion in gender roles in agriculture. Finance capital from the onset envisioned to proletarianise the local men for mines and farms across the borders of Zambia. This proletarianisation of the Zambian husbandman made the traditional agricultural economy to suffer a blow. The chapter has demonstrated that taxation and coerced labour recruitment were the major push factors that made many

¹²⁴ *Mutende Newspaper*, 12th September, 1939.

¹²⁵ Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. (London: L'Ouverture Publications Ltd., 1988), 188.

men to become labour migrants. To make matters worse, the creation of Native Reserves accelerated the process of labour migration as Africans moved from the deplorable conditions in the reserves to different employment centres within and outside the territory. Rural areas were also drained of able-bodied men during the first and second world wars when they were mobilized to serve under the British flag. It has been illustrated that peasants intermittently experienced food shortages due to the absence of men. Although measures were put in place by the remaining people in the villages to avert crises, such measures were at the expense of gender roles in agriculture. Women's recourse to adopt coping strategies to overcome the absence of men led to a re-definition of traditional gender roles in farming. By 1945, women's roles in agriculture were no longer restricted to weeding, cultivation, digging village gardens and other less strenuous tasks. They learnt to cut timber, to clear the cut area and to perform other tasks traditionally reserved for men. It was inevitable that they had to perform these masculine tasks.

Doubtless, industrial capitalism brought in a new division of labour. The burden of growing food crops increasingly became the domain of women. Before 1945, there were no visible cogent efforts at promoting African agriculture; focus was on settler farming. After World War Two, the Department of Agriculture introduced several simple but effective improvements in land husbandry among African farmers. Paradoxically, these improvements led to a further distortion of gender roles in agriculture. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: ROLES PLAYED BY MEN AND WOMEN IN FARMING, 1945-1964

Introduction

On a farm in Lusaka district, I was informed that some of the grown up native women are earning more than some of the men and the lazy man who loafers or absents himself from work, borrows money from the harder working wife.¹

These were the words of the Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia on his visit to the country from the United Kingdom in 1950. Paradoxically, Zambian women who were praised for being hardworking were, for the most part side-lined in the country's

¹ NAZ, MAG 2/5/28 'Report by the Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia in the United Kingdom on his visit to Northern Rhodesia for months March to May, 1950'

agricultural plan during the post-World War Two period. When the war ended, a ten-year Agricultural and Forestry Development Plan which ran from 1947 to 1957 was formulated. During ten-year period, a number of African agricultural schemes were established in the territory with the aim of commercialising traditional agriculture and ultimately increasing agricultural production in the territory. Although literature on gender in these schemes is scanty, the general conclusion drawn from the little literature available is that the post-war schemes set up under the plan were gender biased. It has been argued that before 1964, the government excluded women in the agricultural schemes set up in the territory. Thus, women did not secure loans as these loans and bonuses were restricted to peasants and improved farmers.² Keller contended that the deterioration of the food and nutritional status in the Western, Northern and Eastern provinces began to be noticed by the late 1940s. She pointed out that although the subsistence cultivation carried on by rural women subsidised the cheap wages paid to African male workers, the colonial administration did not offer programmes of agricultural assistance to farmers, largely women in the labour reserves.³ Thus, female productivity stagnated and, in some cases retrogressed. It is against this background that this chapter examines the extent to which the ten-year plan catered for the needs of both sexes.

We will begin the chapter by examining the plan. Our argument is that the African agricultural schemes established under the plan were gender specific as they basically catered for the needs of male farmers. Although in married households, women benefited from the schemes by virtue of their husbands being participants, the colonial state did not include female headed households in the schemes. We also argue that although rural development was priority during this period, in both agricultural

² See, for instance, Dorothy Muntamba, 'Women in Development', paper presented at the Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) Conference on Programme for the VSO agricultural policy in Zambia, Lusaka, 17–19 August, 1984, p.12; Maud Shimwayi Muntamba, 'Thwarted Development: A Case Study of Economic Change in Kabwe Rural district of Zambia, 1902-1970', in Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons (eds.) *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London: Heinemann, 1977), 359; Maud Shimwayi Muntamba, 'Women in Agricultural Change in the railway region of Zambia: Dispossession and Agricultural strategies, 1930–1970: paper presented to the symposium on 'Women and Work in Africa', Urbana, Champaign, 1979, 12.

³ Bonnie B. Keller, 'The Integration of Zambian Women in Development', Research Project funded by NORAD. Lusaka, November, 1984, 1.

education and in agricultural-related jobs, it was males who dominated. It is argued, in this chapter that cultural constraints, to some extent contributed to the failure by females to actively participate in the country's agricultural development as in traditional African societies, it was common for girls to be married off an early age. Ultimately, they did not go far in their education making it difficult for them to participate in the country's agricultural development. We further contend that despite the colonial state putting emphasis on stabilising men on the land, ultimately contributing to the development of rural Zambia, no visible cogent efforts were made in the post-World War Two period to halt labour migration. The mass migration of men from rural Zambia, we argue continued impacting negatively on gender roles in farming. It is our contention that although in isolated cases, the colonial state appreciated women's labour in farming and involved them in formal agricultural activities, by the time the territory attained independence in 1964, gender imbalances in the agricultural sector were still evident.

The Ten-Year Agricultural and Forestry Development Plan, 1947- 1957

In 1945, Provincial Commissioners in Northern Rhodesia were issued with copies of the Colonial Office statement on Colonial Development and Welfare together with a Memorandum on African Development Planning. They were asked to arrange for the preparation of District and Provincial Development Plans. In consequence, a series of discussions took place at district and provincial level directed towards the formulation of a development plan for Northern Rhodesia. The preparation of the first colonial plan for Northern Rhodesia was completed by 1945. However, it took two more years for it to be approved because of the numerous problems Northern Rhodesia was facing.

Bates argued that the government of Northern Rhodesia for much of its existence did not have enough funds.⁴ The Great Depression, originating from America sent shockwaves to the entire globe and deprived the government of Northern Rhodesia of revenues to do more than maintain the barest essentials in public service. From the 1920s to the 1940s, advancement in African agriculture was minimal as there was little

⁴ Robert H. Bates, *Rural Responses to Industrialisation* (London: Yale University Press, 1976), 45.

money to spare for improving African agriculture. A pathetically small Department of Agriculture concentrated on helping the few 100 white farmers.⁵ To make matters worse, no sooner had the depression ended than the country was embroiled in World War Two. The government utilised most of its revenue for war time mobilization rather than for development purposes.⁶ On top of expending money on the war, many agricultural staff were recruited to fight in the war. Gann made this point clear when he pointed out that:

The Administrators' task, of course was considerably more difficult than unofficial critics were apt to assume. The agricultural department like the district staff was over-worked and understaffed, recruits being almost impossible to get at a time when every available man was put in Khaki. The available men in service did what they could.⁷

After the war, Britain's financial position improved considerably. Therefore, she was ready to spend more on the development of the rural areas of her colonies. A legal framework was put in place and gave birth to the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. Under the Act, colonial development and welfare loans amounting to 240, 000 Pounds on a revolving basis was allotted to finance a scheme of rural expansion in Northern Rhodesia.⁸ For Northern Rhodesia, the ten-year plan was approved by the Legislative Council (Legco) on 11th February, 1947.⁹ Central to the visions of the officers who contributed to this plan was the idea of the creation, or re-orientation of rural society in Northern Rhodesia. It was felt that rural development meant first of all improving African farming because it was the best way for Africans in rural areas to earn money.¹⁰ On rural development as a whole, 1, 000,000 Pounds was to be spent

⁵ Richard Hall, *Zambia* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965), 127

⁶ Bates, *Rural Responses to Industrialisation*, 31.

⁷ L. H. Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964), 335.

⁸ NRG, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report for the Year 1953* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1954), 16.

⁹ NRG, *Legco Debates*, 30th November 1946 – 12th February, 1947 (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1947), 779.

while on agriculture specifically, only 717, 442 Pounds was to be spent.¹¹ There was strong emphasis that there was need to improve African farming and that positions needed to be filled by Africans.¹² By 1945, government agricultural services consisted of between 100 and 150 African fieldsmen ranging from Capitaos without formal training to rural assistants who had taken a two-year course in agriculture.¹³ It was as a result of this deficiency in African agricultural staff that the Secretary for Native affairs mentioned the urgent need for the training of African agricultural staff in the ten-year plan.¹⁴ Under the plan, extension of agricultural services to Africans would account for the greater part of increased expenditure. Tembo pointed out, “One of the most significant areas to benefit from the Ten-Year Development Plan was African peasant agriculture which had been hitherto neglected in preference for European settler agriculture.”¹⁵ The expenditure on agricultural services to Africans, it was hoped, would result in the preservation of the land, improvement of diet, an ultimate improvement in economic conditions and, in time, in a more concentrated distribution of population.¹⁶

It was during the post-World War Two period that, for the first time Britain took a keen interest in developing African agriculture. Hitherto, it was only mining ventures and the development of urban areas that were promoted. Lukanty and Wood emphasised this policy of non-development of the rural areas by the colonial state when they stated that:

.... Rather the colonial regime saw the urban and mining economies as the basis of the territory’s economic development with agriculture fulfilling a

¹⁰ NRG, *Better Living for Rural Africans: An Account of Rural Development in Northern Rhodesia*, 1954, 2.

¹¹ NRG, *Better Living for Rural Africans*, 9.

¹² C. J. Lewin, *Agricultural and Forestry Development Plans for 10 Years* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1945), 8.

¹³ S. M. Makings, *Agricultural Change in Northern Rhodesia, 1945 – 1965* (Los Angeles: Food Research Institute, 1966), 203-204.

¹⁴ NAZ, SEC 3/460, Extract from Hansard No. 58, 25th September, 1947.

¹⁵ Alfred Tembo, ‘The Impact of the Second World War on Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), 1939-1953’, PhD Thesis, University of Free State, 2016, 218.

¹⁶ NAZ, Box 25, ‘Agriculture Miscellaneous’

subservient supporting role by providing a reliable but most importantly, cheap supply of food for the urban population. Investment by the state in agriculture was restricted in spatial and racial terms as well as in total funds.¹⁷

As a result of the war, Britain was heavily indebted due to the fact that she had borrowed heavily to finance her war efforts. Therefore, she was aware that increased colonial production would serve to aid the reconstruction of her economy. Internally, the mines were stabilising their labour during that period and therefore an urban community grew that needed to be fed. Changes in land policy were also made during the 1940s because it was the wish of the government to conserve soil fertility and improve productivity through introducing special and strict farming rules for Africans.¹⁸ It was because of these factors that funds were allotted under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act for the development of African agriculture. To promote African agriculture, the Board of African agriculture was set up in 1949. Three agricultural schemes were established in the territory as part of the ten-year plan. In the next section, we discuss the goals of these schemes. We will then investigate the extent to which they incorporated both sexes.

The African Farming Improvement Scheme (AFIS)

This scheme was financed from an African Farming Improvement Fund (AFIF). It was started in 1946 in Southern Province. As part of the ten-year plan, it was extended to the Central Province in 1952. The aim was to encourage the African farmers to adopt new methods of farming by giving them financial inducement and practical knowledge in agriculture. Producers received bonus in cash per bag if the African farmer delivered the bags of maize to the depot using his own transport. Their work was inspected by Agricultural Officers. An improved farmer was described as a producer who qualified for a bonus under the African Farming Improved Fund

¹⁷ Jadwiga Lukanty and Adrian Paul Wood, 'Agricultural Policy in the Colonial Period', in Adrian Paul Wood et al (eds.), *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia* (Iowa: Iowa University Press, 1990), 9.

¹⁸ Ackson M. Kanduza, 'Land and Peasant Politics in Chipata District, 1890s-1980' in Kanduza (ed.), *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia: Pre-colonial to the 1980s*, 53

(AFIF).¹⁹ He was considered to be a progressive farmer who generally had assets and advanced more than producers in the villages and others in the schemes. The improved farmers had made gradual and steady progress in adopting prescribed farming methods and improving total commercial production. The improved farmer was the master farmer who had progressively reduced loan facilities from the government.²⁰ This scheme was confined to the Southern, Central and Eastern Provinces.

The Peasant Farming Scheme (PFS)

Central to the visions of the officers who laid out the ten-year plan was the idea of transforming rural society through the setting up of this scheme. The main purpose of the recommendations made to government was to get the maximum number of Africans in the shortest possible time to abandon their indigenous systems of destructive cultivation, employing the axe and hoe in favour of simple farming employing implements, crop rotation, composting and contour ridging.²¹ Africans were to move from their traditional farming practices to modern forms of farming and were to adopt crop rotation practices instead of shifting cultivation. They were also to learn how to use compost manure as a fertilizing agent in place of ash and how to use contour ridging in farming. Kanduzza argued that in the view and intention of the Colonial Administration, the Peasant Farming Scheme was to be superior to the African Farming Improvement Scheme.²² The first Peasant Farming Scheme was started in 1948 at Kawaza, Katete in Eastern Province under the supervision of the Provincial Administration. Principally, there were two types of African peasant farmers under the scheme, that is, the block and the individual. The block catered for the African peasant farmer who had no capital assets of his own and would probably open a new field in the near future while the individual catered for the progressive individual who generally

¹⁹ NAZ, Fort Jameson District Note-book Volume III, 'Peasant Farming in the Fort Jameson District of Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia'

²⁰ C. W. Tembo, 'Peasants and Resettlement Schemes in Chama-Lundazi, 1954 – 1980', in Kanduzza (ed.), *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia*, 137.

²¹ NAZ, Fort Jameson District Note-book Volume III.

²² Kanduzza, 'Land and Peasant Politics in Chipata District, 1890s – 1980', in Kanduzza (ed.), 53.

had some tangible assets of his own and had already developed his holding to a great extent. By 1953, the farms were located in central, eastern, western and northern Zambia.²³ Kalusa and Mtonga pointed out that Kalonga Gawa Undi X, Paramount Chief of the Chewa speaking people of eastern Zambia who assumed power in 1953 was an enthusiastic supporter of the imperial drive to promote modern farming in the colony and stressed the value of peasant commodity production. Therefore, by the end of the 1950s, he possessed two farms; a big one at his Nyaviombo Palace at Chiparamba near Chipata and a smaller farm near his second palace at Mkaika in Katete.²⁴

The colonial state advanced the shortage of able-bodied men in rural areas and ultimately cultivation falling in the hands of women as one reason for introducing the scheme. It was felt that the movement of able-bodied men from rural areas to towns due to the meagre incomes derived from 'chitemene' was depriving rural areas of males. At an administrative conference of Provincial Commissioners in 1949, J. Moffat, Commissioner for Native Development and one of the designers of the scheme pointed out that the farming scheme tried to stabilise the African on the land and thereby encouraged his social progress which could not develop under his unstable method of life and agriculture at the time.²⁵ It was argued that in so far as rural development was concerned, the plan would be able to get the maximum number of Africans in the shortest possible time to abandon their 'Chitemene' or other indigenous systems using axes or hoes in favour of farming with simple farm implements.²⁶ It was noted that the African cultivated a given area of land for 2 or 3 years, made no provision for rotation of crops and when the soil got exhausted moved to another. The argument was that the

²³ For details on the location of these schemes, see NRG, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report for 1951* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1952), 17 and Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report, 1953*, 15-16.

²⁴ Walima T. Kalusa in collaboration with Mapopa Mtonga, *Kalonga Gawa Undi X: A Biography of an African Chief and Nationalist* (Lusaka: The Lembani Trust, 2010), 60-66.

²⁵ Han Seur, 'Peasants, policy and the plough: The Introduction, adoption and transformation of agricultural innovations in Chibale Chiefdom, Central Province', in Kate Crehan and Achim Von Oppen (eds.), *Planners and History: Negotiating 'development' in rural Zambia* (Lusaka: Multimedia Zambia, 1994), 162-163.

²⁶ NAZ, SEC 2/336, Extracts from a report on Rural Development for the five months ending 31st August, 1947.

income derived from such methods of agriculture was very small, prompting the African to move to town where he could earn cash earnings leaving rural areas to be practiced principally by the womenfolk.²⁷ To discourage 'chitemene', there was now emphasis on maintaining and increasing subsidiary gardens and the production of subsidiary crops. In Mkushi, Native Authority orders were even issued to increase food production. The Assistant Director of Agriculture went so far as to say, 'all married women must work hard in the gardens and unmarried women must have a garden!'²⁸ All these orders were in the name of discouraging 'chitemene' and promoting hoed gardens.

The scheme was essentially the starting point for a rural development plan. In sum, the British Colonial Office in describing the goals of the scheme pointed out that:

An experimental Peasant Farming Scheme has been started with the following objectives; to wean the native cultivator from his traditional system of shifting agriculture to a permanent settled system of tenant farming which will improve the fertility of the soil and preserve the natural resources of his country; to inject capital into native agriculture; to anchor the population and concentrate it on more fertile areas to permit a higher standard of living and a better application of social services and to encourage co-operative effort.²⁹

Officially expressed, the policy was "to try to establish permanent African farming communities on a tenant-farming basis, the Native Authority being the Landlord, under the enlightened supervision of the Provincial Administration and the Agricultural Department."³⁰ Under the scheme, peasant farmers received assistance by way of loans for the purchase of cattle, implements, fertilizer and other seasonal requirements. The

²⁷ For details on why Peasant Farming Schemes were set up, see NAZ, MAG 2/21/28, 'Peasant Farming'; NAZ, SEC 3/478 Volume I, "From Commissioner for Native Development to the Honourable Secretary for Native Affairs, Lusaka: 31/12/47 'Aim of Serenje Scheme'; NAZ, Kasama District Note-book Volume IV and NAZ SEC 2/336, Appendix 2 'Peasant Farming Schemes'.

²⁸ NAZ, Mkushi District Note-book Volume II, 'Minutes (Extracts) from Assistant Director in relation to Land Usage and Improvement', 31/7/51.

²⁹ Great Britain, Colonial Office Notes on some Agricultural Development Schemes in Africa and Aden, April, 1953, 69.

³⁰ NRG, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report, 1950* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1951), 13.

loans were also used for the clearing and stumping of land as well as for the construction of conservation and irrigation works. It was calculated that from the inception of peasant farming in 1948 to December, 1953, a sum of 48, 113 Pounds had been lent to African farmers under the Colonial Development and Welfare Scheme.³¹ Supervision and technical assistance were provided by the Agricultural Department and where necessary, marketing was arranged through co-operatives. The Commissioner for Native Development suggested that government was to supply each farm unit with a complete set of implements; 2 single ploughs, 1 ridging plough, 1 cultivator, 1 harrow, 1 planter, and 1 cart.³²

The Intensive Rural Development Programme (IRDP)

In 1956, the Rhodesian Selection Trust (RST) lent the Northern Rhodesian government 2 million Pounds to encourage rural development in the areas from which the copper mines drew their labour. The Northern Rhodesian Government responded by initiating an intensive 2 million Pounds development programme in the Northern and Luapula Provinces for the period 1957 – 1960.³³ As part of the project, depot farms were set up for the training of Africans in techniques of modern farming. Trainees were to be provided with land nearby in order to form the core of an agricultural community that, it was hoped would influence farming activities in the entire area. The activities of this programme were confined to the Northern and Luapula Provinces.

Rural Development Schemes: Gender sensitive or not?

Making reference to developing countries, Boserup argued that:

European settlers, colonial administrators and technical advisers are largely responsible for deterioration in the status of women in the agricultural sectors of developing countries. It was they who neglected

³¹ NAZ, MAG 2/21/58, From Acting Deputy Accountant General to the Commissioner for Rural Development, 8/10/56.

³² NAZ, SEC 2/336, 'Peasant Farm Blocks –Experimental Scheme, 1948 -1949'

³³ See, Baldwin, *Economic Development and Export Growth*, 202; Jeremy Gould, *Luapula Dependence or Development?* Zambia Geographical Association Regional Handbook 6, Finnish Society for Development Studies Monograph 3, 1989, 144; S. M. Makings, *Agricultural Change in Northern Rhodesia, 1945-1965* (Los Angeles: Food Research Institute, 1966), 230.

the female agricultural labour force when they helped to introduce modern commercial agriculture to the overseas world and promoted the productivity of male labour.³⁴

We are in agreement with her viewpoint. It is our contention that, like the rest of the developing world, the female agricultural labour force in Zambia was neglected when agriculture was commercialised by the colonial state. When agricultural schemes were established in the territory, they were directed at men who the state perceived as farmers. Tour reports indicate that when these schemes were born, Africans began to appreciate and join them. On a tour of Southern Province, the District Commissioner pointed out that:

Improved farming is making good progress among Chief Singani's people. I would attribute this to the fact that the results of rotation with fertilizer and manure are much more marked in these sandy soils than in the good maize producing areas of the plateau. I was approached during my tour by five people anxious to become improved farmers next season.³⁵

Similar views were expressed in another tour report which read that, "The response to our efforts at improving agricultural methods in the district, particularly in Chief Mayumbwe's area has been so satisfactory that the main problem is becoming one of supervision."³⁶ In Katete, it was reported in 1951 that of the 447 bags of groundnuts marketed in 1951, 361 were the produce of 24 peasant farmers.³⁷ Pleased at the successful harvests of improved farmers in Mazabuka, a touring official remarked, "The improved farmers all have healthy looking crops, but far too many other people have gardens full of weeds and dead maize only three feet high!"³⁸ One Joseph Chongo, the

³⁴ Esther Boserup, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1970), 54.

³⁵ MAG, 2/5/18, Southern Province Tour Report No. 1, 1954.

³⁶ MAG, 2/5/18, Gwembe Tour Report No. 2, 1953. Baldwin, however disputed the fact that these schemes were successful arguing that although pursued until independence, these schemes never involved more than 2% of the farm population and produced less than 10% of African marketed production. See Baldwin, *Economic Development and Export Growth*, 166.

³⁷ NRG, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report, 1951* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1952), 17.

first improved farmer in the area was even praised for comparing favourably with European farmers.³⁹ From these sentiments, what strongly comes out is that colonial officials were appreciating the participation of Africans in the schemes. If the view of colonial administrators was that the schemes were received with acclaim by participants, our question is, 'Did these schemes accommodate farmers of both sexes?'

In colonial reports, women do not come out as participants in the schemes established in the territory as part of the ten-year plan. It was only in married households that, to some extent, women benefited from the agricultural knowledge imparted to their husbands. As a way of increasing yields, modern implements and methods began to be used by farmers. Men who controlled household cash used these implements on cash crops and only allowed them to be used on their wives' fields when they did not need them, mostly at the end of the rainy season. Consequently, yields from women's fields did not increase. Loans were made available under the AFIF to participants in AFIS. Muntamba noted that although legally there was no barrier against single women in particular applying for loans, 20th Century developments worked against them. Their chances of getting loans were diminished by the fact that none of them became 'progressive' farmers. None were given chance to be peasant or improved farmers.⁴⁰

Central Province was among the provinces in which many agricultural schemes were set up after 1945. Evidently, the schemes set up in the province were gender specific. They were primarily directed towards male farmers. For instance, while boys were receiving instruction in agriculture, the instruction was not extended to girls. In 1948, it was reported that 80 school boys from the Copperbelt Province were camped on one of the Peasant Farm groups in Serenje, Central Province, where they were instructed in the principles of the scheme and did practical work alongside farmers and labourers. No mention was made of girls receiving such instruction.⁴¹ The schemes'

³⁸ NAZ, SEC 2/1060, Mazabuka Tour Report No. 3, 1951.

³⁹ NAZ, SEC 2/1060, Mazabuka Tour Report No. 9, 1951.

⁴⁰ Muntamba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia, Kabwe Rural District, 1850 – 1970', 351.

⁴¹ NAZ, MAG 2/5/24, Annual Report for Serenje for the year ending 31st October, 1948.

bias towards male farmers came out when it was indicated in the same report that most of the farmers came from villages many miles from the farm sites so *they* and *their wives* had to make frequent visits to their homes to get funds and to attend to village gardens.⁴² It is clear from the report that the assumption was that it was only men who were farmers. Doubtless, women were not in the picture. They were referred to just as ‘wives of farmers’ and not as ‘farmers’. In 1948 and 1949, discussions took place among authorities to present plans for agricultural schemes and win recruits in Nchimishi-Mulembo, an area in Serenje district. According to official instructions, the schemes had to be presented to the male villagers.⁴³ No mention was made of the plans being presented to female villagers. What strongly comes out is that these schemes that the colonial state was planning to set up in Serenje were not designed to incorporate both sexes. Rather, they were purely a male enterprise. In a tour of Serenje, a Cadet reported that the district was well populated with individual farms which were granted, in many cases, to *men* of no special ability or experience in farming.⁴⁴ Nowhere in the tour report was there any mention of farms being granted to women.

It was difficult for women to commercialise their farming activities even if they wanted to because funding stood as a major constraint. Loans were only availed to scheme members and since women were not participants in the schemes, they were not able to access the loans. At a meeting of the Peasant Farm sub-committee, held on 4th October, 1962 in Broken Hill, it was stated that no farmer over 40 years should be granted a loan. Minutes at the meeting read in part, ‘.... It does seem reasonable to suppose that, among other things, being equal, a younger *man* would be thought to have a better claim to a loan than one over 40.’⁴⁵ Younger women were not mentioned meaning that it was only men who were entitled to such loans. In a memorandum, it was noted that in one district, it came to notice that in order to avoid delay in

⁴² NAZ, MAG 2/5/24, Annual Report for Serenje for the year ending 31st October, 1948.

⁴³ Seur, ‘Peasants, policy and the plough: The introduction, adoption and transformation of agricultural innovators in Chibale Chiefdom, Central Province’, 162.

⁴⁴ NAZ, SEC 2/668, Serenje Tour Report No. 12, 1956

⁴⁵ NAZ, MAG 2/21/58, From Permanent Secretary, Ministry of African Agriculture to Chief Agricultural Officer, Broken Hill, 11th April, 1963.

establishing *men* on farms, loan applications had been signed by the peasant farmer. The memorandum read in part ‘... the completion of the agreement serves to define the peasant farmer and distinguishes *him* from other cultivators.’⁴⁶ Similarly, in a meeting to discuss bonuses under AFIS in Broken Hill in 1960, it was the word *men* and not *women* that came out. An officer noted that, “the scheme has been running in the province for 10 years and *men* who joined the scheme this year will be eligible for a five-year bonus.”⁴⁷ Women were not mentioned as being would-be beneficiaries of the bonuses in the scheme. It was not only loans that males benefited from. Use of agricultural technology was also a male preserve while women continued using the hoe. Muntamba was of the view that women hardly applied fertilisers and used hoes in their fields. She noted that:

After all, if the males were the ones given loans to purchase equipment, it was only logical that such individuals be given corresponding techniques necessary for expanded production if the loans were to be repaid, and the objective of increased peasant contribution to the economy was to be realised.⁴⁸

The examples we have presented have unequivocally demonstrate that females in the Central Province did not benefit from the agricultural schemes established in the province. While male farmers benefited from agricultural technology, female farmers remained enshrined in traditional farming methods.

Like the Central Province, the Eastern province was also a major beneficiary of the ten-year development plan. In terms of gender insensitivity, the picture was no different from other provinces. It was apparent, from the onset that membership in the schemes set up in the province was primarily directed at males. A report of 1949 read, “The ten peasant farms at Katete are in their third year and these *men* are very loath to

⁴⁶ NAZ, MAG 2/21/58, From S. A. Stone, Acting Deputy Registrar to the Commissioner for Rural Development, Lusaka, 8th October, 1956.

⁴⁷ NAZ, MAG 2/2/61, Minutes of the 4th meeting of the Central Province African Farming Improvement Fund held in Broken Hill on 27th June, 1960.

⁴⁸ Muntamba, ‘Thwarted Development: A Case Study of Economic change in Kabwe Rural District of Zambia, 1902 – 1970’, 359.

share implements as was the original intention.”⁴⁹ By implication, it was only men that became Peasant Farmers in the Eastern Province schemes. Making reference to improved farmers in Kanyanja Parish in Chipata, the District Officer stated that:

The standard of agriculture is very high in Kanyanja Parish. Europeans are often critical about the way Africans exploit their land. Kanyanja Parish provides a lesson for many European farmers. There is room for the *man* with capital and for the *man* without capital in the Peasant Farming Scheme. The *man* with capital gets off to a better start...I think *he* will fit into place as a cooperative member or as an improved farmer where land is limited.⁵⁰

This quote brings to the fore that at Kanyanja Parish of Chipata, the situation was not different from other areas – that the target group in Peasant Farms was male and not female. In a tour of Fort Jameson in 1949, it was reported that 25 improved farmers were visited, all male.⁵¹ Another report indicated that 20 men were carrying out improved farming methods in the Ngoni country.⁵² Report findings from a Ngoni-land Utilisation Survey showed that improved farming in the area was a male enterprise. Making reference to improved farmers, the survey read, ‘The successful *men* will demonstrate by practical experience that a decent living can be made by staying on the land and by farming it properly.’⁵³ Here again, like in all other reports, it was *men* and not *women* that were made reference to. Making reference to the PFS in the Eastern Province, the Chief Agricultural Officer wrote that, “I cannot over emphasise that this scheme is the most important facet of rural development in the province and there should be no complacency until 15% of the total male population has been registered as farmers.”⁵⁴ In some notes, in the Eastern Province, the Acting Director of Agriculture also wrote that:

⁴⁹ NRG, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1949 (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1950), 10.

⁵⁰ NAZ, SEC 2/691, Fort Jameson Tour Report No. 21, 1949, Annexure I (Agriculture).

⁵¹ NAZ, SEC 2/691, Fort Jameson Tour Report No. 19, 1949, Annexure II (Agriculture).

⁵² NAZ, SEC 2/691, Fort Jameson Tour Report No. 17, 1949.

⁵³ NRG., *Ngoni-land Utilisation Survey, 1954 – 1955*, 53.

In the Eastern Province, it is an enterprise which up to now has appealed mainly to the older *man* with a family and we have done little to attract younger *men* with higher educational standard to the industry – an omission which we should be at pains to remedy as soon as possible.⁵⁵

The Acting Director of Agriculture aptly demonstrated that in the Eastern Province, Peasant Farming was a male preserve when he pointed out that, “Generally, the success of a peasant farm rests with the individual farmer, on *his* industry, *his* ability, *his* knowledge, *his* initiative”⁵⁶. These quotations are significant in understanding the gender biases that were in the agricultural schemes that were set up in the Eastern Province. It is crystal clear, from the examples drawn from different colonial reports we have cited that there were gender imbalances in the agricultural schemes set up in the province.

Improved farming schemes were established in the Southern Province so that peasants could produce surplus maize to feed the growing urban population. These schemes set up in the Southern Province were also gender insensitive. New technology (ploughs) and other techniques were directed at male heads of households, and wives, mostly in polygamous marriages were used as cheap labour. Agricultural scheme members used the available loan function to own agricultural equipment. Since the responsibility for repayment of loans rested in the hands of males, such individuals came to believe that, they rather than their wives or children owned the new technological devices.⁵⁷ After the war, tractor technology began to appear. For instance, 62 tractors were in African ownership in the two maize-growing provinces of the Southern and Central Provinces of the territory by 1955.⁵⁸ Many Africans acquired

⁵⁴ NAZ, MAG 2/21/60, From Chief Agricultural Research Officer to the Minister of Agriculture, ‘Peasant Farming Funds’, 3rd December, 1960.

⁵⁵ NAZ, MAG 2/21/60, Acting Director of Agriculture, ‘Notes on Peasant Farming in Eastern Province’, 11th April, 1961.

⁵⁶ NAZ, MAG 2/21/60, Acting Director of Agriculture, ‘Notes on Peasant Farming in the Eastern Province’, 11th April, 1961.

⁵⁷ Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation*, 116

⁵⁸ NRG, *Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1955* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1956), 2.

ploughs, cultivators and harrows as they were associated with commodity production. However, males as heads of households became the owners of the new technology and even the households headed by women (widows) could not escape paternal control of the new technology as they still had to negotiate for services (loaning, hiring, borrowing) with male relatives and neighbours possessing such technology.⁵⁹ Allan pointed out that AFIF was begun in the Southern province in the 1946-1947 season using differential maize prices to stimulate the adoption of improved methods of farming, a form of incentive which was later changed to an acreage bonus payment for administrative reasons. Making reference to bonus payments, the word *he* and not *she* came out.

He stated that:

When it is clear that a cultivator has not fulfilled the obligations that the scheme imposes on *him*, *he* loses part or the entire bonus, but *he* may remain on the list of improved farmers until *he* becomes a persistent offender.⁶⁰

There was a total of 13 improved farmers registered under the AFIS in the 1948/1949 season in the Keemba Hill area of Mazabuka who were all male.⁶¹ What comes out then is that in the schemes set up in the Southern Province, it was basically males that were catered for.

Gender imbalances in the schemes were also evident in the Northern Province. The Luitikila Basin Development area was set up in Mpika district composed of the Chalwe Block opened in 1956, the Chisanga Block, 1959/1960 and Malashe, 1960/1961. The farming system supervised by the Agricultural Department was designed to preserve the soils and improve their fertility, to provide the occupants with subsistence and cash crops and to introduce the new farmers to modern farming. However, it was again males who were participants in this scheme as can be seen in this clause which read, "A 'house-plot' is provided on which the farmer may grow *his* own

⁵⁹ Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation*, 116

⁶⁰ Allan, *The African Husbandman*, 418.

⁶¹ NAZ, SEC 2/1060, Mazabuka Tour Report No. 4, 1951.

choice of crops. Most of the farmers participating in the development scheme are local *men* and many maintain strong ties with their villages.”⁶² No mention was made of local women being participants in the Mpika farming scheme. Moore and Vaughan also aptly demonstrated the fact that the schemes in the Northern Province had no female participants. Making reference to why schemes were set up in post-World War Two era in the province, they argued that:

There had been a slow realisation on the part of the colonial authorities in the Northern Province, as elsewhere in Africa that reforming the agricultural practices of the masses won a near hopeless task. It now cried the best hope for the Northern Province was to concentrate attention and resources on progressive (male) individuals whose successful farming enterprises might eventually create local employment and fuel the development of a regional economy.⁶³

It is clearly shown in the quote that it was only males who rose to the ranks of being progressive farmers. Moore and Vaughan further pointed out that Vernon Brelsford, a Colonial officer and an avid student of the Bemba wrote a lot on schemes opened in the Northern Province. They were quick to point out that nowhere in Brelsford’s report nor, indeed, in any of the discussion of peasant farming schemes at that time was there any mention of the role of women’s labour in those enterprises as Peasant farmers were, by definition male enterprises.⁶⁴ When plans were made to grow coffee in the schemes in the Northern Province, again reference was made to men and not women. In a 1961 Colonial report, it was stressed that provision needed to be made of potential coffee growers in the North. The report read in part, ‘These *men* may need loans to establish coffee and to look after it for the next 2/3 years until it comes into bearing.’⁶⁵

⁶² Kay, ‘Agricultural Change in the Luitikila Basin Development Area, Mpika District, Northern Rhodesia’, 41.

⁶³ Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, 116.

⁶⁴ Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, 121. They further argued that in the late 1940s, there were plenty of examples of successful Bemba agricultural communities in Kasama. However, an interesting thing about these examples was that they were all men. Women, who were innovators were not mentioned in these enterprises.

⁶⁵ NAZ, MAG 2/21/58, From Chief Agricultural Officer to the Permanent Secretary, African Agriculture, 11th November, 1961

In this quote, the assumption was that it was men who were deemed as being suitable to grow coffee. Hence, the loans were clearly going to be availed to them and not women coffee growers. Doubtless, from the examples cited above, the Northern Province agricultural schemes, like in other provinces were also gender specific. It was men who benefited from them.

Though few agricultural schemes were established on the Copperbelt and in the Barotse Provinces, where they existed, they again seemed to be a male enterprise. In a letter from the Director of Agriculture to the Provincial Agricultural Officer (PAO), Ndola, the Director of Agriculture requested for a picture of the Peasant Farming Scheme in the province. The response from the PAO indicated that there were 16 participants in the scheme who were all male.⁶⁶ Hellen also noted that there were 16 Peasant Farmers in Ndola district and it was hoped that with a lucrative market close at hand, those *men* would be in the forefront of increased output of poultry and vegetables to supply African compounds.⁶⁷ In the Barotse Province, as part of post-Second World War rural development, drainage works were begun and many canals were sunk. In 1949, the Colonial government opened the Sitoloki Canal and other canals were dug in the area of Inkona Mission. However, though women were primary cultivators, they were not given or exposed to the skill and knowledge about opening the canals. Mboma noted that ‘canal courses’ were only attended by men, namely, *kapasus* and *indunas*.⁶⁸ Evidently, in these two provinces, agricultural knowledge was just imparted to the male population.

From the examples we have cited, what comes to the fore is that these schemes set up in the period after the war were gender specific. They were biased towards men and excluded women who were not recognised as farmers or potential producers. The quote below from a Colonial report further justifies our findings:

⁶⁶ NAZ, MAG 2/21/58, From Provincial Agricultural Officer, Ndola to the Director of Agriculture, 23rd May, 1957.

⁶⁷ Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia*, 73.

⁶⁸ Mboma, ‘The Changing Role of women in Agriculture in Kalabo District, 1906 – 1986’, 65-68.

The Peasant Farmer has become an important figure in the rural scene and with *him* has come the concept of farming for profit. *He* is a *man* of substance and the community in which *he* lives has amenities which are lacking in the village. *He* represents a better way of life where food is ample...*his* educative influence on the social side has been striking.⁶⁹

When Peasant Farms were declared, there were some principles set for the guidance of technical staff responsible for laying out the farms. One of them was that it needed to be possible for an average family using simple ox-drawn implements to cultivate the farm without requiring any labour outside the immediate family circle.⁷⁰ Tembo pointed out that farmers in the schemes usually used family labour including dependants.⁷¹ In correspondence between the Acting Secretary of Native Affairs and the Provincial Commissioner, Fort Jameson, the Acting Secretary of Native Affairs also stated that plots in Peasant Farms were worked by a man and his family.⁷² A Tonga Land Tenure Report read in part, ‘... Today, many Tongas, especially improved farmers work their family units with wife and children helping on the farm.’⁷³ What comes out from these quotations is that Peasant Farms were deemed as family farms in which the whole family was incorporated. Evidently, despite being deemed family farms, female headed households were not included in the plans for Peasant Farms. In spite of emphasis being on family labour, women were not seen as heads of families. The memorandum of 25th August, 1949 and the Southern Province Land Tenure Report No. 1 of 1957 make reference to, “a man and his family”. Yet, it is a well-known fact that some families are headed by women. Despite this, women were not seen as heads of families and as farmers in their own right. In fact, Chipungu argued that these schemes just made the

⁶⁹ *Department of Agriculture, Annual Report*, 1954, 11

⁷⁰ Kay, *Changing Patterns of Settlement and Land-Use in the Eastern Province of Northern Rhodesia*, 43.

⁷¹ Christopher W. Tembo, ‘The Establishment and Development of Peasant Farming Schemes in Eastern Province: A Case Study of Lundazi District, 1954 – 1976’, M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1988, 32.

⁷² NAZ, SEC 2/691, From Acting Secretary for Native Affairs to the Provincial Commissioner, Fort Jameson, 25th August, 1949.

⁷³ NRG, Land Tenure Report, No. 1, Southern Province, 1957, 20.

Tonga men to use women as instruments on their farms. He echoed Wright's view who argued that it was partly the need for labour that made many rich peasants on the plateau to increasingly invest in polygamy in the post-World War Two period. Wright pointed out that, "The monogamous family no longer monopolized the ranks of rich peasants. The polygyny of the upper middle peasants of 1945 now pervaded the entire category of progressive farmers by the time of Zambia's political independence."⁷⁴ That the schemes set up after the war were gender specific cannot be doubted. Our findings have been supported by the strong corroborative evidence we have presented. Worse still, although rural development was emphasised after the war, even in agricultural education, there were gender imbalances.

Gender and Agricultural education

Within and outside the framework of agricultural schemes, agricultural education focused on males as opposed to females. Colonial reports both before and after World War Two pointed to the importance given to males in agricultural education. A report of 1930 gives credence to our argument.

It read in part:

It has been pointed out in previous reports that progress in native agriculture must, to a great extent, be dependent upon the instruction given to young boys ... the policy of taking every opportunity of instructing boys in agriculture, and in the prospects offered by the production of foodstuffs offers the best results.⁷⁵

The importance attached to males as opposed to females in agricultural education, therefore cannot be over-emphasised. This report sums up our argument.

Colonial reports indicate that in agricultural education, women were side-lined. In the post-war years, agricultural education was biased towards males. This bias strongly came out in the ten-year development plan. What was apparent in the plan was that it was basically formulated to cater for males and not for both sexes. The word

⁷⁴ Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation*, 120 and Wright, "Technology, Marriage and Women's Work in the History of Maize growers in Mazabuka, Zambia: A Reconnaissance", 82.

⁷⁵ NRG, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report for the Year 1929* (London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1930), 6.

‘women’ did not come out in the plan. Rather, throughout the plan, it was the word ‘men’ that came out. It was argued in the plan that:

During the ten-year period, a senior class of African employee should develop which will, in time take over the duties of the European Agricultural Supervisor. These *men* should be of matriculation plus a diploma course in agriculture taken at Makerere or some other institution ... the training would cost 250 Pounds per pupil and if 200 *men* are trained, the cost will be 5000 Pounds.⁷⁶

The plan also read in part:

Under the plan, extension of agricultural services to Africans will account for the greater part of increased expenditure. Posts should be filled by Africans. Rural assistants (corresponding to the present graded staff) will be *men* who have passed Standard VI and who may have had two years of special training.⁷⁷

Just like the plans suggested, when agricultural colleges began to be opened, the trainees were male. In 1947, it was reported that 25 schools were opened in the Northern Province, each staffed with an agricultural teacher trained at Senga Agricultural Teachers’ Training College. The report read in part, “... these *men* are qualified teachers whose training has a strong agricultural bias.”⁷⁸ In a tour of Fort Jameson to a Ngoni Farm where he held a meeting with the surrounding improved farmers to discuss the coming season, the Provincial Commissioner, among other issues discussed the arrangement of courses in agriculture and carpentry at the farm. He pointed out that:

school who would carry on for a further one year as though attending school and taking the course.⁷⁹

.... It was suggested

⁷⁶ NRG, *Ten Year Plan as approved by Legco 11th February, 1947*, 29.

⁷⁷ NRG, C. J. Lewin, *Agricultural and Forestry Development Plans for 10 years* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1945), 8.

⁷⁸ NRG, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report, 1947* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1948), 13.

⁷⁹ NAZ, SEC 2/291, Fort Jameson Tour Report No. 17, 1949 Annexure II, ‘Ngoni Farm and Improved Farmers’

In the quotations, it is clear that agricultural training was primarily for males. In the Southern Province, most of the Agricultural Assistants were products of Monze Agricultural Training School, an institution established in 1949 for the purpose of producing African extension workers for the Department of Agriculture. It was *men* with a Standard 4 education who were trained for two years in the practice and theory of agriculture.⁸⁰ A 1949 report indicated that 36 students were drawn from all six provinces at the start of the year and that by the end of the year, they were reduced to 23 *men*.⁸¹ The report did not indicate enrolment of females at the college. Similarly, in the Northern Province, an agricultural school was opened at Lunzuwa in Abercorn in August, 1950 where residents attended a two-year course. It was reported that by 1954, the school had trained three courses of students to become African Agricultural Assistants and join the Department of Agriculture and that a fourth course of students numbering 24 boys completed their first year exams while 29 boys were at the school doing a three-months' labour period which was asked for all candidates before entering the school officially.⁸² After 1951, the station became a demonstration centre for practical farming methods to train the school boys in sound farming methods.⁸³ It is vivid from the statistics we have presented that it was only males that were enrolled into this college. Another report of 1959 also showed these gender imbalances in agricultural education. It pointed out that a new scheme was to be opened at Mungwi in the Northern Province which was to include training farms, irrigation training farms and extension farms. It was indicated in the report that, "Facilities will be available for the training annually of 21 farmers and 12 irrigation small-holders. Direct entry to the

⁸⁰ NRG, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report, 1947*, 10; See also Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation*, 88.

⁸¹ NRG, *Department of Agriculture, Annual Report, 1949*, 8.

⁸² NAZ, Abercorn District Note-book Volume I, 'Short Notes on the History and Objects of Lunzuwa Agricultural Station and School', 21st August, 1954.

⁸³ NAZ, Abercorn District Note-book Volume I, 'Short Notes on the History and Objects of Lunzuwa Agricultural Station and School', 21st August, 1954.

extension farms will be *men* who already possess agricultural knowledge and experience will also be considered.”⁸⁴

Gender imbalances in agricultural education were also evident in the Central Province. Nchimishi-Mulembo, an area in the province was chosen as the site for one of the five Peasant Farming Schemes in Serenje. Both within and outside the framework of the scheme, agricultural education had always been directed towards the male population of Serenje.⁸⁵ Muntamba also argued that unmarried women faced worse constraints in agricultural education as they were not given any training. She noted that since they had no husbands to give them second hand information on modern techniques, many women continued to use the hoe, they continued to over-crop and to produce less nutritious foods.⁸⁶

Reports indicate that, education for women in the territory had a bias towards Home Craft. While men were being acquainted with various agricultural skills, for women, focus was on house-keeping. By 1954, there were courses to train Africans who would later go and work in rural areas to help people working there. These included; a school for Veterinary Assistants at Mazabuka, a school for Forestry staff at Ndola and agricultural training schools at Lunzuwa and Monze. However, women were not identified as participants in agricultural training. Focus was on women being trained in Home Craft. A Colonial document read:

The education of women is very important because people in the rural areas cannot improve their ways of living satisfactorily if the men are learning new skills whilst their wives remain ignorant. Therefore, government considers it very important to give women a chance to learn more about cooking better, how to look after a home and children in better

⁸⁴ NAZ, Kasama District Note-book Volume IV, Development Committee Quarterly Report, 12th October, 1959 ‘New Bemba Rural Township: Mungwi’.

⁸⁵ Han Seur, ‘Peasants, policy and the plough: The introduction, adoption and transformation of agricultural innovations in Chibale Chiefdom, Central Province’ in Kate Crehan and Achim Von Oppen (eds.), *Planners and History: Negotiating ‘Development’ in Rural Zambia* (Lusaka: Multimedia Zambia, 1994), 173.

⁸⁶ Dorothy Muntamba, ‘Women in Development’, paper presented at the Voluntary Service Overseas (V. S. O.) conference on Programme for the V. S. O. Agricultural policy in Zambia, Lusaka, 17th – 19th August, 1984, 12.

ways and how to sew and make clothes. When people come to the area schools, they receive instruction in these things.⁸⁷

Tour reports of the 1950s indicate that instruction to women basically focused on house-keeping skills while men acquired agricultural skills. In the 1950s, the colonial state began setting up Development teams in villages in areas known as Development Areas. In the teams, women teachers and a Hygiene Assistant were specifically tasked to concentrate on women; teaching home craft and village hygiene respectively. In Serenje, for instance, many women were taught by female instructors who were on the ground instructing them in house-keeping skills in the villages.⁸⁸ It was the Agricultural Supervisor and his team that focused on men, demonstrating to them the value of contour or cultivation ridges, choosing sites for small village gardens and getting the villagers to do the work in their own gardens. The reports indicate that the result of the teachings were apparent in the short times spent in those villages. The focus of women on Home Craft was also demonstrated in the Northern Province where a new town known as Mungwi was born. Mungwi and its attendant Agricultural education schemes was built with NRG funds set aside for the development of the Northern Province. An article in the Northern News read:

The town's prosperity will be based on the efforts of African farmers who will occupy 21 acre farms ... 21 training farms of 7 acres each have been set up and applicants must spend a year there learning that good farming is hard work. These farms are called extension farms. Wives must also work on the training farms and attend instruction in home craft.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ NRG, *Better Living For Africans: An Account of Rural Development in Northern Rhodesia*, 20.

⁸⁸ See, for instance, NAZ, SEC 2/668, Serenje Tour Report No. 2, 1956. It was reported that 104 women were taught by the woman instructor; NAZ, SEC 2/668 Serenje Tour Report No. 5, 1956. It was reported that 66 women passed through the hands of the woman instructor and that she achieved a lot of successes; NAZ, SEC 2/668 Serenje Tour Report No. 13, 1956. Like in the other tour reports, it was reported that many women in the villages received housekeeping skills.

⁸⁹ NAZ, Kasama District Note-book Volume IV, John Reech, 'Mungwi is added to the map of Northern Rhodesia: A New come-back call', *Northern News*, Friday, December 4, 1959.

While the article indicated that women were to work on training farms, it did not indicate that they would acquire agricultural skills but that they would attend instruction in Home Craft.

In the period 1961 to 1965, a development plan was put in place for the development of Mungwi. In the plan, again it was apparent that it was men who were recognised as farmers while women were just seen as house-keepers. Hence, women continued to receive instruction in Home Craft while men were receiving agricultural skills. The plan pointed out that farm training was available for boys with a Standard VI education while instruction for women emphasised on Home Craft which was potentially the most important side of Development Area training Centres.⁹⁰ The class aspect of these educational institutions established in colonial Zambia was reflected in the type of instruction offered. That women were instructed in Home Craft while men were instructed in agriculture was an indication that women were deemed inferior and therefore were to play the role of 'the house-wife'. Men, on the other hand were deemed superior and were, therefore trained to be agriculturalists primarily to serve the colonial state.

Gender imbalances in agriculture during the colonial era were not unique to Zambia. African women were generally hidden in colonial history. Chanock pointed out that in Malawi, from the on-set, agricultural instruction had been aimed at men despite the fact that missionaries and district officials consistently complained that food production was in female hands and that men were unproductively lazy.⁹¹ Creevey noted that in colonial Mali, the few programmes which were started to provide agricultural training and in-puts were directed at men.⁹² Okine argued that in pre-colonial Ghana, men and women produced food for consumption but with the arrival of British colonial rule, this was to change. Colonial government policy advocated cash crop production and it was men who were incorporated into these enterprises while

⁹⁰ NAZ, Kasama District Note-book Volume IV, 'Mungwi Development Plan, 1961 – 1965'

⁹¹ Martin Chanock, 'Agricultural Change and Continuity in Malawi' in Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons (eds.), *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London: Heinemann, 1977), 404.

⁹² Lucy E. Creevey, 'Role of Malian Women in Agriculture', in Lucy E. Creevey (ed.), *Women Farmers in Africa: Rural Development in Mali and Sahel* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 54.

women became solely responsible for producing food crops.⁹³ With reference to Rwanda, Burnet pointed out that:

By introducing head tax (Charged to male heads of household), reinforcing local indigenous authorities' ability to require *corvee* labour for road building and land clearing and encouraging the cultivation of cash crops, the colonial governments vested the responsibilities of the lineage group in individual adult men.⁹⁴

Clearly, women were not just hidden in Zambia's colonial history but in other African countries' histories as well. The general picture presented is that in the period after World War Two, the colonial state focused on agricultural prosperity primarily through men. While the colonial state is blamed for gender biases in the country's agricultural sector, it is our contention that cultural constraints also stood in the way of fully incorporating women into the country's agricultural development. This is the focus of the next section.

Cultural constraints: their contribution to gender imbalances in the agricultural sector

Traditionally, girls did not receive as much formal education as boys. The Director of Native Education in 1940 lamented that few females went to school. It was reported, for instance, that there were 1000 male and 40 female teachers in the territory in 1940.⁹⁵ In rural areas, it was cultural to marry off girls at an early age. In consequence, even if they aspired to be educated, their chances of being educated were constrained by the fact that they were forced into early marriages. While some managed to complete their primary education, parents were skeptical to send them to boarding schools located away from their villages. For instance, at an African Advisory Board

⁹³ Vicky Okine, 'The Survival Strategies of poor families in Ghana and the role of women therein' in Joycelin Massiah (ed.), *Women in Developing Economies: Making Visible the Invisible* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1993), 171-172.

⁹⁴ Jennie E. Burnet and the Rwanda Initiative for Sustainable Development, 'Culture, Practice and Law: Women's Access to Land in Rwanda' in L. Muthoni Wanyeki (ed.), *Women and Land in Africa: Culture, Religion and Realising Women's Rights* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 2003), 182.

⁹⁵ *Mutende* Newspaper, 24th October, 1940.

meeting in 1943, it was observed that parents of girls felt it imperative for them to stay in villages than receive an education in town where they would be victims of different vices.⁹⁶ A respondent lamented that she had a keen interest in furthering her education as she used to admire how missionaries lived. However, she was not afforded that opportunity to get educated as she was forced to get married just after reaching Standard V. She lamented, “My parents accepted *ubusonge* from my suitor’s go-between without my knowledge and consent. Efforts to refuse the forced engagement yielded no positive results.”⁹⁷ Another respondent pointed out, “Once a girl was able to write a letter, there was no need for her to continue going to school. Her parents would start making marriage arrangements without her knowledge. She had no say.”⁹⁸ Gadsden echoed the view that early marriages stood in the way of the education of girls in the territory. She traced gender differences in educational provision and the subsequent inequalities in the political-economic role of women in Zambian societies to the time of BSAC rule. Her argument was that the missionaries’ first concern was to train catechists, teachers and craftsmen necessary to the growth of their work and therefore it was simply assumed these would be men. She was however quick to point out that when government became involved in education, it positively discriminated in favour of girls but that the major reason for failure of the majority of the girls to utilise the meagre educational facilities available to them lay in the economic organisation of Zambian societies. In agricultural systems, she argued, most of the day to day work was done by women and therefore girls were involved in cultivating as soon as they

⁹⁶ NAZ, SEC 3/478, Extracts from the minutes of the African Advisory Board meeting, 1943. A Miss Irvine noted that the drive for women’s education should come from the African women themselves. Mr. Kasonde also stated that Africans were reluctant to send their daughters to school or to employment centres owing to dangers that might arise due to lack of parental control. Mr. Nelson pointed out that attempts should be made to interest teachers in the education of their wives and that the most useful teachers for small children are properly trained women teachers. Another Board Member, a Miss Lince stressed that there was no opposition to the education of girls in towns, but that in rural areas, there was opposition due to the need for early marriages

⁹⁷ Interview with Edith Chama, Kitwe, 18th September, 2014, Kitwe. *Ubusonge* is also known as ‘Insalamu’. It is a betrothal or engagement present taken by the go-between to the parents or guardians of the would-be bride to show commitment to the betrothal. For details, read Yizenge A. Chondoka, *Traditional Marriages in Zambia: A Study in Cultural History* (Ndola: Mission Press, 1988)

⁹⁸ Interview with Evaristo Zulu, a Kitwe resident but originally from Village Kamui, Chief Mkanda’s area, Chipata District; Kitwe, 19th September, 2014.

were old enough. She further argued that early marriages were encouraged by parents who benefited economically through bride price or labour service.⁹⁹ Inevitably, the education of girls was constrained.

Few girls in rural areas in the territory went beyond primary school. In fact, throughout the territory, attendance for girls at Primary School was very low. Cadets on tour, for instance in the Southern, Eastern and Central Provinces were shocked at the low numbers of females attending primary schools in the areas visited (see Appendix 1).¹⁰⁰ Chipungu also noted that although techniques of production required some amount of formal education in ordinary schools, it was males that had an advantage as they were the ones that filled most primary schools and became exposed to some forms of agricultural science.¹⁰¹ It was reported that for the school year, 1961-1962, there were 29 secondary schools with an enrolment of 3,564 of which 80% were boys.¹⁰² A report of 1958 indicated that one of the most significant advancements in rural development was the formation of Women's Clubs.¹⁰³ The report pointed out that a useful visit had been paid in 1956 by the Woman Community Development Officer to Uganda to see something of the methods used by the department in that territory. Her observation was that Women's Clubs were successful there. She lamented that, "The essential difference between Uganda and Northern Rhodesia was that the women really wanted clubs there whereas in Northern Rhodesia, the frame of mind still has to be

⁹⁹ Fay Gadsden, 'Education and Society in Colonial Zambia' in Samuel N. Chipungu (ed.), *Guardians in their time: Experiences of Zambians under Colonial Rule* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1992), 107-108.

¹⁰⁰ See NAZ, SEC 1060, Mazabuka Tour Report No. 3, February, 1951; NAZ, SEC 2/668 Serenje Tour Report No. 14, 1956; and NAZ, SEC 2/695, Fort Jameson Tour Report No. 19, 1953. At a school in Chief Kabamba's area, Serenje in Central Province, a Cadet observed that attendance for both sexes was excellent with boys recording 94.93% attendance while for girls, it was 94.28%. He, however thought that it was surprising to notice the very small percentage of girls to boys at the school although that was typical throughout the district despite the fact that there were just as many girls and boys in the villages.

¹⁰¹ Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation*, 119

¹⁰² NAZ, Box 25 Agricultural Miscellaneous, R. N. Coster (Minister of Education) 'Agricultural Education in Northern Rhodesia'

¹⁰³ *African Affairs Annual Report, 1958*, 95

inculcated.”¹⁰⁴ It is clear that in as much as the state did not focus on incorporating women into Zambia’s agricultural development, to some extent, cultural norms as well as attitudes further perpetuated the gender imbalances in Zambia’s agricultural development before 1964.

Labour Migration and its impact on gender roles in farming

In the ten-year plan, focus was on stabilising the African farmer on the land in order to sway young men from urban life.¹⁰⁵ It was the intention of the state to develop the rural areas and make them very habitable. However, this was mere rhetoric. Contrary to its supposed intentions, the state did little to retain young men in rural areas. Settlers within the territory continued absorbing young men in employment centres. Worse still, no deliberate policy was put in place to stop the young men from crossing the borders to seek wage employment. In pursuit of wage employment, therefore the men continued leaving their villages, hence perpetuating gender distortions in the agricultural cycles of their ethnic groups. We argue that if it was the intention of the state to stabilize the African farmer on the land, deliberate policies should have been put in place to check the migrations from the territory’s countryside. By playing a passive role in blocking the men from leaving rural areas, the state played a primary role in distorting the age-old agricultural practices.

The areas which had hitherto been labour reservoirs continued supplying pools of labour even in the post-war period, much to the amazement of some touring officials who seemed to express their concern at the low numbers of male labour in most areas (See Appendix 2). In the Eastern Province, the levels of migrations were alarming. On a tour of Kawaza’s new settlements in the Sinda and west Nyamadzi areas of the Eastern Province, it was reported that from that area, 255 young men were working outside the

¹⁰⁴ *African Affairs Annual Report*, 1958, 95.

¹⁰⁵ The state advanced stabilizing the African on the land as one reason for establishing Peasant Farms. Its argument was that the income derived from shifting cultivation was small prompting the African husbandman to leave rural areas in search of a better income in towns leaving agriculture to be handled principally by women. See, for instance NAZ, Kasama District Notebook Volume IV and NAZ SEC 2/336, Appendix 2, “Peasant Farming Schemes”

territory while farmers could not get labour to work in the railway region.¹⁰⁶ Labour had been absorbed both within and outside the territory. The number of migrants was so high much to the amazement of Cadets on tour.

In a tour of Chief Madzimawe's and Nzamane's areas, a Cadet reported that:

... the neglect and lack of self-respect on the part of villagers in their surroundings, I can only attribute to the absence of young, able-bodied men among them in sufficient numbers to make their presence felt. There is a dead-weight of old decrepit men and women in the villages This is a tragedy for what the new settlement area needs more than anything is a transformation of young blood back into the villages. It needs men who will make enterprising farmers. One factor which at present militates against more rapid development would, however, seem to be remedial; namely the continual absence from their villages of young, able-bodied men employed either on European farms, or on the line of rail. Almost the only males of taxable age whom I saw in the villages in any number were either maimed or incapacitated through chronic illness. As a result, a disproportionate share of the work has inevitably fallen on the shoulders of women remaining behind in the villages who are too firmly wedded to the old methods of cultivation to wish to change their ways.¹⁰⁷

That the movements en masse of able-bodied men distorted gender roles cannot be over-emphasised. As the quotation suggests, it was the women who assumed farming roles in the absence of the menfolk. An earlier tour of Chief Nzamane's area also pointed to the destructive impact labour migration was having on agriculture. The report indicated that in the area some 20 % of taxable males were working on European farms and that was probably, to some extent a handicap agriculturally.¹⁰⁸ To reduce overcrowding in Native Reserves, settlement schemes began to be set up by the Colonial government in the Eastern Province. Nkhata noted that the Chipangali and Rukuzye settlement schemes were set up in Native Trustlands along the Lundazi Road in the Eastern Province in 1951. He further argued that it was hoped that with the provision of inducements in the form of social and economic infrastructure such as roads, wells, dams, weirs, drifts, schools and dispensaries, Ngoni Chiefs would hurry

¹⁰⁶ NAZ, SEC 2/691, Fort Jameson Tour Report No. 7, 1949. Annexure I: Labour Migration.

¹⁰⁷ NAZ, SEC 2/691, Fort Jameson Tour Report No. 16, 1953.

¹⁰⁸ NAZ, SEC 2/691, Fort Jameson Tour Report No. 3, 1953.

into the resettlement of these areas. However, the rate of outward migration, he noted, was not reduced with the establishment of the two settlement schemes as the rewards in money terms were insufficient to counteract the pull factors of the urban areas where job opportunities and wages were much higher.¹⁰⁹ In 1951, the District Commissioner of Chipata district had endorsed 1,887 vitupa (identification certificates) for employment outside the district representing 52.8 % of adult males.¹¹⁰ We contend that if it was the intention of the state to develop rural areas, it would have put controls on the issuing of identification certificates. By issuing these certificates, in essence, it was sanctioning the mass movements of men, invariably contributing to the agricultural collapse of traditional farming systems. To make matters worse, by the late 1950s, the pattern of migrations had changed as men began to be accompanied by their families to urban areas leaving only the aged and handicapped in the villages. A report of 1956 indicated that:

There is an increasing tendency for wives and children to accompany their menfolk on migrations. Of the 632 men who left the Eastern Province from this section of the reserve in 1954, only 184 (29 %) were bachelors. Of these, 252 (40 %) took their wives and children with them. The remainder was left in the villages, but a large proportion will send for their families when they are established in good jobs.¹¹¹

In 1961, out of a total of 108, 275 taxable males in the whole of Eastern Province, 65, 711 were working for wages and 34, 993 of that number were working outside the territory.¹¹² Kay also noted that rural development generally did little to keep young, able and educated men on the land. He lamented that there were 136 women (over the

¹⁰⁹ Simon M. C. Nkhata, 'Resettlement in Chipata District, 1951-1980', in Kanduza (ed.), *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia: Pre-Colonial to the 1980s*, 117-119.

¹¹⁰ *African Affairs Annual Report*, 1952 (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1953), 56.

¹¹¹ NRG., Ngoni-land Utilisation Survey, 1956,

¹¹² Quoted in Zgambo, "Workers' Responses to Conditions on the Settler farms of the Eastern Province, 1898 - 1964", 87. He argued that the pattern and degree of migration from the province did not change until after the UDI of independence by Southern Rhodesia in 1965. At that stage, he noted, the Zambian government embarked on discouraging its people working in that country and South Africa.

age of 21) per 100 men in the Eastern Province, and the rate of migration of taxable males from their homes in search of paid employment was very high.¹¹³

He further noted that:

The prospects of rural areas suffer because of the prevailing system of labour movements, and whilst rural development is dependent upon the very young, the less capable and those retired from paid employment, progress is likely to be relatively difficult and slow.¹¹⁴

Like the Eastern Province, the Northern Province was a reservoir of African labour. With the great expansion of the copper mines during the war years and thereafter, the demand for African labour continued to increase.¹¹⁵ It was reported that there was a great exodus of men from the Northern Province. Until 1956, there were some 35,000 Africans employed by the mining companies on the Copperbelt.¹¹⁶ Since the Northern Province was within easy access, a large proportion of labour was drawn from the province. Moore and Vaughan pointed out that when district officials toured Kasama in early 1958, they found patchy but serious food shortages in some villages. They noted that though cassava had been introduced as a famine crop in the Northern Province, it had its problems. Their contention was that where a very high proportion of adult men was away as in the Malatino village near Rosa mission, the combination of lack of labour, pests and animal damage exposed the vulnerability of reliance on a single crop. They further argued that women and old men left in the village complained that there was no-one to fence their fields to protect them against pigs and monkeys which had destroyed so much of their crop.¹¹⁷ In the 1930s, so in the 1950s, they argued, district officials and villagers debated the costs and benefits of labour migration to the local economy. Some officials and some elder African men, continued to feel that it was a drain of able-bodied male labour which accounted for what they saw as the lack of

¹¹³ Kay, *Changing Patterns*, 68.

¹¹⁴ Kay, *Changing Patterns*, 98.

¹¹⁵ NAZ, Kasama District Note-book Volume I.

¹¹⁶ NAZ, Kasama District Note-book Volume I

¹¹⁷ Henrietta Moore and Megan Vaughan, 'History and Agriculture in the Northern Province' in Crehan and Von Oppen (eds.), *Planners and History: Negotiating Development in Rural Zambia*, 148-149.

economic dynamism, and the vulnerability of the food supply on the plateau. However, the Moore and Vaughan did not think that labour migration was a significant cause of food shortages. They argued that there were some villages in which 60 % of able-bodied men were absent at any given time, yet surpluses were regularly produced.¹¹⁸ They were, however quick to point out that women resisted labour migration because of changes in the gender division of labour which was brought about by the absence of able-bodied men. They argued that women, in particular, could be agricultural innovators, incorporating new crops and rotations, but they could also resist the changes that would leave them with a greater share of labour and let their migrant husbands “off the hook.”¹¹⁹

The situation was not different in the Central Province. Labour migrations continued amidst rural development plans. On a tour of the Mkushi Valley, the District Commissioner of Luano in Mkushi Valley pointed out that:

Any scheme of development must be based on measures to make life in the valley more attractive and secure. Little can be done as long as 64 % of the younger and more energetic men are away from their homes.¹²⁰

In Chief Muchinka’s area of Serenje, it was reported in 1956 that 75 % of adult males were away at work elsewhere.¹²¹ It was argued that one met extreme cases where there was literally not one man left in the village but only some women, and very often, the only males were old and decrepit. A Cadet even lamented that, “it shocked me as a new comer to the territory to find what a high percentage of the adult males was on the Copperbelt – about 46.7 %, leaving, in many cases a handful of old women and 20 or 30 women and children!”¹²² In the same year, the District Commissioner of Serenje

¹¹⁸ Moore and Vaughan, ‘History and Agriculture in the Northern Province’, 149.

¹¹⁹ Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, 94. See also, Moore and Vaughan, ‘History and Agriculture in Northern Province’, in Crehan and Von Oppen (eds.) *Planners and History: Negotiating ‘Development’ in Rural Zambia*, 149.

¹²⁰ NAZ, MAG 2/5/9, Mkushi Tour Report No. 3, 1949

¹²¹ NAZ, SEC 2/668, Serenje Tour Report No. 12, 1956

¹²² NAZ, SEC 2/668, Serenje Tour Report No. 12, 1956

reported that the proportion of males away at work for wages was alarmingly high. He noted that, "It is hoped that the development of market gardening and village industries near Serenje Township will encourage others to stay in their villages."¹²³

Clearly rural development did little in as far as retaining men on land. In consequence, agriculture continued to suffer from distorted gender roles. A report of 1961 reaffirmed that agricultural production in Northern Rhodesia was low primarily due to the phenomenon of labour migration.

It read:

Although poor soil conditions are a limiting factor in many areas, the main causes of rural poverty are the migratory labour system, inefficient techniques and the lack of marketing facilities. At present, certain areas of Northern Rhodesia are denuded of able-bodied workers, to the detriment of agricultural output.¹²⁴

The Seers Report reported that 3.5million Pounds was remitted as part of the agricultural output by the absentee wage-earning members of the family. It was argued in the report that:

Although cash remittances from wage earners are an important source of expenditure on consumption by rural subsistence families, the urban sector drains male labour away from farming This is partly compensated for by labour provided by women and by the temporary return of wage earners to the village for forest cutting, where Chitemene agriculture is practiced, and elsewhere for the heavier cultivation.¹²⁵

By indicating that male labour was partly compensated for by labour provided by women, in essence, the report was reaffirming the fact that gender roles were being distorted as a result of the migrations. The cash economy introduced by colonialists instilled in men an unfettering desire for money. Thus, according to the Seers Report, the drift of urban workers to the country-side was mainly due to their rising aspirations

¹²³ NAZ, SEC 2/668, Serenje Tour Report No. 14, 1956

¹²⁴ The Phoenix Group, *Independence: A Framework for Economic Progress in Northern Rhodesia* (Salisbury: The Book Centre, 1961), 12.

¹²⁵ *The Seers Report*: Report of the UNO/ECA/FAO Economic Survey Mission on the Economic Development of Zambia (Ndola: Falcon Press Ltd., 1964), 53-54.

which subsistence agriculture could not satisfy.¹²⁶ The Seers report further argued that, “whatever the reasons, this migration causes a shortage when demand is at its peak and results both in lower yields through late and hasty sowing and in the cultivation of smaller areas.”¹²⁷ Clearly, assumption of male gender roles in farming by women negatively impacted on harvests.

Sentiments presented above have shown that the ten-year plan of rural development did not do much to persuade the male folk to remain in the countryside. Therefore gender distortions in the agricultural cycles which had begun during BSAC rule were perpetuated. However the fact that the colonial state seemed not to have regard for the important roles played by men and women in the agricultural cycles of their farming communities does not mean that during that period, the agricultural sector was completely characterised by gender imbalances. With corroborative evidence from reports, we argue that there were instances in which the same state appreciated African women and tried to incorporate them into agricultural-related activities. In the next section, we investigate the extent to which the colonial state incorporated females into agricultural activities in the territory.

Attempts to incorporate women into the country’s agricultural development, 1949-1964

There were isolated cases of females being part of agricultural-related activities in the territory. For instance, as an experiment, a female Agricultural Supervisor was stationed in Chief Mshawa’s area in Chipata in order to help carry out soil conservation measures to help agricultural development through an approach to the women who did most of the hand cultivation in the province. The Agricultural Officer went so far as to remark, “The results are so gratifying, and it is hoped to expand the experiment!”¹²⁸ In the Eastern Province, the District Officer of Chipata, on a tour seemed to be very

¹²⁶ *The Seers Report*, 60.

¹²⁷ *Seers Report*, 60.

¹²⁸ NRG, *Annual Report, Department of Agriculture*, 1949, 10.

impressed with the performance of the wife of an improved farmer. On a tour of Kanyanja Parish, he noted that:

I walked over practically every garden in the Parish. The progress with improved farmers is very satisfactory. The fields have been well ploughed and manured in parts and each of the two have planted a proportion of their cultivated area with groundnuts for rotation purposes. The wife of one Ajison is now quite competent behind a plough and cultivator and I watched her cultivating three rows of maize which she did very efficiently.
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The Colonial government had taken the task of introducing and encouraging the production of rice in Kalabo in the Barotse Province. Ultimately, a rice scheme was established in the district. In 1951, trainees of both sexes were sent to Namushakende Development Centre for rice demonstration. Both sexes were involved in the processing of this crop. While men ploughed, women transplanted, thinned, weeded and protected the crop from birds such as wild geese and harvested.¹³⁰ In 1950, rice seed distribution was carried out, the seed being directly distributed to 3,209 women who were instructed in rice cultivation.¹³¹ In the Central Province, a Cadet on tour reported that a Thomas Kaluba who was with him on tour could give no satisfactory account of what was grown at his farm and admitted that his second wife looked after the farm for him. The Cadet lamented, 'Sometimes, I think it is the woman who should go on courses at Chililabombwe!'¹³² On a tour of Chief Mailo's area in Serenje, the Agricultural Supervisor pointed out that a glimmer of encouragement was received in one of the villages where an old woman asked for information about good agricultural practices. The Supervisor pointed out that the woman admitted that she had heard it all many

¹²⁹ NAZ, SEC 2/691, Fort Jameson Tour Report No. 2, 1949, H. T. Braylon (Esq.), District Officer, 'Kanyanja Parish'

¹³⁰ Mboma, 'The Changing Role of Women in Agriculture: A Case Study of Kalabo District, 1906 – 1986', 69.

¹³¹ Quoted in Mboma, 'The Changing Role of Women in Agriculture: A Case Study of Kalabo District, 1906 – 1986', 69.

¹³² NAZ, SEC 2/668, Serenje Tour Report No. 14, 1956. Chililabombwe was an Agricultural Station and the rule was that anyone wanting to set up a farm had to attend a short course there. Read NAZ, SEC 2/668, Serenje Tour Report No. 12, 1956.

times before but had not taken much notice of it, now she thought there may be in it what she wanted to hear again.¹³³ Appreciating advice sought from him by the woman indeed indicates that occasionally females were recognised by the state.

Although agricultural education was primarily directed at men, there were instances in which women were also trained. A report of 1949 indicated that for some years, Senga Hill School was training women teachers in practical agricultural education and that they had been doing valuable work in disseminating improved agricultural methods in the schools of Northern Province.¹³⁴ Similarly, at Kasama and Lunzuwa in the same province, courses were proposed for women for 1950. The first of what was hoped would be a series of courses for women teachers on agricultural methods was held in Kasama in November 1950.¹³⁵ In July, 1956 a conference of officers representing the interests of all African Training Centres was held. These were training agencies, each allocated to a Development Area Team which undertook any form of elementary or short term adult training as required by teams in aid of local social and economic development. Matters looked at or reviewed included the importance of training women in better living methods. A report prepared after the conference indicated that:

Both equipment and syllabus for women's courses at the centres has improved – there are more gardening lessons and less emphasis on sewing and knitting. Many of the suggestions made by the Community Development Officer for the improvement of women's work are being followed.¹³⁶

In Katete and Kabompo in the Eastern and North-Western Provinces respectively, follow-up surveys on the results of women courses at centres were carried out. The results were found, on balance, to be fair in that a number of students were carrying out

¹³³ NAZ, SEC 2/668, Serenje Tour Report No. 14, 1956

¹³⁴ NRG, *Department of Agriculture Annual Report*, 1949, 13.

¹³⁵ *Department of Agriculture Annual Report*, 1949, 13. It seemed, however, that there were conflicting reports on the training of women. Reports we have earlier on made reference to indicate that in the Northern Province, it was only men instructed in agricultural skills.

¹³⁶ NRG, *African Affairs Annual Report, 1956* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1957), 97.

the practices learnt. It was reported that at all centres in the year, that is, Namushakende in Barotse Province, Katete in the Eastern Province, Serenje in the Central Province and Fort Rosebery in the Luapula Province, both sexes enrolled for courses. At Katete, women gave talks in villages and as many as 100 people attended the talks given by women leading to twelve men and eight women applying to join courses at the training centres.¹³⁷ At Namushankende, it was reported that courses principally intended for wives of trainees were held during the year and 396 trainees attended, ensuring as far as possible, a family approach to improvement. Trainees were instructed more by the Agricultural Officer in vegetable growing; there was less knitting and sewing.¹³⁸

Under the Community Development office, eight Development Area Training Centres were established in the territory.¹³⁹ They, among things taught adult African men and women in the basic skills necessary to improve their standards of living and way of life in the villages. Another role of these centres was conducting of short courses to create, among the more educated leaders of the local population, an awareness of the contribution they must make towards the success of the local development plans. It was argued that such courses aimed to include a cross-section of the leaders of the community including farmers. Between the 29th of October and 10th of December, a course was held at the Native Authority Development Centre, Chalimbana for senior African staff of Development Area Training Centres. Nine men and five women attended. The District Officer In-Charge, Chalimbana pointed out that:

The syllabus was channeled considerably to include a wide variety of general interest lectures and visits. The women (who on the previous course were segregated, for most of the time for special tuition on home-craft subjects) attended nearly all lectures and visits together with the men. On a few occasions, they found themselves out of their depth, but most of the time, they took a lively interest and made useful contributions to the discussions on such subjects as agriculture.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ *African Affairs Annual Report*, 1956, 71.

¹³⁸ *African Affairs Annual Report*, 1956, 98.

¹³⁹ NRG, *African Affairs Annual Report*, 1958 (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1959), 93.

¹⁴⁰ *African Affairs Annual Report*, 1958, 94.

In an effort to evaluate the use of the courses given at centres, follow-up tours were made consisting of visits to men and women who had attended long courses. From Namushakende, it was reported that in one district, 72 men and 32 women who attended courses were visited.¹⁴¹ In another report, it was indicated that, Agricultural Officers, Supervisors and Assistants assisted with numerous courses organised by Community Development officers at Development Area Training Centres throughout the territory. It was reported that two courses were held every month at Namushakende in Barotseland and that staff of the Monze Agricultural Training Centre were very heavily committed with about half of the many courses held at the neighbouring Development Area Training Centre. The total number of men and women on courses in 1961 was 2,378 of whom 356 were on purely agricultural courses.¹⁴² The same report indicated that the move towards the establishment of Farmers' Training Centres had made satisfactory progress. Initially, each centre would have residential accommodation for up to thirty farmers and/or wives, plus the necessary training facilities.¹⁴³ The phrase 'or' indicated a change in the colonial state's perception of the woman. It indicated that even without being accompanied by their spouses, the state was, seemingly ready to train them.

At a seminar in South Africa in which Northern Rhodesia was represented by the Chief Agricultural Officer of Chipata, it was resolved that there was need to foster the adult education of men and women in agriculture and Home Economics, as far as possible on a practical basis of personal contact, participation and demonstration. In view of the major importance of the part played by women in African agriculture and the need for demonstrating the training of women in the African environment, it was recommended that efforts be directed towards African women with regard to both extension work and Home Economics. It was agreed upon that the work envisaged needed to be entrusted to female extension workers and it was recommended that,

¹⁴¹ *African Affairs*, 1958, 94.

¹⁴² NRG, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report of the Ministry of African Agriculture, 1961* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1962), p.10.

¹⁴³ *Annual Report of the Ministry of African Agriculture, 1961*, 10

where-ever necessary, special training needed to be organised for female agricultural and domestic instructors.¹⁴⁴ It was reported that in the Southern Province, African farmers attended field days on agricultural stations and on selected farms in the Native Reserves. The report further read that, “Wives were also beginning to take an interest in the social side.”¹⁴⁵ Baldwin also noted that both men and women participated in the Intensive Rural Development programmes in the Luapula and Northern Province. He noted that the Rural Development Commission found that the thousands men and women attended courses in 1959.¹⁴⁶ The examples given indicate that although the colonial state, for the most part did not recognise the woman as an agricultural producer, at certain times, the same state saw it fit to support the same woman. Although, for the most part, the state ignored females, the attempts made to incorporate women into farming activities between 1949 and 1964 were also significant.

Conclusion

The chapter has demonstrated that the schemes set up under the ten-year development plan were gender specific as they basically promoted male leadership in farming. It has been illustrated that the beneficiaries of loan facilities as well as technological innovations in the post-war period were male farmers as it was these farmers who were enrolled in the schemes. Because of being participants in the schemes, they had access to loans as well as technology. We have contended that agricultural education during that period was directed at males and agricultural colleges basically enrolled male students. It has been argued, in the chapter that although the colonial state did little to promote the education of the girl-child, cultural constraints also contributed to gender imbalances in Zambia’s agricultural sector. Culturally, among Zambia’s ethnic groups, the belief was that as soon as a girl came of age, she was ripe for marriage. As a result of this belief, enrolment and attendance levels in primary schools were low as many girls went into early marriages. Inevitably, they

¹⁴⁴ Regional Seminar held on Agriculture and Extension by the Southern African Regional Committee for the Conservation and Utilisation of the soil, Pretoria, South Africa, 1st to 5th May, 1961, 7 – 9.

¹⁴⁵ *Annual Report of the Ministry of African Agriculture, 1961*, 13.

¹⁴⁶ Baldwin, *Economic Development and Export Growth*, 202.

were denied the opportunity to further their education and get absorbed into the agricultural sector. We have also contended that even after putting the ten-year development plan in place with the primary goal of stabilising the African on the land, no deliberate measures were put in place to halt labour migration to employment centres. In consequence, rural areas continued being denuded of able-bodied men, much to the amazement of some touring officials. Ultimately, the distortion of gender roles in agriculture was perpetuated as women assumed male gender roles in their recourse to sustain themselves economically. We have contended that gender imbalances recorded in Zambia were not unique to Zambia. With examples from countries like Malawi, Ghana and Rwanda, we have argued that with colonialism came the marginalization of women in farming. Ultimately, gender imbalances were born. The chapter has also demonstrated that in spite of the discrimination that women in farming went through, there were certain instances in which the colonial state seemed to support them by incorporating them into agricultural-related activities.

On 24th October, 1964, the territory became independent. Leaders of the newly independent state, now called Zambia made radical changes in the agricultural sector. New agricultural schemes, for instance, were introduced. Our next Chapter analyses the extent to which the government of independent Zambia bridged gender imbalances in the agricultural sector in the first ten years of the country's independence.

CHAPTER FOUR: BRIDGING GENDER IMBALANCES IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR, 1964-1974

Introduction

The important role played by women in agriculture does not appear to have been recognised and made use of by past agricultural development policies. Many of the well-meaning and well-intended government programmes were focused on the wrong target group. Most programmes targeted males when, in fact the producer for household food security is the woman. Government agricultural policies such as agricultural research, agricultural education ... were all focused on the needs and requirements of men. It was assumed that once the men were trained, all would be well and good.¹

These views were expressed by Mukutu, a former Extension Officer and retired Ministry of Agriculture Permanent Secretary. It is axiomatic in academic circles that many programmes embarked on in the agricultural sector after Zambia became independent were not gender sensitive as they basically catered for the needs of males.² In a 1980 survey conducted by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), it was observed that the kinds of courses offered at Farmer Training Centres (FTCs) and Farm Institutes advantaged males as opposed to females. The survey indicated that the courses were not co-educational and that whereas men got training in Crop Production, Animal Husbandry, Farm Management,

¹ Namukolo Mukutu, 'The Role of Women in Agricultural Development and Household Food Security', paper presented to the Agricultural Association of Zambia (ASAZ) Regional Conference, Siavonga, Zambia, September 22–26, 1977. Between 1970 and 1981, Mukutu served in various capacities in the Ministry of Agriculture. These included Extension Officer, Animal Husbandry Lecturer, Palabana Dairy Training Institute and Assistant Director, Extension and Training, Ministry of Agriculture. From 1981 to 1996, he served as Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture.

² See, for instance, Susan Hurlich, *Women in Zambia* Vol. I, report prepared for CIDA, 1986; 105; Robert Klepper, 'Zambian Agricultural Policy and Performance', in Ben Turok (ed.), *Development in Zambia: A Reader* (London: Zed Books, 1979), 143; Dorothy Muntemba, 'Women in Development', paper presented at the Voluntary Service Overseas (V. S. O.) conference on agricultural policy in Zambia, Lusaka, 17th–19th August, 1984, 13 – 17; Maud Muntemba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia, Kabwe Rural District, 1850–1970, PhD Thesis, University of California, 1977, 342; Saskia A. A. M. Brand and Jacqueline M. C. Heerkens, *Women, Labour and Maize: Changing Agricultural Systems and Labour Relations in a Zambian Small-Holders' Village* (Nijmegen: University of Nijmegen, 1990), 18.

Mechanization and Co-operatives, women got training in Home Economics; Nutrition and Cookery as well as in vegetable growing.³

Hurlich lamented that:

Both FTCs and Farm Institutes were set up with the objective of bringing farmers into residential training programmes of various lengths but a number of evaluations carried out indicate that they tend to exclude women from training that would help improve their productive skills. The type of training provided by these programmes doesn't develop either skills or incentives in women to improve their performance as farmers, but instead reflects the same gender-type biases that permeate the entire education system in Zambia.⁴

In a survey carried out by Marter and Honeybone, it was observed that, like in colonial Zambia, in the first ten years of the country's independence, women's training continued to focus on Home Economics for the most part. The survey noted, for instance, that the participation of women in training courses was inadequate and that of the women who attended courses in 1973/1974, 79% came for Home Economics courses, which also accounted for the largest share of student days compared with any other course.⁵ It is against this background that this chapter examines the efforts made by the Government of the Republic of Zambia to bridge gender imbalances in the agricultural sector during the first ten years of the country's independence.

The chapter begins by examining the major policy changes that were put in place by the Zambian government in a bid to develop the agricultural sector. Our contention is that both the First National Development Plan (FNDP), 1966-1970 and the Second National Development Plan (SNDP), 1972-1976 formulated by the Zambian government had chapters on envisaged policy on agriculture. It is argued, in this chapter that gender imbalances that were evident in the agricultural sector in the colonial period were perpetuated in the first ten years of the country's independence as

³ Quoted in Hurlich, *Women in Zambia* Vol. I, 105.

⁴ Hurlich, *Women in Zambia* Vol. I, 105.

⁵ David Honeybone and Alan Marter, *An Evaluation Study of Zambia's Farm Institutes and Farmer Training Centres* (University of Zambia: Rural Studies Bureau, 1975), 36.

women continued to be marginalised. We further contend that during this period, major efforts were made aimed at bridging gender imbalances in the Department of Agriculture. We argue that bridging of gender imbalances in this department was constrained by the numerous problems the department faced. It is argued that some bottlenecks that stood in the way of ending the marginalisation of women in the Department of Agriculture were not institutional. However, they too over-rode efforts aimed at reducing imbalances in the agricultural sector. Although gender imbalances were still evident by 1974, visible cogent efforts had been made to reduce the pre-independence imbalances.

Policy Changes in Agricultural Education

The Department of Agriculture primarily serviced two basic services to the rural community, that is, an Agricultural Research Service and an Extension Service. The Research Branch encompassed the Central Research Station and Regional Research Stations. The Extension Branch encompassed the Training Section, Crop Husbandry, Horticulture, Animal Husbandry, Youth Extension and Home Economics.⁶ Agricultural Education fell under the Training Section of the Department of Agriculture.

Agricultural education was priority during the first ten years of the country's independence. This was partly as a result of the recommendations of the Seer's Report and partly as a result of staff deficiencies identified in Extension Department. Among the recommendations of the Seers Report was that there was need for the government to pay more attention to agricultural education in all its forms.⁷ Indeed, when FNDP was formulated, emphasis was laid on the importance of agricultural education. It was felt that staff deficiencies in the Ministry of Agriculture could only be addressed if more training institutions were established.

The plan read in part:

⁶ For details on the organisation of the Department of Agriculture, see No author, 'The Department of Agriculture: Its Structure and Functions', *Farming in Zambia* 8, 1 (1973), 11 -13, 40.

⁷ *The Seers Report*, 54.

At present, extension cover is pitifully meagre, there being on average only one extension worker to 150 families. This cover is virtually too thin to make any significant impact on the majority of the rural population In an endeavour to increase rapidly the ratio of extension workers to farm families, the Ministry of Agriculture has a large programme for training staff at all levels from the university level, down to Commodity Demonstrators. This build-up of the extension service will naturally involve considerable investment in staff housing as well as training facilities.⁸

As per the plan, farmer training received a boost shortly after the country became independent. Institutionalised farmer training and the Extension-Training Section of the Department of Agriculture were created prior to Zambia gaining her independence but they were only in the embryo stage at the time.⁹ After the country became independent, FTCs and Farm Institutes were established in different parts of the country. FTCS were mainly used to provide short courses to farmers on subjects of direct relevance to the local area while Farm Institutes were mainly used to provide in-service training to the Extension Service Department staff including three-month induction courses for trainees.¹⁰ By September, 1966, there were eight Farm Institutes in operation, that is one in each province and three FTCs and others in progress.¹¹ At a meeting in 1967, it was pointed out that:

An agrarian revolution can only take place when the masses of Zambians are aware of the challenge which faces them and notes, therefore the importance of the part that training plays in the attainment of other objectives. The Committee therefore recommends that the Ministry of Agriculture should train many more field officers especially those below Form II level. The Ministry of Agriculture should also

⁸ GRZ, *First National Development Plan, 1966 – 1970* (Lusaka: Office of National Planning and Development, 1966), 25.

⁹ GRZ, Ministry of Rural Development (hereafter MRD), *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1968–1969* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1971), 30.

¹⁰ GRZ, Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development (hereafter MAWD), *Handbooks for Agricultural Field Workers: Agricultural Extension for Small-Scale Farming Communities* (Lusaka: MAWD, 1983), 18.

¹¹ MRD, *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1965 -1966*. Final Draft: Unpublished, 46-47.

provide more training facilities for the farmers of Zambia.¹²

Indeed, by the end of 1969, a further eight institutional training centres were opened.¹³ In the SNDP it was emphasised that FTCs and Farm Institutes were to be improved upon so that their facilities could serve a great number of farmers.¹⁴ As shown, there was a sizeable investment by the Zambian government in farmer training facilities during the period of the FNDP and the SNDP. Lof and Mulele stated that this was done in order to improve the quality of the extension service and that the target was to provide equal coverage throughout the country with one FTC in each rural district and a Provincial Farm Institute in each province.¹⁵

At independence, attention was also paid to improving agricultural college education. The Natural Resources Development College (NRDC) was established in 1965. By 1970, it was offering diplomas in different agricultural-based disciplines (Nutrition in Agriculture included).¹⁶ Monze Agricultural Training School which was established in 1949 to train Agricultural Assistants assumed a new name, the Zambia College of Agriculture (ZCA) in January 1966. After the old buildings of the original training school were demolished and replaced by a set of new buildings, the college was officially opened on 28th September, 1964 by E. H. K. Mudenda, the first Minister of Agriculture in independent Zambia. A Board of Management was set up and it was at its first meeting in September 1965 that it was agreed that there was need to change the name of the school to ZCA.¹⁷ This was in view of the upgrading of the courses offered and the fact that it was to be the main centre for the training of agricultural

¹² NAZ, MAG 1/21/13 Report of the Agrarian and Cooperative Meeting of the National Council, April 1967.

¹³ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1968 – 1969*, 31.

¹⁴ *SNDP*, 74.

¹⁵ Gerard Lof and Russel M. Mulele, 'The Changing Role of the Extension Service', in Adrian Paul Wood; Stuart A. Kean; J. Milimo and Dennis Micheal Warren (eds.), *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform In Zambia* ((Iowa: Iowa University Press, 1990), 347.

¹⁶ A. Hamaamba, 'Natural Resources Development College', *Farming in Zambia* 5, 2 (1970), 20-21.

¹⁷ B. Challens, '25th Anniversary Agricultural Training at Monze', *Farming in Zambia* 8, 3 (1974), 28.

extension workers.¹⁸ Therefore, the feeling was that the suggested name would be more appropriate. Under the FNDP, provision was made for the doubling of output at the ZCA and expansion of technical training at NRDC.¹⁹ Agricultural training received a boost with the establishing of the School of Agricultural Sciences at the University of Zambia (UNZA) in 1971. It began offering degree programmes in agriculture.

Our respondent pointed out that:

Although the school was established in 1971, there was an in-take of Agricultural Science students in 1970 that had been admitted under the School of Natural Sciences. They were on a five-year Agricultural Science programme. We were put on a four-year programme due to the shortage of degree holders in Agricultural Sciences in the country. Therefore, both in-takes graduated in 1975. It was hoped some of the students would be developed into Lecturers of Agricultural Science at this institution.²⁰

This quote shows the seriousness that the Government of the Republic of Zambia attached to agricultural education at all levels.

The government also assumed the role of supporting some agricultural colleges that were not under the Department of Agriculture. These included the Chipembi and Kalulushi Farm Colleges. Chipembi Farm College established in June 1964 by the Methodist Church to train men to become improved farmers was recognised by the Zambian government at independence. After opening the college officially in January 1966, the then Minister of Agriculture, E. H. K. Mudenda and a Board of Governors decided to widen the syllabus to include training in mechanization as a necessary aid to train for commercial farming. Courses like Crop and Animal Husbandry were also introduced. It became a grant-aided college with

¹⁸ Contributed, *Farming in Zambia* 2, 3 (1967), 9. In this Journal, the name of the author was not indicated in some articles. Instead, it was the phrase 'Contributed' which appeared on the author slot.

¹⁹ *FNDP*, 25.

²⁰ Interview with Dr. D. M. Lungu, Lecturer, School of Agricultural Sciences, the University of Zambia (UNZA), UNZA, 26th January, 2015.

finances coming from the government in form of an annual grant.²¹ The Ministry of Rural Development also assumed the role of supporting Kalulushi Farm College on the Copperbelt Province. In 1961, the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation (M. E. F.), realising the importance of agriculture in the national economy formulated plans for the introduction of an agricultural training programme. In 1966, land in Kalulushi was granted by the state for the establishment of this programme under the name of M.E.F Training farms which assumed the name of Kalulushi Farm College in 1970. It began offering a number of agricultural-related courses and three nominees of the Minister of Rural Development began to sit on the Board of Governors.²² The general picture presented is that in the first ten years of the country's independence, many agricultural training institutions were established country-wide. In the next section, we seek to establish the extent to which these agricultural institutions catered for the needs of both sexes.

Gender in post-independence farmer training institutions

Using collaborative evidence from reports, we argue that in the first ten years of the country's independence, gender imbalances evident in agricultural education in pre-independence Zambia persisted even after the country attained its independence. Though efforts were made to bridge the imbalances, the change was marginal. At FTCs, it was Home Economics that continued being the main course on offer to female trainees, the same situation that prevailed in colonial Zambia. This was evidenced from reports from provinces across the country.

Central Province was among the provinces in which many farmer training institutions were opened when the country became independent. Evidently, while men were being acquainted with various agricultural skills, for women focus was on Home Economics. Chalimbana, originally an agricultural station in the Central Province became an FTC towards the end of 1966 when eight demonstrators attended the first

²¹ No author, 'Chipembi Farm College', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 4 (1967), 28.

²² J. W. A. Woods, 'Kalulushi Farm College', *Farming in Zambia* 6, 2 (1971), 47.

course on cotton. Here, female training had a bias towards Home Economics as opposed to agricultural-related courses. Laying emphasis on the importance of Home Economics courses for women, at the centre, Rodway pointed out that:

Mr. Patrick Kachana, the Officer-in Charge of the centre told me that the women are keener to learn than men these days. Many are single and they are anxious to learn the art of western-style cooking such as cake-baking, as well as 'traditional' cooking. In addition, they learn how to become good housewives and acquire a lot of knowledge in child-care and hygiene. A significant point is that 153 women have learnt courses in Domestic Science since the centre opened.²³

From the quote, what comes out is that female trainees primarily received instruction in domestic science and not in agricultural-related courses. Another farmer training institution that was established in the province after the country became independent was Keembe Farm Institute which was established in 1965. Commenting on gender imbalances at the institution, Muntamba lamented that, "In 1965, 220 farmers were sent to Keembe Farm Institute for training but none of the producers sent for courses were women."²⁴ In 1974, 32 women as opposed to 192 men were trained in agriculture at the institution; no females received instruction at other FTCs.²⁵ Another training institution, Serenje FTC was opened to full time weekly courses in 1966. Here again, it was apparent that women were mainly acquiring house-keeping skills. Stressing the importance of Home Economics at the institution, the Central Province Regional Agricultural Officer stated that, "The services of a female teacher were obtained for farmers' wives Domestic Science training courses and she will also be utilised at Keembe Farm Institute to mount similar courses there."²⁶ The implication of this quotation is that the women were not seen as 'farmers' but rather as 'wives of farmers' and therefore, their training was restricted to Domestic Science, not to agricultural-related courses. At Mukulaikwa FTC opened in 1967, the situation was

²³ C. G. Reedon Rodway, 'The Farmer Training Centres (1)', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 4 (1967), 23.

²⁴ Muntamba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia, Kabwe Rural District, 1850 – 1970', 342.

²⁵ Muntamba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia, Kabwe Rural District, 1850 – 1970', 351.

²⁶ Regional Agricultural Officer's Report, Central Province, 1965 – 1966, 27.

not different from other training institutions opened in the Central Province. A report indicated that demand was so great for training that a special plea had to be made for women's courses.²⁷ The implication of this statement cannot be over-emphasised. There, certainly was a dividing line between men's and women's courses. At the same centre, of the 228 people trained in 1967, 200 were men and 28 were women.²⁸ It is evident from these figures, that only a small fraction of women received training at this centre.

Like in the Central Province, agricultural training institutions were also established in the North-Western Province when Zambia became independent. There, too, gender imbalances were apparent. At Balovale Farm Institute, it was reported in the 1967/1968 training year that all the agricultural-related courses on offer were attended by men and that the twelve women who attended courses studied Domestic Science.²⁹ At Kasempa FTC, it was reported that women could not receive training as the Domestic Science course was not offered during that training year and therefore, only male trainees received instruction in maize and groundnut growing.³⁰ At Mwinilunga FTC, of the seventy three trainees in maize and groundnut growing, only three were women.³¹ In the Eastern Province, the situation was not different. The Provincial Agricultural Officer (PAO) reported that the 1967/1968 training year was another generally successful training year which was highlighted by innovation of farmers' wives successful courses.³² From this statement and others we have made reference to, evidently in the first few years of Zambia's independence, women were not seen as 'farmers' but as 'wives of farmers'. Hence, they continued receiving more instruction in 'their' (Domestic Science) courses and not in 'farmers' courses. An

²⁷ Provincial Agricultural Officer's (hereafter PAO) Annual Report, Central Province, 1966 – 1967, 22. The title of Regional Agricultural Officer was changed to Provincial Agricultural Officer in 1967.

²⁸ PAO's Annual Report, Central Province, 1966 – 1967, 22.

²⁹ PAO's Annual Report, North-Western Province, 1967-1968, Appendix VIII.

³⁰ PAO's Annual Report, North-Western Province, 1967-1968, Appendix VIII.

³¹ PAO's Annual Report, North-Western Province, 1967-1968, Appendix VIII.

³² PAO's Annual Report, Eastern Province, 1967-1968, 12.

attempt was made to change this perception after 1970 with the establishing of the Home Economics Section in the Department of Agriculture. Unfortunately, as will be shown, not much was achieved in the way of improving the status of women in farming even after this section was established.

Shortly after the country became independent, women in the rural areas of Zambia began pressuring for courses in Home Economics subjects. They were also pressuring for instruction in the usual agricultural-related subjects that were already being taught at FTCs and Farm Institutes. When these needs were brought to the attention of the Department of Agriculture, it was thought that there was need to come up with a policy to address such needs. The feeling was that it was of prime importance to open a Home Economics Section in the Extension Branch which was not just to focus on house-keeping crafts but on other agricultural-related skills as well. A series of meetings held within the Department of Agriculture in 1970 culminated into the agreement that, once established, the Home Economics Section would assist women to increase their food production. It was, in particular, during the Extension-Training Officers' Annual Conference held from the 3rd to 5th November, 1970 that it was agreed upon that the Home Economics Section should be established with the aim of assisting women to increase their food production and to grow more varied foods to improve their family diet.³³ Downes, the Senior Home Economics Officer in the Department of Agriculture noted that the main objective of this section was to reach as many women as possible with their teaching and assistance in vital subjects and to relate these subjects sensibly and practically to the local needs and conditions.³⁴ The section had the goal of raising the standard of living of the Zambian family. It was to assume the role of providing extension services to women in the rural areas in order to assist them to increase agricultural production. Ultimately, they were to contribute to Zambia's national development. Women were now officially recognised as farmers and it was envisaged that they would, henceforth receive training not only in Home Economics but in other agricultural-related disciplines as

³³ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970 – 1971*, 40.

³⁴ L. A. M. Downes, 'Our Women Want Progress', *Farming in Zambia* 6, 4 (1972), 45.

well. The Home Economics Section was thus born in 1970 and theoretically women's issues in agriculture began to be seriously addressed that year. In spite of the Home Economics being established and assuming the role of ensuring that women attended agricultural-related courses at farmer training institutions, significant changes were still not seen in female attendance at farmer training institutions. There was just a slight improvement. National figures indicated that at farmer training institutions, there were still wide gaps in numbers between male and female trainees. The trend of more males than females receiving instruction in agricultural-related courses continued. In the Southern Province, for instance, whereas only 385 women farmers attended courses at FTCs in 1972, the number of male participants was 2,191.³⁵ Reports from the Western Province indicated that in 1974, it was only males that received instruction in agricultural-related courses while the 325 female trainees at farmer training institutions received instruction only in Female Extension (Home Economics).³⁶ Nationally, reports indicated that from 1970-1973, women at FTCs received more training in Home Economics than other courses. For instance, in the 1971/1972 training year, 1,631 women received training in Home Economics country-wide as opposed to 15 men. In Crop Husbandry, on the other hand 2,421 males received training while only 384 women were instructed in the same course. The same scenario prevailed in the 1972/1973 year when 2,460 women received training in Home Economics as opposed to only nine men. 2,766 males received training in Crop Husbandry while only 450 women received training in the same course (See Table 2).

³⁵ Quoted in Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia: A Case Study Of the Southern Province*, 1930-1986, 154.

³⁶ Extension-Training Report, Western Province, 1974, Appendix II. The Home Economics Section was renamed the Female Extension Section in 1972.

Table 2: Statistics of male and female trainees in selected courses at farmer training institutions, 1971-1973

Course	1971-1972		1972-1973	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
	Home Economics	15	1, 631	9
Crop Husbandry	2, 421	384	2, 766	450
Animal Husbandry	1, 054	41	1, 483	63
Cooperative Management	173	15	186	28
Oxen and Farm Machinery	187	2	165	6
Dairy Training	84	0	125	12
Radio Farm Forum	546	72	692	110
Poultry	365	800	566	722
Total	4, 845	2, 945	5, 992	3, 129

Source: Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971-1972, Appendix XXI; Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1972-1973, Appendix XV.

Table 2 shows that ten years into the country's independence, women's training still had a bias towards Home Economics, the same scenario that prevailed during the pre-independence period. Nationally, more males than females were trained at these institutions. Worse still, the gaps between the number of male and female trainees were evidently very wide. For instance, only 1,820 females were trained while 6,571 males were trained in the 1968/1969 training year. In the 1969/1970 training year, 7,580 males were trained as opposed to 3,495 females. No marked changes were seen

in enrolment after the Home Economics Section was established in 1970. There were still wide gaps in numbers between male and female trainees. For instance, while 8,357 males were trained in the 1970/1971 training year, only 3, 674 females were trained. In the 1971/1972 training year, 9,929 males received training while 3,469 females received instruction. The status quo remained unchanged in the 1972/1973 training year when 12, 644 males as opposed to 4, 878 females were trained (See Table 3). For 1974, data was only available for five provinces. The total number of trainees in the five provinces was 7, 023 males and 3, 065 females bringing the total to 10, 088. This figure may not be accurate though as statistics from some farmer training institutions were not available.

Table 3: National totals of trainees at farmer training institutions, 1968-1973

Year	Number of trainees		
	Males	Females	Total
1968-1969	6, 571	1, 820	8, 391
1969-1970	7, 580	3, 495	11, 075
1970-1971	8, 357	3, 674	12, 031
1971-1972	9, 929	3, 469	13, 398
1972-1973	12, 644	4, 878	17, 522
Total	45, 081	17, 336	62, 417

Source: *Annual Reports of the Extension Branch, 1968-1973.*

An analysis of these figures is evidence enough that ten years into the country's independence, no significant changes were seen in bridging gender imbalances at farmer training institutions. Although, there was an improvement as compared to the pre-independence period when women were basically trained in Home Economics, the improvement was rather marginal. These gender imbalances were not only evident at the government run FTCs and Farm Institutes but at other colleges supported by the government as well. At these institutions, women were primarily instructed in Home

Economics as opposed to other agricultural-related courses. This was evident at Chipembi Farm College where an advertisement for admission to the college read:

Married as well as single students are encouraged to study at the college. Wives are given instruction in nutrition, cookery and childcare. Literacy classes are also held for them so that they will be able to assist their husbands in keeping records, book-keeping ... when they become commercial farmers.³⁷

While the advertisement read that students were encouraged to study at the college, it was also pointed out that wives would be instructed in house-keeping skills as well as literacy skills. Mention was not made of them being given an opportunity to acquire agricultural skills. At MRD supported Kalulushi Farm College, little was done to stop gender imbalances in agricultural training. Making reference to the 1971 college admissions, the Director of the college stated that, “It is anticipated that later this year, there will be 92 trainees (excluding wives) on full time courses.”³⁸ The same colonial way of perceiving women as “farmers’ wives” and not as ‘farmers’ continued. Hence, their exclusion from full- time courses at the institution.

Legacies from the colonial period were also perpetuated in dairy farming training in the first decade of the country’s independence. Just like in the colonial era, even in independent Zambia, this type of farming was still seen as a male preserve. Consequently, it was males who were given the opportunity to receive training in this field. For instance, at a farm known as Clifton Farm (now known as Palabana Dairy Training Institute), in Lusaka, dairy farming training was on offer for the Dairy Unit Staff under the auspices of the *Zambian Agricultural project*. A memorandum read:

The first course is for *men* who staff units at Kasama, Mansa and Solwezi. The course has proved to be successful and it is intended to recruit further *men* for the proposed units at Mongu and Kabwe. Your request to recruit trainees for a second course to begin on 5/1/1970 is being considered. The trainees may be either married or single *men*.³⁹

³⁷ No author ‘Chipembi Farm College’, *Farming in Zambia* 2, 4 (1967), 28.

³⁸ J. W. A. Woods, ‘Kalulushi Farm College’, *Farming in Zambia* 6, 2 (1971), 47.

³⁹ NAZ, SP 3/25/48, From Chief Agricultural Training Officer to the PAO, Mongu, 30th, September, 1969.

The implication of this statement cannot be over-emphasised. It was only men who were seen as dairy farmers and therefore the institution found it fit to call upon only males to apply for admission. In the first few years of the country's independence, biases were still apparent at agricultural colleges established after the country became independent. This was evident at ZCA where an advertisement for admission in 1967 read:

Candidates for admission to the college must be in possession of a Form II Certificate with English, Mathematics and Science. Young *men* with these qualifications interested in a rewarding career with bright promotional prospects should contact the Principal of Zambia College of Agriculture for further details.⁴⁰

The implication was that focus was still on recruiting males and not females. Although female trainees began to be admitted after 1970, some courses were still reserved for male applicants.⁴¹ In 1974, the Training Officer at the same college pointed out that, "In addition to a 2-year Agricultural Assistant course which is the main agricultural course, the college gives a one-year Agricultural Science foundation course to 35 *male* students selected by the Veterinary Department."⁴² From the advert, it is clear that lady applicants were not catered for in the Agricultural Science Foundation course. Arguments presented have unequivocally demonstrated that a decade into the country's independence, gender imbalances in agricultural education that characterised the pre-independence period still persisted. At farmer training institutions established after the country became independent, female training continued focusing on Home Economics. Only a fraction of female trainees underwent training in agricultural-related courses.

⁴⁰ Contributed, 'Agriculture Offers Good Career Opportunities', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 3(1967), 11.

⁴¹ Reports indicate that by 1970 enrolment had been made open to female applicants. This will be highlighted later in the chapter.

⁴² B. Challens, '25th Anniversary of Agricultural Training at Monze', *Farming in Zambia* 8, 3(1974), 2.

Agricultural education also encompassed training in Cooperative Management, a course which was incorporated into the curricula of the Farm Institutes and FTCs a year after Zambia's independence. This arose out of the fact that at independence, one of the agricultural programmes that the government embarked on was the establishing of farming cooperatives country-wide. In the next section, we discuss the work of farming cooperatives in the first ten years of Zambia's independence. We examine how gender sensitive the farming cooperatives born in post-colonial Zambia were. We also assess the extent to which Cooperative Management courses at FTCs and Farm Institutes incorporated both sexes.

Farming Cooperatives in Zambia, 1965-1974

The cooperative movement in Zambia dates back to 1914 when the first cooperative was formed by the European settler farmers as a means of marketing agricultural produce to the newly opened copper mines on the Copperbelt Province of Southern Zaire and northern Zambia.⁴³ Although the first cooperative society was registered in 1914, Zambia's cooperative movement really got under way only in 1948 after the formation of a Department of Marketing and Cooperatives, the passing of a Cooperative Societies Ordinance, and the appointment of the first Registrar for Cooperatives.⁴⁴ On 17th January, 1965 at the Chifubu rally in Ndola on the Copperbelt Province of Zambia, President Kaunda declared that cooperatives were to form the backbone of independent Zambia's development policy and Zambians were encouraged to go back to the land and form cooperatives which government promised to support.⁴⁵ Under FNDP, considerable emphasis was laid on this form of development and 2,570 Pounds was ear-marked to be spent on co-operative farms between 1966 and 1970.⁴⁶ During the pre-independence period, there were no farming

⁴³ From: <http://www.fao.org/docrep> (Accessed 21st December 2014)

⁴⁴ Stephen C. Lombard, *The Growth of Cooperatives in Zambia, 1914 – 1971* (Lusaka: Institute of African Studies), 1971), 7.

⁴⁵ For details on the Chifubu rally, see, Kenneth David Kaunda, *Speech at Chifubu Rally, 17th January 1965* (Lusaka: Zambia Information Services, 1965)

⁴⁶ *FNDP*, Annexure II.

cooperatives in Zambia. The farming cooperative movement was brought to light shortly after independence in a bid to introduce Zambia's rural subsistence farmers to the money economy.⁴⁷ Tembo argued that the farming cooperatives were intended to create conditions for self-employment and to boost food production in the country.⁴⁸ The assumption was that the cooperative movement would help improve methods of farming, raise production and expand the scale of marketed commodities among the African rural dwellers.⁴⁹ From January 1965, these farming cooperatives predominated in the registration of new cooperatives. The PAO of Southern Province proudly remarked that, "The idea of farming cooperatives has caught on in the districts and cooperatives have sprouted in every corner!"⁵⁰

In Central Province, by September 1970, there were 103 registered farming cooperatives.⁵¹ By December, the province had 105 farming cooperatives.⁵² By the 1972/1973 farming season, there were 68 Farming Cooperative Societies which actively went into producing in the province and a total acreage of 6,176 acreages was under production.⁵³ In the North-Western Province, by December 1971, there were 64 registered farming cooperatives.⁵⁴ In the Eastern Province, by 1974, there were 42 communal farming cooperatives scattered all over the province.⁵⁵ By June, 1970, 805

⁴⁷ NAZ, CNP 1/14/5, Senior Cooperative Assistant, 'Development through Cooperatives – Mkushi District', Cooperative Newsletter No. CP 1/71, 30th January, 1971.

⁴⁸ C. W. Tembo, 'Peasants and Resettlement Schemes in Chama-Lundazi, 1954 – 1980', in Kanduza (ed.), *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia: Pre-Colonial to the 1980s*, 153.

⁴⁹ E. A. M. Banda, 'The Impact of the Cooperative Movement in the Eastern Province, 1947 – 1980s', in Kanduza (ed.) *Socio Economic Change in Eastern Zambia*, 104.

⁵⁰ PAO's Report, Southern Province 1966 – 1967, 43.

⁵¹ NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, MRD, Quarterly Report for Central Province for quarter ending 30th September, 1970.

⁵² NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, MRD, Quarterly Report for Central Province for quarter ending 3rd December, 1970.

⁵³ NAZ, CNP 1/14/5, Department of Cooperative Societies, Central Province Progress Report as at 30th June 1973.

⁵⁴ NAZ, SP 3/25/48, Permanent Secretary, Agriculture (Solwezi) 'Registered Agricultural Cooperatives'.

of the 1,280 cooperatives in Zambia were Farming Cooperative Societies.⁵⁶ Cooperatives were seen as potentially important institutions from which Zambia's agricultural development would be fostered.

Gender in Farming Cooperatives

We contend that the farming cooperatives that began to spring up in Zambia in the post-1965 period were gender biased. We are informed by reports which indicate that female membership in the farming cooperatives was generally low. Worse still, even at FTCs and Farm Institutes, few women were receiving training in Cooperative Management. Reports also indicate that positions of responsibility in the cooperative movement were generally held by men. For instance, by 31st December, 1970, all the eighteen positions in the Department of Cooperatives in the Central Province were held by males (See Appendix 3).⁵⁷ This was the same scenario in 1971 when it was reported in the same province that all the eleven Farm Managers of Cooperative Farms (eight in Kabwe and three in Lusaka) were male.⁵⁸ The same imbalances continued in 1973.

A memorandum read in part:

...these intellectuals whose names are listed can collaborate to make a football team and a referee. These *men* in a playing ground play a great role in improving our production standard. Their work is classified as heading, initiating, controlling, organising, planning and coordinating farm activities. It should be noted that some of these *men* are farm managers of more than one society.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ NAZ, EP 4/2/176, MRD, Department of Cooperatives, Eastern Province Annual Report for year ending 31st December, 1974.

⁵⁶ International Labour Organisation, 'Narrowing the Gaps: Planning Basic Needs and Productive employment in Zambia', report to the Government of Zambia by a Jaspa Advisory Mission, 1977, 84.

⁵⁷ NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, MRD: Staffing, Department of Cooperatives, Central Province, 31.12.70.

⁵⁸ NAZ, CNP 1/14/5, 'Know Your Farm Managers', Cooperative Newsletter No. CP1/71, 30th January, 1971.

⁵⁹ NAZ, CNP 1/14/5, Department of Cooperative Societies, Central Province Progress Report as at 30th June 1973.

This quote brings to the fore that all the Farm Managers of Cooperative Farms in the Central Province in 1973 were male. This was the same situation in the Eastern Province where all the nineteen positions in the cooperative movement were, in 1974 held by males (see Appendix 4).⁶⁰ At a meeting of some Department of Agriculture officials held in 1967, a suggestion was made that it was necessary to achieve more collaboration with the Department of Cooperatives. It was felt that it was necessary to carry out seasonal courses to field extension workers (for members of cooperatives) in Farm Management. The argument was that knowledge of different farm branches (field crops, vegetables, poultry and pigs) was important. Emphasising the importance of women in cooperatives, it was recommended that there was need:

- (a) To begin an enlightenment action, as a result of which the women shall join the cooperatives as members with full rights and obligations.
- (b) In collaboration with the Provincial Committee Development Officers, to organise in each large cooperative, a Women's Club with the purpose of advancing the women-folk on the above mentioned lines.⁶¹

In spite of these recommendations, gender imbalances in the cooperative movement remained unabated. Although the proposed Farm Management courses began to be held at farmer training institutions, it was males that received more training than females. From 1971 to 1973, only a fraction of women trainees at FTCs received training in Cooperative Management country-wide. In the 1971/1972 training year, 15 women as opposed to 173 men were trained. In the 1972/1973 training year, 28 women as opposed to 186 men received training (see Table 2). In the Western Province, while 30 male farmers were trained in Cooperative Management in 1974, there was no female trainee in this course.⁶² Clearly, in the first ten years of Zambia's independence, there were gender imbalances in the cooperative movement as females, for the most part were side-lined. To make matters worse, it was not only the

⁶⁰ NAZ, EP 4/2/176, MRD, Department of Cooperatives, Eastern Province Report for the year ending 31st December 1974.

⁶¹ NAZ, MAG 1/21/13, 'Agricultural Cooperation in Zambia', 6th February 1967.

⁶² Extension-Training Annual Report, Western Province, 1974, Appendix I.

cooperative movement that recorded gender imbalances. Reports show that even in other agricultural-related jobs, women were generally marginalised.

Gender and Agricultural Related Jobs

By 1974, most positions in the Department of Agriculture were held by men. A memorandum in Central Province read:

Mr. M. F. Kashweka assumed duties as Principal of Keembe Farm Institute in place of *Mr. P. J. J. Kachana* who left for Masaiti Farm Institute on 31st October 1970. *Mr. M. C. Nyanyiwa* has moved to Mukulaikwa Farms Training Centre where he has taken over from *Mr. K. H. N. Siluonde* as Officer-in-Charge. *Mr. M. Sepeti* has replaced *Mr. Nyanyiwa* as Officer-in-Charge of Mkushi Farmer Training Centre.⁶³

In the above quotation, nowhere does *Ms.* appear as a person holding senior positions at farmer training institutions. All of them were male showing the gender imbalances in staffing at farmer training institutions.

Another Correspondence read:

The Poultry Demonstrator, *Mr. John Katete* has been transferred from Serenje to Chipapa Agricultural Camp. The Commodity Demonstrator, *Mr. E. Chitambo* moved from Mulembo to open a new Agricultural Camp at Mapepala. A Commodity Demonstrator, *Mr. F. Katuta* was brought to Kabwe from Serenje on 24th November 1970. An Agricultural Assistant, *Mr. F. M'sukwa* was transferred to Chalimbana from Keembe. *Mr. P. J. J. Kachana*, Principal at Keembe Farm Institute was transferred to Masaiti Farm Institute.⁶⁴

Here, again, nowhere does *Ms.* appear as title of an Agricultural Department employee. Rather, all of them were male. Similarly, at both Chalimbana and Mkushi FTCs, the Farm Managers were male, that is, *Mr. M. Sepeti* and *Mr. D.*

⁶³ NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, From Extension Training Officer to the Acting PAO, Central Province, 3rd December, 1970: 'Training Report for November, 1970'.

⁶⁴ NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, From Acting PAO, Central Province to the Director of Agriculture, 'Staff Transfers', 21st December, 1970.

Namwenda respectively.⁶⁵ The Eastern Province showed a similar picture in 1974. All the four FTCs and the Farm Institute in the province in 1974 were headed by males.⁶⁶

In August, 1974, there were a number of staff changes at managerial levels in the Ministry of Rural Development. Zambians were assigned duties in accordance with the policy of Zambianisation as well as the need to give new impetus to the meaning of rural development. However, none of these senior positions went to women. When the Home Economics Section was established in 1970, it was declared that from that year, extension services were to be effectively offered to rural women. In fact, the section had, as its main objective, the delivery of extension services to rural women. We argue that if this goal was to be achieved, it was imperative for women to have a female representative at senior level who was going to effectively address and oversee the needs of rural women. This was going to be in line with the Home Economics' vision that, "The Female Extension Section within the Department of Agriculture has as its main objective the delivery of extension services to rural women."⁶⁷ Paradoxically, when the Zambianisation policy was implemented in MRD, there was no female representation in senior positions and yet as early as 1970, the Ministry had one female Agricultural Economist who could have been elevated to a senior position under the Zambianisation programme.⁶⁸ All the ten senior positions went to males.⁶⁹

Arguments presented have demonstrated that in the first ten years of the country's independence, there were gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector as women were, for the most part marginalised. During that period, the Department of Agriculture grappled with the problem of incorporating women into the

⁶⁵ NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, From Extension Training Officer to the PAO, Central Province - 'Training Report for September, 1970'.

⁶⁶ See NAZ, EP 4/2/176, Department of Agriculture Annual Report for Eastern Province, 1974/1975, 38. The report indicated that even the District Agricultural Officer of Petauke was male.

⁶⁷ No author 'Nine Years of Progress', *Farming in Zambia* 8, 2 (1974), 16.

⁶⁸ In fact, in 1971, she was even sent for an eight-week in-service specialised course in Regional Development planning in Egypt. Yet, none of these positions was assigned to her. See In the News, *Farming in Zambia* 6, 4 (1971), 3.

⁶⁹ See Ministry Senior Officials get new Assignments, *Farming in Zambia* 8, 4 (1974), 19. See also, Appendix 5.

country's agricultural development. This, certainly, was not an easy process as a number of bottlenecks stood in the way of incorporating women into the agricultural development of the country. In the next section, we seek to establish why it was difficult to bridge gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector.

Challenges faced in bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector

Some bottlenecks that stood in the way of bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector were institutional while some were non-institutional.

General Prejudice against women

When Zambia came under colonial rule, the colonial state perceived men and not women as farmers. Consequently, agricultural institutions found it fit to deal with males rather than females. In the field of agricultural extension, for instance, it was to males that agricultural information was disseminated. Farmers, as perceived by extension workers were commercially oriented male heads of families. Chipungu argued that the knowledge of growing cash crops (cotton, sunflower, tobacco) was coming from extension officers to male household heads and through them to wives, children and other members of households.⁷⁰ A Chairman of Mongu Township Council also lamented about the biases in extension visits. In a memo, he wrote:

While visiting a few of my Wards, I found that many women who are interested in farming especially vegetables are not aided and not even visited by any of your departmental staff on district level They do all their best by showing willingness to improve their daily living by eating vegetables, but after all, they do not get help This is an appeal to your department, to see that such interested vegetable growers are visited and assisted.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation*, 154.

At Kalabo FTC, courses were on offer to would-be Commodity Demonstrators who upon graduating were to assume the roles of visiting villagers with the goal of teaching them modern farming methods. Mboma lamented that when they graduated and went out in the field for extension visits, the audience tended to consist mostly of men.⁷² He argued that in fields, men invited agricultural extension officers and the entire decision making rested in the hands of men.⁷³ Muntamba held a similar view arguing that when extension agents visited and the husband was absent, the former would leave a message with the wife bearing the next visiting date.⁷⁴ We contend that such gender biases in extension work defeated the whole purpose of ‘extension’ as originally defined. The term ‘extension’ was taken from the USA where the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 brought into being comprehensive agricultural extension services as extra-mural teaching arms of the state land grant colleges. Blacklock, a Chief Training Officer in MRD pointed out that:

The Smith-Lever Act stated that agricultural extension work shall consist of the giving of instructions and practical demonstrations in agriculture and Home Economics to persons not attending or resident in colleges, and imparting to such persons information through field demonstrations, publications and otherwise.⁷⁵

Despite men being accorded the opportunity of being in residence at farmer training institutions, they were the ones who were the major beneficiaries of extension advice from Agricultural Extension Officers during field demonstrations. Because of family responsibilities, many women could not be in residence even when accorded the chance to do so. Being prejudicial towards women was common even at agricultural institutions where male employees tended to over-look female employees. In the

⁷¹ NAZ, SP 3/25/48, From Chairman, Mongu Township Council to the PAO, Department of Agriculture, Mongu 6th October, 1969.

⁷² Kafuba Mboma, ‘The Changing Role of Women in Agriculture: A Case Study of Kalabo’, M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 87.

⁷³ Mboma, ‘The Changing Role of Women in Agriculture: A Case Study of Kalabo’, 96.

⁷⁴ Muntamba, ‘Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia Kabwe Rural District, 1850-1970’, 286.

⁷⁵ J. S. Blacklock, ‘An Approach to Extension’, *Farming in Zambia* 2, 1 (1966), 10.

Home Economics Section, gender historical prejudices leading to males having dominance over females were evidently at play in influencing working relations between male and female members of staff. Making reference to the lack of support to female staff in the section, it was reported in 1971 that, “a great deal more support is needed from male colleagues who are still inclined to overlook women staff and to consider their requests to be of very low priority.”⁷⁶ To make matters worse, men in the agricultural sector had better conditions of service than their female counterparts. It was, for example, noted that female staff, particularly Commodity Demonstrators were not allowed to get bicycle loans. At the same time, married women who had not worked for at least four years were also not allowed to get the same loans.⁷⁷ The situation was not different in the cooperative movement. Gould pointed out that:

While there are no legal obstacles to female membership, in practice, it only makes sense for one household member to join the society. This is because only one member of a family will be given agricultural credit through the cooperative. Virtually always, it is the husband who applies. Consequently, the produce sales check is also issued in the man’s name. Society bands have not thought of married women in particular, as potential members on grounds that the husband’s membership was sufficient.⁷⁸

Doubtless, this historical prejudice against women was a major bottleneck that stood in the way of bridging the gender gap in the sector. The colonial mentality of perceiving females as inferior was perpetuated even after the country became independent.

Cultural factors

Traditionally, a lot of respect was accorded to males as heads of families. Even when they were accorded the opportunity to participate in the country’s agricultural development, in most instances women tended to be made passive. At an agricultural meeting in Kabwe, it was observed that women were generally passive in meetings of

⁷⁶ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 40.

⁷⁷ MRD, *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1972 – 1973* (Lusaka: Extension Branch, 1973), 60.

⁷⁸ Jeremy Gould, ‘Local Strategies and Directed Development: Cooperatives between the State and Community in Luapula’, in Kate Crehan and Achim Von Oppen (eds.), *Planners and History: Negotiating ‘Development’ in rural Zambia* (Lusaka: Multimedia Zambia, 1994), 240.

the cooperative movement extending the way their homes were run to cooperatives.⁷⁹ Keller, Phiri and Milimo pointed out that the tendencies by females in the cooperative movement to remain in the background, to stay silent and to be reluctant to take up leadership roles in the cooperative movement were attributed to traditional female submissiveness.⁸⁰ Women were traditionally socialised into being submissive to men who were deemed as being superior to women.

A former Extension Officer recounted that:

Because of cultural patterns of female subordination, women tended to sit in the background and did not participate in deliberations during agricultural gatherings. When we went out to meet farmers, the women in attendance kept quiet and let men deliberate on agricultural issues.⁸¹

Our respondent recalled that, “Our instructors at Monze FTC were very neutral in approach. However, male trainees showed superiority and female trainees tended to under-rate themselves. They seemed to fear male trainees so much!”⁸² These cultural patterns of female submissiveness were primary in the failure to fully incorporate women into the country’s agricultural development.

Low education levels among Zambian women and female disinterest in Sciences

A large majority of adult rural women were illiterate at independence. Because of high illiteracy levels, it was difficult for them to be incorporated into the country’s agricultural development. At a meeting in Kabwe, it was observed that the educational level of the women in the cooperatives was lower than that of the menfolk.⁸³ Apart from the low education levels among females, many lacked interest in science subjects. This view was echoed by Keller, Phiri and Milimo when they

⁷⁹ NAZ, MAG 1/21/13, ‘Agricultural Cooperation in Zambia’, 6th February, 1967.

⁸⁰ Keller, Phiri and Milimo, ‘Women and Agricultural Development’, 261.

⁸¹ Interview with Namukolo Mukutu, Former Extension Officer, Chief Animal Husbandry Officer, Assistant Director of Agriculture (Extension) and retired Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture, Lusaka, 16th August, 2014.

⁸² Interview with Rose Kaanga, Makangala Village, Chief Mwanachingwala’s area, Mazabuka district, 28th May, 2016.

⁸³ NAZ, MAG 1/21/13, ‘Agricultural Cooperation in Zambia’, 6th February, 1967.

stated that, “The majority of professionals working in the agricultural fields were men because they were recruited from a secondary school system in which gender stereotypes limited female pupils’ interest in science subjects.⁸⁴ This observation was, for instance made at Chipembi Girls Secondary School in central Zambia. It was felt that no apparent interest in agriculture as a career had been shown by the pupils of that school.

Shaw pointed out that:

The Principal of the school was of the view that the “image” of agriculture must be improved to destroy forever the illusion that there is some part of opprobrium associated with working the soil. There are scores of ways in which women could help the national drive to develop the agricultural industry. They could move into the training sphere and release women for vital work in the field, qualify as Vet Assistants, train as research workers and take up some of the administrative duties in sectors where knowledge of agriculture is a necessary requisite.⁸⁵

A former student and former Lecturer of NRDC also echoed the view that females generally lacked interest in science subjects. He pointed out that:

Admission into agricultural-related courses at NRDC was based on credit passes at Secondary School and a pass in any Science subject was a pre-requisite for entry into agricultural disciplines. Therefore, many females opted to enroll for Nutrition as they had weaker grades in the Sciences. Even those who had good grades feared they could not make it to the final year if they enrolled into agricultural courses.⁸⁶

Indeed, in all agricultural-based courses at the college, in addition to having a full Cambridge Overseas School Certificate or its equivalent, a pass in a Science subject

⁸⁴ Keller, Phiri and Milimo, ‘Women and Agricultural development’, 262

⁸⁵ G. D. Shaw, ‘Women are needed in Practical Jobs, too’, *Farming in Zambia* 3, 3(1968), 4.

⁸⁶ Interview with W. D. Chanakira, Agricultural Education student, NRDC, 1971-1973; Lecturer, NRDC, 1987-2009, Lusaka, 23rd February, 2015.

was a pre-requisite for admission.⁸⁷ This factor certainly stood in the way of bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector.

Low staffing Levels at farmer training institutions

When the Home Economics Section was established in 1970, a recurrent problem it started facing was staff deficiencies. In all reports from the section, staffing came out as a pressing problem that needed urgent attention. Many FTCs and some Farm Institutes had no Home Economics staff by 30th September, 1971.⁸⁸ It was reported that although the staff position had greatly improved, it was still inadequate to cover the whole country. Owing to the shortage of Civil Servant staff, Commodity Demonstrators continued to teach women courses at FTCs and Farm Institutes.⁸⁹

The PAO of Central Province lamented that:

The ratio was one Agricultural Supervisor, assisted by one Agricultural Assistant and two Commodity Demonstrators for each province. The Home Economics section aimed at specialised field teaching for our rural women so that they could increase their agricultural output. Due to lack of trained staff, most of the teaching load was done by Commodity Demonstrators (Non-civil servants).⁹⁰

In the Eastern Province, staffing was a major constraint to female extension. It was noted that staff in the Home Economics Section based at FTCs were far from being adequate. The PAO stated that, “There is need to have female extension staff at camp level to do day to day supervision. I consider men are not the rightful people to handle women extensionally, hence the need for more staff.”⁹¹ In a subsequent report, the same issue was raised and there were complaints from the same province that the lack

⁸⁷ A. Hamaamba, ‘Natural Resources Development College’, *Farming in Zambia* 5, 2 (1970), 21.

⁸⁸ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 40.

⁸⁹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970 – 1971*, 41.

⁹⁰ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971 – 1972*, 43. Our respondent pointed out that most Commodity Demonstrators were recruited from local communities and were taught how to demonstrate different aspects of agricultural technology. He pointed out that in the process, some acquired agricultural skills and ended up being successful farmers. Interview with Anderson Mutinta, District Agricultural Coordinator, Chikankata, Lusaka, 27th January 2015.

⁹¹ MRD, *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1972 – 1973*, 76.

of female staff was making it difficult for the section to achieve its goal of reaching out to rural women.⁹² By the end of 1974, the staffing situation remained unchanged. The PAO reported that while members of the section were active in promoting vegetable and groundnut growing, their work was being constrained by a lack of adequate staff.⁹³ Doubtless, this staffing constraint over-rode efforts by the Extension Branch to effectively disseminate agricultural information to rural women.

Transport Constraints

This was another recurrent problem in the Home Economics Section making it difficult for the section to effectively carry out its duties. It was reported in the 1970/1971 training year that staff in the section had experienced problems in conducting follow-ups on course members largely due to the lack of transport. While they were instructed to widen their area of operation by going out to assist farmers' wives in groups or individually when scheduled courses were not taking place at the centre, transport challenges constrained them from reaching out to female farmers.⁹⁴ Similar sentiments were expressed in the 1971/1972 training year when it was noted that there was a decrease in women attending courses at FTCs due to lack of transport. The greatest problem cited by staff in about 89.5% of their monthly reports was the unavailability of transport.⁹⁵ The situation worsened in the 1972/1973 training year when several provinces had to cancel their courses because there was no transport at the time the course had to be offered.⁹⁶ In the Western Province, the PAO noted that there was an increase of 16.5% in course attendance during the training year October

⁹² NAZ, EP 4/2/176, PAO's Report, Eastern Province, 1973 – 1974, 46.

⁹³ NAZ, EP 4/2/176, PAO's Report, Eastern Province, 1974 – 1975, 51.

⁹⁴ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1970 – 1971, 41.

⁹⁵ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1971 – 1972, 44.

⁹⁶ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1972 – 1973, 41.

1973 to September 1974 as compared to the previous year ending in September, 1973.⁹⁷ He was, however quick to point out that:

The problem of inadequate transport has been a serious drag on our planned programme of courses during the year resulting in disappointments and frustrated efforts not only to training staff but also to extension staff and farmers in the field.⁹⁸

In that province, about 36% of the courses were cancelled in the Home Economics Section and brought course attendance quite low compared to other provinces. Efforts were thus made to have the staff use bicycles where available or motor-cycle.⁹⁹ In the Eastern Province, it was reported in 1974 that transport was the major bottleneck for the smooth running of courses in the villages by staff of the Home Economics Section.¹⁰⁰ Inevitably, these transport constraints over-rode efforts by Agricultural Extension Officers to reach out to rural women.

Flaws in recruitment methods to farmer training institutions

It was observed that recruitment methods for women trainees at farmer training institutions were fraught with flaws. A major flaw identified was the perpetual duplication of trainees. After an evaluation of course reports in the 1970/1971 training year, it was observed that many course members had already been in for previous courses and/or were members of Women's Clubs. The PAO of the Central Province lamented that, "It would appear that we are only reaching a very small percentage of the women in the rural areas and in some instances, we may even be duplicating in our teaching."¹⁰¹ Because of this recruitment problem, it was suggested that:

Female members of staff should assist with recruiting and explaining the course content and its benefits to the husbands as well as the wives. Male extension workers should not take the easiest way out and recruit

⁹⁷ Extension-Training Annual Report, Western Province, 1973 – 1974, 4.

⁹⁸ Extension-Training Annual Report, Western Province, 1973 – 1974, 4.

⁹⁹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1972 – 1973, 41.

¹⁰⁰ NAZ, EP 4/2/176, PAO's Report, Eastern Province, 1974 – 1975, 52.

¹⁰¹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1970 – 1971, 41.

members of the local Women's Clubs. Both men and women staff should carry out their recruiting in conjunction with the local leaders like Headmen and Councillors so that we succeed in recruiting those who really need our assistance.¹⁰²

In spite of those suggestions, in the following training year, that is, 1971/1972, problems of course duplication were still noted. It was observed that about 42% of the women had attended similar courses before and that there were more trainees in the 1970/1971 training year when 3,793 women attended courses at farmer training institutions.¹⁰³ However, the 1971/1972 training year saw 3,215 women attending courses representing a 12.6% drop.¹⁰⁴ The decrease was attributed to poor recruitment. This recruitment flaw meant that only a fraction of rural women were reached by Extension Officers.

Non-availability of facilities for mixed courses at farmer training institutions

A major challenge faced in reaching out to rural women was the structuring of courses at farmer training centres. During any particular training year, only either of the sexes could be accommodated at the training institutions. Therefore, it was the males that benefited as the dormitories at the farmer training institutions were designed primarily to cater for male students. Rodway made this point clear when he noted that, "courses are so arranged that the centre is occupied exclusively by women students or men students – there is no combination of both in the existing dormitory arrangements."¹⁰⁵ In their evaluation of the work of FTCs and Farm Institutes, Marter and Honeybone also argued that at FTCs, there was no provision made for accommodation of females.¹⁰⁶ Their emphasis was that there was need to involve the whole family in farmer training and that extension workers needed to identify men or

¹⁰² *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970 – 1971*, 41.

¹⁰³ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971 – 1972*, 44.

¹⁰⁴ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971 – 1972*, 44.

¹⁰⁵ C. G. Reedon Rodway, 'The Farmer Training Centres (1)', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 4 (1967), 23.

¹⁰⁶ Marter and Honeybone, *An Evaluation of the work of Farm Institutes and Farmer Training Centres*, 38.

women or couples from village communities to attend a course at an FTC for a complete agricultural season.¹⁰⁷ Certainly, this problem was significant in the low levels of women trainees at these training centres.

We contend, from evidence above that it was very difficult to bridge gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector in the first ten years of her independence. This does not mean, that the Zambian government just scored failures vis-à-vis reducing gender imbalances in the sector. Efforts at reducing gender imbalances in the country's agricultural development were not wholly futile. To some extent, they yielded positive results. It is argued, in the next section that some successes were scored by the Department of Agriculture as it strove to incorporate women into the country's agricultural development and that some women responded positively to opportunities to be part of the country's agricultural development.

Bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector: Successes Scored

Farmer Training

A major break-through in bridging gender imbalances in agricultural education was the drive towards admitting women into agricultural-related courses at farmer training institutions and instructing them through mobile training. It was noted, for instance in the 1967/1968 training year that in the Eastern Province, farmers for the first time brought their wives to Farm Institutes and FTCs, not only to attend Home Economics courses but courses on field crop operations as well.¹⁰⁸ With the formation of the Home Economics Section in 1970, efforts began to be made to ensure that more women underwent training in agricultural-related courses than was the case before 1970. There was an increase from a total of 1,820 women taking various courses at Farm institutes and FTCS in 1969 to a total figure of 3,495 in 1970, a 94 % increase. Of the total for 1970, 1,782 were Home Economics courses, some run in conjunction with vegetable growing or poultry rearing in accordance with the department's policy

¹⁰⁷ Marter and Honeybone, *An Evaluation of the Work of Farm Institutes and Farmer Training Centres*, 82

¹⁰⁸ PAO's Report for Eastern Province, 1967/1968, 12.

of carrying out a logical sequence in these subjects.¹⁰⁹ During the 1971/1972 training year, the Home Economics Section began specialised field teaching of rural women so they could increase their agricultural output.¹¹⁰ The section introduced mobile training as a way of reaching out to rural women. During that year, trained NRDC Diploma level staff concentrated most of their effort on teaching women in their own villages rather than training institutions. Commenting on the significance of mobile courses, the PAO of the Central Province pointed out that, “It is felt that by conducting both residential and non-residential courses, more women will be reached.”¹¹¹ It was reported in the 1972/1973 training year that staff of the Female Extension Section would go to a particular village where a course was scheduled and remained there for two weeks, teaching the women (families) in their own village situations.¹¹²

The Home Economics Section also embarked on a programme of recruiting women from rural areas to Farm Institutes or FTCS in their area for one or two weeks, training in agricultural production and nutrition. By 1972, there were eight Farm Institutes and 27 FTCs in which the section was running courses if staff permitted.¹¹³ The Female Extension Section proudly reported that it was so successful in recruiting women to FTCs that from 1969 to 1972, enrolment rose by 156% and that the statistics for the first six months of 1973 showed another rise.¹¹⁴ In 1973, the Female Extension Section offered 331 institutional and village courses all over the country.¹¹⁵ Women were encouraged to plant vegetable gardens with crops such as soya beans, groundnuts and carrots.

¹⁰⁹ L. A. M. Downes, ‘Our Women Want Progress’, *Farming In Zambia* 6, 4 (1972), 45.

¹¹⁰ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1971 – 1972, 43

¹¹¹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1971 – 1972, 44.

¹¹² *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1972 – 1973, 41.

¹¹³ Downes, ‘Our Women Want Progress’, 45.

¹¹⁴ No author, ‘Nine Years of Progress’, *Farming in Zambia* 8, 2 (1974), 17. The Home Economics Section was renamed the Female Extension Section in 1972.

¹¹⁵ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1972-1973, 40.

Reports from provinces across the country indicate that changes began to be seen in reaching out to women. In the 1972/1973 training year, it was reported that the Female Extension Section of the Department of Agriculture in Eastern Province taught production techniques through organised women groups. A notable achievement was the conducting of village classes at Farm institutes and FTCs. In the Eastern Province, it was reported in the 1973/1974 training year that the Female Extension Section was doing fine and that mobile courses were being effectively carried out much to the delight of women. Apart from the usual house-keeping skills, women began to be taught sugar-cane and sorghum growing. The PAO of Eastern Province reported, with delight that women in villages were impressed with the subjects taught to them by officers of this section.¹¹⁶ At FTCs and Agricultural Camps of the Eastern Province, the Female Extension Section began to instruct women in vegetable growing and groundnuts production.¹¹⁷ In the 1973/1974 training year, 1,169 women were taught at FTCs while 1,569 were taught in villages.¹¹⁸ The PAO noted that attendance of the courses had been good for both sexes.¹¹⁹ It was reported from the Northern Province, in the 1974/1975 training year that extension courses at village level were found to be effective and popular as the women did not leave their families.¹²⁰ Attendance of women at Farm Institutes and FTCs in the Luapula Province also improved significantly. According to the PAO's reports from the province, the number of women receiving instruction rose yearly from 1970 to 1973. The drop was only in 1973/1974 when many courses were cancelled due to transport constraints.¹²¹ With the establishing of a Home Economics Section at Kalabo FTC in the Western Province,

¹¹⁶ NAZ, EP 4/2/176, MRD, Department of Agriculture, Eastern Province Annual Report 1973/1974, 46.

¹¹⁷ NAZ, EP 4/2/176, Eastern Province Annual Report, 1973/1974, 45.

¹¹⁸ Eastern Province Annual Report, 1973/1974, 46.

¹¹⁹ NAZ, EP 4/2/176, MRD, Department of Agriculture, Eastern Province Annual Report 1974/1975, 4

¹²⁰ PAO's Report for Northern Province, 1974/1975, 59.

¹²¹ In 1970, there were 144 female trainees. The number rose to 164 in 1971 while 1972 recorded 182 trainees. 1973 recorded a sharp rise with the centres training 443 women. It was only 1974 which recorded a sharp drop due to transport constraints. See PAO's Reports, Luapula Province, 1971 – 1974.

many women from the province began to be trained at the centre.¹²² Some female graduates of these farmer training institutions became active participants of Women's Clubs. Using the knowledge they had acquired from the agricultural training institutions, they became innovative. Ultimately, in the clubs they joined, agricultural yields was so high that they were even able to sell part of the produce.¹²³

The post-independence period saw a phenomenal development of the poultry industry. Many women went into poultry farming leading to the introduction of poultry training courses at Mazabuka Central Research Station in the Southern Province. In 1967, about 200 local Mazabuka women received training in poultry husbandry at the Veterinary Research Station Poultry Training Centre.¹²⁴ Shaw, the Director of Veterinary and Tsetse Control Services was so proud of women's achievements that he pointed out that:

In the poultry training courses that we have run at the Central Research Station at Mazabuka during the past three years, women trainees have acquitted themselves notably better than men and also display inherent qualities of neatness, tidiness and manual dexterity and the ability to carry out repetitive work more efficiently.¹²⁵

At a two-day seminar on Poultry Management at the Research Station in Mazabuka, women students from Masaiti Farm Institute in Ndola rural on the Copperbelt Province

Figure 1: Female Students Attending Poultry Training Courses at Mazabuka Research Institute, 1967

received training in

Poultry Management in 1967 (see Figure 1).¹²⁶

¹²² Mboma, 'The Changing Role of Women in Agriculture', 84

¹²³ Interview with Rose Kaanga, Makangala Village, Chief Mwanachingwala, Mazabuka, Southern Province, Mazabuka, 28th May, 2016. She pointed out that she shared what she had learnt at Monze FTC with her friends enabling the club she joined to produce high yields.

¹²⁴ Contributed, 'It was their idea', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 3 (1967), 2.

¹²⁵ G. D Shaw, 'Women are needed in Practical Jobs, too', *Farming in Zambia* 3, 3 (1968), 4.

¹²⁶ A. O. Ballantyne, 'The Research Worker', *Farming in Zambia* 3, 1 (1967), 17.

Source: Contributed, 'It was their idea', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 3 (1967), 2.

The post-1970 period saw women at FTCs breaking into courses previously deemed as men's domains. For instance, previously, it was only men who were receiving instruction in Animal Husbandry and Dairying. In 1972, however, 41 women were trained in Animal Husbandry while 12 were trained in Dairying.¹²⁷ In 1973, 63 women were trained in Animal Husbandry while six were trained in Oxen and Farm Machinery (refer to Table 2).¹²⁸ Another significant achievement scored in female training was the policy of staff training in the Home Economics Section. It was realised that if the section was to accord first priority to improving methods of food production, members of the section must be trained to teach these improved methods. The department began training women in agricultural extension work and the first



intake of fourteen students was admitted to ZCA at the end of September 1971.¹²⁹ In October 1971, Home Economics Section staff attended a women's conference at Keembe Farm Institute dubbed, 'Co-ordination and a team approach to

¹²⁷ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971 -1972*, Appendix XXVI.

¹²⁸ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1972 – 1973*, Appendix XVI.

¹²⁹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970 – 1971*, 41.

development'.¹³⁰ In 1972, some staff members were sent to an intensive in-service poultry course at Masaiti Farm Institute and for a vegetable course at the Chapula Irrigation Scheme in Kalulushi on the Copperbelt Province.¹³¹ In 1973, eight young women recruited by the Female Extension Section were given three weeks' concentrated orientation training which enabled them to serve fully in all categories of groups and five went to ZCA.¹³² Certainly, by 1974 notable successes had been scored in the way of bridging gender imbalances in farmer training.

Admission of females to colleges of agriculture

With independence, admission to colleges of agriculture was made open to both sexes. At NRDC, for instance, admission being open to applicants of both sexes was re-affirmed by the Principal of the institution when he pointed out that, "The College opened in 1965 was designed to train men and women in various courses and all courses were open to candidates of both sexes."¹³³ It was only Nutrition which was specifically for female trainees but within the Nutrition course there was an agricultural component as well.¹³⁴ By September 1971, several girls were undergoing training in agricultural-based courses at the college.¹³⁵ Re-affirming the college's policy of admitting both sexes, our respondent noted that:

Agricultural-related courses were open to both sexes. It was only Nutrition that was strictly for female applicants. There were a number of female enrollees in agricultural-related courses especially those coming from rural areas. They were influenced by farming activities in the communities they were coming from.¹³⁶

¹³⁰ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1970 – 1971, 41.

¹³¹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1971 – 1972, 44.

¹³² *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1972 -1973, 65.

¹³³ A. Hamamba, 'The Natural Resources Development College', *Farming in Zambia* 5, 2 (1970), 20.

¹³⁴ Hamamba, 'The Natural Resources Development College', 21.

¹³⁵ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1970 -1971, 41.

¹³⁶ Interview with Chanakira, 23rd February 2015.

At ZCA, initially, students were being awarded a one-year Zambia College Proficiency in Agriculture Certificate and upon completion would be appointed as Agricultural Assistants. In September, 1969 the course was up-graded to a two-year Agricultural Assistant course. In 1971, the course became open to women applicants and Home Economics was added to the curriculum.¹³⁷ Indeed, at the end of September 1971 female students were admitted to ZCA.¹³⁸ Downes stated that, “ZCA has now taken a few girls at Form II level for training in general agriculture with Home Economics subjects included. They hope to have an intake of 25 every year in future.”¹³⁹ At the University of Zambia, admission into the School of Agricultural Sciences was open to both sexes. A respondent recounted that:

Three females graduated in Agricultural Sciences at the University of Zambia in 1975. In spite of them being few in number compared to males, the three ladies showed a lot of enthusiasm and had the zeal to work. In fact, they worked so hard that they were taken on as Staff Development Fellows in the School of Agricultural Sciences”.¹⁴⁰

In 1970, Chipembi Farm College enrolled its first ever female student. Initially, she was to participate in all aspects of the course which entailed a considerable amount of heavy physical farm work; then later on, she was to specialize in subjects more usually associated with the women’s side of farming such as Poultry, Husbandry and Horticulture.¹⁴¹ On a visit to Chipembi Farm College, discovering that one of the farmer trainees was a woman, Mr. Kamanga, the Minister of Agriculture remarked delightedly, “I hope women will also make a break-through in the farming industry when they talk of equality with men!”¹⁴² Kalulushi Farm College also began

¹³⁷ In the News, ‘Young Farmers Show the Way’, *Farming in Zambia* 8, 3 (1974), 24.

¹³⁸ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 40.

¹³⁹ Downes, ‘Our Women Want Progress’, 45.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with Dr. D. M. Lungu, 26th February 2015.

¹⁴¹ In the News, ‘Chipembi Farm College Successes’, *Farming in Zambia* 5, 2 (1970), 24

¹⁴² In the News, ‘Students are told: You are the agents of rural development, too’, *Farming in Zambia* 6, 3 (1971), 22.

incorporating women into agricultural training courses. MRD assumed the role of supporting the college fully through a substantial grant.¹⁴³

Woods, the Director of the college stated that:

There is a wives' course which is for wives of students. The usual home craft subjects are included in the syllabus but in addition there is a special emphasis on preparing the women to share in the work of the farm and thus become partners with their husbands in the family farm.¹⁴⁴

The implication of the quotation is that although women at the college were primarily trained in Home Economics, they were also instructed in Agriculture. Perhaps, these achievements were in response to a radio broadcast by Mr. E. L. Walima, Permanent Secretary in MRD in 1971. In that address he had laid emphasis on the importance of agricultural education for women. His speech read in part:

A third principle in the planning for the future of agricultural education is to recognise the key role to be played by our women in rural development. Women's work in rural areas is being given greater attention both by the Department of Community Development and the recently set up Home Economics Section of the Department of Agriculture and there is no reason why women should not make good extension workers or Veterinary Officers. Already 80 out of our 340 students at NRDC are women and next year, 25 female students will be admitted to Monze College of Agriculture to train as Agricultural Assistants. Agricultural Education must play a leading role in increasing the potential of Zambian women for development.¹⁴⁵

As has been shown, by 1974 the Zambian government had achieved some successes in bridging the gender divide in admission to agricultural colleges

Staffing

By 1974, some progress had been made by the Female Extension Section in the area of staff recruitment. During the 1970/1971 training season, 16 posts were set

¹⁴³ J. W. A. Woods, 'Kalulushi Farm College', *Farming in Zambia* 6, 2 (1971), 47.

¹⁴⁴ Woods, 'Kalulushi Farm College', 46.

¹⁴⁵ In the News, 'Mr Wilima Looks at Agricultural Education in Zambia and its future for the Development of the Rural Sector and Industry', *Farming in Zambia* 7, 1 (1971), 23.

aside; an Agricultural Assistant, Senior Agricultural Assistant and Agricultural Supervisor levels for the Home Economics Section.¹⁴⁶ A significant break-through in bridging gender imbalances was the decision to recruit females to these posts. The posts were advertised on 12th May, 1971, and as a result, a number of Home Economics staff joined the section in addition to a number of applicants who were transferred from Community Development, Education and Health making a total of 29 members of staff in the section.¹⁴⁷ By 1972, the staff position in the section was further strengthened to make a total of 36 members of staff from the previous 29.¹⁴⁸

Staffing challenges began to be addressed in other provincial Female Extension Sections throughout the country. In the Eastern Province, for instance, five women were employed in each of the Female Extension Sections in Chipata, Lundazi, Chadiza, Chama, Katete and Petauke.¹⁴⁹ Reports from the Luapula Province in 1973 indicated that well trained personnel was limited in number in the Female Extension Section but due to the efforts of the Extension-Training Officer and some provincial Female Extension Section officers, four female demonstrators were recruited in the section.¹⁵⁰ All of them were assigned with duties of serving farmers' wives, Young Farmers' Clubs and Women's Clubs. The PAO proudly reported that:

Although, they are few women staff, they served our training institutions greatly in the field of training courses. They also made follow-ups whenever transport was possible. Eight young women were recruited and

¹⁴⁶ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 40.

¹⁴⁷ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 40. As at 30th September, 1971, the Home Economics Section had a total staff of one Home Economics Officer, two Agricultural Supervisors, five Senior Agricultural Assistants and eighteen Commodity Demonstrators.

¹⁴⁸ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971-1972*, 43. In the previous year, there was one Home Economics Officer but in 1972, there was an addition of another Home Economics Officer to make two. In addition, a Senior Home Economics Officer was recruited. Agricultural Supervisors also rose from two to nine while Senior Agricultural Supervisors increased from five to seven. There was an addition of one Agricultural Assistant to make four from the previous three. The main increase was in Agricultural Supervisors as more graduated from the NRDC.

¹⁴⁹ Eastern Province Annual Agricultural Report, 1973-1974, 45.

¹⁵⁰ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1972-1973, 65.

given three weeks' orientation training which enabled them to serve fully all categories of groups and five went to ZCA.¹⁵¹

Women also began to be incorporated into other sections in the Department of Agriculture. Shaw, the Director of Veterinary and Tsetse Control Services pointed out that, "Some junior posts in the Department of Agriculture are held by women and there has been a Zambian woman assistant for months at the Mansa Farm Institute poultry section."¹⁵² As shown, by 1974 efforts had been made to recruit not only males but also females in the Department of Agriculture. Re-affirming the importance of male and female trainees at ZCA, Challens, the Training Officer pointed out that:

Nothing will give farmers confidence in an extension worker faster or more certainly than the *men* and *women* who can show that they can combine theory with practice and can demonstrate manual skills and sound techniques in a way that can be readily understood and put into practice.¹⁵³

A senior officer in the Department of Agriculture also remarked, "Women overseas are involved in many spheres of agriculture and there is no reason why the same should not apply to women in Zambia!"¹⁵⁴ The increase in the number of female members of staff in the Department of Agriculture was a deliberate policy by the government to bridge the gap between male and female employees in the department.

Women's Clubs

These clubs were initially organised under the colonial government. In 1966, they were nationally recognised with the government establishing a policy on the clubs and their participation in the country's development.¹⁵⁵ At first, focus was on supporting clubs that were inclined to house-keeping skills like sewing, knitting and cooking. Eventually, the government assumed the role of supporting clubs that were involved in farming through giving them grants. In the Central Province, 42 Women's

¹⁵¹ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1972-1973, 65.

¹⁵² G. D. Shaw, 'Women are needed in Practical Jobs, too', *Farming in Zambia* 3, 3 (1968), 4.

¹⁵³ Challens, '25th Anniversary Agricultural Training at Monze', 29.

¹⁵⁴ Shaw, 'Women are needed in practical jobs', 4.

¹⁵⁵ Extension-Training Annual Report Western Province, 1973-1974, 4

Clubs had received a total sum of K425.00 as grants by September 1970.¹⁵⁶ It was reported that attendance in clubs which had slackened during the harvesting period rose sharply in the post-harvest period and that the presence of Monze trainees in the field had helped to improve the image of the Women's Club movement in the province.¹⁵⁷ By the end of the year, the 225 Women's Clubs in the Central Province received a total sum of K1, 015.¹⁵⁸ In the North-Western Province, by 1971, there were 58 Women's Clubs.¹⁵⁹ Eight Women's Clubs in each of these towns, that is, Solwezi, Kasempa, Kabompo, Zambezi and Mwinilunga received a grant of K50 each, the total amounting to K2000.¹⁶⁰ Kalabo Women's Club in the Western Province received a grant of K475, 00 in 1970.¹⁶¹ In the 1972-1973 year, four clubs in the Southern Province and two clubs in the Central Province planted 8.6 ha and 4 ha groundnuts respectively while about 6.2 ha of soya beans were planted by clubs in the Central Province.¹⁶² By 1973, the Female Extension Section was in charge of over 870 Women's Clubs.¹⁶³ This increase in Women's Clubs was significant in the government's drive to reduce gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector.

The Cooperative Movement

¹⁵⁶ NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, MRD, Provincial Rural Development Officer's Quarterly Report for the Quarter ending 30th September 1970.

¹⁵⁷ Provincial Rural Development Officer's Quarterly Report for the Quarter ending 30th September 1970. The phrase, 'Monze trainees' was used to refer to ZCA graduates because of its location in Monze.

¹⁵⁸ NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, Provincial Rural Development Officers Report for the Quarter ending 3rd December 1970. Serenje had 60 Women's Clubs; Mkushi 18; Kabwe 60; Mumbwa 44 and Lusaka 43.

¹⁵⁹ PAO's Report, North-Western Province, 1970-1971, 20.

¹⁶⁰ Provincial Rural Development Officer's Report, North-Western Province, 1971, 16.

¹⁶¹ NAZ, SP 3/25/48, From Acting District Secretary, Kalabo to Permanent Secretary, Office of the Minister, Mongu, 20th July, 1971.

¹⁶² *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1972-1973*, 40

¹⁶³ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1972-1973*, 40. The increase in the new clubs formed was 7% over the 1971-1972 year and the increase was attributed to the approach of teaching women as individuals, not as groups.

In spite of gender biases evident in the cooperative movement, there were instances when efforts were made to incorporate women into the movement. The government assumed the role of supporting some women's farming cooperatives through giving them grants. One such Cooperative Society was the Nakambala Modern Poultry Husbandry Cooperative in the Southern Province. In response to the President Kaunda's exhortation to women to try their hand at the cooperative movement, women in Mazabuka asked for a government loan to fund their cooperative. Their appeal was successful, to the tune of 100 Pounds and the Nakambala Modern Poultry Husbandry Cooperative was born.¹⁶⁴ Apart from birds, the women grew maize, and other crops (See Figure 2). In 1969, an attempt was made to incorporate women into the cooperative movement through settling them at a cooperative farm in Kabwe. Shortly after the country became independent, the Zambian government began buying farms from expatriates in order to settle people who were forming cooperatives. In 1969, Tubombelepamo Farm in Kabwe, earlier bought for poultry farming which could not take off due to the muddy terrain was earmarked to settle women. However, the women upon being settled on the farm failed to run it.¹⁶⁵ In Chizera's area of North-Western Province, there was a small farming cooperative where women members in villages were being trained by a woman agriculturalist in poultry farming and growing of soya beans and maize.¹⁶⁶

By 1970, there were efforts made at incorporating women into the cooperative movement through a family approach to membership. This arose out of the laziness that was observed among members of farming cooperatives who tended to under-produce. It was noticed, for instance, that only a few communal farming cooperatives in the Central Province managed to plant and yield enough maize for members' consumption and for sale. A primary reason identified for this under-production was laxity on the part of management. An observation made was that some members

¹⁶⁴ Contributed, 'It was their idea', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 3 (1967), 13.

¹⁶⁵ NAZ, CNP 1/14/5, From Director of Cooperative Societies, MRD to Permanent Secretary, Cabinet Minister's office, Kabwe, 24th July 1971.

¹⁶⁶ Merfyn Tembo, 'Development at Chizera', *Farming in Zambia* 6, 2 (1971), 16.

wanted to work hard while leaders were passive, discouraging many members from being loyal to their societies. It was, therefore felt necessary to establish family cooperatives in which all members of the family would participate. A report indicated that, “The Cooperative field officers are busy reorganising the members to have individual family unit plots so that laziness will not be seen in the next coming season.”¹⁶⁷

Opening the second National Cooperative Conference in Lusaka, President Kaunda pointed out that recommendations from an economic survey of the operations of farming cooperatives had been accepted by the government. He noted that, among the main recommendations of the survey was that communal farming cooperatives should be reorganized into family farms and that extension work on farming cooperatives done by the Department of Agriculture should be considerably increased.¹⁶⁸ Indeed, farming cooperatives sprang up and the Central Province Cooperative Officer proudly remarked that, “Most of the agricultural members have liked the idea of family farming units because it eliminates laziness among the other members and encourages hard work for all the members of the family!”¹⁶⁹ The birth of family cooperatives was significant in bridging gender imbalances in the cooperative movement as they incorporated both sexes through adopting a family approach to farming.

¹⁶⁷ NAZ, CNP 1/14/5, Provincial Cooperative Officer Central Province, MRD, Department of Cooperatives: Progress Report for Quarter ended 31st December 1970.

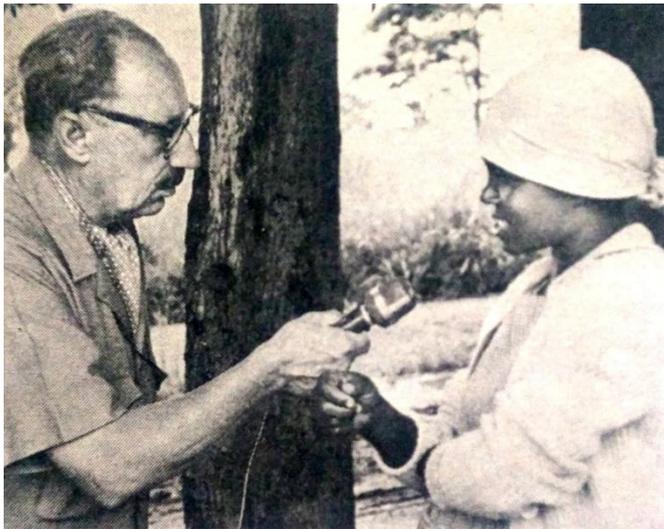
¹⁶⁸ Raphael Katawola, ‘Re-Organisation of Cooperatives’, *Farming in Zambia* 8, 1 (1973), 43.

¹⁶⁹ NAZ, CNP 1/14/5 Provincial Cooperative Officer for Central Province’s Progress Report for Quarter ended 30th June 1973.

Figure 2: Female Members of Cooperatives, 1967



Source: Contributed, 'It was their idea', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 3 (1967), 3.



The author of this article, Mr. C. G. Reeton Rodway, Public Relations Officer in the Department of Agriculture discusses poultry cooperatives at Mazabuka with Mrs Myanganusa, the secretary at the Modern Poultry Cooperative

Source: C. G. Reeton Rodway, 'Agricultural Broadcasting as an Educative Medium in Zambia', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 3 (1967), 18.

Radio Farm Forums

At the request of the Minister of Agriculture, a working party was set up on December 14, 1964, to plan and implement agricultural broadcasting.¹⁷⁰ Arising out of the work of that party, a new section, the Communications Section was created in the Ministry of Agriculture. It was to disseminate information to farmers on different agricultural issues. The whole idea was to increase agricultural production among small-scale farmers. In 1968, it became the National Farming Information Service (NFIS), later popularly known as the Rural Information Service (RIS).¹⁷¹ It was this section that became responsible for the running of Rural Radio Farm Forums (RFFs). In 1966, a UNESCO mission visited Zambia and recommended that the RFF programme be started on the national radio in the country. It was observed that the RFFs were doing very well in many countries throughout the world.¹⁷² Muntanga, the Senior Communications Officer in MRD was of the view that the RFF would do much to spread vital information to farmers. He argued that:

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation had pioneered this programme 25 years ago and by 1967 had formed a vital link between the extension service and farmers. All India' radio had proven that forums were first-class media for the dissemination of agricultural knowledge and Australia was yet another country where this type of programme played an important part in the agricultural extension drive.¹⁷³

Because of their successful performance in other parts of the world, it was found necessary to start these forums in Zambia. The importance of the forums for both sexes was also echoed by Antes', the UNESCO adviser on broadcasting in the

¹⁷⁰ C. G. Reeton Rodway, 'Agricultural Broadcasting as an Educative Medium in Zambia', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 3 (1967), 17.

¹⁷¹ Peter E. Ronald Watts, Peter E. C. Ngangula and A. H. Werner Haas, 'Agricultural Communications' in Wood et al (eds.) *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia*, 357.

¹⁷² GRZ, *Zambia's Plan at work, 1966-1970* (Lusaka: Office of National Development and Planning, n.d.), 55.

¹⁷³ Silas Muntanga, 'Radio Farm Forums in Zambia will do much to spread vital information to farmers', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 3 (1967), 5.

Department of Agriculture when he stated that, “The importance of radio as a medium of adult education and community development for about 450,000 farm families of Zambia, among whom 72% of adult males and 93 adult women are illiterate needs no special emphasis.”¹⁷⁴ Under FNDP, this extension method to cater for farmers of both sexes was introduced.¹⁷⁵ The forums were planned to start on May 2, 1967.

The principle behind the RFF was to assemble a group of farmers, introduce the problem by radio and then given the listener the chance to talk over it and decide what to do about it. About 15 villages interested in agriculture and rural development would be selected by competent authorities to constitute the forum.¹⁷⁶ They would prepare questions and make them known to the local extension worker. Each forum initiated an average of three questions on every subject.¹⁷⁷ Answers would then be obtained from Extension Officers in their respective areas and Research Officers at Mount Makulu Central Research Station. Small pamphlets containing questions and answers were published in English and local languages and distributed among the forum members.

We contend that these forums were a platform for reaching out to farmers of both sexes and they, indeed, represented a major step towards eliminating gender biases in the agricultural sector. Muntanga, the Senior Communications Officer in MRD emphasised that these were meant for both sexes when he noted that, “Any man or woman interested in growing crops and animal management may join.”¹⁷⁸ He further pointed out that, “Adequate publicity for the Radio Farm Forum project was given in all languages, the object being to enable farmers and their families to listen to these agricultural programmes.”¹⁷⁹ This statement implies that it was not only the man

¹⁷⁴ A. M. Natesh, ‘Radio Farm Forums’, *Farming in Zambia* 2, 1 (1966), 18.

¹⁷⁵ See, *FNDP*, 25.

¹⁷⁶ Natesh, ‘Radio Farm Forums’, 18.

¹⁷⁷ Muntanga, ‘Radio Farm Forums are a success’, 5.

¹⁷⁸ Silas Muntanga, ‘Radio Farm forums are a success’, *Farming in Zambia* 3, 2 (1968), 5.

¹⁷⁹ Muntanga, ‘Radio Farm Forums are a success’, 4.

as the head of the family who was represented in the Forum. Rather, it encompassed the wife as well. The Forums were timed at hours that would cater for both sexes as they were held in the afternoons when women were through with their house chores. They were broadcasted in at least one local language of the rural provinces of Zambia. They were aired in Bemba, Lozi, Tonga, Nyanja, Lunda, Luvale and Kaonde. Broadcasting them in local languages meant that even women (most of whom were illiterate) benefited from these forums. Natesh made this point clear when he pointed out that:

A pre-requisite for the broadcast of programmes for forum purposes was the introduction of a regular daily composite programme for the rural listeners for at least an hour every day at a time suitable to the listeners in each language area so that the masses could develop a habit of listening to radio regularly (See Figure 3 and Appendix 6).¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ Natesh, 'Radio Farm Forums', 19.

Through Women's Clubs, radio sets were availed not only to males but also to females. Muntanga made this point clear when he stated that, "Many Women's Clubs

Figure 3: Men and Women in Radio Farm Forum Groups



have approached their Provincial Community Development Officers for radio sets so that they work hand in hand with the existing aided Forums and listen to farming programmes once a week."¹⁸¹ That the Forums were gender friendly was also echoed by Natesh, the UNESCO expert when he pointed out that, "Membership for each Forum is composed of friends and neighbours, men and women interested in farming."¹⁸² As shown, these forums proved to be an effective way of incorporating both sexes into the country's agricultural development drive.



¹⁸¹ Silas Mur

¹⁸² In the Ne
24. These se
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6, 4 (1971),
Director of
1971.

Source What makes Farm Forums worthwhile - farmers implementing the decisions *Zambia* 2, 4 (1967) after taking part in programme discussions.

Young Farmers' Clubs

The Young Farmers' Club Movement was initiated in 1958. However, in the colonial period, these clubs were few in number. After the country became independent, they began to grow at a very fast rate. In 1969, it was reported that, "Since 1964, the expansion has been at the rate of almost 180 new clubs per annum."¹⁸³ MRD sponsored the movement by providing technical guidance to club projects through the normal agricultural extension service and also provided training facilities within its agricultural training programme.¹⁸⁴ The movement was also assisted materially and financially by the Zambia Association of Young Farmers Club, the Credit Organisation of Zambia, the Department of Community Development, the Agricultural Rural Marketing Board, mining companies, UNICEF, and Rural councils.¹⁸⁵ Limited finance was available on loan from the government to get their projects under way.¹⁸⁶ The primary goal of the clubs was to inculcate a sense of being farmers into the minds of boys and girls. There were two types of Young Farmers Clubs. Open clubs were usually established at village level while school clubs were found in schools and colleges.

These clubs were not gender biased as they incorporated both sexes. That they were not gender-biased was echoed by the Movement's Patron, President Kaunda in 1969. Officially opening the Young Farmers' Club National Leaders' Conference at the NRDC on 22nd April 1969, he pointed out that:

This movement for young people is basically an informal education medium aimed at producing in boys and girls, an understanding of and appreciation of the land, the rural way of life It helps them to acquire

¹⁸³ D. J. Siddle, Successful Extension Techniques, *Farming in Zambia* 5, 2 (1970), 4.

¹⁸⁴ For more on the organisation of the clubs, see P. M. Munyati, 'Voluntary Groups Help Young Farmers Clubs', *Farming in Zambia* 5, 1 (1969), 37. At the time, he wrote the article, he was a Youth Extension Officer in MRD.

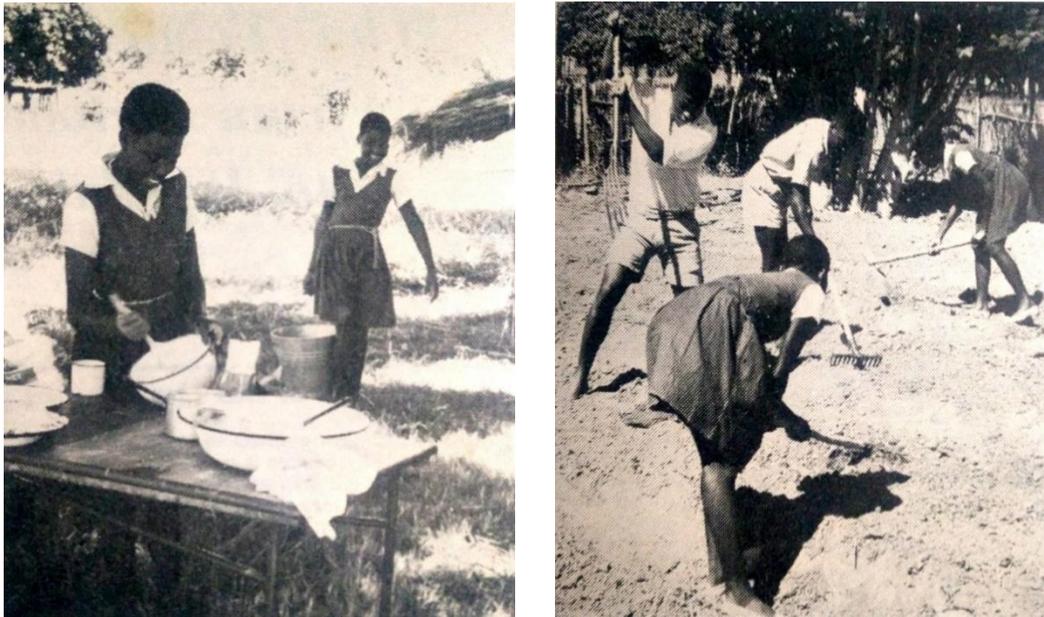
¹⁸⁵ NAZ, SP 3/25/48, From Youth Extension Officer to All Businessmen, All sympathisers, Barotse Province, 24th January 1969.

¹⁸⁶ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1968-1969*, 34.

basic agricultural skills, to develop enquiring minds and an interest in the modern developments of agriculture.¹⁸⁷

Some clubs consisted of one sex while others consisted of both sexes. They were engaged in small-scale intensive agricultural projects like growing of fruits and vegetables. Those with female members also developed skills in Home Economics and rural craft like cookery, dress-making and livestock rearing (See Figure 4).

Figure 4: Boys and Girls in the Young Farmers' Clubs, 1966



Source: Marc H. Rosser, 'Youth and Young Farmers' Clubs', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 1 (1966), 3.

¹⁸⁷ P. M. Munyati, 'Young Farmers Clubs Round-Up, 1969', *Farming in Zambia* 5, 2 (1970), 45.

Throughout the country, there were reports that the movement was gaining momentum and that both sexes were actively participating in its activities. In the Northern Province, by the end of 1965, the total number of clubs was 82 and one course for girl club members was organised with the co-operation of Mungwi Development Centre during which instruction was given in subjects suitable for girl members.¹⁸⁸ Apart from gardening, they were taught other crafts like cookery and sewing. Most of the clubs in the province were involved in vegetable growing. In the Western Province, too, the movement had gained ground and both boys and girls were active participants.¹⁸⁹ From the North-Western Province, there were reports that both sexes were active in the movement. There were 2,077 males and 1,639 females in the movement in the province.¹⁹⁰ Clubs on the Copperbelt Province were also reportedly doing well. In 1970, the Home Economics Youth Extension Officer held many meetings with members who generally asked for more assistance in teaching and one accompanied the Home Economics Officer on a tour of the Copperbelt Province.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ MRD, Annual Report for Northern Province, 1964/1965, 9.

¹⁸⁹ NAZ, SP 3/25/48, Youth Extension Officer, 'A Drive to Young Farmer's Clubs – Open', 23rd January 1969.

¹⁹⁰ PAO's Report, North-Western Province, 1970-1971, 23.

¹⁹¹ Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971, 45.

From October 1974, the training section did a lot to train young farmers in the Eastern Province and there was excellent attendance by both sexes at all FTCs and Farm Institutes in the province.¹⁹²

In 1964, there were 163 Young Farmers Clubs in the country with a total membership of 4,500.¹⁹³ The number rose to 460 in 1966 with an estimated membership of 13,000.¹⁹⁴ At least, 1/3 of the clubs were open clubs and nearly 40% membership consisted of girls and young women.¹⁹⁵ At the end of 1968, there were 910 clubs with 26,000 members, 40% of whom were women and girls.¹⁹⁶ The number of clubs rose to 1000 in 1969 with 30,000 members.¹⁹⁷ When the Home Economics Section was established, it embarked on a programme of including girls in its training programmes. The Senior Home Economics Officer reported in 1972 that the section was working with the women's and girls' projects in the Young Farmers Clubs.¹⁹⁸ The policy of Youth Extension in the 1971/1972 training year was to ensure that these clubs were taking part in courses at Farm Institutes.¹⁹⁹ In the 1972/1973 training year, it was reported that male and female members of the clubs undertook projects in poultry and field crops like maize and vegetables.²⁰⁰

As has been shown, a lot of effort was made to incorporate both boys and girls into Zambia's agricultural development through the Young Farmers' Club movement. Through acquiring agricultural skills at an early age, it was felt that it would be easy

¹⁹² NAZ, EP 4/2/176, Annual Report for Eastern Province, 1974/1975, 4.

¹⁹³ Andrew D. Cruikshank, 'Young Farmers Club Association Progress', *Farming in Zambia* 6, 1 (1970), 53.

¹⁹⁴ Annual Report of Extension Branch, 1965/1966, Final draft (Unpublished), 49.

¹⁹⁵ Marc H. Rosser, 'Youth and Young Farmers' Clubs', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 1 (1966), 2.

¹⁹⁶ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1968 -1969, 33.

¹⁹⁷ Cruikshank, 'Young Farmer's Club Association Progress', *Farming in Zambia* 5, 2 (1969), 53.

¹⁹⁸ Downes, 'Our Women Want Progress', 43.

¹⁹⁹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1971-1972, 45.

²⁰⁰ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch*, 1972 - 1973, 43.

for them to follow careers in agriculture later in life. This view was expressed by Rosser, the Youth Extension Officer when he stated that, “A large proportion of Young Farmers’ Club members will become farmers or follow careers in agriculture with government and commerce.”²⁰¹ Munyati held a similar view noting that, “The Young Farmers’ Club Movement helps boys and girls to acquire basic agricultural skills, to develop enquiring minds and an interest in the modern developments of agriculture.”²⁰²

A respondent pointed out that:

I was inspired to take up a career in agriculture through being actively involved in the Young Farmers’ Club at secondary school. When I started teaching, I was Patron of the Young Farmers’ Club. Both male and female members showed interest in taking up agriculture as a career.²⁰³

Stressing the importance of supporting the movement, the Youth Extension Officer in Barotse Province remarked, “To all who cooperate in aiding them, remember, they are farmers of tomorrow!”²⁰⁴

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that in the first ten years of the country’s independence, the government made efforts aimed at bridging the gender gap in the agricultural sector. It has been argued, in the chapter that during this ten-year period, gender imbalances evident in the Department of Agriculture in pre-independent Zambia were still apparent. We have noted that in agricultural education and in agricultural-related jobs, females continued to be marginalised. It has further been

²⁰¹ Rosser, ‘Youth and Young Farmers Clubs’ ,3

²⁰² Munyati , ‘Young Farmers’ Club Round-up, 1969’, 45.

²⁰³ Interview with Chanakira, 23rd February, 2015. He pointed out that he was a member of the Young Farmer’s Club at secondary School and that when he started teaching, he was Patron of the Club there. He noted that both males and females showed interest in pursuing Agriculture as a career.

²⁰⁴ NAZ, SP 3/25/48 Youth Extension Officer, ‘A Drive to Young Farmers’ Clubs – Open’, 23rd January 1969.

pointed out that at farmer training institutions, more males than females received instruction. We have observed that females continued receiving more training in Home Economics than in agricultural-related courses. Our contention has been that in agricultural-related jobs, females continued to be side-lined as evidenced by reports we have made reference to. It has been argued that bridging gender imbalances in these institutions was not easy due to the numerous challenges that the Department of Agriculture faced. We have argued that in spite of challenges faced vis-a-vis bridging the gender gap, in some areas, some successes were scored. It has been demonstrated that gender imbalances in agricultural education were reduced through making admission to farmer training institutions and colleges open to both sexes. We have pointed out that gender imbalances in staffing were bridged through boosting female staffing levels in the Home Economics Section, making reaching out to rural women easier than before. The chapter has demonstrated that through Women's Clubs, rural women acquired agricultural skills. We have further noted that gender imbalances in the cooperative movement were reduced through a deliberate policy of funding some women's farming cooperatives. It has been observed that reaching out to both sexes was also facilitated through Radio Farm Forum groups. The chapter has demonstrated that it was not only men and women who benefited from agricultural programs in the first decade of the country's independence. Rather boys and girls were also incorporated into the country's agricultural development through the Young Farmers' Club movement. Ultimately, some former members of these clubs developed careers in agriculture later in life.

CHAPTER FIVE: BRIDGING GENDER IMBALANCES IN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR, 1975-1990

Introduction

In 1975, the world celebrated the UNO International Women's Year. It was envisaged that the year was to be devoted to intensified action to promote equality between men and women, to ensure the full integration of women in the total development effort and to increase women's contribution to the strengthening of world peace.¹ As part of the celebrations, the first world conference on the status of women world-wide was held in Mexico City from June 19 to July 2, 1975 during which a number of issues to do with women across the globe were discussed. The conference reminded the international community that discrimination against women continued to be a persistent problem in much of the world.² During the conference, proposals were made to declare 1976-1985 as the United Nations International Women's Decade. Indeed, five months after the conference, the General Assembly of the United Nations declared 1976-1985 as the United Nations Decade for Women. A second conference on women was held in Copenhagen, Denmark in 1980 and another in Nairobi, Kenya in

¹ Elizabeth Chola Phiri and Mabel C. Milimo, 'Women and Agricultural Development', in Adrian Paul Wood; Stuart A. Kean; John J. Milimo and Dennis Michael Warren (eds.) *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia* (Iowa: Iowa University Press, 1990), 247.

² From: http://www.5wwc.org/conference_background/1975_WCW.html (Accessed 29th June 2015)

1985. Due to recommendations coming out of these three conferences, governments world over began to establish bodies responsible for the promotion of women's interests. These bodies promoted an awareness of women's issues including those of rural women and encouraged research on women's agricultural and other roles.³ It is against this background that we examine the extent to which the Zambian government attempted to bridge the gender gap in the agricultural sector during and in the aftermath of the International Women's year.

The chapter begins by examining the measures that were put in place by the Zambian government through the Department of Agriculture in a bid to eliminate discrimination against women in farming. It is argued that during this period efforts were made to improve the status of women in agriculture in the country. We further argue that the efforts yielded positive results and ultimately women in farming were not as marginalised as they were in the first decade of the country's independence. We contend that despite notable successes being achieved in the way of bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector, by 1990 the gender divide was still evident. It is argued that these imbalances emerged from bottlenecks in the way of fully incorporating women into the country's agricultural development. We begin by examining the successes recorded by the Ministry of Agriculture in its drive towards reducing gender imbalances in the agricultural sector.

Bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector: successes scored

Work of the Female Extension Section

During the Women's Decade, the section embarked on a number of projects with the aim of addressing the needs of women in farming. Early in 1975, the Minister of Rural Development, Hon. Paul Lusaka named the 1975/1976 farming season as the season for the farmer. An article read in part:

Year of the farmer includes everyone – large, small and co-operative whose business and interest lie in the production of food. It will be seen as a year of joint effort between Government and the farmer in order to

³ From: <http://www.fao.org> (Accessed 16th November 2006)

improve farming in the country as a whole.⁴

Indeed, during that year joint efforts were made by the Female Extension Section and farmer training institutions to reach out to women in farming. During the 1975/1976 year, female Extension Officers from the Female Extension Unit in the Eastern Province visited Women's Clubs in the province that were in their infancy in order to establish small projects.⁵ During the same year, the Luapula Province Home Economics Section embarked on a process of training women farmers to grow more vegetables, sunflower, groundnuts, soya beans and citrus trees.⁶ They were trained at Farm Institutes and FTCs located within the province. During the 1977/1978 training year, modifications were made to the original goals of the Female Extension Section and three new goals were added. The section originally aimed at assisting women to increase food production and to grow more varied foods in order to improve their family diet. Another original goal was that it was to provide extension services to women in rural areas to assist them to increase agricultural production. Other goals included teaching women nutrition and encouraging and supporting the women's contribution to national development. In addition to these original goals, it was declared that the section was to encourage the preservation and storage of food in collaboration with the Food and Conservation Unit (FCSU) at Mount Makulu Central Research Station. It was also to support existing women's groups and village Young Farmers' Clubs which engaged in specific food production and nutrition projects. The last goal was that it was to develop and encourage leadership qualities among rural women so that they might improve their contribution to the growth of the nation.⁷

As per the new objectives, during the 1977/1978 year, members of Women's Clubs were encouraged to grow a variety of crops and were also advised to have one or

⁴ No author, 'The Year of the Farmer, 1975/1976', *Farming in Zambia* 9, 1(1975), 24.

⁵ NAZ, EP 4/2/176, Eastern Province Monthly Report, November 1975, 11.

⁶ MAWD, PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1975/1976, 43.

⁷ See, *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 40 and *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971-1972*, 43. We also outlined the original goals in the fourth chapter of this thesis. For the new goals, see, *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1977 - 1978*, 24.

two fruit trees and vegetable gardens in their backyards.⁸ At FTCs and in villages, the section carried out a number of demonstrations like food storage and preservation, soya bean extraction from milk and small livestock keeping.⁹ In the 1978/1979 training year, the name of the section was changed from the Female Extension Section to the Home Economics Section.¹⁰ The 1979/1980 farming year was declared Women's Year by the Department of Agriculture and several projects that were concerned with boosting the agricultural production of the nation were initiated. Specific projects undertaken by the section throughout the country included food storage and preservation, crop production, livestock and nutrition education.¹¹ In the 1982/1983 year, adjustments were made to the goals of the Home Economics Section again.¹² It was to promote self-help projects among the rural women for the satisfaction of their specific economic and social needs. It was also to give exposure and create awareness among all women in rural areas about appropriate technological devices. Another new goal was that the section was to open up credit facilities for subsistence and rural women farmers on a group basis which could also be financed individually out of revolving funds and by lending agencies such as ZCF. The Home Economics Section made efforts to achieve the goals put across in the 1982/1983 year. It was reported from North-Western Province that the policy of the Home Economics Section in the 1983/1984 training year was to teach farmers appropriate technology by using locally available resources, food production, food preparation and various other agricultural skills.¹³ The following year, the Home Economics Section in the province embarked on a process of promoting self-help projects for women, introducing appropriate technological devices and making

⁸ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1977-1978*, 24.

⁹ Food conservation and preservation was done in collaboration with the Food and Conservation Unit of Mount Makulu Central Research Station. For details on the work of this section see; Dorothy Mwansa, 'A History of Mount Makulu Central Research Station, 1950-1980', M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2001, 47 -48. We also discuss its work in the seventh chapter of this thesis.

¹⁰ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1978-1979*, 30.

¹¹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1979-1980*, 28.

¹² *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982 – 1983*, 30.

¹³ PAO's Report, North-Western Province, 1983-1984, 57.

available credit facilities for women groups engaged in farming.¹⁴ From the Luapula Province, it was reported in the 1985/1986 year that the policy of the Home Economics Section was to involve youth and women in farming activities.¹⁵ Accordingly, mobile and residential courses were conducted for women and youths during which agricultural extension agencies trained 777 female farmers and 110 female youths.¹⁶ To fulfill the section's goal of opening up credit facilities for rural women, a programme named 'Agricultural Credit, Production and Banking for Women leaders' was initiated. Under the programme, women in the province were to be trained on different aspects of agricultural credit. During that year, courses on agricultural credit facilities for small-scale farmers were conducted in the Mansa, Samfya and Mwense districts of the province.¹⁷ Mobile training was identified as a cheaper and effective form of training especially female farmers who were naturally expected to attend to domestic activities throughout the year.¹⁸ Attendance of women was found to be more satisfactory during mobile than residential courses. Consequently, it was felt that there was need to concentrate on the running of more mobile courses for women. Arising from this realisation, Home Economics Sections throughout the country adopted mobile training as a way of reaching out to female farmers. It was reported from Central Province in the 1985/1986 training year that 44 mobile courses were held for women trainees which attracted 428 participants.¹⁹ In the 1990/1991 training year, a total of seven mobile courses were conducted for Women group members in the province.²⁰ From Eastern Province, it was reported in the 1985/1986 training year that mobile course attendance

¹⁴ PAO's Report, North-Western Province, 1984-1985, 56.

¹⁵ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1985-1986, 43.

¹⁶ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1985-1986, 44.

¹⁷ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1985-1986, 44.

¹⁸ Quoted in Susan Hurlich, *Women in Zambia* Vol. 1. She pointed out that a 1985 study indicated that mobile courses provided more access to women who could or were not allowed to leave their homes by their husbands to attend courses.

¹⁹ PAO's Report, Central Province, 1985-1986, 33.

²⁰ PAO's Report, Central Province, 1990-1991, 12.

by women was 1 024 and women continued growing a variety of crops.²¹ It was reported from the Luapula Province in the 1986/1987 training year that the campaign for more mobile courses for female farmers was going on well and the Programme on ‘Agricultural Credit, Production and Banking’ for women leaders continued in the province from the previous season during which a total of 1, 223 women were trained.²² Impressed by the way the programme was being conducted, the PAO of the province stated that:

Follow-ups were made at places where these courses were conducted. About half of the women who took part in these courses have begun utilising the agricultural credit facilities available like the Cooperative Credit Scheme within Cooperative Societies, IRDP, Finnida’s Agricultural Extension and Training Programme and the LIMA ladder programme. These courses have really helped women by exposing them to facts they did not know on credit facilities and women are rarely defaulters.²³

The Home Economics Section in the province conducted several mobile courses for Women’s Clubs during the 1988/1989 training year which attracted many participants.²⁴ In the same year, four mobile courses in coffee and soya beans production and utilisation were conducted in Mansa district in the province.²⁵ From Lusaka Province, it was reported in the 1987/1988 training year that the Home Economics Section conducted institutional and mobile courses for staff as well as for women farmers.²⁶ It was reported from Eastern Province in the 1988/1989 training year that a total of eleven courses were conducted for women during which 356 women were instructed and quite a substantial number of male farmers also attended.²⁷ From Mongu

²¹ PAO’s Report, Eastern Province, 1985-1986, 25

²² PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1986-1987, 41.

²³ PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1986-1987, 42. We will discuss the IRDPs, Finnida’s Agricultural Extension and the Lima Ladder programmes in the next chapter.

²⁴ PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1988-1989, 58-59.

²⁵ PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1988-1989, 59.

²⁶ PAO’s Report, Lusaka Province, 1987-1988, 11.

²⁷ PAO’s Report, Eastern Province, 1988-1989, 62.

in Western Province, it was reported that the attendance of women in mobile courses in 1985 was 25% higher than their attendance in institutional courses.²⁸

Another notable achievement was the drive towards training more women in Cooperative Management. In the 1976/1977 year, 30 women received instruction in this course in North-Western Province, just less by two of the male attendance.²⁹ This was, indeed a notable achievement considering the fact that in the previous decade Cooperative Management training was primarily undertaken by males. By 1985, the cooperative training programme had been initiated in most districts in Eastern Province with the aim of increasing the number of female cooperatives and raising the participation of old female cooperative members.³⁰ Kalusa and Mtonga argued that Gawa Kalonga Undi X, who was the Paramount Chief of the Chewa people of eastern Zambia from 1953–2004, embarked on a process of encouraging his people to form cooperatives after 1972 as a means to combat poverty due to the economic malaise the country was going through. They further noted that from the late 1970s, many cooperatives were born and cooperative members were handed with in-puts like fertilisers, seeds and ploughs.³¹ It is not surprising therefore that the cooperative training programme was initiated in all districts in the Eastern Province. These cooperatives that were born in the province embraced female members (See Figure 5). From the Copperbelt Province, it was reported in the 1986-1987 training year that the Home Economics Section had a policy of putting emphasis on the formation of Women's Cooperatives so that women could easily get access to loans.³²

²⁸ Quoted in Hurlich, *Women in Zambia* Vol. II, 106.

²⁹ *Extension-Training Annual Report*, 1976 – 1977, 22.

³⁰ PAO'S Report, Eastern Province, 1984-1985, 79.

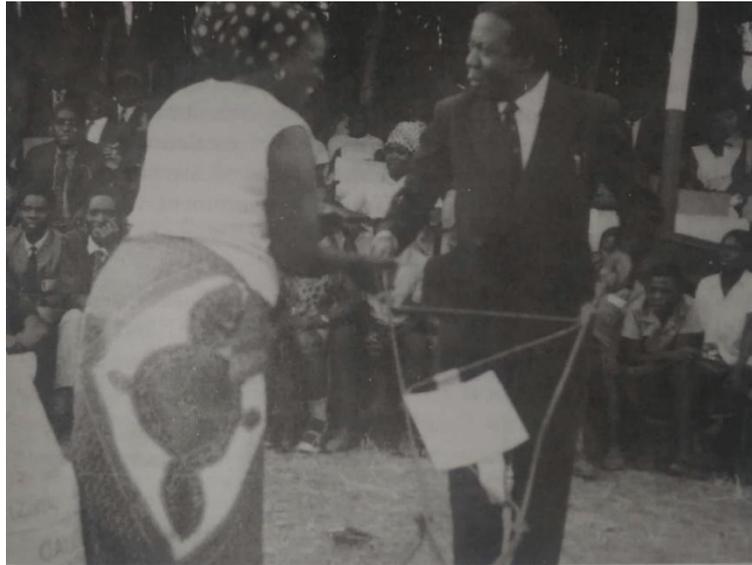
³¹ See Kalusa in collaboration with Mtonga, *A Biography of an African Chief and Nationalist*, 78 – 84. See also; E. A. M. Banda, 'The Impact of the Cooperative Movement in the Eastern Province, 1947 – 1980s', in Kanduzza (ed.), *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia: Pre-Colonial to the 1980s*, 97-101. Although he does not discuss gender in the cooperatives, he gives insight on the development of cooperatives in Eastern Zambia.

³² PAO's Report, Copperbelt Province, 1986-1987, 45.

Like Zambia, Mali also recorded resounding successes of women's cooperatives after her independence. It was reported that the Women's Promotion Division was convinced that cooperatives provided a major solution to the problems of rural women and offered an example of a women's cooperative established in 1975, the first of its kind in Mali. It organised about thirty women around agricultural and pastoral production which the women felt would improve their living conditions.³³

³³ Sacko Diallo Coumbo, 'Improving Women's Rural Production through the Organisation of Cooperatives' in Lucy E. Creevey (ed.), *Women Farmers in Africa: Rural Development in Mali and Sahel* (New York: Syracuse University, 1986), 164.

Figure 5: Kalonga Gawa Undi X handing over a plough to a Female Member of a Cooperative Society



Courtesy of National Archives of Zambia

Source: Walima T. Kalusa in collaboration with Mapopa Mtonga, *Kalonga Gawa Undi X: A Biography of an African Chief and Nationalist* (Lusaka: The Lembani Trust, 2010), 83.

The Home Economics Section motivated female farmers by giving them the platform to exhibit their products through facilitating their participation at agricultural shows and field days in different parts of the country. Female farmers were also reached out through the setting up of demonstration plots by the section throughout the country. In the 1977/1978 training year, the section in Lusaka Province participated in district, provincial and national shows in order to promote women's activities and all the members of staff in the section participated fully in organising them.³⁴ From Central Province, it was reported in the 1983/1984 training year that demonstration plots were put up by the Department of Agriculture throughout the province as a means to transmit technical information to farmers and extension staff. The Home Economics Section participated in the demonstrations. During that year 1,988 male and 791 female farmers

³⁴ PAO's Report, Lusaka Province, 1977-1978, 32.

attended demonstrations in different parts of the province.³⁵ From the Luapula Province, it was reported during the 1985/1986 year that field days were organised in impressive fields at different stages of crop growth and that women and the youths attended several of these. The PAO pointed out that, “The emphasis is now to organise field days for other farmers to see women and young farmers’ efforts in food production.”³⁶ On the Copperbelt Province, the Home Economics Section took part in all shows from the district, provincial and national levels in the 1986/1987 year.³⁷ From Lusaka Province, it was reported in the 1987/1988 year that the Home Economics Section fulfilled its objectives through specific projects directed to the womenfolk and that seminars, workshops, field days and agricultural shows were also used to get to the target group.³⁸ In the 1988/1989 year, the Home Economics Section in Eastern Province participated in agricultural shows at district, provincial national levels.³⁹ During that period, the work of the section was made easy through the yearly increase in the number of members of staff in the section. Staffing levels were much higher than they were in the previous decade (see Table 4).

³⁵ PAO’s Report, Central Province, 1983-1984, 10.

³⁶ PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1985-1986, 20.

³⁷ PAO’s Report, Copperbelt Province, 1986-1987, 44.

³⁸ PAO’s Report, Lusaka Province, 1987-1988, 11.

³⁹ Eastern Province Agricultural Annual Report, 1988-1989, 61.

Table 4: Staffing Position in the Home Economics Section, 1976 -1985

Year	Position Held		
	Agricultural Supervisor	Agricultural Assistant	Senior Agricultural Assistant
1976/1977	17	11	7
1977/1978	23	7	14
1978/1979	23	14	7
1979/1980	22	10	17
1981/1982	35	16	29
1984/1985	40	25	40

Source: Compiled from *Annual Reports of the Extension Branch, 1976 – 1985*.

Table 4 shows that there was a yearly increase in the number of members of staff in the section during that period.

Evidence presented above has demonstrated that during the period under discussion, the Female Extension Section strove hard to address the needs of women in farming country-wide. Through employing different methods, it was able to involve females in a variety of agricultural activities. Males also benefited from its work through attending field days.

Gender in agricultural colleges

The Department of Agriculture continued making admission to agricultural colleges open to both sexes. In addition to the colleges that were already in existence, another college, the Mpika College of Agriculture was established in Northern Province in 1976. It was initially offering a two-year Certificate course in Agriculture and admission was open to both sexes. We were not able to get the male-female ratio of students at the college up to 1990. We managed to get statistics for the period, 1976 to

2009 during which 415 females and 2 099 males received instruction.⁴⁰ Some graduates from these agricultural colleges were employed in the Home Economics Section of the Department of Agriculture. It was noted, for instance in the 1979/1980 year that the section received one graduate from the NRDC.⁴¹ In the 1981/1982 training year, the section received graduates from NRDC, Monze and Mpika College of Agriculture.⁴² Mukutu also pointed out that during his tenure as Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture, a number of female graduates from the three Colleges of Agriculture were employed in the Ministry of Agriculture in different provinces.⁴³ Because of the increasing number of females training in agricultural-based courses previously seen as a male domain, some females changed their perception of agriculture as a discipline. They drew their inspiration from women that had joined the agricultural profession.

A former NRDC Lecturer recounted that:

When I started lecturing at the college in 1985, female students were amazed to see a woman lecturing in what they saw as a male discipline. Some confessed that they never thought a female would lecture in agriculture. They became very positive towards Agricultural Science and were looking forward to joining the Department of Agriculture upon graduating'.⁴⁴

As shown, significant achievements were scored in the drive towards reducing gender imbalances in agricultural colleges.

Gender in the Extension-Training Unit

This unit of the Department of Agriculture was responsible for organising and implementing induction, in-service and farmer courses (both institutional and mobile) offered by the Department of Agriculture. It was also responsible for organising

⁴⁰ See <http://www.agric.gov.zm>. (Accessed 8th January 2015)

⁴¹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1979-1980*, 29.

⁴² *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1981-1982*, 25.

⁴³ Interview with Mukutu, 16th August 2014.

⁴⁴ Interview with Martha Musukwa; former Lecturer, NRDC, former Animal Production Officer and extension worker; Lecturer, School of Agricultural Sciences, UNZA, Lusaka, 15th August, 2014.

international staff training and educating peasant rural women and rural youth in the field of agricultural production. Through the work of this unit, a significant number of women underwent institutional and non-institutional training in agriculture during this period. From 1975 to 1980, for instance, a total of 19, 992 women were trained at different farmer training institutions across the country.⁴⁵ The Home Economics Section also continued sending its staff for in-service training locally.⁴⁶ From 1976, there was a drive towards sending female employees of the Department of Agriculture abroad for in-service training. For instance, in the 1976/1977 year, two women were sent to study abroad while in the 1982/1983 year, twelve women were sent out of the country for in-service training.⁴⁷ The unit was also given the mandate to organise workshops and seminars for Department of Agriculture staff. Members of staff of the Home Economics Section participated in these workshops. It was reported in the 1978/1979 year that the Home Economics Section organised a seminar for all Home Economics and youth extension staff.⁴⁸ A workshop was organised by the Women Appropriate Village Technology in September 1981 as a preparatory workshop for setting up a Women Appropriate Village Technology Centre at Keembe Farm Institute in the Central Province.⁴⁹ Certainly, through this unit, males and females were able to receive instruction both locally and abroad.

⁴⁵ We compiled the figures from Annual Reports of the Extension Branch, 1975 to 1980 and PAO's reports from all provinces. Later on, we shall give a break-down of provincial totals as we give a comparative analysis of males and females that received instruction from farmer training institutions country-wide.

⁴⁶ All Annual Reports of the Extension Branch indicate that staff continued to be sent for in-service training at Farm Institutes throughout the country. See, for instance *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1977/1978*, 25; *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1979/1980*, 29; *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1981-1982*, 25 and *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1984-1985*, 29.

⁴⁷ See *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1976/1977*, 74 and *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982-1983*, 28. Later in the chapter, we will give more statistics of women sent out of the country for training as we give a comparative analysis of males and females sent to study abroad.

⁴⁸ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1978-1979*, 31.

⁴⁹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1980-1981*, 25.

Gender and the Rural Extension In-Service Training (REIST) Programme

A significant achievement was the drive towards reaching out to both sexes through this programme which was initiated in 1978 to run until December 1982. Initiated within the context of the fourth Zambian World Bank Education Project, REIST project activities were based on the conviction that the problems and needs of small-scale farming households should be approached in an integrated way. In pointing out the importance attached to incorporating both sexes in extension advice under this programme, Lenglet stated that, “This means that the conditions and constraints of the male and female farmers and their families should form the basis for extension work and farmer training.”⁵⁰ It was argued that in the Zambian situation, the women carried the greater part of the farm work in addition to all the household work and they needed to be approached accordingly. Under REIST in Zambia, information gathered on the constraints of farming households and ways of solving the problems had to be worked out in close cooperation with the entire farming household. This meant that extension staff had to ensure that in married households, wives and other members of the families needed to be part of the extension sessions. Female headed households also had to be visited by extension agents. Using this approach, Extension Officers were encouraged and compelled to reach out not only to males but females as well. It was, for instance reported from Central province in the 1980/1981 year that using the farm family approach, extension staff not only dealt with the head of the family, that is, the man but involved the farmer’s wife and family in the farm programme decision making.⁵¹ The PAO of the province proudly reported that, “The Home Economics Section dealt with general extension like their male field officers and the policy was to promote farm agricultural activities side by side with male extension workers.”⁵² Although REIST ended in 1982, MAWD continued laying emphasis on disseminating agricultural information to the whole family. This was emphasised in 1983 when it was reported that, “Farm Institutes and Farmer Training Centres are mainly interested in small-scale

⁵⁰ Frans B. Lenglet, ‘Training for Rural Extension’, *Farming in Zambia* 13, 3(1981), 23.

⁵¹ PAO’s Report, Central Province, 1980-1981, 2.

⁵² PAO’s Report, Central Province, 1980-1981, 6.

and traditional farmers and their families.”⁵³ Indeed, this was a notable success scored in as far as bridging gender imbalances in extension work.

Women’s Clubs

These clubs continued to be registered throughout the country. A significant achievement seen in their functioning was the growing interest by members to participate in agricultural shows. Throughout the country, the clubs were actively participating in shows where they would exhibit their products. It was, for instance, reported in the 1976/1977 year that a number of Women’s Clubs took part in district and provincial shows where they showed skills taught to them by female Extension Officers.⁵⁴ In the same year, there were 967 Women’s Clubs through which nutrition demonstrations were carried out.⁵⁵ In the 1977/1978 year, the number of clubs through which nutrition demonstrations were carried out increased to 1000 country-wide and like in the previous year, a number of them were participants at the district and provincial shows where they exhibited skills taught to them by female Extension Officers.⁵⁶ This was the same trend in the years that followed. There was an active participation of Women’s Clubs in district and provincial shows.⁵⁷ Women’s Club members were also participants at field days. Our respondent pointed out that, “When we conducted field days, members of Women’s Clubs were in attendance. These clubs were interaction points for farmers and important points for dissemination of agricultural messages.”⁵⁸ These clubs initially focused on crop farming. Later, they diversified into other activities. In the 1978/1979 year, the PAO of North-Western Province reported that many Women’s Clubs showed a great interest in vegetable

⁵³ MAWD, *Handbook for Agricultural field workers: Teaching Methods* (Lusaka: MAWD, 1983), 12.

⁵⁴ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1976 – 1977*, 63.

⁵⁵ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1976-1977*, 63.

⁵⁶ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1977/1978*, 24.

⁵⁷ See *Annual Reports of the Extension Branch 1979-1990*. Reports from different provinces also show an active participation of Women’s Clubs in district shows. See PAO’s Reports from all Provinces, 1976-1990.

⁵⁸ Interview with Martha Musukwa, 15th August 2014.

production.⁵⁹ By 1988, activities of the clubs in the province had diversified from vegetable and maize growing into other farming activities like poultry, ox acquisition and utilisation as well as fish farming.⁶⁰ From Northern Province, it was reported in the 1980/1981 year that the number of clubs had increased from 55 to 105 and that a number of projects were carried out for women.⁶¹ It was reported from the Luapula Province in the 1986/1987 year that, with a total membership of 923, Women's Clubs had diversified from crop production to other activities such as poultry.⁶² That these clubs had undergone massive changes over the years in their activities was re-affirmed by Chilivumbo and Kanyangwa when they stated that:

Women groups have a long history in Zambia. These clubs mainly focused on sewing, knitting and cookery and did not aim at helping women earn an income but instead turned them into 'good housewives' able to take care of their homes. Some of these clubs have undergone changes and have begun teaching gardening and livestock production.⁶³

Like in the previous decade, the government continued supporting the clubs through financial grants as well as requisites. It was reported from the Luapula Province in the 1976/1977 year that the clubs in the province received help in form of subsidies from the government.⁶⁴ Clubs in Northern Province were boosted through an allocation to the Home Economics Section of K400 for the running of clubs in the province in the 1980/1981 year.⁶⁵ From Eastern Province, it was reported that a number of clubs were receiving grants from the government. In the 1980/1981 year, some registered clubs in

⁵⁹ PAO's Report, North-Western Province, 1978-1979, 45.

⁶⁰ Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives, Annual Report for North-Western Province, 1987-1988, 17.

⁶¹ PAO's Report, Northern Province, 1980-1981, 42.

⁶² PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1986-1987, 43.

⁶³ Alifeyo Chilivumbo and Joyce Kanyangwa, *Women's Participation in Rural Development: The Case of the SIDA Lima Programme*, Occasional Paper No. 22 (Lusaka: The University of Zambia Rural Development Studies Bureau, 1985), 2.

⁶⁴ R. C. Mweemba, 'Women's and Young Farmers' Clubs in the Luapula Province', proceedings of the first Luapula Province Lima Workshop held at Mansa Farm Institute, 22nd to 23rd February, 1983.

⁶⁵ PAO's Report, Northern Province, 1980-1981, 43.

the province received grants in form of farming requisites.⁶⁶ This was the same situation in the 1981/1982 year when the Department of Agriculture gave grants to some clubs.⁶⁷ In the 1984/1985 year, there were some clubs which participated in crop production under a grant from the Lint Company of Zambia (LINTCO) in soya bean seed; in Katete there were fourteen clubs that received seed, Chama; four and Petauke; one.⁶⁸ Because of their hard work, clubs in the North-Western Province received a grant of K60, 000 in the 1987/1988 year for the programme of oxegenisation and steers were purchased, trained and distributed to seven groups in Solwezi and two groups in Kasempa.⁶⁹ The Department of Agriculture in Central Province distributed seed to some clubs as incentives and 87 guava trees were distributed to women in the 1980/1981 year.⁷⁰ In the 1983/1984 year, there were 101 clubs in the province aided by LIMA and their activities included LIMA projects for cash.⁷¹ In the 1986/1987 year, there were 111 clubs in Central Province of which 37 were funded.⁷² In the 1990/1991 year, 18 clubs, all involved in maize production were funded by GRZ in concert with UNICEF.⁷³

In spite of the successes recorded by Women's Clubs, they were also fraught with constraints. Some clubs were victims of thefts. It was reported from the Luapula Province in the 1980/1981 training year that yields of Women's Clubs were on the lower side because of thefts as crops were getting ready.⁷⁴ Another problem identified

⁶⁶ Eastern Province Agricultural Annual Report, 1980-1981, 70.

⁶⁷ Eastern Province Agricultural Annual Report, 1981-1982, 90.

⁶⁸ Agricultural Annual Report for Eastern Province, 1984-1985, 79. Fourteen Clubs in Katete received grants, four clubs in Chama and one club in Petauke. LINTCO was a government controlled company established in Zambia; it was marketing and exporting cotton.

⁶⁹ North-Western Province Agricultural Annual Report, 1987-1988, 18.

⁷⁰ PAO's Report, Central Province, 1980-1981, 29

⁷¹ PAO's Report, Central Province, 1983-1984, 18.

⁷² PAO's Report, Central Province, 1986-1987, 20.

⁷³ PAO's Report, Central Province, 1990-1991, 63.

⁷⁴ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1980-1981, 68.

in clubs in the Luapula Province was that there was a lot of spoon feeding and once a subsidy was given to them after harvesting, they shared all the benefits and waited for assisting agencies to provide them with fertilisers and seed or a means to purchase them.⁷⁵ It was also reported that club members were complaining about the low prices pegged for their exhibits at shows. In the 1986/1987 year, the Luapula Province Provincial Chairperson of the Agricultural Show Society was approached on the low prices on women's exhibits.⁷⁶ Poor management of these clubs also slowed down their work. From Central Province, it was reported that there was a drop in the number of Women's Clubs registered in the Province from 784 in the 1977/1978 year to 478 in the 1978/1979 year; the drop being attributed to lack of regular supervision of the clubs.⁷⁷ It was reported from Eastern Province in the 1982/1983 year that, in fruit and vegetable production, past experience showed women encountered managerial problems and hence yields were low.⁷⁸

Lack of communication between project administrators and women recipients of projects was a major problem faced by clubs in the Luangwa district of Lusaka Province. At a workshop in 1986, the Home Economics Assistant in the district lamented that Luangwa Women's Clubs as recipients of various projects complained that there was inadequate consultation before they were actually given project materials. For instance, clubs keeping goats complained that they did not understand the benefits of keeping goats nor the commercial agreements entered into for repaying the loans the clubs were given. This led to the suspicion that government was using the loans to rear goats for its own benefit.⁷⁹ A respondent pointed out that women were generally not committed to Women's Clubs. She recollected that, "Attendance during meetings was

⁷⁵ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1980-1981, 70.

⁷⁶ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1986-1987, 45

⁷⁷ PAO's Report, Central Province 1978-1979, 24. There was however no report from one district, that is, Serenje. However, even if the report was available, the decline was still going to be seen considering the fact that the clubs from Serenje which was a small district could not have reached 306 to add up to the 784 total number of clubs recorded in the province in the 1977/1978 year.

⁷⁸ PAO's Report, Eastern Province 1982 - 1983, 81.

⁷⁹ G. Banda, Report of the Luangwa District Women's Development Workshop held at Katondwe Girls Secondary School, 28-31st August 1986.

poor and late-coming was the order of day. In some instances, the clubs collapsed.”⁸⁰ In spite of these bottlenecks that stood in the functioning of these clubs, they continued being important institutions from which women were incorporated into the country’s agricultural development.

Gender in the Young Farmers’ Club Movement

Throughout the country, both school and open clubs continued to be registered. That the goal of the Department of Agriculture was to open as many clubs as possible throughout the country was re-affirmed by the PAO of Central Province when he stated that, “The policy of the Youth Extension Service is centred on improving all existing clubs and the formation of more open Young Farmer’s Clubs in all sections, villages and ward levels of the country.”⁸¹ Apparently, most of these clubs registered more female than male members as can be seen from the statistics below (See Table 5).⁸²

Table 5: Statistics of male and female members of Young Farmers’ Clubs, 1976 - 1983

Year	Males	Females	Total
1976/1977	3 978	4 471	8 449
1977/1978	3 978	4 471	8 449*
1978/1979	4 943	7 077	12 020
1979/1980	5 543	7 677	13 220
1980/1981	7 787	5 653	13 440
1981/1982	6 659	8 793	15 452
1982/1983	6 925	9 589	16 524
Totals	39 813	47 721	87 554

Source: Compiled from *Annual Reports of the Extension Branch, 1976–1983*.

⁸⁰ Interview with Rose Kaanga, Makangala Village, Chief Mwanachingwala’s area, Monze district, 28th May 2016.

⁸¹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1977/1978, 25.*

⁸² We were not able to establish why these clubs had more female than male members.

Note: We have put an asterisk against the statistics for the 1977/1978 year because of similarities in statistics with the 1976/1977 year. We could not establish whether the statistics were incorrect or the figures for the two subsequent years were similar.

Government continued with its policy of boosting these clubs through funding them. It was, for instance reported in the 1976/1977 year that clubs in the Luapula Province received subsidies from the government.⁸³ Practical work continued to be emphasised and as a report indicated, “teaching was based on ‘Learning by Doing.’”⁸⁴ The clubs continued taking part in small-scale intensive projects like the growing of fruits and vegetables as well the keeping of livestock like poultry, pigs, rabbits and goats. Home Economics projects were carried out by female members of the clubs with the assistance of local extension staff. In fact, it was Home Economics projects that attracted a large number of female members to most clubs though they also participated in other activities like farming. The training section continued with its policy of training young farmers of both sexes at farmer training institutions. It was, for instance, reported in the 1985/1986 training year from Central Province that two residential courses for club members from Lusaka Rural and the Luangwa district were held focusing on General Agriculture during which 18 females and 21 males received instruction.⁸⁵ Some clubs took part in agricultural shows where they exhibited their produce. In Eastern Province, for instance, field days were held in conjunction with parent contact farmers in the 1985/1986 year which were attended by male and female members of active Young Farmer’s Clubs.⁸⁶

As has been shown, a lot of effort was made to incorporate boys and girls into the country’s agricultural development through the Young Farmers’ Club movement. Through acquiring agricultural skills, some members were inspired to follow careers in agriculture. As a report read, “The Youth Extension Section provides informal

⁸³ Mweemba, ‘Women’s and the Young Farmers’ Club in the Luapula Province’, 76.

⁸⁴ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1977-1978*, 25

⁸⁵ PAO’s Report, Central Province, 1985-1986, 31.

⁸⁶ PAO’s Report, Eastern Province, 1985-1986, 30.

education to boys and girls on matters of agriculture with the idea of producing better
Zambian farmers, better citizens and better countrymen.”⁸⁷

Gender in Radio Farm Forums

The forums continued to be an important forum for reaching out to male and female farmers. At a workshop held at the University of Zambia in 1975 termed, ‘First Farm Broadcasters’ Workshop’, attendees were of both sexes. To show the importance attached to male and female farming, the expert stated that “Radio farm broadcasts should contain information about particular major and minor crops grown particularly in the country.”⁸⁸ By relaying information on major crops primarily grown by men and minor crops grown by women, the forums attracted male and female participants. It was reported from Western Province that nine females received instruction in Radio Farm Forums in the 1976/1977 year while three females were trained in Eastern Province in the same year.⁸⁹ In a survey done of nine districts for 1975-1980, a total of 38, 453 people took part in these forums with women totaling 15, 152 or 39.4% of the attendees.⁹⁰ As Bourdouille pointed out, “These programmes have been fairly effective for both men and women participants.”⁹¹ The Forums continued to be aired at times suitable for both sexes and in different local languages to cater for those that did not understand English.⁹² Certainly, these forums represented a significant achievement in the government’s drive towards reducing the marginalisation of women in farming.

As has been shown, during this period efforts were made by the Zambian government through the Ministry of Agriculture aimed at bridging gender imbalances in

⁸⁷ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1977-1978*, 25.

⁸⁸ P. P. Masanu, ‘The Farm Broadcaster and the Farmer’, *Farming in Zambia* 9, 2(1975), 13.

⁸⁹ *Extension-Training Annual Report, 1976 – 1977*, 21.

⁹⁰ Quoted in Hurlich, *Women in Zambia* Vol. 1, 106.

⁹¹ Raj Bardouille, ‘Integration of Zambian Women in National Development: Analysis of Constraints and Prospects’, *Women in Development: Perspectives from the Nairobi Conference* (Manuscript Report), International Development Research Centre, September, 1986, 79.

⁹² We indicated in the previous chapter the scheduling of times for Radio Farm Forums. Refer to Chapter Four of this thesis. See also *Farming in Zambia* 9, 1 (1975), 25; *Farming in Zambia* 9, 2(1975), 23 and *Farming in Zambia* 9, 3(1975), 31.

the agricultural sector and notable successes were achieved. The question we ask is, “Were gender imbalances in the agricultural sector completely bridged?” This is the focus of the next section.

Bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector: failures noted

Despite the notable successes achieved in bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector during and after the Women’s Decade, it was difficult for women to be completely incorporated into the country’s agricultural development. It is our contention that women were still marginalised in certain areas of the agricultural sector.

Enrolment at Farmer Training Institutions

Though efforts were made to provide as much agricultural education as possible to females, the gender divide in agricultural education was still evident by 1990. Reports indicate that, like in the previous decade, females were receiving more instruction in Home Economics than in agricultural-related courses. Although farmer training institutions maintained the policy of making admission open to both sexes, evidently it was mainly into the Home Economics discipline that women were absorbed. In 1975, 1,991 females as opposed to 648 males attended Home Economics courses at farmer training institutions country-wide.⁹³ It was reported from Central Province in the 1975/1976 training year that while 270 females received instruction in Home Economics, no male received instruction in the same course.⁹⁴ However in Crop Husbandry, there was a wide margin between male and female trainees. While 707 males received instruction in that course, only 77 males were trained.⁹⁵ It was reported from Western Province that while 288 females received instruction in Home Economics in the 1976/1977 year, no male received instruction in this course.⁹⁶ During the same year, all the 201 trainees in Home Economics in Northern Province were females yet

⁹³ Quoted in Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation*, 154.

⁹⁴ PAO’s Report, Central Province, 1975-1976, 71.

⁹⁵ PAO’s Report, Central Province, 1975-1976, 72.

⁹⁶ *Extension-Training Annual Report*, 1976 – 1977, 17.

196 males as opposed to two females were instructed in General Farming.⁹⁷ From Lusaka Province, it was reported that all the 201 trainees in Home Economics were females yet 196 males were instructed in General Agriculture as opposed to two females. In Lusaka Province, in the 1980-1981 training year, 25 females received residential instruction in Female Extension; no male received training in that area. However, 88 males received training in General Agriculture yet no females received training in that field.⁹⁸ The same situation prevailed in the 1981-1982 training year. While 57 females received mobile training in Home Economics, no males were trained yet 108 males received mobile training in General Agriculture.⁹⁹ It was reported in the 1980/1981 training year from the Luapula Province that only few courses were run for women and the women were mainly instructed in Home Economics.¹⁰⁰ In North-Western Province, in the 1982/1983 training year, 45 women received training in Home Economics; no male received instruction in that field while 159 males received instruction in General Agriculture as opposed to only 4 females.¹⁰¹ A respondent recollected that when he went to be instructed at Monze FTC, there were few female trainees who were basically instructed in Home Economics. He remarked, “I allowed my wife to go and study agriculture earlier because I thought the knowledge acquired from there would benefit our farm but when I went to train I found few females training in agriculture!”¹⁰²

In spite of admission to farmer training institutions being open to both sexes, there were still wide gaps in numbers between male and female trainees. For instance, in the 1975/1976 training year, only 1, 275 females were trained as opposed to 8, 586 males. This was despite 1975 being declared the International Women’s Year. The

⁹⁷ *Extension-Training Annual Report*, 1976 – 1977, 19.

⁹⁸ PAO’s Report, Lusaka Province, 1980-1981, 23.

⁹⁹ PAO’s Report, Lusaka Province, 1981-1982, 20.

¹⁰⁰ Agricultural Annual Report of the Luapula Province, 1980-1981, 64.

¹⁰¹ PAO’s Report, North-Western Province, 1982-1983, 56-57.

¹⁰² Interview with Sell Sichikoloma, Namwenda Village, Chief Mwanachingwala’s area, Mazabuka, 28th May 2016.

status quo remained unchanged in the 1976/1977 year when 1, 943 females as opposed to 5, 730 males were trained. Seven years into the International Women’s Decade in the 1982/1983 training year, 2, 111 females as opposed to 5, 528 males received instruction (see Table 6).

Table 6: Male and Female Trainees at Farmer Training Institutions, 1975- 1980

Year	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
1974/1975	8 665	3 730	12 395
1975/1976	8 586	1 275	9 861
1976/1977	5 730	1943	7 673
1977/1978	9 982	5 718	15 700
1978/1979	7 256	4 981	12 237
1979/1980	6 972	2 345	9 317

Source: Compiled from *Annual Reports of the Extension Branch, 1975-1980* and Provincial Agricultural Officer’s Reports from all provinces, 1975 – 1980.

Table 6 shows that in all the years, there were wide gaps in numbers between male and female trainees at farmer training institutions. More males than females underwent training at these institutions. We were not able to get national totals for the other years but we managed to get provincial totals (see Table 7).

Table 7: Provincial totals of trainees at farmer training institutions, 1982 - 1990

	Province	Male	Female	Status
1982/1983	North-Western	625	169	Mobile
1983/1984	North-Western	1 717	606	Mobile
1983/1984	Northern	575	293	Residential
1984/1985	Northern	751	290	Residential
1984/1985	Central	213	130	Residential
1985/1986	Eastern	2 274	883	Mobile
1986/1987	Copperbelt	2 581	1 380	Not indicated
1987/1988	Luapula	30	0	Residential
1987/1988	North-Western	45	219	Residential
1987/1988	North-Western	389	973	Mobile
1988/1989	Luapula	829	184	Residential
1988/1989	Luapula	4 666	2 658	Mobile
1989/1990	North-Western	347	165	Residential
1990/1991	North-Western	814	320	Residential

Source: Compiled from PAO's Reports for the following provinces; North-Western, Northern, Central, Eastern, Copperbelt, Lusaka and Luapula.

An analysis of these figures is evidence that not much was achieved in the way of bridging gender imbalances in institutional and non-institutional training of farmers. Although mobile training was introduced as an ideal form of training for married women, more males than females received instruction through it.

International in-service training

In spite of the Extension-Training Unit being given the mandate to organise international in-service training for both sexes, there was a bias in favour of males. For instance, in the 1976/1977 year, while 10 males were sent abroad for training, only two females went for in-service training abroad. The status quo remained unchanged in the

1977/1978 year when again 10 males as opposed to two females were sent abroad for in-service training (see Table 8).

Table 8: Statistics of male and female members of staff sent abroad for in-service training, 1976-1985

Year	Males	Females
1976/1977	10	2
1977/1978	10	2
1978/1979	7	1
1979/1980	9	1
1981/1982	15	0
1982/1983	56	12
1984/1985	22	8
Totals	129	26

Source: Compiled from *Annual Reports of the Extension Branch, 1976-1985*

An analysis of these figures indicates that even when females began to be sent abroad for training, gender imbalances were apparent. As can be seen, there were wide gaps between the number of males and females sent abroad for in-service training. Worse still, even the few women who were sent for training abroad were trained in Nutrition. In the 1976/1977 year, of the two women sent for training, one went to train in Nutrition, the other in Cartography. This was the same situation in the 1977/1978 year when one of the female trainees was sent to receive training in Home Economics and the other in Cartography. In the 1978/1979 year, a change was seen when the female trainee went to receive instruction in Rural Extension. However, in the 1979/1980 year, the only female trainee was once again sent to receive instruction in Nutrition. In all the years indicated, all males went to receive instruction in agricultural-based courses.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ See *Annual Reports of the Extension Branch, 1976-1985* for the type of courses trainees went to receive instruction in.

Training at Colleges of Agriculture

At these colleges, enrolment of females also continued to be less than that of males. In September, 1975, the Assistant Director of Agriculture estimated that no more than 15% of students at NRDC were female.¹⁰⁴ Phiri also stated that:

Majority of the agricultural extension staff have either received their agricultural training from NRDC or from the Monze and Mpika Schools of Agriculture. In general, female enrolment was only 1/3 of the total enrolment. A survey conducted by the Department of Agriculture in 1984 revealed that 35.9% of female extension staff were Commodity Demonstrators with little training compared to 23.2% of males in the same category. 37.2% of the males went to complete the two year training programmes to become Agricultural Assistants while only 12.3% of females did the same. It was reported that of 192 Agricultural Assistants who graduated in 1985 from Monze and Mpika, women represented 11.5% and 14.1% respectively.¹⁰⁵

A respondent also pointed out that, “The number of females in agricultural-based courses at NRDC was always less than males although all courses were open to both sexes.”¹⁰⁶ Females continued to be instructed more in Nutrition than in general agriculture as evidenced from the Assistant Director of Agriculture’s sentiments that, “In 1975, 90-95% of female students at NRDC were enrolled in Nutrition.”¹⁰⁷ This was partly as a result of the negative attitude females had towards sciences. This view was expressed by our respondent when she stated that:

When I went to pursue a Certificate course in General Agriculture at Monze School of Agriculture in 1986, out of a class of 160, there were only 40 females yet admission into that programme was open to both sexes. Females shunned studying Agriculture because some did not like farming and some feared to be posted to rural areas upon graduating. I also did not intend to take up Agriculture as a career but my uncle who

¹⁰⁴ Hurlich, *Women in Zambia* Vol. I, 108.

¹⁰⁵ E. C. Phiri, ‘Women and Extension in Zambia’, in Bernard Chisanga, John Milimo, Chungu Mwila and Stephan Sindern-Forster (eds.), *Practical Aspects of Small-Holder Farming Policies in Front-line States*. (Lusaka: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1986), 49.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Chanakira, Lusaka, 23rd February 2015.

¹⁰⁷ Hurlich, *Women in Zambia* Vol. I, 108.

was an Agriculturalist persuaded and eventually convinced me.¹⁰⁸

The ratio of trained female to male agricultural extension staff in 1980 was 5:95 while in 1988, it was 15:85.¹⁰⁹ The situation was not different at the University of Zambia's School of Agricultural Sciences. In 1984, the ratio of female to male enrolment into Agricultural Sciences at the University of Zambia was 24:76.¹¹⁰ A respondent recollected that, "When I graduated in Agricultural Sciences from the University of Zambia in 1985, out of a class of 52 students, only 10 were females."¹¹¹ This was a reflection of the gender imbalances in enrolment at agricultural training institutions.

Staffing in the Department of Agriculture

Gender imbalances in enrolment at farmer training institutions adversely impacted on the staffing levels of females in the Ministry of Agriculture. As earlier alluded to, more males than females underwent training in agricultural-based courses. Inevitably, the Ministry had more male than female employees. It was reported from the Eastern Province's Department of Cooperatives in 1975 that all Provincial Cooperative Officers, Cooperative Assistants, Assistant Cooperative Assistants, District Cooperative Officers and Agricultural Supervisors were male.¹¹² From the Luapula Province, there were also reports that there was a shortage of female agricultural staff, negatively impacting on the dissemination of agricultural information especially in instances where the in-pu of female officers was needed to achieve particular goals. A report from the province read, "Some active Women's Clubs are defunct because they are far away from female officers for close assistance. The actual organisation is perfectly done by

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Dosiah Chikanta, Former Extension Officer, Lusaka, 14th July 2015.

¹⁰⁹ Quoted in Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD), *Beyond Inequalities: Women in Zambia* (Lusaka: ZARD, 1998), 25.

¹¹⁰ Quoted in ZARD, *Beyond Inequalities: Women in Zambia*, 25.

¹¹¹ Interview with Martha Musukwa, former Animal Production Officer and former Extension worker; Lecturer, UNZA. Lusaka, 15th August, 2014.

¹¹² NAZ, EP 4/2/176, MRD, Department of Cooperatives, Annual Report for year ending 31st December, 1975.

male officers but its only details of Home Economics activities are not known by them.¹¹³ The PAO of the province lamented about the shortage of female extension staff in the Home Economics Section. He stated that, “There is still a need for this section to have more trained personnel like Senior Agricultural Assistants and Agricultural Assistants who can man the districts’ responsibilities with their wide knowledge in Home Economics and advanced extension skills.”¹¹⁴ This shortage of female employees in the Ministry was recorded all over the country and in September 1985, the Assistant Director of Agricultural Extension Services estimated that out of 1, 700 extension workers, less than 5% were female.¹¹⁵ Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling argued that in Zambia, by 1987, 7 % of all agents were female and by 1989, 8.4 % of camp officers and 16% of Block Supervisors were female.¹¹⁶ It was reported from Northern Province in 1984 that there was need for more female staff for women’s work especially in districts where there were no female Extension Officers.¹¹⁷ However, the status quo remained unchanged and in 1985 it was reported that out of the province’s 10 District Agricultural Officers, nine were male and all the 42 Block Supervisors were male.¹¹⁸ As has been shown, despite the yearly increase in staffing levels in the Home Economics Section, the female employees were not enough to effectively undertake the programmes the section had embarked on. Ultimately, dissemination of agricultural information to females was adversely affected. Arguments presented above have demonstrated that during the period under discussion, gender imbalances apparent in the first decade of Zambia’s independence were still evident. This was due to bottlenecks that stood in the way of ending the gender gap in the agricultural sector.

¹¹³ Luapula Province Agricultural Annual Report, 1979-1980, 59.

¹¹⁴ Luapula Province Agricultural Annual Report, 1979-1980, 59.

¹¹⁵ Quoted in Hurlich, *Women in Zambia* Vol. I, 108. Phiri also had the same estimates. See Phiri, ‘Women and Extension in Zambia’, 48-49.

¹¹⁶ Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling, *Raising the Productivity of Women Farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 77.

¹¹⁷ Agricultural Annual Report for Northern Province, 1983-1984, 42.

¹¹⁸ Hurlich, *Women in Zambia* Vol. I, 108.

In the next section, we seek to identify the bottlenecks that stood in the way of bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector during this period.

Constraints to the bridging of gender imbalances in the agricultural sector

Biases in the Extension Service

Like in the previous decade, women continued to be side-lined by extension agents. This was exacerbated by the low number of female extension workers in the country and the fact that many female extension workers preferred to work in urban areas. Worse still, upon getting married, women were automatically transferred to areas where their husbands were residing on presenting Certificates of Marriage. Consequently, most of them were working on the line-of-rail where many males were employed.

Mukutu recounted that:

When I was Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture, I endorsed all transfers and proposed postings of female Extension Officers to urban areas. Once a woman presented a marriage certificate, she was automatically entitled to be posted or transferred to where the husband was. The consequence was that many female Extension Officers were working along the line-of-rail.¹¹⁹

Another informant shared the same view noting that, “I was on the verge of being posted to head a rural Agricultural Camp but I presented our Certificate of Marriage and was posted where my husband was working.”¹²⁰ This idea of posting women to where their husbands were working was due to the importance attached to cultural norms at the time. Society was deep-rooted in cultural beliefs at the time and a wife being posted

¹¹⁹ Interview with Mukutu, 16th August 2014. A 1985 study also concluded that a disproportionate number of women worked in urban areas because they wished to be posted close to their husbands. See Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling, *Raising the Productivity of Women Farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 77. See also Keller, Chola and Milimo, ‘Women and Agricultural Development’, 257. They shared a similar view arguing that most female graduates from ZCA who worked in the Department of Agriculture were in provincial or district offices, especially along the line- of- rail.

¹²⁰ Interview with Chikanta, 14th July 2015.

away from her husband's place of residence was out of the question. Marriage meant husband and wife living together.¹²¹

This dearth of female extension agents adversely impacted on the drive towards incorporating women into the country's agricultural development. Male extension agents continued focusing on offering extension advice to male as opposed to female farmers. In a survey conducted in Western Province in 1984 it was observed that in Mongu district, both sexes grew rice as a cash crop but because the male extension workers were more inclined to visit the farms of males, the management of female farms was poor with females, in most instances harvesting using knives and transporting the yields in small proportions on their heads while men used oxen.¹²² This was against extension advice from the Department of Agriculture. Giving advice on the rules vis-a-vis extension to rice farmers, a handbook read, "Always include the whole family when discussing ways and means to improve rice production methods. Especially, the wife should not be left out as she carries the burden of any improvements."¹²³ In 1983, MAWD published a series of handbooks which were to guide agricultural field workers on different aspects of extension work. They were designed for use at Farm Institutes and FTCs. The importance of encompassing the whole family (even in polygamous marriages) in extension advice was emphasised in one of the handbooks. It read in part:

If any farmer has more than one wife, it might be useful for students to draw up a cropping calendar separately for each wife's activities and indicate for which activities or crops the wives were participating in the management of the husband's farm; for which activities or crops they were farming independently and offer extension advice accordingly.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Interview with Mukutu, 16th August 2014.

¹²² M. J. Niesten, 'Sketch of the Farm Household in Mongu District, Western Province, A Socio-Economic and Agricultural Survey conducted in two areas of Mongu District, Western Zambia, 1984'. The survey was conducted by a female Extension Officer.

¹²³ MAWD, *Handbooks for Agricultural Field Workers: Crop Husbandry* (Lusaka: MAWD, 1983), 37. These handbooks covered different areas of extension work.

¹²⁴ MAWD, *Handbook for Agricultural Field Workers: Guidelines for teaching Agricultural Extension for Small-Scale Families* (Lusaka: MAWD, 1983), 26

This was in light of the fact that some ethnic groups in the country practiced polygamy and wives in polygamous marriages greatly contributed to the labour needs of their families. In such ethnic groups, it was common for each wife to have a field of her own.¹²⁵ In spite of the Ministry of Agriculture publishing the handbooks to guide agricultural field workers, biases in extension did not end. By the time the decade on women was ending, gender biases in extension services were still evident. A 1986 study concluded that Agricultural Extension Officers in Zambia who were mostly male bypassed women and disseminated agricultural advice to male heads of families.¹²⁶ Subsequent studies pointed to a perpetuation of gender imbalances in the extension service. Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling cited studies that pointed to biases in the extension service.¹²⁷ Due also cited a 1988 study in Zambia which noted that visits by extension agents were more frequent to joint than to female headed households.¹²⁸ It was noted of Kefa Village close to Chipata district of Eastern Province in 1988 that, “Of the 25 women cultivators, only five had ever been visited by an extension agent and only three had been visited during the last three years.”¹²⁹ One woman in the village observed that, “Maybe the government told extension agents not to visit us because we do not have strength to produce for the market.”¹³⁰

¹²⁵ See Marcia Wright, ‘Technology, Marriage and Women’s Work in the History of Maize Growers in Mazabuka, Zambia: A Reconnaissance’, *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10, 1 (1983), 82. She discussed labour roles among polygamous households in Mazabuka, Southern Zambia. See also Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia*, 120. He pointed out that within the households of the middle and rich peasants of the Southern Province, the male tendency was to see wives as a potential labour force.

¹²⁶ Bardouille, ‘Integration of Zambian Women in National Development’, 67.

¹²⁷ Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling, *Raising the Productivity of Women Farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 73-74. They cited studies done by Sikapande and Milimo in 1987 and 1989 respectively. Both alluded to gender biases in extension services.

¹²⁸ Jean M. Due, ‘Policies to overcome the negative effects of Structural Adjustment on African Female Headed Households’, in Christina H. Gladwin (ed.), *Structural Adjustment and African Women Farmers* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991), 105.

¹²⁹ Else Skjonsberg, *Changing an African Village: Kefa Speaks* (West Hartford: Kumarian Press, 1989), 42. See also, Skjonsberg, ‘Documenting Women’s views through Participatory Research: Diaries of daily activities in rural Zambia’ in Deborah Fahy Brycesson (ed.), *Wielding the Hole: Lessons from Rural Africa for Feminist Theory and Development* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1995), 233.

¹³⁰ Skjonsberg, ‘Documenting Women’s views through Participatory Research’, 233.

In 1989, Bons noted of the Western Province that:

It could be questioned whether the Department of Agriculture is right to ignore the majority of the rural population and the female part in particular and to ignore the problems of subsistence agriculture and the nutritional problems that are a result of development in this field It is proposed that agricultural staff should be cooperative with other field workers, extension workers should be promoted, group men and women together ... and identify different problems and possibilities being incurred.¹³¹

It was observed in Senanga-West in 1990 that women farmers were 'invisible' to field extension staff and while 60% of all male headed households were once in a while visited by an agricultural extension agent, only 20% of all female headed households were ever seen by extension workers.¹³²

These examples bring to the fore biases in the extension service in the country in spite of the Ministry of Agriculture's efforts to bringing to an end this flaw identified in the way extension services were being offered. There are several other studies that point to gender biases in agricultural extension services in Zambia.¹³³ We contend, from these

¹³¹ A. Bons 'Some Recommendations for Agricultural Extension in Mongu District, 1989.' Extracted from ARPT data base, 209. Bons was a member of the Adaptive Planning Team (ARPT) in Mongu. It was a team constituted as part of the Research Branch in 1980 to ensure small-scale farmers benefited from agricultural research findings through conducting adaptive research on their fields. For details, see Dorothy Mwansa, 'A History of Mount Makulu Central Research Station, 1950-1980', M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2001.

¹³² Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Fisheries (MAFF), Research Branch Report for Mongu Research Station, 1989-1990, 35. The study was conducted to establish the special constraints, needs and wishes of female farmers in Senanga West.

¹³³ See, for instance, Katrine A. Saito, Hailu Mekonnen and Daphne Spurling, *Raising the Productivity of Women Farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 73-76. They noted that there was evidence that female headed households were not well served by extension agents in some Sub-Saharan countries giving an example of Zambia where extension agents, they observed, rarely visited female headed households yet the country had a very high number of female headed households; See also; <http://www.idr.ca>, Bridget Byrne, 'Gender Profile of Zambia', Report No. 29. University of Sussex, IDS, November, 1994. She contended that extension services in Zambia were primarily directed at men; <http://www.idrc.ca>, M.S. Muntamba and Ruvimbo Chimedza, 'Women Spearhead Food Security' They alluded to gender biases in extension not only in Zambia but other countries in Africa and the Middle East; Raj Bourdouille, *Research on Zambian Women in Retrospect and Prospect: An Annotated Bibliography* (Lusaka: SIDA, 1992), 80. The study concluded that the training of research and extension staff did not have gender relevance and thus it was the more commercially oriented male farmers than female farmers who were frequently visited by extension staff.

arguments that gender biases in the provision of extension services evident in the first decade of Zambia's independence persisted even in the period stretching from 1975 to 1990. These gender imbalances in the provision of extension services were not unique to Zambia but were recorded in other countries as well. According to FAO's 1989 global survey on extension and farm women, women accounted for 10.5 % of extension staff and these extension agents were predominantly specialised in Home Economics; field workers in agriculture representing only 8%.¹³⁴ Findings by FAO's global survey on extension in 115 countries in 1990 showed that women received only between 2% and 10% of all extension contacts and a mere 5% of extension resources world-wide.¹³⁵ In Zimbabwe, the extension services department did not focus on gender issues until 1990 when it became apparent that agricultural extension was contacting only 44% of the women farmers.¹³⁶ Okine argued that in Ghana women, especially those in rural areas were hardly reached by male extension agents and hence they remained ignorant of new techniques.¹³⁷

Funding Constraints

During this period, the Home Economics Section continued to be inadequately funded. Funds allotted to the section were not enough to cater for its needs. Reports point to the adverse impact of limited funds on the training of females. It was reported from Lusaka Province in the 1977/1978 training year that only 42 women attended courses at farmer training institutions and that most of the planned courses in the previous year, that is, 1976/1977 training year had not taken place due to lack of funds.¹³⁸ In the 1978/1979 training year, the problem of funds continued affecting the

¹³⁴ From: <http://www.fao.org> (Accessed 12th November, 2006)

¹³⁵ Catherine Ragasa, 'Improving Gender Responsiveness of Agricultural Extension' in Agnes R. Quisumbing; Ruth Meizen-Dick; Terri L. Raney; Andre Croppenstedt; Julia A. Behrman and Amber Peterman (eds.), *Gender in Agriculture: Closing the Knowledge Gap* (Rome: FAO, 2014), 413.

¹³⁶ From: <http://www.fao.org> (Accessed on 12th November, 2006)

¹³⁷ Vicky Okine, 'The Survival Strategies of poor families in Ghana and the role of women therein', in Joycelin Massiah (ed.) *Women in Developing Economies: Making Visible the Invisible* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1993), 182.

¹³⁸ PAO's Report, Lusaka Province, 1976/1977, 32.

Home Economics Section leading to only 26 institutional and non-institutional courses taking place out of the many planned courses.¹³⁹ In the 1979/1980 training year, there were no women courses run at FTCs due to lack of funds to buy food to feed participants. The Home Economics Section only managed to conduct few courses at village level in a few provinces.¹⁴⁰ From the Luapula Province, it was reported in the 1979/1980 training year that it was difficult for all courses to be conducted by the Home Economics Section due to lack of funds to buy food for participants.¹⁴¹ It was noted that the number of women being trained was low due to the fact that the Home Economics Section was only given one or two courses per centre yearly.¹⁴² In the 1981/1982 training year, it was reported that due to the limited funds allocated during the year, the Extension-Training Section could not hold a number of courses and induction courses were also suspended till further notice.¹⁴³ Hurlich was of the view that limited funds were allotted to the section because of the low status the Home Economics Section had in the Ministry of Agriculture. She stated that:

Though the mandate of the Home Economics Section is to deal with women in agriculture and over-see a number of special women's projects, it has a low status within MAWD and gets few resources to carry out its mandate. Thus, it can only reach a small fraction of rural farmers.¹⁴⁴

Giving Home Economics Sections a low status was not unique to Zambia. As Chambers, with reference to the developing world argued, "A women's wing in agricultural extension is understaffed and underfunded and consequently ineffective."¹⁴⁵ In his discussion on rural poverty and rural underdevelopment in the third world, he

¹³⁹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1978-1979*, 31.

¹⁴⁰ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1979-1980*, 28.

¹⁴¹ Luapula Province Agricultural Annual Report, 1979-1980, 57.

¹⁴² Luapula Province Agricultural Annual Report, 1980-1981, 64.

¹⁴³ *Annual Report for the Extension Branch, 1981-1982*, 18.

¹⁴⁴ Hurlich, *Women in Zambia Vol. I*, 111.

¹⁴⁵ Robert Chambers, *Rural Development: Putting the Last First* (Essex: Longman House, 1993), 175.

lamented about the gender biases evident in the provision of agricultural services in developing countries.¹⁴⁶

Transport Constraints

Because of being inadequately funded, the Department of Agriculture found it increasingly difficult to provide transport for trainees to farmer training institutions. It was also difficult to transport extension agents to villages to conduct mobile courses. Chipungu pointed out that in many places, course participants were brought to the Farm Institutes and FTCs and returned to their homes in transport provided by these institutions but because of chronic shortages of transport in some centres, many courses were cancelled.¹⁴⁷ We are in contention with Chipungu's argument. The transport constraints were not only recorded in Southern Province but the rest of the country as well. These constraints continued to frustrate efforts made by extension staff to reach out to farmers. The Home Economics Section was the hardest hit. It was reported in the 1976/1977 training year that out of eight provinces, five provinces, that is, Central, Copperbelt, Northern, North-Western and Western Provinces reported lack of transport to enable them operate effectively.¹⁴⁸ In the 1977/1978 training year, it was reported from Lusaka Province that many courses were cancelled at Chalimbana FTC due to lack of transport and only 51 males and two females were trained.¹⁴⁹ It was also noted that Lusaka Province had 24 Women groups which were assisted by the Department of Agriculture and the Female Extension Section. However, visiting these groups and mentoring them was becoming increasingly difficult due to transport constraints. The PAO of the province lamented that:

¹⁴⁶ Chambers, *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*, 175-176.

¹⁴⁷ Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation*, 149.

¹⁴⁸ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1976-1977*, 8.

¹⁴⁹ PAO's Report, Lusaka Province, 1977-1978, 22.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to encourage women to become more active when in actual sense, frequent visits are constrained by the persistent lack of transport. This has disappointed many Women's groups because they have no close supervision by departmental staff'.¹⁵⁰

From the Luapula Province, it was reported in the 1979/1980 training year that although many residential and mobile courses were planned by the Home Economics Section, a number of them were cancelled in districts due to a lack of transport for taking officers to centres where the courses were to be run.¹⁵¹ In the 1981/1982 training year, a Finnish Delegation that was on a tour of the province to assess the effectiveness of the Finnida Agricultural Extension programme and its participation in Women's Club activities lamented about the adverse effects of transport problems on Women's Club activities.¹⁵² From Northern Province, it was reported in the 1983/1984 training year that in some areas, Women's Clubs and Young Farmers' Clubs were active but lacked technical advice which was not reaching them because of inadequate transport.¹⁵³ MAWD acknowledged the fact that it was difficult to address the transport challenges the Department of Agriculture was facing. It was noted that:

While it would be nice if every field worker had access to a Land rover or a motorcycle, it is not realistic to expect every one of you will be given one. The Department of Agriculture is working towards the provision of bicycles and other transport through loans as fast as its resources permit. But, in the meantime, you will be doing a lot of walking.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ PAO's Report, Lusaka Province, 1977-1978, 22.

¹⁵¹ Agricultural Annual Report for Luapula Province, 1979-1980, 57.

¹⁵² PAO's Report for Luapula Province, 1981, 33-34. Mrs. Anelli Prantilla, a Home Economics specialist in the delegation, in her report stressed that transport was a major constraint to the work of Women's Clubs and that at district offices, there was a continuous request for transport so that the Home Economics staff could reach all Women's Clubs. It was in that vein that she suggested the introduction of mobile courses that could be of great help in reaching out to Women's Clubs. She argued that reaching out could be facilitated as mobile courses just involved taking the concerned officer to the area where such a course was to be held and after three or four days collecting her.

¹⁵³ Agricultural Annual Report for Northern Province, 1983-1984, 68.

¹⁵⁴ *Handbook for Agricultural Field Workers: Agricultural Extension for Small-Scale Families*, 32.

Certainly, transport constraints stood in the way of bridging gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector.

Access to Factors of Production

Although many women in rural Zambia were involved in farming, it was difficult for them to innovate due to the limited access they had to factors of production such as capital and other resources. Women were, for instance constrained from taking part in farming activities in their communities due to the limited access they had to capital. They were marginalised by agricultural financing institutions which put across conditions that made it difficult for them to have access to loans. Among the major financial institutions that were lending money to small-scale and traditional farmers was the Agricultural Finance Company (AFC). The bank was incorporated as a company in 1970 and operated as the dominant source of agricultural credit until 1986 when it was merged with the African Development Bank (ADB) to form the Lima Bank.¹⁵⁵ Evidently, this bank had practices that discriminated against women. A married women, for instance could not borrow money from the bank without the consent of her husband. Due pointed out that, of the families which borrowed money in 1982, 86% of the respondents reported that borrowing was done in the name of the husband and by the husband. Females could not borrow from AFC unless they were widowed or divorced.¹⁵⁶ AFC was the major agricultural loan agency in the Western Province. It was however reported that it was mainly male farmers that benefited from its services. Findings of a survey conducted in Namakuyu, Kalabo district in the province in 1984 indicated that:

Among the 13 respondents who ever applied for a loan, there was no woman. Thirteen who were interviewed stated that they had applied for a loan at some time but no credits were ever granted. Hardly any of the Namakuyu farmers would qualify for a loan under AFC conditions since it

¹⁵⁵ Mulambe P. Mbulo, 'Agricultural Lending and the Small-Scale Farmer', in Wood et al (eds.) *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia*, 381.

¹⁵⁶ Jean M. Due, 'Women made Visible: Their contributions to farming systems and household incomes in Zambia and Tanzania', paper presented at the University of Illinois, April 1985.

required a minimum farm size of 1 Hectare and the production of marketable crops.¹⁵⁷

In 1985, only about 5% of agricultural loans normally granted to small-scale farmers were given to women by AFC.¹⁵⁸ Brand and Heerkens pointed out that in the late 1980s more emphasis began to be placed on women accessing farm loans. They were however quick to point to the challenges women faced in accessing the loans stating that:

Male farmers are privileged. Whereas the criteria for obtaining loans are concerned, a precondition is that a plot has to be prepared for cultivation before a certain date. Clearing of land is still a man's task, who clears his own fields first ... women depend on men to create the conditions under which they are considered to be credit worthy.¹⁵⁹

The mandate to assess applicants' qualification to AFC loans was given to Agricultural Extension Officers who participated in an advisory committee that assessed the applicant's eligibility and then made recommendations to the Agricultural Finance Company.¹⁶⁰ This disadvantaged women considering the biases that were apparent in the provision of extension services. Because women farmers were rarely visited by extension agents, information about AFC loans did not automatically reach them. This view was expressed by Larson and Kanyangwa when they lamented that:

It was Extension Officers that were supposed to play a major role in loan applications by recommending those small scale farmers they thought capable of productively using the loan. It was hard since most extension agents were male.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ Marie-Louise Beerling, 'A Socio-Economic Survey of Namakuyu, Kalabo District', report prepared in collaboration with the Rural Development Studies Bureau, Provincial Planning Unit, Western Province, January 1985.

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in Kathryn H. Larson and Joyce Kanyangwa, 'Women in Market-Oriented Agriculture', in Wood et al (eds.) *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia*, 484.

¹⁵⁹ A. A. M. Saskia Brand and Jacqueline Heerkens, *Women, Labour and Maize: Changing Agricultural Systems and Labour Relations in a Zambian Small-Holders Village* (Nijmegen: University of Nijmegen, 1990), 20.

¹⁶⁰ MAWD, *Handbooks for Agricultural field Workers: Agricultural Extension for Small Scale Families*, 22.

¹⁶¹ Larson and Kanyangwa, 'Women in Market-Oriented Agriculture', 387.

Similar views were expressed at a workshop held to discuss aspects of agricultural financing in Zambia. It was argued that, “Some women get loans but they are not easy to get and many women do not know about them.”¹⁶² In a study conducted in eastern Zambia, it was noted that although a number of institutions had been established in the country to provide seasonal and medium term credit to small-holder farm families, female headed households had less access to credit than male headed households.¹⁶³ Members of staff of AFC were included in the training programmes of Farm Institutes; farmer training institutions which emphasised on reaching out to farmers of both sexes. In the 1976/1977 year, one course was held for members of staff of AFC at Keembe Farm Institute in Central Province.¹⁶⁴ In Eastern Province, three courses were held for members of AFC during which thirteen members of staff were instructed.¹⁶⁵ Despite under-going training, discriminatory practices against women in the bank did not end. This was against the policy of farmer training institutions to prepare trainees to be gender sensitive. Yet it has been argued that women can be good farmers once availed adequate resources. This was observed in a study in the Eastern Province which found that women are not risk-averse to adopt new technology, provided they have the opportunity to acquire the requisite credit and inputs.¹⁶⁶ It is also axiomatic in academic circles that female farmers in developing countries generally lack access to credit. With reference to the developing world, Fletschner and Kenney alluded to the fact that rural financial programmes have been largely designed, crafted and

¹⁶² Mr. Mbiya, ‘Agricultural Finance’, paper presented at Agricultural Policy Conference held at NRDC, Lusaka, 17th-19th March, 1984, 8.

¹⁶³ C. A. Njobvu, ‘Small-Holder Farming Systems and Technology Adoption: Problems and Characteristics of Small-Scale Farming in Katete and Petauke Districts’, paper presented at Winrock International Network Conference, Nairobi, Kenya, 12-14th November, 1987.

¹⁶⁴ *Extension-Training Report*, 1976/1977, 20.

¹⁶⁵ *Extension-Training Report*, 1976/1977, 21.

¹⁶⁶ Shubh H. Kumar, ‘Adoption of Hybrid Maize in Zambia: Effects on Gender Roles, Food Consumption and Nutrition.’ Research Report No. 100. Research carried out by the International Food Policy Research Institute in collaboration with the University of Zambia Rural Studies Bureau and the Zambia National food and Nutrition Commission, 1994, 3. This study was undertaken to examine the growth and equity effects of technological change.

implemented with the male head of household as the intended client.¹⁶⁷ Goheen pointed out that in Cameroon, officially credit was available to both men and women through formal institutions like banks but in practice women's access to higher levels of credit was especially limited because women did not own land and could not use property as surety on loans.¹⁶⁸ Mlay, Roy and Tisdell also alluded to the limited access women had to credit in Tanzania arguing that rural women could not secure government loans to purchase land, farm in-puts and equipment because of their inability of meeting the conditions of repaying these loans.¹⁶⁹

Because of the limited access to credit women had, they were not able to acquire technological devices. Worse still, they were not able to handle them because of the lack of exposure to technology arising out of biases in the extension service.

Muntemba argued that:

Of the women interviewed in 1975 in the Central province, 2 % owned some modern implements in the form of ox-drawn ploughs and planters. Neglect of imparting knowledge to women was reflected in the number of women capable of applying the modern expertise. Of the women interviewed in the Keembe-Mwachisompola area, 30 % could handle the ox-drawn plough, 5 % the weeder but none could handle any other implement. Of the women who cultivated independently, 40 % used the ox-drawn ploughs which were mostly hired or gotten hold of through male relatives.¹⁷⁰

Another 1986 study in Solwezi, North-Western Province showed that while females were the major suppliers of family labour (about 51 % of the total); the main farming implements constituted of hand tools.¹⁷¹ It was reported from the same province in the

¹⁶⁷ Diana Fletschner and Lisa Kenney, 'Rural Women's Access to Financial Services, Credit, Savings and Insurance', in Quisumbing et al (eds.), *Gender in Agriculture: Closing the Knowledge Gap*, 188.

¹⁶⁸ Mirriam Goheen, *Men own the Fields, Women Own the Crops: Gender and Power in the Cameroon Highlands* (London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1996), 93.

¹⁶⁹ Felix J. Mlay, Kartik C. Roy and Clement A. Tisdell, 'Women and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa with Special Reference to Tanzania', in Kartik C. Roy, Clement A. Tisdell and Hans C. Blomqvist (eds.), *Economic Development and Women in the World* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1996), 132.

¹⁷⁰ Muntemba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia', 286.

1987/1988 year that males' labour contribution to crop production was lower than that of females yet in spite of their contributions, female farmers were resource poorer than male farmers.¹⁷² The low yields recorded by female headed households in Mwinilunga district in the same province was attributed to women being resource poor.¹⁷³ It was noted that in the Western Province, by 1988, roughly 30 % of female headed households had less access to resources adversely impacting on crop yields.¹⁷⁴ In a survey carried out in the province from 1989 to 1990, it was observed that only 5 % of all female headed households owned at least one span of oxen and plough and that married women were seldom in possession of ploughing equipment.¹⁷⁵ Another resource women lacked was land. According to the patriarchal system, for instance, among the Tonga of Southern Province, land belongs to males and women's tenure security ends upon divorce, separation and the death of a spouse.¹⁷⁶ A Land Tenure Report of 1957 cited an incident among the Tonga in which a widow was allowed to retain land when her husband died but the relatives of the deceased began making strenuous efforts to be as unpleasant as possible in the hope that the woman would abandon the field and they obtain it.¹⁷⁷ Such practices continued even during the period under study. An informant pointed to power over resources being vested in the hands of males among the Tonga noting that, "Power over resources is vested in the hands of men and after the death of one's husband, his relatives inherit his wealth."¹⁷⁸

¹⁷¹ M. Runkandema and P. M. Mupenda, 'Management of Small-Scale Farms in Mumena, Solwezi district, Zambia, 1986. Extracted from ARPT Data Base, 16

¹⁷² MAWD, Annual Report for North-Western Province, 1987-1988, 20-21. These were findings of a research conducted on the anatomy of subsistence agriculture.

¹⁷³ MAFF, *Annual Report of the Research Branch*, 1989 – 1990, 113.

¹⁷⁴ MAFF, Lima Crop Memo for Traditional Subsistence Agriculture, November, 1993.

¹⁷⁵ Annual Report of the Research Branch, Mongu Research Station, 1989/1990, 35

¹⁷⁶ Republic of Zambia, Gender in Development Division, 'Baseline Survey on Women's Access to Agricultural Land in Zambia', research report produced in partnership with Zambia Land Alliance and Danish Aid, 2005, 37.

¹⁷⁷ NRG, Land Tenure Report no. 1, Southern Province, 1957, 16.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Rose Kaanga, Makangala Village, Chief Mwanachingwala's area, Mazabuka district, 28th May 2016.

Another respondent shared a similar view noting that:

My father had a lot of land yet my mother had no power over it. When villagers came to ask for land on which to farm and my father was not around, they would just leave a message that they would come back later. All the oxen and ploughs we had were seen as belonging to our father.¹⁷⁹

Milimo saw this as a major constraint to agricultural productivity. He was of the view that women's access to land and security in land was greatly limited, in turn curtailing women's agricultural productivity.¹⁸⁰ Kajoba held a similar view noting that trends in accessing and ownership of land, food production and the control of proceeds of men tended to marginalise women. He pointed out that towards the end of UNIP rule from November 1985 to October 1991 after Dr. Kaunda's administration had allowed individuals on customary land to convert up to 250 hectares into leasehold by 1985, women's offers totaled 0.4 % of the national total while those to men were 2.6 % of the national total.¹⁸¹

Okine also alluded to women's limited access to technology in Ghana arguing that majority of women in Ghana were small holders producing on a very small scale and relatively unaffected by developments in the use of improved tools and seeds and that modern inputs were too expensive for them.¹⁸² Women's limited access to land was also recorded in other developing countries. Cornhiel et al pointed out that in South-East Asia, Africa and Latin America, women were disadvantaged in both statutory and customary land tenure systems and that studies showed that community land allocations generally went to men and land transfers within families occurred among men.¹⁸³ This

¹⁷⁹ Interview with Michael Sianjalika, Dumba Settlement, Chief Sianjalika's area, Mazabuka, 28th May 2016.

¹⁸⁰ J. T. Milimo, 'Differential Impacts of Zambia's Macro-Economic and Sectorial Policies on Agricultural Production by Male and Female Farmers', Consultancy Report for the Women's Section of the National Commission for Development Planning', February 1990, 23.

¹⁸¹ Gear M. Kajoba, 'Vulnerability and Resilience of Rural Society in Zambia: From the View Point of Land Tenure and Food Security', Working paper on Social-Ecological Resilience Series No. 2008-003, 20.

¹⁸² Okine, 'The Survival Strategies of poor families in Ghana and the role of women therein', 182.

was the same situation in Zimbabwe where women generally lacked access to land. Made lamented that subsistence farming in Zimbabwe was largely a female domain yet the extent of their involvement in small-scale agriculture was inadequately documented and their economic contribution was underestimated. She further noted that Zimbabwean women did not benefit directly from the first phase of land redistribution in the 1980s and a 1994 Land Tenure Commission, although confirming that women had unequal access to land, presented no recommendations to address their marginalisation.¹⁸⁴ Indeed, as Farnworth and Colverson pointed out, “Women’s farmers in Africa tend to be locked out of land ownership, access to credit, productive farm inputs (like fertilisers, pesticides and farming tools), support from extension services, access to markets and other factors central to improving productivity.”¹⁸⁵

This limited access women had to factors of production was an important factor in the failure to fully incorporate them into the country’s agricultural development. In as much as institutions like Women’s Clubs and cooperatives sprang up, without members having credit and technology, it was difficult for them to produce high yields. The examples we have given above are evidence enough that access to factors of production adversely impacted on women’s yields. Ultimately, the use of the traditional hoe led to low yields among female headed households. We are in agreement with Brycesson’s argument that:

The agricultural technology capable of liberating African women cultivators from the hard tool and affording them a reasonable livelihood has not yet appeared on the horizon. The broad masses of African rural women retain a strong grip on the hoe.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ Susana Lastarna Cornhiel; Julia Behrman; Ruth Meizen-Dick and Agnes R. Quisumbing, ‘Gender Equity and Land: Toward Secure and Effective Access for Rural Women’ in Quisumbing et al (eds.), *Gender in Agriculture: Closing the Knowledge Gap*, 118-119.

¹⁸⁴ Pat Made, ‘Women and Land Rights in Zimbabwe’, in Judith Mirsky and Marty Aylett, *No Paradise Yet: The World’s Women Face the New Century* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 2000), 86.

¹⁸⁵ Cathy Rozel Farnworth and Kathleen Earl Colverson, ‘Building a Gender-Transformative Extension and Advisory Facilitation System in Sub-Saharan Africa’, *Journal of Gender, Agriculture and Food Security* 1, 2 (2015), 20.

¹⁸⁶ Brycesson, ‘Burying the Hole’, 269.

Zambia's female farmers, by 1990 retained a strong grip on the hoe. Yet, a World Bank report of 2005 indicated that if Zambian women enjoyed the same overall degree of capital investment in agricultural inputs, including land as their men counterparts, output in Zambia would increase up to 15 %.¹⁸⁷

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that arising out of the declaration of the International Women's Year and the three conferences held on the status of women world-wide, Zambia joined the rest of the world in the fight against gender discrimination in the agricultural sector. It has been argued that through the Home Economics Section, a lot of programmes were embarked on primarily to cater for the needs of women in farming. The chapter has demonstrated that the Department of Agriculture, through the Extension-Training Unit embarked on a deliberate policy of sending its female staff for local and international in-service training. It has been illustrated that through the Women's and Young Farmers' Clubs, women and girls were exposed to different agricultural skills. It has been argued that in spite of the successes scored, it wasn't easy to bridge gender imbalances in the sector due to some constraints. We have noted that at farmer training institutions and colleges of agriculture, more males than females continued to receive instruction, ultimately leading to a shortage of female staff in the Home Economics Section. We have also contended that biases in extension continued making it difficult to incorporate women fully into the country's agricultural development. The chapter has noted that by 1990 women lacked adequate access to credit and technology. Ultimately, their yields were low. We have argued that the major problems the country faced in the agricultural sector were not unique to Zambia. Studies undertaken in other countries also point to similar challenges in incorporating women into farming. It has been argued that studies conducted in Ghana, Zimbabwe, Cameroon and Tanzania concluded that women generally lacked access to factors of production. These debates on the status of women in farming are similar – that women were generally a disadvantaged group in farming.

¹⁸⁷ IBRD-FAO-IFAD, *Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook* (Washington: IBRD, 2009), 3.

CHAPTER SIX: GENDER AND DONOR SUPPORTED AGRICULTURAL PROJECTS, 1978-1990

Introduction

Arising out of the declaration of the International Women's Decade, a number of donor agencies embarked on a process of supporting women in farming in the country. Keller pointed out that by 1980, the United Nations Decade for Women had begun to have an impact on women in farming and largely as a result of advocacy of several UNO agencies, there was an increasing number of special projects for women.¹ During the decade and its aftermath, donor funded agricultural projects were initiated in different parts of the country with the aim of addressing the challenges faced by female farmers. While some of the projects were aimed at primarily addressing the needs of women in farming, other projects aimed at reaching out to both sexes. It is against this background that this chapter seeks to identify the major beneficiaries of donor funded agricultural projects between male and female farmers. It is argued, in this chapter that in spite of the efforts made to bridge gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector through these projects, a gender divide was apparent in most of these projects. Our contention is that although the gender divide was visible, some women benefited from the work of these agencies.

The Intensive Rural Development Programme (IRDP)

¹ Bonnie Keller, 'Development for Rural Zambian Women', in FAO-UNESCO-ILO (eds.), *Training for Agriculture and Rural Development* (Rome: FAO, 1986), 31.

The idea of this programme was initiated by the Ministry of Agriculture and Water Development (MAWD) in 1973 when it began the Intensive Development Zone (IDZ) in Kasama, northern Zambia. The objective was to provide resources for rapid economic development in areas outside the line of rail with focus on small-scale farmers and other vulnerable groups.² In 1978, the government decided to extend the project to other areas and the name changed to IRDPs. Implemented in April 1978, the programme was funded by the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA). International assistance was also sought for continuing the Kasama programme and opening a new IRDP in Kabompo district.³ By 1986, IRDPs had been set up in the Central, Eastern and Luapula Provinces with a total of fourteen districts covered.⁴ Apart from SIDA, other major bilateral donors were the Overseas Development Agency (ODA) from England and the German Technical Cooperation Agency (GTZ). Smaller contributions came from the Danish Development Agency (DANIDA) and the Norwegian Development Agency (NORAD). Using collaborative evidence from reports, we argue that IRDPs strove to address the challenges faced by women in farming in the provinces where they were operating from.

It was reported from the Luapula Province in the 1979/1980 year that some Women's Clubs were trained on the Lima Concept with assistance in form of fertilizer and seed from IRDP, the Finish International Development Agency (FINNIDA) and the Department of Community Development.⁵ Pleased by the assistance, the PAO of Luapula Province remarked that, "Women become willing to work because through such assistance, they feel they are recognised!"⁶ That assistance to women was leading to more female participation in farming was re-affirmed by a participant at an agricultural conference when he pointed out that:

² Susan Hurlich, *Women in Zambia Vol. II*, report prepared for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), 1986, 251.

³ Hurlich, *Women in Zambia Vol. II*, 252.

⁴ Hurlich, *Women in Zambia Vol. II*, 252.

⁵ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1979-1980, 59. We will discuss the Lima concept later in the chapter.

⁶ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1979-1980, 59.

In the 1979/1980 season, a lot of assistance was given to women farmers by foreign countries and GRZ in areas where IRDPs operated from and there was more emphasis on the recruitment of women farmers due to the imbalance between men and women. More women came forward to grow maize, groundnuts and rice on 25 Ha plots.⁷

In the 1984/1985 year, a good number of women from the Luapula Province attended mobile courses on crop production organised by the Department of Agriculture, FINNIDA and IRDP.⁸ It was reported in the 1985/1986 year that mobile courses continued to be funded by IRDP in the province with participants mainly being women and the youth.⁹ Reports from North-Western Province indicated that IRDP was effectively carrying out its work. A report read in part:

IRDP, through the Lima programme gave extension advice to female farmers on improved production techniques and on the organisation of groups. It provided inputs on cash or on loan, the package consisting of fertilisers and seed tailored to one Lima. It further offered seasonal credit, mobile marketing, collection being done at pre-determined collection points at group level.¹⁰

From Eastern Province, it was reported in the 1983/1984 year that in Katete district, six Women's Clubs received Lima loans from IRDP enabling them to individually grow maize and groundnuts and that IRDP assisted Women's Club members with some packages of Lima loans which included seeds, fertilisers and other requisites.¹¹ In the 1983/1984 year, IRDP funded mobile courses in Kasama East, Mporokoso, Isoka, Chinsali and Mpika in Northern Province which were attended by 269 women.¹² As shown, IRDPs achieved some successes vis-a-vis reaching out to female farmers in the

⁷ R. C. Mweemba, 'Women and the Young Farmers' Club in Luapula Province', proceedings of the first Luapula Province Lima Workshop held at Mansa Farm Institute, 22nd-23rd February, 1983.

⁸ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1984-1985, 30.

⁹ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1985-1986, 44.

¹⁰ PAO's Report, North-Western Province, 1981-1982, 4.

¹¹ Eastern Province Annual Report, 1983-1984, 85.

¹² Annual Report, Northern Province, 1983-1984, 68.

country. This was re-affirmed by Bardouille when he noted that IRDP projects did a lot to organise Women's Clubs in the provinces they operated from.¹³

Some scholars have perceived IRDPs as being gender insensitive. Hurlich noted that most IRDPs were gender biased and did not include a significant number of women.¹⁴ Despite praising IRDPs for successfully organising Women's Clubs, Bardouille was quick to point out that they lacked the ability to integrate women in improving production techniques and that generally IRDP projects were biased against female farmers.¹⁵ Munachonga shared a similar view noting that the implementation of the IRDP project discriminated against women.¹⁶

As has been noted, the IRDPs were the first projects to attract donor funding. Indeed, through these projects, many female farmers acquired various agricultural skills. Our contention is that although they were criticised for not being gender sensitive, their efforts at bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector were also significant. Using evidence from reports, we have shown that these projects did, indeed make efforts aimed at incorporating women into the country's agricultural agenda. After 1978, the agricultural sector continued attracting donor funding through other projects. Among the many projects that attracted donor funding was the Lima Project initiated in 1979.

The Lima Project

Originally worked out at Mount Makulu Central Station in 1979, it attracted the support of SIDA in 1981. It aimed at constructing an effective instrument by which the extension service personnel could help the small-scale farmers to increase their productivity by using correct and efficient farming practices.¹⁷ Norby, a consultant to

¹³ Raj Bardouille, 'Integration of Zambian Women in National Development: Analysis of Constraints and Prospects', International Development Research Centre: Women in Development: Perspectives from the Nairobi Conference, Manuscript Report, September, 1986, 79.

¹⁴ Hurlich, *Women in Zambia* Vol. II, 252.

¹⁵ Bardouille, 'Integration of Zambian Women in National Development: Analysis of Constraints and Prospects', 79.

¹⁶ Munachonga, 'Women, Rural Development and Aid Agencies', 179.

the MAWD pointed out that the programme encouraged the use of agricultural inputs for the major Lima (0.25 ha) of land using standardised measures of seed, fertilizer and insecticide.¹⁸ He described the Lima concept as encompassing a number of facets. He pointed out that under the programme, advice was given on measuring the area and planting time. Advice, he noted was also given on plant spacing in the row, application of proper amounts of fertilizer and insecticides. To achieve this, a rope, 25 metres long, marked at one metre in intervals with which the farmer could measure the area, mark row spacing and plant spacing was used. A beaker holding 500 grams of fertilizer in order to meet the requirements for the 25 metre row was also utilised. Another tool made use of was a cup holding 20 grams for application of fertilizer for checking the rows of maize. These Lima recommendations or messages attracted much international attention because of their innovativeness and their potential for increasing the productivity of small-scale farmers, whose returns on both land and labour were low.¹⁹ Luapula Province was the first province to be exposed to the Lima approach and different Lima programmes were operating in the province under FINNIDA, IRDP and the Department of Agriculture.

Some scholars have argued that the Lima project represented a major step towards bridging gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector as it was directed primarily at female farmers. Chilivumbo and Kanyangwa pointed out that, "Whereas other developmental programmes concentrate their efforts on heads of households who are usually male, this one is exclusively for selected female members of a household."²⁰ They further argued that:

Unlike on the traditional plot, under Lima, women had to plant on time, procure inputs and apply the right amount of fertilizer and at the correct

¹⁷ Gunar Norby, 'Swedish Support to the Lima Programme, 1981 -1983', report from the Consultant to MAWD, Lusaka, 10th April, 1983, 3.

¹⁸ Stuart A. Kean and Langson Singogo, Ofcor Case Study No. 1: *Organisation of the Adaptive Research Planning Team* (Lusaka: Research Branch, 1988), 13.

¹⁹ Heather Baser and Rosemary Lesa, 'Women in the Lima Programme', in Wood et al (eds.), *Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia*, 541.

²⁰ Alifeyo Chilivumbo and Joyce Kanyangwa, *Women's Participation in Rural Development: The Case of the SIDA LIMA programme*. Lusaka: Unza Rural Studies Bureau. Occasional Paper No. 22, February, 1985, 4.

time; further they were to find time for extension advice. Training in agriculture is normally directed towards men who are often heads of households. Participation in Lima has enabled women to undergo training in various aspects of agriculture.²¹

Hurlich held a similar view arguing that this SIDA supported programme was one of the first government initiatives to focus directly on women-oriented activities with the aim of improving the quality of life for low-income rural women, including increasing food production through modern farming techniques and decreasing women's workload by introducing appropriate technology.²² Reports from some provinces indicate that some women benefited from the Lima programme. It was reported from the Luapula Province in 1983 that the Lima training programme was successful and that for the first half of the year, 22-30 % of participating farmers were women.²³ In the 1984/1985 year, Women's Clubs in the Samfya, Kawambwa and Mwense districts of the Luapula Province participated in the Lima.²⁴ From Southern Province, it was reported that in the 1982/1983 year, SIDA through the Lima programme had recognised the role of women and youth in national development and that to boost the Operational Food Programme, a sum of K3,750 was given to Young Farmers Clubs in Choma.²⁵ Reports from the Northern Province point to the success of the Lima project there. This was re-affirmed by a Women Programme adviser in MAWD when she stated that:

In the Northern Province, there were three separate Lima projects implemented by NORAD, IRDP and the Department of Agriculture. A survey in late 1983 indicated that of the 308 Lima farmers, 36 % were women. Participation of women seems comparatively high and indicate that field staff have made special efforts to reach female farmers.²⁶

²¹ Chilivumbo and Kanyangwa, Women's Participation in Rural Development: *The Case of the SIDA LIMA Programme*, 17.

²² Hurlich, *Women in Zambia Vol. II*, 239.

²³ Margareta Sjostrom, 'Women in the Lima Programme: Constraints and Limitations to Full Participation', report prepared by Women Programme Adviser, MAWD 2. Sjostrom was, at the time of preparing this report the Women's Programme Adviser at MAWD.

²⁴ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1984 – 1985, 31.

²⁵ PAO's Report, Southern Province, 1982-1983, 40.

²⁶ Sjostrom, 'Women in the Lima Programme: Constraints and Limitations to Full Participation', 5.

Through the Department of Home Economics, the Lima programme encouraged women in Choma in the Southern Province and Mumbwa in the Central Province to form groups that could either rear chickens or grow crops.²⁷ From the Central Province, it was reported in the 1982/1983 year that the SIDA-Lima grants were awarded to various Young Farmers' Clubs.²⁸ Reports from the North-Western Province indicated that there was a high female participation in the Lima programme and that in 1983, participation of women farmers in the Lima in the surveyed area was 31 %.²⁹ In the 1985/1986 season, interviews with women from Maveve Village in Kabompo district in the North-Western Province indicated that they were very active in Lima farming, primarily growing maize and earning considerably from Lima.³⁰ The Chipata Lima programme was also described as a successful programme by Sjostrom when she stated that, "Clearly, the IRDP Lima policy in Eastern Province is positive towards women."³¹ Getting in-puts by Lima farmers in form of seed and fertilizer at mobile, seasonal or permanent depots in the province was said to be possible for both male and female farmers who were allowed to register as Lima farmers.³² In the 1983/1984 year, K20, 000 was allocated from the women's programme vote to Lima credits for women and as a result, 42 % of the total number of Lima loanees in the 1983/1984 year were women.³³

Arguments presented above have demonstrated that the Lima programme benefited some female farmers. However, some scholars have argued that the programme was not gender sensitive as it was men that mainly benefited from it. Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling pointed out that:

²⁷ Chilivumbo and Kanyangwa, *Women's Participation in the Lima Programme*, 3.

²⁸ PAO's Report, Central Province, 1982-1983, 29-30.

²⁹ Sjostrom, 'Women in the Lima programme', 6.

³⁰ Josephine Beck and Sabine Dorlochter, 'Women's Agricultural activities as a basis for subsistence and for their economic independence in Zambezi/Kabompo', in Kate Crehan and Achim Von Oppen (eds.), "Small-Scale Producers, 'Informal activities' and 'development' in their context: Case studies on rural and urban Zambia." Report of a Students' research project, November, 1987, 29.

³¹ Sjostrom, 'Women in the Lima programme', 4.

³² Beck and Dorlochter, 'Women's Agricultural activities as a basis for Subsistence and for their Economic Independence in Zambezi/Kaoma', 77.

³³ Sjostrom, 'Women in the Lima programme', 2.

The Lima programme in Zambia illustrated how farmers could be unintentionally discriminated against by agricultural extension messages. The intention of the programme was to raise the productivity and incomes of small holders and to make special efforts to improve women farmers' access to credit. Recommendations for hybrid maize were the first to be released and many small farmers and women, in particular came to believe that Lima was hybrid maize and therefore not for them. Extension messages contained few, if any practical recommendations for important small-holder (and women's) crops such as cassava, sweet potatoes local maize, millet, sorghum, vegetables, almost exclusively tended by women.³⁴

Baser and Lesa argued that few single female farmers received assistance from any of the Lima programmes except where funds were specifically earmarked for women and that in most areas, the percentage of women participating in the programmes was lower than that of men.³⁵

Keller pointed out that:

At the time Lima was introduced, there was little recognition of the fact that women's role in agricultural production was significant. Lima messages went out through established channels from men to men. In peasants' households of married couples, a new Lima field intended for the production of surplus for the market became the husband's field even though his wife's labour was used and was, indeed critical in improved household farming.³⁶

Munachonga stated that available evidence indicated that women did not benefit equally with men in the Lima programme.³⁷ A research report read in part, 'No attempt was made to ensure that female farmers would participate in the Lima. The Lima message went through the established channels from men to men ... a new Lima field intended for production became the husband's field'.³⁸ Female interviewees in a Study on the

³⁴ Katrine A Saito with Contributions from Hailu Mekonnen and Daphne Spurling. *Raising the Productivity of Women Farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa*. World Bank Discussion Papers: Africa Technical Department Series. (Washington: World Bank, 1994), 82.

³⁵ Baser and Lesa, 'Women in the Lima Programme', 543.

³⁶ Keller, 'Development for Rural Zambian women', 34.

³⁷ Monica L. Munachonga, 'Women, Rural Development and Aid Agencies' in Kanduza (ed.), *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia: Pre-colonial to the 1980s*, 173.

Lima programme in the North-Western province noted that the Lima was a ‘men-only’ programme and that they had never been approached about the programme by male agricultural Extension Officers.³⁹

These quotations are significant in understanding the gender biases that were perceived as being in the Lima project. We are in contention with these scholars who perceived the Lima project as a gender biased project. Reports from provinces across the country give credence to our argument. It was reported from Western Province in the 1983/1984 year that of the 12, 035 farmers in the Lima programme, only 1 762 were female.⁴⁰ Reports from the Luapula Province showed a similar picture where in the 1983/1984 training year, courses under the Lima programme at Farm Institutes and FTCs were attended by 750 males as opposed to 180 females.⁴¹ In the 1985/1986 year, while 691 males attended Lima courses, only 227 females attended the courses.⁴² It was reported in the 1988/1989 training year that while 214 men took part in demonstrations carried out by the Lima Ladder, only 64 women took part in the demonstrations.⁴³ Another report from the same province read that, “The Lima ladder conducted six residential courses and four mobile courses which were attended by 73 males and 47 female farmers; in addition there were 744 field days attended by 4 532 males and 1 367 females.”⁴⁴ It was reported from the Copperbelt Province that while 325 male farmers were trained in various Lima-related courses in the 1986/1987 year, only 161 female farmers were trained.⁴⁵

³⁸ Zambia Association for Research and Development (ZARD), *An Annotated Bibliography of Research on Zambian Women* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1985), 113.

³⁹ Quoted in Keller, ‘Development for Rural Zambian Women’, 35.

⁴⁰ PAO’s Report, North-Western Province, 1983-1984, 34.

⁴¹ PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1983-1984, 41.

⁴² Report prepared by the Luapula Province MAWD National Lima Fertilizer Programme Crop Husbandry Officer for 1985-1986, 17.

⁴³ PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1988-1989, 71.

⁴⁴ PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1988-1989, 77.

⁴⁵ PAO’s Report, Copperbelt Province, 1986-1987, 21.

From the above arguments, what comes out is that it was males that mainly benefited from the Lima programme. These gender imbalances in the Lima programme were a reflection of the prevailing situation in the Ministry of Agriculture where women were marginalised and a reflection of a male-dominated society in which women were subordinate to men. This view was re-affirmed by a respondent when he pointed out that:

The Lima programme was designed to cater for small-scale farmers of both sexes. Women participation was inevitably low because of the prevailing situation at that time when men were accorded a lot of respect. It was a reflection of the general low women participation in agricultural programmes at the time.⁴⁶

Indeed, reports from the Northern Province indicated that women in the Lima programme complained of neglect from extension staff.⁴⁷ From the Eastern Province, it was reported that:

Male agricultural staff in several camps show little interest in giving advice to women. The shortage of agricultural staff tends to affect women more than male farmers due to low priority accorded to women's needs. Some husbands also object to the situation where their wives receive loans of their own. Consequently, most of the female loanees in 1983 were unmarried. The fact that women can sign for loans has caused much surprise in certain villages'.⁴⁸

This quotation re-affirms the superiority of males over females in Zambian societies. Doubtless, these constraints negatively impacted on female participation in the Lima programme.

In the period stretching from 1980, the Home Economics Section of the Department of Agriculture in concert with donor agencies initiated three projects. These were the Women's Appropriate Village Technology (WAVT), Women's Participation in Rural Development (WPRD) and Peoples Participation Project (PPP). The primary

⁴⁶ Interview with Mpundu Mwape, Producer, National Agricultural Information Services, Lusaka, 30th September, 2015.

⁴⁷ Sjostrom, 'Women in the Lima programme', 6.

⁴⁸ Sjostrom, 'Women in the Lima Programme', 4.

goal of these projects was to address the challenges faced by female farmers though some males were also reached to. In the next section, we seek to establish the extent to which these three projects addressed the needs of women in farming.

Women's Appropriate Village Technology (WAVT)

Initiated in 1980, this project took off in September, 1981. Jointly funded by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and GRZ, the project was initially planned for three years after which GRZ and UNICEF entered into another three-year contract for its continuation.⁴⁹ A sum of K129, 898. 00 was contributed by UNICEF and K135, 631.00 by GRZ for the period 1981-1983.⁵⁰ The project covered six provinces, that is, Central, Eastern, Southern, Luapula, Northern and Western Provinces. It was hoped that, through the project, the quality of life of women (and men) in rural areas would be improved.⁵¹ The general aim of the project was, "to identify appropriate technological devices that would lighten the workload of rural women in food production and water supply, construct them using local materials and train women to use such devices."⁵² It also had specific aims.⁵³

From the on-set, WAVT strove hard to achieve its goals. In the 1980/1981 year, two workshops were held in Lusaka; one organised for extension staff by a SIDA women's consultant with the objective of trying to look into women's involvement through WAVT in rural development and the other on the WAVT project.⁵⁴ It was reported from the North-Western Province, in the same year, that the Norwegian

⁴⁹ MAWD, *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1984 – 1985*, 35.

⁵⁰ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1980 – 1981*, 25.

⁵¹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1984 – 1985*, 35.

⁵² Hurlich, *Women in Zambia Vol. II*, 226.

⁵³ See *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1980 – 1981*, 24. The report indicated that the project had three specific aims: i. to improve the quality of life and reduce the burden of work on women in rural areas through the use of appropriate technology devices. ii. to give exposure and create awareness among all women in rural areas about appropriate technology devices and ideas in all specified provinces by 1983. iii. to make available, by 1983 to all women in specific provinces the skills-training required to construct technological devices appropriate to their needs.

⁵⁴ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1980 – 1981*, 25.

Development Agency (NORAD) donated a total amount of K300 towards the activities of WAVT in the province.⁵⁵ Based at Monze FTC, WAVT was introduced to the Southern Province in the 1982/1983 year and female participants were taught how to use devices like charcoal coolers, raised sinks and dryers.⁵⁶ It was reported from Northern Province in the same year that an orientation course for the Project Coordinator was conducted for one month in preparation for a new centre which was to be opened in the province.⁵⁷ As a way of enlightening women on the use of technological devices, a number of mobile courses were run at community level and few artisans were trained during the year under review.⁵⁸ In the 1983/1984 year, all Home Economics staff in the province attended a one-week course on WAVT at Kasama Farm Institute.⁵⁹ It was reported from the Central Province in the same year that women took part in shows from ward to national level during which some devices from WAVT were exhibited.⁶⁰ During the 1984/1985 year, the project's main activities in the province were the running of orientation courses for extension workers, disseminating appropriate technology to rural women and training rural artisans.⁶¹ By 1985, three operational centres for the project had been set up at Keembe in the Central Province, Chipata in the Eastern Province and Monze in the Southern Province. Apart from courses, information on the use of technological devices was also disseminated to women through workshops. We contend that although many rural women were introduced to appropriate technological devices through the WAVT project, the project was not fully embraced by them. One of the reasons for this was that women did not understand the rationale behind them adopting technological devices. It was noted, for instance from the Eastern Province that there was a slow rate of adopting devices by

⁵⁵ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1980 – 1981*, 25.

⁵⁶ PAO's Report, Southern Province, 1982 -1983, 42-43.

⁵⁷ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982 -1983*, 30.

⁵⁸ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982 – 1983*, 30.

⁵⁹ Northern Province Annual Report, 1983 -1984, 70.

⁶⁰ PAO's Report, Central Province, 1983-1984, 18.

⁶¹ PAO's Report, Central Province, 1984 -1985, 20.

women because the women might not have seen the reason for adopting them.⁶² As a result of the slow pace at which the desired objectives were being achieved, a Needs Assessment Survey (NAS) was carried out in 1985 by UNICEF in four provinces, that is, Eastern, Southern, Central and the Northern Provinces. It was hoped that, using this Survey, one or two devices which rural women needed most in villages could be detected. Inevitably, all activities of WAVT came to a stand-still as these activities depended on the Needs Assessment Survey.⁶³ By 1990, WAVT had ceased to operate.

Women's Participation in Rural Development (WPRD)

Initiated in 1982, this project was coordinated by the Home Economics Section. It was operating from the Southern, Lusaka, Central, Luapula, Northern and Eastern Provinces. It aimed at improving the quality of life of the most disadvantaged rural women by encouraging them to increase food production through the adoption of modern techniques in agriculture, and decreasing the burden of work by introducing them to the use of Appropriate Village Technology devices.⁶⁴ It was hoped that equal opportunities would be provided for women to participate in all aspects of agricultural and rural development.⁶⁵ The project endeavoured to reach out to rural women by providing revolving credit funds for Lima in-puts to Women's Clubs. Emphasis was on giving training and credit to both single and married women who had the capacity of profiting from such services and had previously had no access to this.⁶⁶

The project strove hard to achieve its goals. During the 1982/1983 year, it held a number of courses. It was reported that:

Three courses were conducted for Agricultural Assistants, Community Development Assistants, Society Managers, Women's Clubs leaders and members in Southern and Central Provinces. The courses were on Nutrition, Cooperative Credit Schemes, Appropriate Village Technology

⁶² PAO's Report, Eastern Province, 1984 – 1985, 79.

⁶³ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1984 – 1985*, 35.

⁶⁴ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982 – 1983*, 30.

⁶⁵ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1984 – 1985*, 36.

⁶⁶ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1984 - 1985*, 36.

and the concept of Lima. All the planned three national and nine provincial courses with participants from sister departments have been conducted at NRDC and Farm Institutes with major emphasis on crop and animal production, nutrition, co-operation and women involvement in Appropriate Village Technology communication and programme identification and management skills.⁶⁷

As envisaged, the project opened up access to credit facilities. By 1983, 150 women work groups in the project with a total of 1,500 members had received credit from the revolving fund through the Credit Cooperative Society (CCS).⁶⁸ Surveys were conducted on women in Choma and Mumbwa districts in the Southern and Central Provinces respectively. A sum of K20 000 for small animal and crop production was then released to the two districts' project areas.⁶⁹ It was reported in the 1984/1985 year that in the Southern and Central Province where WPRD was first introduced, the first nine Women's groups with a composition of 20 members per group had become primary society members and had applied for bigger loans through normal cooperative credit scheme channels.⁷⁰

WPRD recorded notable successes in the areas it was operating from and through it, many women were reached. Our view is supported by collaborative evidence from reports. In the period 1982 to 1985, 1, 840 women were trained under the project in the Southern, Central and Lusaka provinces; 760 in the Southern Province, 360 in Lusaka Province and 720 in the Central Province.⁷¹ It was reported from the Southern Province in the 1982/1983 year that all Women's groups were doing well with the exception of some groups in Monze that were badly hit by drought.⁷² Based at Choma and Monze, WPRD in the Southern Province was supporting ten Women groups by providing them with loans.⁷³ Pleased at

⁶⁷ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982-1983*, 30.

⁶⁸ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982-1983*, 30.

⁶⁹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1984-1985*, 32.

⁷⁰ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1984-1985*, 36.

⁷¹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1984-1985*, 36-37.

⁷² *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982-1983*, 30.

the response of women towards loan recovery, the PAO of Southern Province proudly remarked that, “Despite poor yields at Macha, women are willing to pay back loans even from other sources and so far 80% of women have paid back!”⁷⁴ WPRD recorded remarkable successes in the Central Province. It was reported from Mumbwa in the 1982/1983 year that the maize growing Women’s groups were doing well.⁷⁵ During the 1984/1985 season, seasonal loans which were utilised by individual members were given to Women’s Clubs in the province.⁷⁶ By 1985, a total of 38 Women’s Clubs in the province were SIDA aided under WPRD.⁷⁷ In the 1985/1986 year, it was reported that the beneficiaries of this project in the province were Women’s Clubs formed by the least privileged women and that 15 Women’s Clubs in the province received loans from SIDA during the year.⁷⁸ In the same year, five mobile courses were conducted on WPRD in the province, two of these being on general agriculture.⁷⁹ It was reported in the 1988/1989 year that Women’s groups and women farmers in the province, through WPRD had access to credit, received training relevant to their production activities and were encouraged to participate fully in rural development after three years in the project.⁸⁰

Notable successes were also scored by WPRD in the Eastern Province. The project was introduced into the province on 2nd February, 1987. After a Needs Assessment Survey in the Katete and Chadiza districts, 10 Women’s groups comprising 20 members per group which were to be given inputs worth K37, 100. 00 were formed in Chadiza and each year, one district would be added to WPRD.⁸¹ The amount was

⁷³ PAO’s Report, Southern Province, 1982-1983, 42.

⁷⁴ PAO’s Report, Southern Province, 1982–1983, 42.

⁷⁵ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982–1983*, 30.

⁷⁶ PAO’s Report, Central Province, 1984–1985, 19.

⁷⁷ PAO’s Report, Central Province, 1984–1985, 19.

⁷⁸ PAO’s Report, Central Province, 1985–1986, 37–38.

⁷⁹ PAO’s Report, Central Province, 1985–1986, 38.

⁸⁰ PAO’s Report, Central Province, 1988 – 1989, 7.

⁸¹ Eastern Province Annual Report, 1986 – 1987, 40.

received from the Zambia Cooperative Federation.⁸² It was reported in the 1987/1988 year that a total of K78, 23.00 was loaned to Women's groups in Chadiza district and that ten groups were also formed in Katete district where a total of K41, 154.00 was loaned out.⁸³ As a way of reaching out to women in the province, WPRD began conducting field days. In the 1988/1989 year, five field days were conducted in the WPRD project area.⁸⁴ Pleased by the project's successes, the PAO of the Eastern Province remarked that, "WPRD is the largest project run by the section. A total of 400 women have taken part in the project in the past two years!"⁸⁵ Like in the other provinces, WPRD scored significant successes in the Luapula Province. A 1986/1987 report read that, "In Mansa, through the WPRD project, 200 female farmers underwent village courses to grow maize and groundnuts. During the courses, contact farmers went forward and participated, encouraging the women to be fully committed to their project."⁸⁶ Follow-ups were made to three districts to evaluate how the course content impacted on the participants.⁸⁷ In the 1988/1989 year, Women's Clubs under WPRD in the province raised a total of K33, 127. 48 from maize sales.⁸⁸ Lusaka Province WPRD also recorded significant successes from where it was reported in the 1982/1983 year that all Women's groups under WPRD were doing well.⁸⁹ A number of Women's Clubs in the province received WPRD loans in the 1985/1986 year.⁹⁰

As argued, WPRD scored some successes in its operational areas from inception up to 1986. However, some scholars argue that the project was fraught with constraints.

⁸² Eastern Province Annual Report, 1986 – 1987, 40.

⁸³ Eastern Province Annual Report, 1987 – 1988, 45 – 46.

⁸⁴ Eastern Province Annual report, 1988 – 1989, 61.

⁸⁵ Eastern Province Annual Report, 1988 – 1989, 63.

⁸⁶ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1986 -1987, 41.

⁸⁷ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1986 -1987, 42. The report did not, however indicate the names of the three districts in which the evaluations were done.

⁸⁸ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1988–1989, 60.

⁸⁹ Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982-1983, 30.

⁹⁰ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1985-1986, 38.

It has been argued that it was difficult for women to use appropriate technology introduced under WPRD. Keller, for instance argued that, “The plough was basically owned by males compelling WPRD participants to hire others to plough their fields. Thus, women were typically the last to be served resulting in late planting and lowered yields.”⁹¹ Larson and Kanyangwa pointed out that while WPRD participants felt they had become better off in terms of their ability to feed their families, a significant number had to pay their loans from cattle and not from crop sales, an important disadvantage considering that female households owned fewer livestock.⁹² Baser and Lesa noted that participants in some of the women’s programmes were often well-to-do farmers and not rural women as originally intended.⁹³ In 1984, 70% of the 290 Southern and Central Province recipients of loans under the SIDA funded WPRD were said to be well-to-do.⁹⁴ We argue that there is some credence in arguments that WPRD was fraught with some flaws despite the notable successes it scored. A report of 1989 from Central Province pointed to flaws in the WPRD project. It read in part:

Ever since the WPRD project was introduced, women have welcomed it despite the disappointment which repeats itself every season. Inputs are released late and as a result, most of the groups have a lot of credits. At times, inputs run out of stock, thus delaying the loanees’ activities even more. Money for training is also released late. Transport for close supervision and loan recovery is inadequate. There is also a shortage of packing materials.⁹⁵

These constraints to its work made it difficult for SIDA to continue funding the project. It was envisaged that the project was to cater for the needs of the rural poor. Paradoxically, as we have highlighted, many well-to-do women benefited from the project. This flaw and the other flaws we have highlighted made continuation of donor

⁹¹ Keller, Phiri and Milimo, ‘Women and Agricultural Development’, 260.

⁹² Larson and Kanyangwa, ‘Women in Market Oriented Agriculture’, 490-491.

⁹³ Baser and Lesa, ‘Women in the Lima Programme’, 543.

⁹⁴ Quoted in Baser and Lesa, ‘Women in the Lima Programme’, 543.

⁹⁵ PAO’s Report, Central Province, 1988-1989, 8.

support to this project to be withdrawn. SIDA support to the project was terminated in 1990.⁹⁶

Peoples' Participation Project (PPP)

Women in farming in western Zambia were boosted through PPP. Funded by FAO and the donor country, the Netherlands, the project was initiated in the Western Province through the Home Economics Section in 1982. The objective of the programme was to help initiate a suitable developmental approach primarily for the lower income rural women especially female headed households. It also aimed at developing replicable activities and institutional channels that would result in the strengthening of self-reliance, increased production, nutrition and family income.⁹⁷ Its operational areas were Kalabo, Kaoma and Mongu districts. Women in PPP had access to group loans which were guaranteed by a government guarantee risk fund through the Zambia Cooperative Federation. Mboma argued that women in PPP in Kalabo were organised into groups and had access to group loans from the AFC.⁹⁸ Training of staff and identification of Women's groups started in 1983.⁹⁹ By the end of the 1982/1983 year, a total of 241 women representing 22 groups in Kalabo and Kaoma districts were involved in various projects under the PPP.¹⁰⁰ See Table 9.

Table 9: Project Areas and activities of PPP in Kalabo and Kaoma

District/Area	No of Groups	Members	Projects
Kalabo-	4	53	Wheat, rice and handicrafts
Buleya	4	43	Vegetables, maize and handicrafts

⁹⁶ MAFF, *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1990 – 1991*, 9.

⁹⁷ For a detailed description of its aims, See, *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982-1983*, 31 and *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1984-1985*, 37.

⁹⁸ Mboma, 'The Changing Role of Women in Agriculture: A Case Study of Kalabo District, 1906-1986', 87.

⁹⁹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1990-1991*, 10.

¹⁰⁰ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982-1983*, 31.

Mapingu	4	69	Rice and handicrafts
Lukoma			
Kaoma	4	22	Vegetables and sewing
Mangango	3	33	Maize, groundnuts and vegetables
	3	21	Vegetables, maize and groundnuts
Mangwi			
Manaloba			
Total	22	241	

Source: *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982-1983*, 31.

Table 9 shows that PPP did well in the two districts where Women's groups in the project were involved in diverse activities. Apart from growing crops like maize, groundnuts and vegetables, they were also involved in handicrafts and sewing. Indeed, PPP made significant advances vis-à-vis bridging gender imbalances in Zambia's agricultural sector. According to a report of 1985, it was able to reach more of its target group because of funds it was getting from donor agencies.¹⁰¹ The report also indicated that by 1985 improved and increased food availability at household level had been noted because participants in the project preferred to sell only part of their crop to repay the loan and retain the rest of the crop for family consumption.¹⁰² Hurlich noted that the project had good local administration and frequent contact with local groups.¹⁰³ It was not only female headed households but even women in married households and even men who participated in the project.

The project achieved its goals through engaging in various activities as a result of accessing loans. However, the successful implementation of the project was constrained by two factors. Inadequate transport hampered progress in most of the

¹⁰¹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1984-1985*, 38.

¹⁰² *Annual report of the Extension Branch, 1984-1985*, 38.

¹⁰³ Hurlich, *Women in Zambia Vol. II*, 220.

project areas and a shortage of trained staff to carry out its activities slowed down its work.¹⁰⁴ These constraints, however did not significantly affect its work, no wonder it proceeded into a second phase. At inception, it was agreed upon that the first phase would end in 1988. At the end of the phase, an evaluation was carried out which concluded that the project was very successful. Therefore, it was recommended that the project move into a second phase. It was reported that during the second phase, membership to PPP increased. In the 1990/1991 year, Kalabo had 581 members, Kaoma, 905 members while Mongu had 518 members.¹⁰⁵ This was an indication that the project was appreciated by farmers in the areas it was operating from.

Arguments presented above have shown that through the three projects initiated by the Home Economics Section in concert with donor agencies, women were incorporated into the country's agricultural development. The three projects represented a major step towards bridging gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector. Despite some problems they faced, their successes were also significant. Apart from PPP, there were other donor funded agricultural projects that were initiated in specific provinces. These included the Agricultural Extension Project (AETP) in the Luapula Province, the Eastern Province Agricultural Development Project (EPAD) and the Small-Scale Services Rehabilitation Project (SSRP) in the Luapula Province.

The Agricultural Extension Training Project (AETP)

Supported by FINNIDA, AETP was initiated in the Luapula Province in 1980. The objective of the programme was to train Lima farmers and assist them through the Co-operative Credit Loans, training extension staff and facilitating collaboration between research and extension staff.¹⁰⁶ AETP also aimed at developing a feedback system between research, extension and the farmer in order to improve on extension messages and technical passages.¹⁰⁷ In the 1981-1982 year, a Ms. Prantilla

¹⁰⁴ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982-1983*, 31.

¹⁰⁵ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1990-1991*, 10.

¹⁰⁶ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1984-1985, 42.

¹⁰⁷ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1988-1989, 69.

who was in a Finnish delegation went to the province to assess the effectiveness of the project with the main interest of finding out the number of female headed households in the province and their participation in club activities.¹⁰⁸ Its preliminary activities involved training farmers. To this effect, in the 1983/1984 year, 374 farmers underwent a basic Lima course for five days and were given free inputs for the first year of a Lima each while another 500 farmers attended two refresher courses for two days sponsored by the programme.¹⁰⁹ In the 1984/1985 year, 405 farmers underwent a basic Lima course for five days and were given free in-puts for the first year of a Lima each while another 567 farmers attended a two-day refresher course sponsored by AETP.¹¹⁰ It was reported in the 1985/1986 year that AETP funded mobile courses for women and the youth in the province.¹¹¹ During the 1988/1989 training year, it conducted a number of mobile courses in the province to train new and existing farmers which a total of 3, 768 males and 2, 077 females attended.¹¹² Mobile training was seen to be an effective way of reaching out to female farmers and trainers. This was acknowledged by the PAO of the province when he pointed out that, “It will be realised from the above that mobile training reached 36 women trainers, which may not have been the case if the courses were residential.”¹¹³ Twenty one field days and five agricultural shows were also conducted during the 1988/1989 year which were attended by 2, 310 people and the project also channeled a total of K1, 444 000 Cooperative Credit loans during the year under review.¹¹⁴ Arguments presented on the work of AETP demonstrate that this

¹⁰⁸ PAO’s Report, Luapula province, 1981-1982, 33-34.

¹⁰⁹ PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1983-1984, 43-44. The report did not indicate the male-female ratio of participants in the courses. Rather, it was just the total number of attendees that was indicated. A respondent, however recollected that the project was gender sensitive and courses were open to both sexes. Interview with Mukutu, 16th August 2014.

¹¹⁰ PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1984-1985, 42.

¹¹¹ PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1985-1986, 44.

¹¹² PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1988-1989, 68.

¹¹³ PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1988-1989, 69

¹¹⁴ PAO’s Report, Luapula Province, 1988-1989, 68. The male-female ratio of attendance at the shows was not indicated in the report. Neither were the beneficiaries of the loans divided by gender.

project was embraced by farmers in the province. Through the project, farmers were able to receive in-puts and female attendance of mobile courses, judging from reports was impressive. The project also achieved its goal of training not only male extension staff but also female trainers as was acknowledged by the PAO in his 1988/1989 Annual Report.¹¹⁵

The Training and Visit System of extension

The Eastern Province Agricultural Development (EPAD) in the Eastern Province and the Small-Holder Services Rehabilitation Project (SSRP) in the Luapula Province were based on an extension strategy known as the Training and Visit system of extension. Before examining these projects, we will discuss this system of extension.

The World Bank played a key role in highlighting the importance of agricultural extension in agricultural development through financing large-sized projects on extension. The Training and Visit system of extension was an essential part of the World's Bank assistance package to developing countries.¹¹⁶ It was adopted as an extension strategy by Zambia's Department of Agriculture in 1978. The adoption of this strategy was born out of the realisation that many of the field staff in the agricultural sector were not well trained, making it difficult for them to effectively reach out to male and female farmers. Another reason for the adoption of this extension strategy was that prior to its introduction, there was no systematic programme for regular contact between extension staff and farmers. By using contact farmers to advise fellow farmers, there would be a wider spreading of information.¹¹⁷ The idea of the contact farmer was that he/she was the person the extension worker visited regularly. It was the role of the

¹¹⁵ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1988-1989, 69

¹¹⁶ M. Kalim Qamar, *Introducing Demand-Driven Extension Approach in a Traditional Region: A Case Study from Pakistan* (Rome: FAO, 2011), 1.

¹¹⁷ For a deeper understanding of the rationale behind the introduction of this system of extension, see Alistair Sutherland, 'Agricultural Extension and Farming Systems Research in the Field: A Case Study from Zambia', 1987; Gunar Norby, 'Swedish Support to the Lima Programme, 1981-1983', report from the Consultant to MAWD, Lusaka, 10th April 1983 and MAG., *Handbooks for Agricultural Field Workers: Agricultural Extension For Small-Scale Farming Families* (Lusaka: MAWD, 1983), 64.

contact farmer to pass new knowledge to farmers within the same target group. It was assumed that production techniques and knowledge of improved practices, if taught to one contact farmer would trickle down from the contact farmer to the mass of small-scale farmers in a particular farming community.

Evaluations of this system of extension concluded that it was gender insensitive, the more reason why donor supported projects based on it were deemed as being gender insensitive (as will be discussed later). In a study conducted in Chamuka Block in Central Province, it was concluded that male headed households scored a slightly higher level of contact than female headed households. It was noted that when dealing with male headed households, in about 80% of all households, local male extension workers targeted their intervention at husbands rather than wives. Even the two female extension workers in the block leaned in the same direction, regarding women more as target for homecraft type activities than as major decision workers.¹¹⁸ Due shared similar views noting that in an evaluation of this system of extension introduced into the Southern Province in 1983, few female headed households were chosen as contact farmers.¹¹⁹ Phiri argued that it was on rare occasions that women were selected as contact farmers by their communities as was seen from the Eastern Province where only 5% of contact farmers were women.¹²⁰ From the above arguments, what comes out is that this system of extension was perceived as a gender insensitive extension strategy. We will now examine the extent to which the Eastern Province Agricultural Development Project based on this extension strategy was gender sensitive.

Eastern Province Agricultural Development Project (EPAD)

¹¹⁸ See Sutherland, 'Agricultural Extension and Farming Systems Research in the Field: A Case Study from Zambia', 5-9. Sutherland out-lined the flaws in this system of extension based on his study in the Chaminuka Block.

¹¹⁹ Jean M. Due, 'Policies to Overcome the Negative Effects of Structural Adjustment on African Female Headed Households' in Eleanor Leacock, Helen I. Safa and Contributors, *Women's Work – Development and the Division of Labour by Gender* (New York: Bergin and Garvey Publishers, 1986), 105.

¹²⁰ E. C. Phiri, 'Women and Extension in Zambia', in Bernard Chisanga, John Milimo, Chungu Mwila and Stephen Sindern-Forster (eds.), *Practical Aspects of Small-Holder Farming Policies in Frontline States*, Lusaka, 19th-23rd November, 1986 (Lusaka: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 1986), 49.

The World Bank and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) provided \$12 million for large-scale agricultural development involving the Training and Visit method of extension.¹²¹ It was this financial boost to the Ministry of Agriculture that led to the birth of EPAD. This project was established in the Eastern Province in accordance with the agreement 2001-ZA between GRZ and IBRD (1977).¹²² The project was to run from mid-1982 to mid-1987. It had, as its aim, a long term and sustainable increase in the output and productivity of small-scale farmers in the province through reorganising the agricultural extension service on the basis of the Training and Visit system.¹²³ Efforts were made to involve women in the project through the inclusion of the Home Economics Section in its activities. The Home Economics Section participated in the provincial and district training teams in the Training and Visit extension system meetings.¹²⁴ An evaluation of the project's work indicated that although under the Training and Visit system of extension, extension staff were encouraged to include females as contact farmers, there was generally a dearth of female contact farmers in the EPAD project. According to an in-house research report conducted by the project's Research and Evaluation Unit in July 1985, while 95% of contact farmers were men, only 5 percent women.¹²⁵

Glassmire lamented that:

Despite their numbers and their roles in food production, women remain under-represented and consequently are not reached by a project that maintains a goal of assisting small-scale farmers. There is no woman employed at any stage in the EPAD project planning and the project has no policy regarding gender quotas for staff. There is a total male

¹²¹ Susan Hurlich, *Women in Zambia Vol. II*, 230.

¹²² *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1982-1983*, 31.

¹²³ EPAD Staff, *Eastern Province Agricultural Development Project: Project Completion report*, November, 1987, 231.

¹²⁴ *Agricultural Annual Report for Eastern Province, 1987-1988*, 44.

¹²⁵ Quoted in Wendy J. Glassmire, 'Gender Inequalities in Agricultural Development: A Case Study of the EPAD Project in Eastern Province, Zambia', in Kanduzza (ed.), *Socio-Economic Change in Eastern Zambia*, 191.

consultancy within the EPAD project.¹²⁶

In 1986, all the 12 expatriate staff of EPAD were male.¹²⁷ Munachonga argued that the percentage of contact farmers indicated that women were under represented in the project.¹²⁸ We argue that this gender imbalance in contact farmers was a paradox as there was a large pool of female adults in the province. The Research and Evaluation Unit of EPAD had conducted small farm surveys in 1983 in the Lundazi district of the province which confirmed that there was a large pool of female adults in the area.¹²⁹ Not only were there few female contact farmers but their access to credit was also not easy. The most pervasive problem constraining women's access to credit was their inability to guarantee part of the lending policy as poor rural women did not own machinery or livestock that would constitute satisfactory assets against which a loan could be secured.¹³⁰ It is our contention that the failure by extension staff to include a sizeable number of female farmers as contact farmers under the Training and Visit System of extension on which it was premised was an indication that the project was not gender sensitive. It was supposed to end in 1987 but was extended for a year to enable it to complete some unfinished projects.

Small-Holder Services Rehabilitation Project (SSRP)

This was yet another project based on the Training and Visit System of extension. The final quarter of 1987 brought good news for small-scale farmers with approval by the International Fund for Development (IFAD) of \$20.5 million loan to improve services to the agricultural sector, with particular emphasis on the needs of

¹²⁶ Glassmire, 'Gender Inequalities in Agricultural Development: A Case Study of the EPAD Project in Eastern Province, Zambia', 191.

¹²⁷ Wendy J. Glassmire, 'Gender Inequalities in Agricultural Development: A Case Study of the EPAD Project in Eastern Province, Zambia', M. A. Dissertation, University of California, 1988, 46.

¹²⁸ Munachonga, 'Women, Rural Development and Aid Agencies', 179. She noted that according to a MAWD report, it was estimated that 30% of heads of households in the province were female. Her argument was that only 3% of contact farmers were female.

¹²⁹ Research and Evaluation Unit Staff (EPAD), 'Agricultural Production Systems of the Lundazi District with special reference to the Mwase Cattle Development Area', extracted from ARPT Data Base, 231.

¹³⁰ Glassmire, 'Gender Inequalities in Agricultural Development: A Case Study of the EPAD Project in Eastern Province, Zambia', 58.

women farmers.¹³¹ The funds were targeted at increasing the availability of in-puts such as fertilisers and encouraging the formation of cooperatives. SSRP was an extension component of IFAD and it provided complimentary support to agricultural extension in the Luapula Province.¹³² Its main emphasis was on the Training and Visit system with modifications to fit the local conditions. It was restricted to the Nchelenge, Mwense and Samfya districts. However, like EPAD, it was reported that more male farmers than females were contact farmers in 1989 (see Table 10).

Table 10: Male and female Contact Farmers under SSRP-1989

Month	Male Contact Farmers	Female Contact Farmers
March	3 249	768
April	3 519	962
May	3 858	929
June	3 699	929
July	3 768	929
August	3 938	808
September	3 995	782
October	4 255	686
November	4 332	1 177
Total	34 613	7 041

Source: PAO's Report Luapula Province, 1988/1989, 74

¹³¹ The Economist Intelligence Unit, Zambia: A Country Report: An analysis of Economic and Political Trends, London, 1988, 14.

¹³² PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1988-1989, 74.

Table 10 shows that two years of SSRP's existence in the Luapula Province, gender biases were apparent. Male contact farmers were more in number than female contact farmers. Worse still, the gaps between male and female farmers were wide. SSRP concluded that between March and November, the average percentage ratio between male and female contact farmers was 80 to 20 percent.¹³³ It was therefore concluded that the choice of contact farmers was gender biased as SSRP aimed at having over 40% of female contact farmers.¹³⁴ As shown, SSRP like EPAD based on the Training and Visit System of Extension failed to effectively reach out to female farmers. Arguments presented on the work of SSRP demonstrate that, like other projects premised on the Training and Visit System of Extension, SSRP failed to effectively reach out to female farmers. This was the same situation with EPAD and AETP.

Arguments presented on the work of donor agencies indicate that these agencies strove hard to reach out to rural women during and in the aftermath of the International Women's Decade. This was the same scenario in countries like Kenya. As a result of the declaration of the Women's Year and Decade, a Woman's Bureau was created in 1975 in Kenya in the Ministry of Social Affairs. Donor institutions, armed with internal studies and vigorous advocacy offices themselves recognised women's importance in agriculture. The World Bank funded the Training and Visit system of extension model and male extension workers were encouraged to work with women's groups to avoid the bias of individualistic extension.¹³⁵ Like in Zambia, donor supported agricultural projects in other developing countries also suffered from gender imbalances. Thompson argued that in Tanzania, following the bias of state policy, often encouraged by international agencies, Tanzanian male extension workers ignored female producers whose responsibility was food crops, rather than priority cash crops.¹³⁶ Madeley also pointed out that:

¹³³ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1988-1989, 74.

¹³⁴ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1988-1989, 73.

¹³⁵ Kathleen Staudt, 'The Impact of development policies on women', in Margaret Jean Hay and Sharon Stichter (eds.), *African women south of the Sahara* (London: Longmans, 1995), 234.

¹³⁶ Carol B. Thompson, *Harvests Under Fire: Regional Co-operation for Food Security in Southern Africa* (London: Zed Books, 1991), 79.

Many development projects pay little attention to women farmers. Despite the sentiments of its Director-general, less than one percent of FAO projects included strategies for reaching women; in the UNO system as a whole less than 4 percent of projects benefit women.¹³⁷

Indeed, as Madeley pointed out, development projects in Zambia during the period under study did not reach all of the intended targets. Scholars have argued that these agencies were not proactive in ensuring that gender imbalances were bridged. A study by Keller in 1984 evaluated the role of national, international and bilateral agencies in the integration of Zambian women in development. It concluded that, “During the last ten years (neither government nor international agencies and donors have taken the initiative to stimulate development policies aimed at improving women’s status.”¹³⁸ In essence, Keller was arguing that the Women’s Decade did little to change the status of women in farming as she wrote her report in 1984 meaning her retrospection was on the Women’s Decade. Larson and Kanyangwa shared her view. They argued that:

The most successful women’s projects were those in which husbands assisted women on their production plots. In projects such as PPP which required women to participate as a group, the most successful groups seemed to be those in which a few women participated. One reason given by women themselves is that they could rely on men’s bicycles, something the women themselves did not have. Men could ride long distances to look for inputs and therefore it was advantageous for women to have men in their groups The project approach does not reach a majority of women farmers. Often the women who are reached tend to be economically better off to begin with.¹³⁹

The quotation shows that like in other agricultural programmes, even in donor funded agricultural projects, the superiority of the male sex was at play in determining the success of female farmers. It shows that it was in projects in which reliance was on male farmers that female farmers achieved positive results. Even among women,

¹³⁷ John Madeley, *Food for All: The Need for A New Agriculture* (London: Zed Books, 2002), 94

¹³⁸ Quoted in Bardouille, ‘Integration of Zambian Women in National Development: Analysis of Constraints and Prospects’, 81.

¹³⁹ Larson and Kanyangwa, ‘Women in Market-Oriented Agriculture’, 490.

themselves, there was an aspect of ‘superiority’ and ‘inferiority’. Seemingly, it was the better off who yielded gains from the projects.¹⁴⁰ Ultimately, imbalances went beyond ‘gender’ to ‘same-sex’ discrimination.

Conclusion

The chapter has demonstrated that, arising out of the International Women’s Decade, a number of donor supported agricultural projects were born in the country, some targeted at females only while others were open to male and female participants. We have illustrated that, through these projects, there was a drive towards ending gender imbalances in the country’s agricultural sector. However, as we have shown, it was not easy to completely end these imbalances. In some projects, it was a dismal picture as women seemed to be completely side-lined. In other projects, there was a measure of success and some women responded positively to the opportunities they were accorded, through the projects to take part in farming activities in their communities. We have argued that, like in Zambia, donor supported projects were also born in other developing countries. With examples from Tanzania and Kenya, we have contended that there was a lot of advocacy to promote women in farming in the third world during the Women’s Decade. The chapter has demonstrated that, in both these countries, international agencies beefed up their drive towards supporting women in farming. Using the World Bank funded Training and Visit System of Extension, also adopted in Zambia, Kenyan male extension agents, we have argued strove to halt gender biases in extension. It has been our contention that, like in Zambia, gender biases in donor supported agricultural projects were also recorded in other countries. With special reference to the FAO Director-General’s sentiments about projects reaching a small fraction of women in the UNO system, we have noted that even in Zambia, few women benefited from these projects. Our contention is that, much as flaws were seen in the work of these projects, the few women participants learnt better methods of farming and had access to sources of credit hitherto not accessible.

¹⁴⁰ We alluded to the fact that, under WPRD, it was asserted that it was the better-off women who reaped gains from its programmes. These included the wives of local officials such as teachers, medical assistants and agricultural assistants. See, Baser and Lesa, ‘Women in the Lima Programme’, 544.

CHAPTER SEVEN: GENDER AND AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH IN ZAMBIA, 1950-1990

Introduction

Historically, small holders in general and women farmers in particular have been disadvantaged by formal research institutions and related development schemes. Tropical agricultural research initially concentrated on the production of export crops and raw materials for industries by large-scale producers or small out-growers who were almost always men.¹

These views were expressed by Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling in their paper on women farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa. Many scholars hold the view that, historically agricultural research institutions in the third world have been gender specific, catering primarily for the needs of male farmers. Ellis argued that the orthodox approach to research policy had flaws where gender was concerned and that in some parts of the world, research concentration on export crops often resulted in the neglect of subsistence crops cultivated by women.² Chambers held similar views noting that, “In

¹ Katrine A. Saito, Hailu Mekonnen and Daphne Spurling, ‘Raising the Productivity of Women Farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa’, *World Bank Discussion Papers: Africa Technical Departmental Series* (Washington: World Bank, 1994), 64.

the third world, in crop research, priority and promotion have grown with work on crops for export grown usually by plantations, large-scale farmers, the better-off small farmers and the men of the household rather than the women.”³ A FAO report concluded that in the early 1980s, extension and research services focused on export or cash crops and sophisticated farm mechanisation; issues which were not relevant to women’s subsistence needs.⁴ Making reference to the developing world, Madeley lamented that, “More research is needed into the specific problems women farmers face. Formal research has often paid little attention to women’s knowledge.”⁵

Muntemba and Chimedza held similar views noting that:

Gender plays an important role in agricultural production systems The social (colonial) and cultural (male) milieu in which technology and modern science were introduced in the colonies did not acknowledge the existence of practical Science and Technology among the conquered. For a long time, researchers failed to recognise that in most African and Asian smallholder agriculture, women have been the key actors in food technology development.⁶

It is against this background that this chapter examines the extent to which agricultural research institutions in Zambia catered for the needs of farmers of both sexes. We begin at 1950 because it was in this year that the agricultural research in Zambia became formalised with the birth of Mount Makulu Central Research Station.⁷

Agricultural research activities in Zambia were conducted by the Research Branch of the Ministry of Agriculture. Although agricultural research in the country dates back to 1912, research activities only became formalised with the birth of Mount

² Frank Ellis, *Agricultural Policies in Developing Countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 247.

³ Robert Chambers, *Rural Development: Putting the Last First* (Essex: Longman House, 1993), 77.

⁴ From: <http://www.fao.org> (Accessed on 16th November 2006)

⁵ John Madeley, *Food for All: The Need for a New Agriculture* (London: Zed Books, 2002), 97.

⁶ From <http://www.idrc.ca> Shimwaayi Muntemba and Ruvimbo Chimedza, ‘Women Spearhead Food Security’ (Accessed 30th July 2007)

⁷ For details on the birth and development of agricultural research in Zambia, see Dorothy Mwansa, ‘A History of Mount Makulu Central Research Station, 1950-1980’, M. A. Dissertation, The University of Zambia, 2001.

Makulu Central Research Station in 1950. After its birth, it became the country's Central Research Station, coordinating all agricultural research activities in the country. The Central Research Station had substations and Regional Research Stations dotted across the country with which it liaised.⁸ There was a tremendous growth in the size and strength of the Research Branch between 1950 and 1990. From three substations in the Research Branch and six sections at the Central Research Station in 1950, by 1990, there were 15 sections at the station and it was liaising with 12 Regional Research Stations.⁹ It is argued, in the chapter that the Research Branch was fraught with gender imbalances. During the colonial period, research was basically into cash crops grown by the expatriate farming community and the few African male farmers who were members of agricultural schemes set up under the ten-year development plan in agriculture while food crops grown by female farmers received minimal attention. In the first sixteen years of the country's independence, female farmers continued to be marginalised by agricultural research institutions as focus continued to be on research into cash crops grown by men.¹⁰ The year 1980 was significant in the history of the Research Branch as in that year, the Adaptive Research Planning Team (ARPT) was incepted as a section of the Central Research Station. With its birth, significant strides began to be made towards meeting the needs of female farmers.

Gender and Agricultural Research in Colonial Zambia

⁸ For details on the organisation of the Research Branch, see Mwansa, 'A History of Mount Makulu Central Research Station, 1950-1980'; No author, 'The Department of Agriculture: Its Structure and Functions', *Farming in Zambia* 8, 1 (1973), 11-13, 40 and NAZ, MAG 2/28/57, 'Research Branch: Its Structure and Functioning.' Mount Makulu Central Research Station has now assumed a new name; Zambia Agricultural Research Institute (ZARI).

⁹ At inception, the three substations were Mumbwa, Bangweulu and Mazabuka. The Central Research Station had the following sections; Soil Survey, Plant Pathology, Pasture Research, Plant Breeding, Chemistry and Agronomy. By 1990, it had the following sections; Cereals, Oilseeds, Fibre Crops, Roots and Tubers, Grain Legumes, Vegetable Research, Tree Crops, Livestock and Pasture, Soil Research, Food Conservation and Storage, Farm Machinery, National Plant Genetic, Irrigation, Agro-Forestry and the Adaptive Research Planning Team. The Regional Research Stations by 1990 were Golden Valley, Magoye, National Irrigation, Mochipapa, Copperbelt, Luapula, Mutanda, Msekera, Mongu, Misamfu, Kabwe and Mazabuka Animal Husbandry. For details on the work of these sections, See Mwansa, 'A History of Mount Makulu Central Research Station, 1950-1980' and *Annual Reports of the Research Branch, 1981-1990*.

The agricultural prosperity in the world today is a direct result of past and present research work. Better crop varieties, better fertilisers, better pesticides, better methods of weed control, better farm machinery – all result from the effort of the research worker, who usually works as part of a team ... the agricultural prosperity of any country is a reflection of the efficiency of its research organisation.¹¹

These were the words of Ballantyne who, at the time of writing was Chief Agricultural Research Officer (CARO) of the Central Research Station. If agricultural prosperity in the world is as a result of past and present research, to what extent did agricultural research in Zambia cater for the needs of both sexes? The notion held by scholars documenting Zambia's agricultural history is that during the colonial period, the Research Branch basically catered for the needs of commercial farmers while excluding small-scale farmers. This view-point was expressed by Eylands and Patel when they stated that:

Agricultural research during the colonial period supported the production of crops by European farmers, especially maize for the mine workers, export crops such as coffee and tobacco and also various foodstuffs aimed at the European consumer such as fruit and vegetables. Only a small number of trials were conducted on crops grown by the majority of African farmers including sorghum, millet, groundnuts and beans.¹²

Wood and Shula re-affirmed this view when they observed that, the Research Branch, for a long time focused its work upon the needs of large-scale commercial farmers and developed crop varieties needing high levels of inputs and good management.¹³ We are in contention with the scholars who argue that during the colonial period, it was basically cash crops grown by men that attracted the attention of researchers.

From the late 1940s, African male farmers benefited from agricultural research institutions by virtue of being improved and progressive farmers. It was these farmers

¹¹ A. O. Ballantyne, 'Research is Vital to the Progress of Agriculture', *Farming in Zambia* 2, 1 (1969), 5.

¹² Vaj J. Eylands and Bharati K. Patel, 'Agricultural Research', in Adrian Paul Wood, Stuart A. Kean, John J. Milimo and Dennis Michael Warren (eds.), *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia* (Iowa: Iowa University Press, 1990), 307-308.

¹³ Adrian P. Wood and E. C. W. Shula, 'The State and Agriculture in Zambia: A Review of the Evolution and Consequences of Food and Agricultural Policies in a Mining Economy' in Naceur Bourenane and Thandika Mkandawire (eds.), *The State and Agriculture in Africa* (London: Codesria Book Series, 1987), 290.

that adopted prescribed farming methods, thereby improving total commercial production. Improved farmers were enticed into adopting agricultural technology from research institutions through giving them bonuses if their maize yields were good. They received bonus in cash per bag if they delivered bags of maize to the depot using their own transport. From 1950 to 1952, a total of 23, 152 Pounds was paid in bonuses to improved farmers.¹⁴ Ironically, while female farmers were not seen as farmers by the colonial state and were not eligible to get bonuses, they provided labour on the improved farms of their husbands as indicated in a report which read that, “Today the improved farmers work their farms as family units with wife and children helping on the farm.”¹⁵ That agricultural research findings were disseminated to progressive and improved farmers growing cash crops is also evidenced from a report which read that, “The more progressive farmer is applying heavier dressings of maize per acre particularly of nitrogenous fertiliser and relies almost entirely on double hybrid varieties planted at a high density.”¹⁶ The significance of this quotation lies in the fact that it shows that African progressive farmers, growing cash crops were exposed to research findings, hence were able to grow hybrid maize whose seed was made by Plant Breeders at the Central Research Station. The Soil Chemistry Section focused on undertaking fertiliser trials on maize, tobacco and groundnuts while in the Agronomy Section, focus was on the nitrogenous manuring of maize which had become the standard recommendation by 1958.¹⁷ All these crops were cash crops, primarily grown by men. In 1961, the only indigenous crop that underwent trials was cassava at Chavuma in Balovale district (Now known as Zambezi) in the North-western province.¹⁸ This was the same scenario at all the Regional Research Stations set up before independence. Three Regional Research Stations were established in the country

¹⁴ NRG, *Annual Report of the Ministry of Agriculture*, 1952 (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1953), 54.

¹⁵ Land Tenure Report No.1 ‘Tonga, Southern Province’, 1957, 20.

¹⁶ NRG, *Annual Report of the Ministry of African Agriculture* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1961), 12.

¹⁷ Mwansa, ‘A History of Mount Makulu Central Research Station, 1950–1980’, 42.

¹⁸ NRG, Ministry of African Agriculture, *Annual Report for the Year 1961*, 4. Cassava received some research attention during the colonial era because it was a famine crop. Therefore, even during years of drought, Africans would survive on this crop.

in the colonial era, that is Misamfu in northern Zambia, Magoye in southern Zambia and Msekera in eastern Zambia. All these focused their attention on research into commercial crops with a few trials on beans and sorghum.¹⁹ The status quo remained the same at the time Zambia attained her independence. These arguments have demonstrated that during the colonial period, researchers in Zambia focused on cash crops grown by men while ignoring indigenous or food crops grown by women. The next section establishes the extent to which the government of independent Zambia researched into crops grown by male and female farmers.

Gender and Agricultural Research, 1964-1990

In the first sixteen years of the country's independence, research emphasis continued to be on cash crops grown by men. Eylands and Patel pointed out that, initially after independence, the research focus did not change much because mining remained the country's mainstay and the rapidly growing urban communities required the large-scale commercial farm sector to feed and support them.²⁰ Mwape pointed out that in the post-independence period, research activities were concentrated heavily on crops required to feed the urban population like maize, coffee and oilseeds.²¹ Bardouille was of the view that female headed households received little attention from researchers.²² Mukutu held a similar view noting that the concern of women as food producers in Zambia was overlooked in the male focused agricultural research agendas. Consequently, research and experimentation programmes reflected their conditions and constraints.²³

¹⁹ For details on researches carried out at Regional Research Stations in the colonial period, see NAZ, MAG 2/8/27, 'Research Branch: Its Structure and Functioning' and Annual Reports of Misamfu, Magoye and Msekera Regional Research Stations. These documents indicate that emphasis was on research into cash crops.

²⁰ Eylands and Patel, 'Agricultural Research', in Wood, Kean, Milimo and Warren (eds.), *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia*, 310.

²¹ Bonard L. Mwape, 'Zambia's Agricultural Policy and Performance, 1960-1980', PhD Thesis, University of Pittsburg, 1984, 161.

²² Raj Bardouille, *Research on Zambian Women in Retrospect and Prospect: An Annotated Bibliography* (Lusaka: SIDA, 1992), 79.

Using collaborative evidence from reports, we argue that before 1980, little was done in the way of researching into food crops mostly grown by female farmers. Rather, research focus was on cash crops grown by male farmers. A year into Zambia's independence, little was done in the way of beefing up research into indigenous crops grown by women. In 1965, trials at the Central Research Station were basically on cash crops.²⁴ Some trials were conducted on sorghum, an indigenous crop during the year. It is our contention that the trials on sorghum were as a result of its perceived commercial value as evidenced from the same 1965 report which read that, "Some sorghum varieties are being grown on a commercial scale on a number of farms and in future all red grains will be tested for malting quality."²⁵ By implication, it was only the sorghum varieties grown on a commercial scale and with malting value that attracted research attention yet there were also indigenous sorghum varieties grown by Africans. These did not come out as varieties undergoing trials. At Magoye Regional Research Station opened in the Southern Province in 1958, three years into the country's independence, gender imbalances in agricultural research were still apparent. At the station, research focus continued to be on cash crops, that is, maize, cotton and groundnuts.²⁶ To enhance research activities at the station, a unit farm was established there in 1966. Evidently, it was cash crops that began to be grown at the unit farm. A report read, "The aim in the following seasons should be to increase labour output by the development of labour saving techniques to increase yields of the cash crops."²⁷ Paradoxically, in spite of research into food crops grown by women being ignored, it was women who provided most of the labour that was required to grow cash crops at the farm. See Table 11.

²³ Namukolo Mukutu, 'The Role of Women in Agricultural Development and Household Food Security', paper presented to the Agricultural Association of Zambia (ASAZ) Regional Conference, Siavonga, Zambia, 22nd – 26th September, 1997.

²⁴ See Ministry Of Agriculture, *Annual Report of the Research Branch* (Lusaka: Research Branch, 1965), 42-112. During the year under review, trials were principally conducted on the following cash crops: maize, wheat, tobacco, cotton, groundnuts, cotton and coffee.

²⁵ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1965*, 49.

²⁶ See Ministry of Agriculture, *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1967*, 150-181.

²⁷ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1967*, 178.

Table 11: Summary of male and female Labour Use hours at Magoye Research Station Unit Farm, 1967

Area of Labour Provision	Casual Hours	Men	Casual Women Hours	Total Hours
Maize	471		420	891
Cotton	296		309	605
Groundnuts	31		950	981
Land Preparation	474		114	588
Total	1, 272		1, 793	3, 065

Source: *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1967*, 180

Table 11 shows that it was women who provided a greater part of the labour needed in the production of the cash crops grown at the unit farm. Men just provided more labour during land preparation. The rest of the activities involved in processing these cash crops were mostly done by females.

Where research was done on food crops, it was in the hope of reaping financial gains from them in future. A report on trials at Misamfu Regional Research Station in the Northern Province read:

Finger Millet is an important crop in the Northern Province where it is used for brewing purposes. At present, the recommended variety is the brown grained M 144 strain. For brewing, a white grained variety is preferred and it could form an important cash crop to sell to the breweries. All strains were described, scored for diseases and lodging and later sampled for assessment of yield components Preference was given to white grained strains.²⁸

The significance of this quote lies in the fact that it shows that finger millet, an indigenous crop received research attention because of its perceived commercial value. While all strains were sampled, it was the white grained strains that were given preference because of their perceived use in the brewery industry. This was the same

²⁸ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1967*, 278-279.

case for beans, a food crop primarily grown by women. The same report read that, “Beans is grown everywhere in the Northern Province as a vegetable crop, therefore it is important to see which commercially available varieties are suited to high rainfall conditions and investigate their response to fertiliser and inoculant.”²⁹ Here again, it is apparent that researchers desired to research into beans primarily because of its perceived commercial value. Evidently, it was the commercially viable varieties of beans that received research attention. Like in the colonial period, even in the post-independence period, the Plant Breeding Section of the Central Research Station continued laying emphasis on breeding into cash crops. In the 1966/1967 year, for instance, the section focused on maize breeding.³⁰ While a variety of cash crops were researched into at the station in the 1972/1973 year, it was reported that only a limited amount of work was possible with sorghum and millets, both indigenous crops.³¹ A report of 1975/1976 also pointed to limited research into cassava (mostly grown by women) in the country in spite of research into this crop being beefed up in other countries.

It read that:

Due to the absence of a clear policy on cassava production, little importance is at present attached to cassava research. This is unfortunate considering the suitability of cassava to higher rainfall areas in Zambia. In many major growing areas elsewhere in the world, cassava research has been stepped up, while two international institutes have invested heavily in cassava improvement programmes.³²

Zambia had only one research Agronomist working on cassava in 1980.³³ This was an indication that, by 1980 this crop had not been given due importance by researchers.

²⁹ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1967*, 279.

³⁰ J. B. Abington, ‘The Plant Breeding Section of Mount Makulu Central Research Station’, *Farming in Zambia* 2, 2 (1967), 12.

³¹ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1972-1973* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1974), 23.

³² *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1975-1976* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1977), 140.

³³ Chambers, *Rural Development: Putting the Last First*, 77.

From the above arguments, it is evident that gender imbalances in crop research apparent in colonial Zambia persisted even after the country became independent. Researchers continued focusing on cash crops while ignoring indigenous crops grown by women. That indigenous research received little research attention from modern research institutions was re-affirmed by a former Seeds Officer of the Central Research Station and former CARO of the Golden Valley Agricultural Research Trust when he recounted that, “In the 1970s, a major problem the station faced was that the services of the station were largely directed towards the large-scale farmer while paying little attention to the indigenous farmer.”³⁴ A former Agricultural Chemist at the Central Research Station and former Deputy Director of Research in the Ministry of Agriculture held a similar view recounting that, “For a long time, indigenous crops like cassava, sorghum and finger millet were ignored. It was cash crops that assumed dominance.”³⁵

It was not until the 1980s that the Research Branch started to beef up research into food crops grown by women. Significant changes were seen in the branch’s research focus after the inception of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) in 1980.³⁶ After its inception, SADCC began coordinating agricultural research for the region providing improved strains of indigenous crops like sorghum and millet to peasant farmers whom colonial regimes had ignored or constrained.³⁷ Thompson argued that:

³⁴ Interview with S. Muliokela, Lusaka, 5th April, 2000. At the time we interviewed him, he was CARO of the Golden Valley Agricultural Research Trust but had formerly worked as Seeds Officer at the Central Research Station.

³⁵ Interview with K. Munyinda, former Agricultural Chemist, Mount Makulu Central Research Station and former Deputy Director of Research, Ministry of Agriculture; Lecturer, School of Agricultural Sciences, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 26th January 2015.

³⁶ SADCC was established by the former front-line states in Southern Africa and later Zimbabwe after it became independent in 1980. The conference was formed in order to reduce economic dependence on South Africa and to pursue policies aimed at economically integrating their economies. Its original nine members were Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. In August, 1992, it was transformed into the Southern African Development Community (SADC)

³⁷ Thompson, *Harvests Under Fire*, 5.

A distinctive feature of SADCC's agricultural policy is their attention to the 'small-producer'. Concerned primarily to increase grain production, it chose to pursue research and genetic development of grains grown by peasants such as sorghum, millets, legumes and cowpeas. Only recently has wheat, grown on large and irrigated commercial farms, become part of the agenda.³⁸

Zambia, like other SADCC countries also embarked on a process of researching into indigenous crops, mostly grown by women. In the Third National Development Plan, a statement was made on the improvement of research into crops primarily grown by women like millet, sorghum and cassava. The plan read in part, "Research work for the improvement of millet and sorghum are being undertaken. In view of the importance of these in certain areas, programmes for their improvement will be undertaken in the Third National Development Plan."³⁹ A Tuber Research Team was thus established at Mansa Regional Research Station. This was, indeed significant in the history of agricultural research in the country. It was reported in 1985 that, "Roots and tubers research is a very welcome endeavour in that it involves mainly traditional staple food crops (cassava, sweet potatoes) which were ignored in the past."⁴⁰ By 1990, research into food crops was fully-fledged. It was reported in the 1990/1991 year that varietal improvement on cassava and sweet potatoes was going on and that a collaborative study on cassava in Africa (COSCA) for Zambia (Phase I) was completed, giving Zambia the first ever comprehensive study on cassava production systems.⁴¹ Eylands and Patel proudly remarked that, "The Research Branch, in addition to screening alternative crops, now focuses on ensuring self-sufficiency of traditional staple crops!"⁴²

³⁸ Thompson, *Harvests Under Fire*, 81

³⁹ GRZ, *Third National Development Plan, 1979-1983* (Lusaka: Office of the President – National Commission for Development Planning, 1979), 146.

⁴⁰ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1983-1984* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1985), 87.

⁴¹ MAFF, *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1990-1991*, 29.

⁴² Eylands and Patel, 'Agricultural Research', 307.

As discussed above, by 1990 significant strides had been made in the way of bridging gender imbalances in crop research. Crops hitherto not part of the research agendas of crop scientists began to be researched into. In the next section, we examine the extent to which the Research Branch liaised with the Extension Branch in ensuring that research findings reached male and female farmers.

Gender and Research-Extension Links, 1964-1990

In a memorandum to the Director of Agriculture in 1966, Ballantyne, the CARO of Mount Makulu Central Research Station stated that, “The Central Research Station acts as a local source of agronomic and agricultural knowledge for extension staff and farmers in the region.”⁴³ The following year he pointed out that, “The increase in productivity and profitability on Zambian farms is a direct result of the efforts of the research workers whose results and recommendations are passed on to the farmer through the extension service, the farming press, field days and meetings.”⁴⁴ If the Central Research Station acted as a local source of agronomic and agricultural knowledge for extension staff and farmers, to what extent did it liaise with the Extension Branch in reaching out to farmers of both sexes? Before 1980, there were gender imbalances in linkages between research and extension in Zambia, a situation that prevailed in many developing countries. A United States Agency for International Development (USAID) specialist on agriculture stated thus about gender imbalances in linkages between research and extension in developing countries:

Productive, competitive agriculture requires an integrated approach to research, training and extension. Most developing countries have parts of this ‘Knowledge triangle’ already in place, but the linkages between them are incomplete and rural women’s access to this information is extremely limited.⁴⁵

⁴³ NAZ, MAG 2/8/27, From Chief Agricultural Research Officer to Director of Agriculture, 5th October, 1967.

⁴⁴ A. O. Ballantyne, ‘The Research Worker’, *Farming In Zambia* 2, 3 (1967), 17.

⁴⁵ Emmy Simmons, ‘Women in Agriculture’, remarks by Emmy Simmons, Assistant Administrator, Bureau of Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade; United States Agency for International Development, no year.

Like in many developing countries, the situation was not different in pre-1980 Zambia. During this period, Zambia's rural women had limited access to research information as most research work was conducted exclusively on the existing network of Research Stations and sub-stations in the country. Therefore, it was difficult for information to trickle down to traditional and small-scale (emergent) farmers, the categories into which women predominantly fell. Ultimately, it was the better-off (commercial) farmers who benefited from research findings, precisely male farmers as they were the ones who were able to visit the stations to acquire research information. This was re-affirmed by Lenglet when he argued that, "All existing agricultural information has a better chance to reach the limited groups of commercial farmers than the much larger group of subsistence or emergent farmers. Commercial farmers have often direct access to specialists and researchers."⁴⁶ Before the formation of ARPT in 1980, research-extension links were weak. It was only the Food and Conservation and Storage Unit (FCSU) of the Central Research Station working in concert with the Home Economics Section of the Extension Branch that made visible cogent efforts to reach out to both sexes through visits to farmers, courses at farmer training institutions and through demonstrations. For other sections, access to research information was basically through visits to the Central Research Station and Regional Research Stations and also through field days. This disadvantaged many small-scale farmers who were not able, due to financial and other constraints to visit research institutions. Inevitably, the majority of women, being small-scale and traditional farmers were denied access to research institutions.

FCSU was established after Zambia became independent with the goal of raising the status of the rural farmer through the use of local materials in its research programmes. It was envisaged that it would cater for the traditional and small-scale farmers because it was felt that the commercial farmers could afford advanced technology.⁴⁷ In the next section, we explore the extent to which liaison was maintained

⁴⁶ Frans B Lenglet, 'Training for Rural Extension', *Farming in Zambia* 13, 3 (1981), 19,

⁴⁷ Mwansa, 'A History of Mount Makulu Central Research Station, 1950-1980', 48. Food producers in Zambia were broadly classified into traditional, small-scale or emergent, commercial and state. For a detailed description of these categories, see Lovejoy M. Malambo, 'Rural Food Security in Zambia', PhD

between this section of the Central Research Station and the Extension Branch in ensuring that male and female farmers benefited from its research findings. Our contention is that the section liaised well with the Extension Branch and indeed, many male and female farmers as well as would-be agriculturalists benefited from its work.

FCSU and its role in disseminating agricultural information to both sexes, 1971-1990

When this section was established, a course on Food Conservation was incorporated into the curricula of farmer training institutions. Initially, participation of females in this course was poor. In the 1971/1972 year, for instance only two female farmers as opposed to 212 male farmers participated in the Food Conservation course at training centres.⁴⁸ Arising out of this gender disparity in enrolment for the course, the Home Economics Section in liaison with FCSU embarked on a process of teaching women methods of preserving and storing food. In the 1972/1973 year, the third objective of the Home Economics section was modified. Originally, the third objective was that, “The section is to raise the standard of living of the Zambian family by teaching food preparation and cookery. Preservation and storage of surplus is also taught.”⁴⁹ In the 1972-1973 year, it was modified to, “The section is encourage preservation and food storage in collaboration with the Food and Conservation Unit at Mount Makulu Central Research Station.”⁵⁰ As per the modified objectives, the Home Economics section embarked on a process of working hand in hand with FCSU in ensuring that males and females were taught various aspects of food conservation, storage and preservation. It also directed its energies to teaching Nutrition, a course that was on offer at NRDC. Emphasis was on teaching Nutrition because of the importance attached to Nutrition in agriculture.

A Handbook read that:

Thesis, Michigan State University, 1987, 40-44. See also C.S. Lombard and A. H. C. Tweedie, *Agriculture in Zambia since Independence* (Lusaka: National Education Company Of Zambia, 1972), 52-55.

⁴⁸ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971-1972*, Appendix XXI.

⁴⁹ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1970-1971*, 43.

⁵⁰ *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1972-1973*, 40.

Many agricultural extension workers cannot see the link between nutrition and agriculture. Some extension workers still think that nutrition deals with the cooking of agricultural produce only and therefore, consider it to be women's work. Yet nutrition starts from production; no production, no nutrition or poor production, poor nutrition. The improvement of the standard of living of the people in terms of nutrition, proper food production and food storage for the whole nation lies in the hands of agricultural extension workers, be they male or female.⁵¹

In October, 1971, a conference on women's work in rural areas was held by FCSU with delegates from the Youth Extension Section, the Home Economics Section and several other departments within and outside the Ministry of Agriculture.⁵² It was reported from the Luapula Province in the 1973-1974 year that FCSU held a course on Food Conservation and Storage. Unfortunately, while 67 females attended the course, there were no female participants.⁵³ In the period from 1972 up to 1988, the section closely worked with the Extension Branch in reaching out to both sexes as shown in the Table 12.

Table 12: Activities of FCSU in conjunction with the Extension Branch, 1972-1988

Date/Year	Activities	Target	Location
March 6-7, 1972	Lectures	2 nd Year Nutrition Students	NRDC
March 9-10, 1972	Lectures	3 rd Year Nutrition Students	NRDC
April 1973	Courses	Female Extension staff	FCSU: MMCRS
June 1973	Courses	Farmers' wives	Chalimbana FTC
November 1973	Lectures	3 rd Year Nutrition students	NRDC
June 1975	Talks Talks	Nutrition students Male and female farmers	NRDC Keembe Farm Institute

⁵¹ MAWD, *Handbook for Agricultural Field Workers: Nutrition in Agriculture* (Lusaka: MAWD, 1984), 5.

⁵² Annual Report of the Food Conservation and Storage Unit, 1st October 1971-30th September 1972.

⁵³ PAO's Report, Luapula Province, 1973-1974.

July 1975	Lectures	2 nd Year Nutrition students Commodity Demonstrators	NRDC Keembe Farm Institute
December 1975	Lectures	2 nd Year Nutrition students	NRDC
August 1976	Lectures Courses, personal visits and field days	Male and female farmers Male and female farmers	Monze FTC MMCRS; Msekera, villages
1976	Field days Displays at shows	Farmers and the public Farmers and the public	Mochipapa Lusaka and Msekera
1976/1977	Talks on vegetable sun-drying	Women	Villages
1977-1978	Demonstrations	Male and female farmers	FTCs and Villages
1979-1980	Courses Lectures	Male and female farmers Male and female farmers	Villages in Central Province Farmer training institutions in Central Province
1980-1981	Courses	Women	Villages
1983-1984	Lectures	Nutrition students	NRDC
1987-1988	Lectures	Extension staff	MMCRS, Mochipapa RRS

Source: *Annual Reports of the Extension Branch: 1970-1971, 1972-1973, 1977-1988, 1979-1980; Annual Reports of the Research Branch, 1974-1975, 1975-1976, 1980-1981, 1983-1984, 1987-1988; Annual Reports of FCSU: 1971-1972, 1973-1974, 1974-1975, 1979-1980.*

Table 12 shows that FCSU liaised well with the Extension Branch in reaching out to both sexes. It gave lectures to students of nutrition and farmers, not only at farmer training institutions but also in villages. Lectures were also given to extension staff, an indication that it was liaising well with the Extension Branch. The public was also made

aware of its work through field days and agricultural shows. The Home Economics Section of Eastern Province also worked closely with the Research Branch in teaching women storage techniques as evidenced from a 1986/1987 report which read that, “Among the aims of the Home Economics Section is to liaise with Regional Research Stations on storage facilities for farmers.”⁵⁴

Another section that strove to liaise with the Extension Branch in disseminating agricultural information to male and female farmers was ARPT. In fact, its birth was a major landmark in bridging gender imbalances in agricultural research. After its birth, significant changes were seen in lessening gender biases in agricultural research in the country. In the next section we discuss the role played by this section in bridging gender imbalances in agricultural research and the extent to which the section liaised with the Extension Branch in reaching out to farmers of both sexes.

ARPT and its role in reaching out to male and female farmers, 1980-1990

In the late 1970s, officials in the Ministry of Agriculture began to realise that small-scale farmers constituted 85% of all the people in the rural areas, producing 75% of Zambia’s food, yet the Research Branch did not pay much attention to these farmers.⁵⁵ Arising out of this realisation, in 1978 the Zambian government implemented the Farming Systems Research and Extension (FSR/E) approach to agricultural development which involved the development and implementation of production technologies for the traditional and small-scale farming sectors through relying on provincial Adaptive Research Planning Teams (ARPTs) to carry out the appropriate farming systems research.⁵⁶ Thus was born ARPT as a section of the Central Research Station in 1980. This section was given the mandate to provide the required linkage between research and extension through carrying out diagnostic farm surveys. Farming areas were zoned into domains on the basis of general farming practices. A Research-Extension Liaison Officer (RELO) was appointed who was to promote understanding

⁵⁴ Eastern Province Annual Report, 1986-1987, 39.

⁵⁵ ARPT Brochure, ‘Agricultural Research: Working with the Small-Scale Farmer’, August 1988.

⁵⁶ ‘Agricultural Research: Working with the small-scale farmer’

between research and extension workers and all officers in their tasks of working towards an improvement of the small-scale farmer situations.⁵⁷ At every stage, it was foreseen that extension workers from the field level, up would be involved in discussions and collaboration with farmers and research staff.⁵⁸ On-farm as opposed to on-station trials were emphasised by ARPT. On-farm experiments were seen as a very effective way of assessing the effectiveness of the experiments as noted in a report which read that:

Research recommendations can only be regarded as successful and appropriate if farmers actually adopt them and that means that the technology must be tested under farmers' conditions and then analysed using farmers' criteria. Farming Systems Research, with full farmer participation involves carrying out this type of research and this was the reason for the establishment of ARPT.⁵⁹

By emphasising on conducting on-farm trials, women began to benefit greatly from agricultural research findings. This was emphasised by Low when he stated that, "As on-farm researchers conducted surveys and established trials in Eastern and Southern Africa, they increasingly found themselves dealing with women farmers."⁶⁰ In a research conducted in Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Kenya and Zambia, it was noted that the increasing number of adaptive and on-farm trials conducted on women's plots by ARPT was a positive trend noted in all four countries.⁶¹ After the birth of ARPT, the Extension and Research Branches worked closely in ensuring that the gap between agricultural research, extension field staff and farmers of both sexes was bridged throughout the country. Reports from provinces indicate that ARPT liaised well with the Extension Branch in reaching out to farmers of both sexes.

Western Province

⁵⁷ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1979-1980*, 28.

⁵⁸ Interview with M. Ndiyoi, former CARO and former team Leader of ARPT at Mount Makulu Central Research Station, Lusaka, 11th August 2014.

⁵⁹ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1981-1982*, 131.

⁶⁰ Allan Low, 'On-Farm Research and Household Economics' in Joyce Lewinger Mook (ed.), *Understanding Africa's Rural Households and Farming Systems* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1986), 79.

⁶¹ Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling, 'Raising the Productivity of Women Farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa', 67.

ARPT commenced its work in the province in August 1981. It worked closely with the Female Extension Section in meeting the needs of male and female farmers. In 1984, the team conducted a Survey in liaison with a female Extension Officer in Mongu. The Survey concluded that in rice production, a crop which was grown for cash, the male/female division of labour was not rigid although women carried out the bulk of activities. It was noted that the sickle which had just been introduced as a harvesting implement into the area was mainly handled by men although the whole family took part in harvesting, that is adult males and females, boys and girls. Threshing which was done with sticks was undertaken by both sexes while winnowing was done by women. The Extension Officer lamented that although both sexes grew rice as a cash crop, yields among female farmers were low as they were not exposed to agricultural technology and often cultivated with knives. This, she noted was due to the fact that male extension workers were more inclined to visit the farms of males.⁶² We argue that this was a reflection of the gender gap evident in the provision of extension services in the entire Department of Agriculture. In the 1986-1987 year, there were on-farm research trials on sorghum and maize in Mongu during which several discussions were held with female Extension Officers from the Female Extension Section.⁶³ This was an indication that the team was striving hard to involve female extension workers in its activities. An area of concern in the team's work was the issue of nutrition in male and female headed households. To this effect, it was agreed that by September 1987, a Nutrition Coordinator was to be employed who would be participating in the planning of its work programme.⁶⁴ In its work programme for the 1987-1988 year, it envisioned to start with a number of specific research themes important for production including "women and development."⁶⁵ To this effect, fifteen preliminary interviews were done with female headed households in Senanga and Kaoma districts in the 1988/1989 year.

⁶² 'Sketch of the Farm House-hold in Mongu District, Western Province', A Socio-Economic and Agricultural Survey conducted in two areas of Mongu District Western Province, Zambia by M. J. Niesten (Women Extension Officer), 1984

⁶³ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1986-1987*, 154.

⁶⁴ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1986-1987*, 163-164.

⁶⁵ ARPT-Western Province: Work Programme, 1987-1988. Extracted from ARPT data base, 360.

The studies concluded that female headed households had more labour constraints than their male counterparts and that these households had limited access to land.⁶⁶ The preliminary interviews were followed by a household food security survey in the same districts that included over 100 households. It concluded that female headed households representing one quarter of the population were in a very difficult position and that an analysis of the specific production constraints of these households was needed to determine if specific recommendations tailored to these households were possible.⁶⁷ Another report by ARPT in the province also reaffirmed the constraints that female headed households faced. It was observed that:

The term 'gender' began to be used in Western Province around 1985. As problems that women face are the result of male-female relationships, the possibilities of solving them also lies in these relationships. Discussing gender in the context of Western Province invariably turns to female headed households versus male headed households. Female headed households have been classified as the more vulnerable, resource poor farmers and needing most attention.⁶⁸

As shown from the arguments above, ARPT in the province worked well in ensuring that male and female farmers were reached. That ARPT tried as much as possible to reach out to farmers of both sexes through working with the Extension Branch was reaffirmed by one respondent who stated that:

ARPT trials in the province were first commenced in Kaoma and selection of participants in Farmer Research Groups was randomly done incorporating both sexes. In end of session meetings, extension workers and farmers were invited. In fact, women participated actively in the deliberations!⁶⁹

⁶⁶ MAFF, *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1988-1989*, 128. The studies also observed that the majority of female heads of households were divorced women who had returned to their villages of origin and were, in principle entitled to be given land by their families. In reality, they only got a small portion of land, often hardly enough to meet their production needs.

⁶⁷ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1988-1989*, 124.

⁶⁸ N. Mubonda and P. Penninkhoff, 'Gender in Farming Systems Research and Agricultural Development in Western Province', report of a support mission to the Farming Systems Research Team, Western Province, July 16–August 6, 1995.

⁶⁹ Interview with Ndiyoi, 11th August 2014.

From this quotation and the discussion on ARPT in the province, it is unequivocally demonstrated that the team achieved some successes in addressing the needs of male and female farmers in the province. Through on-farm trials and surveys, it was able to identify the problems faced by small-scale male and female farmers. Hence, the challenges they hitherto faced in their farming activities were minimised.

Luapula Province

ARPT began operating in the province in 1981. Like in Western Province, the team worked closely with the Extension Department. It was, for instance reported that in the 1983-1984 year, a number of research-extension activities were undertaken which involved participation in extension and training workshops.⁷⁰ A respondent pointed out that these workshops were important platforms through which research and extension workers of both sexes exchanged ideas about the challenges they were facing vis-à-vis reaching out to male and female farmers.⁷¹ As a way of establishing whether research recommendations were reaching farmers of both sexes, the Sociology Section of the team embarked on a study whose goal was to investigate the differences between male and female farming activities in two communities of the province in 1983.⁷² It concluded that technology in form of know-how in crop management was provided by the extension worker and that male and female farmers showed enthusiasm and did not hesitate to seek the advice of the extension workers whenever they had problems.⁷³ We contend that this study demonstrated the drive that ARPT had in ensuring that liaison was maintained between research and extension workers in disseminating information to male and female farmers. Like the Western Province team, the Luapula Province team was also concerned with nutrition issues in the province. In 1984, a nutrition survey was conducted in Chief Mukunta's area in Nchelenge district in which about 27 families were studied and based on frequency of different foods consumed in Mukunta,

⁷⁰ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1983-1984*, 168.

⁷¹ Interview with Ndiyoi, 11th August 2014.

⁷² *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1983-1984*, 180.

⁷³ Albertina K. Haalubono (revised by Alistair J. Sutherland), 'Causes and Characteristics of female farming in Mansa and Nchelenge districts', ARPT study report, February 1984.

it was concluded that nutrition levels were low in the province and that malnutrition was common as a result of many factors.⁷⁴ The Nutritionist observed that there was low food production, poor quality foods and weak Nutrition education programmes for both sexes in the province.⁷⁵ This, we argue was in spite of the Home Economics Section's aim of working hand in hand with FCSU in combating malnutrition. We alluded, earlier in the chapter to the fact that among the goals of the Home Economics Section was that it was to work hand in hand with the Food Conservation and Storage Unit of the Central Research Station in ensuring that the standard of living of the Zambian family was raised by teaching nutrition, thereby educating women on how to avoid malnutrition.⁷⁶ Low nutrition levels were partly attributed to dependence by the people of the province on cassava as a staple crop which is not a very nutritious crop. This was reaffirmed by Musambachime when he pointed out that, "Cassava is not very nutritious. It has more carbohydrates. Populations that use cassava as a staple have high incidences of protein deficiency in children and adults."⁷⁷ Other nutrition surveys were conducted in Chief Mabumba's and Chief Mabo's areas in Mansa and Samfya districts respectively.

ARPT worked hard in ensuring that gender imbalances in crop research were bridged. With its birth, there was a drive towards researching into food crops grown by women, an area of research previously ignored. It was reported that in crop research, emphasis was on food crops like cassava, sorghum, edible oil seeds and on technological packages such as weed cover crops that would alleviate women's onerous weeding responsibilities.⁷⁸ A report observed that:

ARPT in the province stresses that production of food crops is the main priority for all the rural households in the province. The problem of malnutrition especially among children makes the improvement in the production of foodstuffs a high priority.... If there is a high risk involved in growing the crop, if there are labour peaks clashing with the food-crops

⁷⁴ A. Gobezie, Mukunta Nutrition Survey, 1984. Gobezie was, at the time of writing ARPT's nutritionist.

⁷⁵ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1983-1984*, 173 and Gobezie, Mukunta Nutrition Survey, 1984.

⁷⁶ See *Annual Report of the Extension Branch, 1971-1972*, 43.

⁷⁷ M. C. Musambachime, *One Zambia, One Nation, One Country* (M. C. Musambachime, 2016), 414.

⁷⁸ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1985-1986*, 153

and if the new crop is impossible to utilise for food directly, it is likely never to be adopted by women. If it is adopted by men, it is still the women who perform most of the work.⁷⁹

The significance of this quote lies in the fact that it shows the importance that ARPT attached to researching into food crops grown by women and the appreciation it had for the labour contribution made by women to farming. As a way of effectively disseminating information to female farmers, the team began conducting trials on their farms and inviting them to attend trials at research stations. In the 1985/1986 year, women attended the educative trials that were conducted by the team at the Luapula Regional Station and on farms in Chief Mabumba's area in Mansa district.⁸⁰ Keller, Phiri and Milimo also reaffirmed ARPT's drive towards incorporating women in its work when they stated that Luapula Province ARPTs had gone furthest in integrating gender considerations into their socio-economic surveys, technology interventions and on-farm trials in the 1985-1986 year.⁸¹ In its interactions with women through adaptive research, the team found that it was possible to grow finger millet on permanent fields using fertiliser rather than 'chitemene.'⁸² In the 1986-1987 year, the team investigated gender issues in crop marketing during which it concluded that the informal market for crops other than maize was mainly controlled by women and that even in cases where maize production was economically very important, cassava was still found to be the preferred starch staple and the priority crop for women mono-cropping.⁸³ We contend that this investigation was a major achievement in ARPT's goal of bridging gender imbalances in agricultural research as it was an investigation into both male and female farming systems in the province. In the 1988/1989 year, it concentrated on investigating

⁷⁹ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1986-1987*, 146.

⁸⁰ MAWD, PAO's Report for Luapula Province, 1985-1986, 44.

⁸¹ Keller, Phiri and Milimo, 'Women and Agricultural Development', 259.

⁸² Stuart Kean, 'Developing a Partnership between Farmers and Scientists: An example of Luapula Province', IDS Workshop on Farmers and Agricultural Research: Complementary Methods. University of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies, 16th-31st July, 1987, 9.

⁸³ ARPT Luapula Province Annual Report, 1986-1987.

into the general household food situation in the province.⁸⁴ During the 1990/1991 year, the team concentrated its activities on research-extension liaison issues which was achieved through farmers' participatory research with a lot of involvement of female farmers.⁸⁵ As part of its work, it began investigating into ways of ensuring food security during the dry season especially among female farmers. A report read that, "The Luapula Province Adaptive Research Planning Team has, for a long time been engaged in dry season utilisation of the abundant damboes in the province with the aim of improving the food security situation during the dry season especially for the female headed households."⁸⁶ Arguments presented have revealed that notable successes were recorded by ARPT in the Luapula Province. In concert with the Extension Branch, ARPT was able to reach out to farmers of both sexes. Analysing the team's success in research-extension liaison in the province from 1983 to 1992, a report read that, "In the ten-year period, ARPT in Luapula Province was successful in establishing linkages between research workers and farmers. A major success scored by the team in Luapula Province was the under-taking of nutrition studies in Mabumba and Mukunta."⁸⁷

Central Province

ARPT began working in the province with the birth of the team in 1980. However, trials were first carried out in the 1981/1982 year when a RELO was appointed. Before that year, there was no liaison between research and extension workers. The PAO lamented that, "Apart from the Provincial Experimental Committee meetings and the provincial tours which come once in a year, there is no other contact between research and extension. It is hoped the contact will now be improved with the appointment of a RELO."⁸⁸ In the 1985/1986 year, a Survey was conducted to generate relevant information on the resource base and constraints, cropping patterns, crop

⁸⁴ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1988-1989*, 124.

⁸⁵ 1990/1991 Annual progress report on farming systems research. Extracted from ARPT data base, 100.

⁸⁶ 1990/1991 Annual progress report on Farming Systems Research.

⁸⁷ 'Highlights of ARPT, Luapula Province's Ten Years of activities, 1983-1992'. Extracted from ARPT data base, 127.

⁸⁸ PAO's Report, Central Province, 1981-1982, 45.

husbandry practices, labour use patterns and other inputs' utilisation among both male and female farmers. The Survey indicated that agricultural production among female headed households in the province was at subsistence level because of lack of exposure to new ideas and limited access to the means of production including agricultural credit, education and extension services.⁸⁹ A study into the existing relationship between extension workers, the male and female farming community and the Research Branch showed that the link between extension and research in Central Province had clearly improved since the inception of ARPT and the appointment of a RELO.⁹⁰ In another study, it was noted that extension services may be directed to male farmers (male-headed) than female farmers owing to the staffing position of the extension system that was more skewed towards male staff and that credit facilities also tended to be biased towards male headed households.⁹¹ The study further concluded that male headed households spent more on improved technologies and in-puts such as seeds and fertilizer and that female headed households could not afford such in-puts due to the limited resources at their disposal. The study also examined gender roles in agriculture in the province noting that women tended to be more engaged in planting, weeding and harvesting while preparation of the land was a male activity. ARPT's work in the province represented a major step towards reducing gender imbalances in agricultural research. Indeed, liaison between research and extension in reaching out to male and female farmers was evident.

Lusaka Province

Established during the 1981 season, the team started operating in 1982. During the 1981/1982 year, it embarked on a programme of researching into male and female farming systems in the province. Its conclusion was that women were heavily involved in the farming of food crops such as pumpkin leaves and cowpeas while men were

⁸⁹ ARPT- Central Province, ARPT Annual Report, 1985/1986: Summary of activities of ARPT. Extracted from ARPT data base, 208.

⁹⁰ J. Sutherland, 'Extension workers, small-scale farmers and agricultural research: A Case study of Kabwe Rural, Central Province', 1989. Extracted from ARPT Data Base, 221-222.

⁹¹ Moffat Shamambo, 'A Report on ARPT Central Province On-Farm Research', paper presented at the CIMMYT Regional Workshop, Ridgeway Hotel, Lusaka, 26th April to 1st May 1987.

cultivators of maize.⁹² In 1984, the team conducted a study on gender roles in farming among traditional farmers in Luangwa district. It noted that there was a sexual division of labour in which men's jobs were to clear the fields and cut trees; women planted, prepared land and weeded while bird scaring was done by male children.⁹³ In the 1984/1985 season, the team concentrated on undertaking on-farm trials on women's plots in Luangwa district.

Chileya re-affirmed ARPT's involvement of women in its surveys when he pointed out that:

In the formal survey work, the sampling design ensured that a proportion (1 in 3) of female headed households were included while in the informal surveys, women were included in the discussions and in some cases, it was necessary to interview small groups of women separately as men tended to dominate group interviews. In a specific survey of Dimba cultivation, attention was paid to women's interests regarding access to land and labour inputs. Findings from these surveys were considered in the design of the trial programme.⁹⁴

In the 1985/1986 season, 42% of the farmer co-operators selected were female household heads. In the selected male headed households, wives were involved in the selection and planting of trial sites.⁹⁵ From the discussion of ARPT's work in Lusaka Province, what strongly comes out is the team's strong gender considerations in its work. The team involved both sexes in its programmes of work which, indeed indicated its drive towards bridging the gender gap in agricultural research.

North-Western Province

Based at Mutanda Research Station, ARPT began its work in the province in the 1983/1984 year. Like in other provinces, it worked with the Extension Branch in ensuring that research findings reached male and female farmers. A report emphasised

⁹² Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1981-1982, 134.

⁹³ K. Chileya, 'Informal Survey of the Luangwa District of Lusaka Province', ARPT, September 1984.

⁹⁴ Chileya, 'Informal Survey of the Luangwa District of Lusaka Province.'

⁹⁵ ARPT, Lusaka Province: 'Description of the Work being carried out by ARPT in Luangwa District with special reference to women's development', proceedings of a workshop held at Hotel Intercontinental on 'Women and Development', 1987.

research-extension links in the province when it read that, “Certain messages called for the guidance of extension staff in the dissemination of improved technologies in agricultural and food production, for example, sorghum and millet grown by male and female farmers.”⁹⁶ In the 1987/1988 year, trials on maize and cassava were conducted on men’s and women’s plots in Kabompo, Zambezi and Chizela districts. About 100 men and women in 10 camps zoned by ARPT were to participate in the test under the supervision of the IRDP women project coordinator in close cooperation with the Extension Department.⁹⁷ Like in other provinces, ARPT in the province conducted nutrition surveys in male and female headed households. It was reported in the 1988/1989 year that ARPT provided nutritional information on specific crops.⁹⁸ In 1989, the team conducted a long socio-economic survey in Mwinilunga district involving male and female headed households. The Survey noted that female headed households were relatively resource poorer than male headed households and that because of being resource poor, land preparation methods needed to be targeted with them in mind.⁹⁹ Overall, ARPT successfully liaised with the Extension Branch in reaching out to male and female farmers in the province. ARPT used the research-extension linkage with extension workers and farmers through field demonstrations, on-farm tests, farmers’ field days, on-station trials, farmers and provincial ARPT meetings involving both researchers and extension agents.¹⁰⁰ It was reported that ARPT’s biggest project in the province was the Adaptive Research and Extension project in Kabompo district run by ARPT, an extension training officer and a women’s participation promoter.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1986-1987*, 148.

⁹⁷ ARPT Annual Programme of work for the 1987/1988 for Kabompo Sub-station and ARPT Kabompo, Chizela and Zambezi Districts.

⁹⁸ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1988-1989*, 124.

⁹⁹ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1989-1990*, 112.

¹⁰⁰ D. Hopkinson, M. Rukandema, R. O. Opeke and L. Bangwe, ‘An Assessment and Evaluation of ARPT North-Western Province (Mutanda), 1991.’ Extracted from ARPT data base, 41.

¹⁰¹ B. Pijenburg, ‘Review of ARPT’s work in Zambezi, Kabompo and Mufumbwe districts, 1985-1991, with an outlook in nineties. Extracted from ARPT Data base, 37.

Eastern Province

ARPT began its work here in 1983 as a component of EPAD. One of its major areas of research was male and female farming systems in the province. It concluded that cash crops in the province were cultivated by men while women concentrated on food crops.¹⁰² Through its Research and Evaluation Unit, the team conducted some small farm surveys throughout the province in the 1984/1985 agricultural season as a result of which it concluded that female farming was hampered by lack of access to credit.¹⁰³ During the 1985/1986 year, the team continued to work in various areas, conducting on-farm trials on men and women's plots, on-station trials and maintaining research-extension liaison.¹⁰⁴

Northern Province

Based at Misamfu Research Station, it became operational in October 1985. The major target of ARPT in the province were the small traditional farmers (both male and female) in the subsistence and emergent categories.¹⁰⁵ A RELO report completed in January 1987 indicated that female farmers as a group were not adequately recognised by extension workers or represented as contact farmers to be the link between farming communities and the extension workers.¹⁰⁶ The team argued that the major variable that had a direct influence on farming decisions was the gender factor. An ARPT report read in part:

Female farmers (heads of households in particular) are least advantaged in terms of access to factors of production and hence their farming practices, problems and priorities are different from those of male farmers. In an agricultural system where some key tasks (such as cutting of trees) are gender specific, the traditional pattern of land preparation undergoes great modification in the case of female headed households which do not have access to required labour. Due to this shortage of male labour, female

¹⁰² *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1983-1984*, 166.

¹⁰³ ARPT Summary Report on small farm surveys, 1984-1985. Extracted from ARPT data base, 250.

¹⁰⁴ Eastern Province Agricultural Annual Report, 1985-1986.

¹⁰⁵ ARPT-Northern Province Internal Evaluation Report, May 1990.

¹⁰⁶ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1986-1987*, 172.

headed households normally prepare smaller fields in sites where big trees are not in abundance, often near the village where the forest has not fully regenerated.¹⁰⁷

This quotation brings to the fore the team's role in identifying constraints faced by female farmers in the province. In surveys carried out in selected areas of the Mpika, Kasama and Mbala districts, the team investigated into gender roles in farming and concluded that roles in the 'chitemene were gender specific'.¹⁰⁸ However, with the introduction of hybrid maize and more production for the market in the 1980s, there was a flexibility in the sexual division of labour as men began to contribute to both weeding and harvesting and women began to perform new tasks such as applying fertilizer, shelling and bagging.¹⁰⁹ A major success the team in the province scored vis-à-vis bridging gender imbalances in crop research was its emphasis on researching not only into cash crops mainly grown by men but food crops grown by women as well. In the 1988/1989 year, for instance more than 1,600 demonstrations were conducted for both cash and food crops, that is, maize, beans, finger millet, rice, soya beans and vegetables.¹¹⁰ As was the case with all provincial ARPTs, the ARPT in the province emphasised on nutrition studies with integration of nutrition into its work in 1986.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁷ Patrick M. Sikana and J. Siame, 'Household dynamics in the cropping systems of Zambia's Northern region', 1987. Extracted from ARPT data base, 144. Sikana was at the time of writing this report the ARPT Rural Sociologist. Similar views were expressed in a paper by Carol Kerven and him; see Patrick M. Sikana and Carol Kerven, 'The Influence of Household Variables on Farming Systems: Case Studies from Northern Province, Zambia', paper presented at the CIMMYT Regional Workshop on Household Relationships and Farming Systems Research, Ridgeway Hotel, 26th April to 1st May, 1987. Kerven was the ARPT Sociologist.

¹⁰⁸ Sikana and Kerven, 'The Influence of Household Variables on Farming Systems: Case Studies from Northern Province, Zambia.' They observed that the task of cutting trees for lopping were regarded as men's work which had a negative impact on female headed as such households had no access to male labour. Ultimately, because of low productivity in these households, females ended up providing cheap labour for the prosperous joint headed households that had sufficient resources to take up cash crop farming.

¹⁰⁹ See, Moore and Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees*, 216. They pointed out that many of her female informants lamented that they preferred the old system in which women's and men's jobs were clearly defined and that since the previous division of labour had begun to break down, men could ask women to do anything and they found it difficult to refuse to perform these new tasks.

¹¹⁰ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1988-1989*, 109.

¹¹¹ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1986-1987*, 163.

The first report on nutrition was released at the end of 1988 which out-lined the findings of an 11-month household food survey in the clusters of Luchembe, Chilongoshi and Kaka areas of the province.¹¹² In 1987, the team carried out a community study in Mbala district which concluded that women, especially in female headed households had less access than men to credit facilities and that married women were more visible and generally had better chances of getting loans in their own names instead of their husbands' names.¹¹³ The ARPT Sociologist and Anthropologist who were in the team that conducted the study lamented that it was very difficult for women to access loans and cited a young female head of her household living with her aged mum who was denied access to a loan. During the study, an issue raised by many farmers, especially wives and female headed households was why farmers were denied of credit facilities to grow cash crops other than maize. In the 1989/1990 year, ARPT in the province focused its attention on both food and cash crops; sorghum, bulrush millet, beans, soya beans, sunflower, finger millet, sweet and Irish potatoes and to a lesser extent short duration maize types.¹¹⁴ Acknowledging its successes in the province, a report read that, "From 1985-1990, ARPT managed to address issues on food security and by 1990, it did a lot of cooperative research projects both on-station and on-farm."¹¹⁵

Southern Province

Operating from Mochipapa Regional Research Station, its activities were initiated in the province in May 1987. Its initial activities involved the collection of household food availability data for the Mbabala and Kabimba areas.¹¹⁶ In the 1987/1988 year, the team began a food monitoring Survey with the objective of assessing how the food situation at the household food level affected farming

¹¹² *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1988-1989, 123.*

¹¹³ Carol Kerven and Patrick Sikana, 'Trial Farmer Sociological Monitoring in Nsokolo Area: Part One: Misamfu Research Station', 1989/1990.

¹¹⁴ ARPT Northern Province Annual Report, 1989/1990. Extracted from the ARPT data base, 134.

¹¹⁵ ARPT Internal Evaluation Report, May 1990.

¹¹⁶ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1986-1987, 160.*

operations. Farmers, particularly women were asked, each month the sort of food shortages they faced and strategies for alleviating them.¹¹⁷ During the 1987/1988 year, the major aim of ARPT in the province was to produce technical messages which could be readily adopted by the majority of small-scale and traditional farmers by understanding the farmers' circumstances and identifying the constraints.¹¹⁸ On-farm surveys covering both cash and food crops were carried out and it was concluded that most households produced adequate food crops except in drought years.¹¹⁹ In 1988, a Farming Systems Zoning Survey in the Gwembe Valley involving male and female farmers was carried out which, among other things investigated into gender roles among male and female farmers in the Gwembe district.¹²⁰ A respondent pointed out that she benefited a lot from the work of ARPT in the Southern Province when she recollected that:

Occasionally, we received officers who demonstrated to us how to plant and tend to our crops in our fields. They introduced to us new seed varieties. They taught us how to plant fast maturing sweet potatoes and would pass through to check on how the crop was fairing. I would even sell part of my sweet potato harvest.¹²¹

Judging from its activities in the first few years of its existence in the province, it is evident that it had the goal of addressing the challenges faced by farmers of both sexes.

Arguments presented above have demonstrated that ARPT had, by 1990 made significant achievements in reaching out to male and female farmers through liaising with the Extension Branch. A respondent noted that, "A major achievement was its emphasis on research into women's crops like sweet potatoes which, for some became a

¹¹⁷ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1987-1988*, 150.

¹¹⁸ Annual Report of the Adaptive Research Planning Team, 1987-1988. Extracted from ARPT data base, 59.

¹¹⁹ Annual Report of the Adaptive Research Planning Team, 1987-1988, ARPT data base, 59.

¹²⁰ S. Kindler and K. Chiteta, ARPT-Southern Province: Farming Systems Zoning Survey, 1988.

¹²¹ Interview with Rose Kaanga, Makangala Village, Chief Mwanachingwala's area, Mazabuka district, 28th May 2016.

source of income.”¹²² Much of the imbalances in agricultural research were addressed with the inception of ARPT. Lof and Mulele pointed out that:

To define its strategy for extension and research, MAWD commissioned the World Bank to undertake studies of the Extension and Research Branches, with a major focus on their operational efficiency. As a result of these studies, extension and research strategies were produced in 1984. Among the important proposals was that greater attention would be given to monitoring and evaluating the extension service to assist extension managers and to provide more effective coverage for female farmers, who constituted up to 35% of households in some provinces.¹²³

From the quote above, MAWD envisioned stronger linkages between research and extension services in reaching out to female farmers. This vision, as shown was achieved by ARPT which worked hand in hand with Extension Officers in reaching out to both male and female farmers. Apart from ARPT, liaison between research and extension was also achieved through field days and agricultural shows. In the next section, we discuss the extent to which field days and agricultural shows were used as platforms for strengthening research-extension links in reaching out to male and female farmers.

Field days and agricultural shows: their role in bridging gender imbalances in research-extension links.

These were important platforms at which research workers, extension workers and farmers met to exchange ideas regarding different aspects of agricultural technology. The field days used to be held on farms, in village gardens, at Research Stations and farmer training institutions.¹²⁴ They were not gender specific as they were open to both sexes. One informant pointed out that in the 1970s, it was males that

¹²² Interview with Ndiyoi, 11th November, 2014.

¹²³ Gerard Lof and Russell M. Mulele, ‘The Changing Role of the Extension Service’, in Wood, Kean, Milimo and Warren, *The Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform in Zambia*, 353

¹²⁴ See *Annual Reports of the Extension Branch*, 1970-1990. They all indicate field days as being important platforms at which farmers, research and extension staff mingled.

dominated these field days but by the late 1980s, females were more in attendance than males.¹²⁵

Another respondent echoed this view noting that:

Initially, most females seemed not have interest in attending field days. I, too was hesitant to attend the field days but in the 1980s, with the encouragement coming from Extension Officers, attendance by females increased. Women's Clubs were displaying peanut butter, pumpkins, soya beans and several other products. Crops that we grew as women like sweet potatoes and pumpkins caught my attention.¹²⁶

A former Soil Chemist at the Central Research Station recollected that:

There were many female attendees during field days held at the Central Research Station. As researchers, we interacted well with both male and female attendees. Women attendees asked as many questions as male attendees when they visited the Soil Chemistry Section in which I was working.¹²⁷

When ARPT was established, it began using field days as important interaction points for research workers, farmers and extension workers. It was, for example, noted that ARPT in the 1983/1984 year conducted separate field days for extension workers and farmers in all domains which were attended by farmers, extension workers, government officials and Commodity Special Research Team Specialists (CSRTs) representatives.¹²⁸ In the 1983/1984 year, the RELO of the Central Province undertook a wide range of extension activities including organising field days in Serenje, Mkushi and Kabwe rural for farmers and extension workers as well as organising in-service training workshops for extension workers.¹²⁹ It was reported from the Luapula Province that in the 1983-1984 year ARPT organised field days for both extension workers and

¹²⁵ Interview with Muniyinda, 26th January, 2015.

¹²⁶ Interview with Christine Mbulo, Chief Mwanachingwala's area, Mazabuka, 28th May 2016. Also interviews with Roidah Hamweene and Jessy Nchimunya, Chief Choongo's area, Monze district, 29th May 2016. They both testified that they attended field days and were exposed to women's crops.

¹²⁷ Interview with M. Damaseke, former Soil Chemist, Mount Makulu Central Research Station; Agricultural and Natural Resources Specialist, USAID Zambia, Lusaka, 10th July 2015.

¹²⁸ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1983-1984*, 61.

¹²⁹ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1983-1984*, 11.

farmers.¹³⁰ These field days were attended by male and female farmers as reported in a 1985/1986 report that:

In Lusaka Province, in the 1985/1986 season, the most positive experience came from an informal field day at which 30% of the participants were women. On this occasion, they contributed effectively to the discussion, at times arguing with men over technical issues. But at the official field day, while women were present, they remained silent throughout.¹³¹

Eylands and Patel also emphasised the importance of field days in research-extension liaison links when they stated that, “Field days, training sessions and annual research meetings were the best means for Commodity Special Research Teams and extension workers to interact.”¹³² An informant recounted that, “It was rare that us, as extension workers mingled with research workers. The field days were an opportune time for us to mingle with female research workers and discuss the challenges we were facing in a male-dominated society.”¹³³ Research workers, extension workers and farmers also interacted during agricultural shows. Upon being incepted, ARPT began taking part in agricultural shows. The 1985 Lusaka agricultural show, for instance was attended by ARPT and the ARPT planning team from Luapula provided a display on Nutrition.¹³⁴ In the 1989/1990 year, it was reported that the Western Province ARPT staff under the supervision of the RELO took part in provincial and national agricultural shows during which work on crops improvement and socio-economic services together with nutrition activities were exhibited for public enlightenment.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1983-1984*, 168.

¹³¹ ARPT, Lusaka Province: ‘Description of the Work being carried out by ARPT in Luangwa District with special reference to women’s development’, prepared for the workshop held at Hotel Intercontinental on ‘Women and Development’, 1987.

¹³² Vaj J. Eylands and Bharati K. Patel, ‘Agricultural Research’, in Wood et al (eds.), *Dynamics of Agricultural Policy and Reform In Zambia*, 314.

¹³³ Interview with Dosiiah Chikanta, former Extension Officer, Lusaka, 14th July, 2015.

¹³⁴ MAWD, *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1985-1986*, 154.

¹³⁵ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1989-1990*, 115.

Clearly, by 1990, the gender imbalances evident in agricultural research were receiving the attention of the government. In the next section, we establish whether the Research Branch had a gender balanced staff or not.

Gender and Staffing in the Research Branch, 1950-1990

During the colonial era, the Research Branch had an all-male research staff. Researchers were referred to as ‘men’. This is evident from a report which read that:

The loss of expatriate officers is not fully made up by recruitment of equivalent numbers of new *men* In the range of Technical Officer posts, relatively large losses of expatriate staff have been sustained, but here the departmental training policy has borne fruit and it has been possible to fill the gaps with local *men* who have sufficient training.... Local *men* are now successfully carrying out such diverse departmental activities such as Tsetse Research Assistant, Research Assistant Provided that expatriate staff can be found to serve in Zambia until local *men* have undergone the lengthy training needed for professional posts, there is no need to fear for the future of the department.¹³⁶

From the quotation above, what comes out is that researchers were, during the colonial era deemed only as men and the department was envisaging that with Zambia’s independence, only local men, and not women would be trained to replace them. By 31st May, 1965, the Research Branch had an all-male research staff.¹³⁷ These gender imbalances in research staff seemed not to have pleased the Director of Veterinary and Tsetse Control Services when he noted that, “Women are especially suited to laboratory specialist work in the professional grades as professional officers dealing with pathology, bacteriology and virology and as research workers in these specialised fields.”¹³⁸ Up to 1969, all researchers in the Research Branch were male except for a few expatriate female researchers.¹³⁹ It was not until 1970 that a Zambian female

¹³⁶ Ministry of Agriculture, *Annual Report for the year 1964*, 16.

¹³⁷ *Annual Report of the Ministry of Agriculture for 1965*, Appendix.

¹³⁸ G. D. Shaw, ‘Women are needed in Practical jobs, too’, *Farming in Zambia* 3, 3 (1968), 5.

¹³⁹ See *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1967*, Appendix, *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1969*, Appendix. The staff lists indicate that all the scientists were male apart from a few female expatriate scientists.

Agricultural Chemist, trained at the University of Uppsala in Sweden was appointed in the Agricultural Chemistry Department as Soil Scientist.¹⁴⁰ In the Seeds Services Section, another female, was appointed as Laboratory Assistant in the 1970-1971 year.¹⁴¹ By 1971, significant changes had begun to be seen in the way of bridging gender imbalances in staffing in the Research Branch. The establishment of NRDC with its policy of admitting both male and female trainees had started to pay off. Female graduates began to be off-loaded on to the market. It was, for instance reported that in the 1971-1972 year, a female NRDC graduate joined the Plant Protection Section as Technical Officer.¹⁴² The first female Soil Chemist was elevated to the position of Acting CARO in 1974 with the appointment of the former CARO as Deputy Director of Research.¹⁴³ In 1978, she was elevated to the position of CARO.¹⁴⁴ These were significant achievements in bridging gender imbalances in the Research Branch. Previously, managerial positions were reserved for men. The post-1974 period saw the increase in the number of female researchers both at the Central Research Station and the Regional Research Stations. More than half of the professional and technical staff of the Research Branch was spread over the Regional Research Stations and the other half at the Central Research Station.¹⁴⁵ The number of female scientists had increased from two in the 1970/1971 year to 25 in the 1985/1986 year. See Appendix 7.

The Zambian government's policy of opening enrolment at Colleges of Agriculture to both sexes had by 1986 paid off. Most of the female researchers were graduates of local agricultural colleges.¹⁴⁶ For instance, all the Agricultural Supervisors,

¹⁴⁰ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1970-1971*, 1.

¹⁴¹ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1970-1971*, 156.

¹⁴² *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1971-1972*, 1.

¹⁴³ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1973-1974*, 1. We, earlier in the section alluded to the appointment of a female as Soil Chemist in 1970. Four years later, she was appointed acting CARO.

¹⁴⁴ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1977-1978*, 234.

¹⁴⁵ No author, *Farming in Zambia*, 8, 1 (1973), 11.

Technical Officers and Research Assistants had Diplomas in Agriculture obtained from local colleges while Agricultural Assistants, Laboratory Assistants, Technical Assistants and Works Supervisors had local Certificates in Agriculture obtained from local colleges. It was only the professional staff, that is, the CARO, Plant Breeders, Plant Pathologists, Agricultural Chemists and Entomologists that had university degrees. In spite of these achievements, there were by 1990 still gender imbalances in staffing levels in the Research Branch. There were wide gaps between the number of male and female researchers. In any particular year, the Research Branch had at least 200 researchers yet in no year did female graduates constitute even a quarter of the total number of research scientists.¹⁴⁷ Even FCSU which was active in reaching out to both male and female farmers had no female research scientist by 1986. Only an expatriate female Storage Engineer under FAO was recruited in the section in the 1979/1980 year.¹⁴⁸ Such gender imbalances in staffing at agricultural research institutes were a feature of many developing countries.

Muntemba and Chimedza pointed out that:

Gender sensitive technology requires clearly set out research priorities and agendas. This calls for gender sensitivity at the policymaking and technology development levels. However, women's representation in these areas is extremely limited... in 1990 in Vietnam, only 24% of agricultural scientists working at major research centres were women.¹⁴⁹

They further noted that the exclusion of women from policy formulation and monitoring contributed to negative results in agricultural research in African countries and that in 1983 the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) was urging international agricultural research centres to identify women scientists in the Third World and make use of their expertise.¹⁵⁰ These gender

¹⁴⁶ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1985-1986*, 159-176; See also, No author, 'Opportunities in Agricultural Research', *Farming in Zambia* 5, 2 (1970), 46.

¹⁴⁷ See staff lists in the *Annual Reports of the Research Branch, 1970-1990*.

¹⁴⁸ *Annual Report of the Research Branch, 1979-1980*, 357.

¹⁴⁹ Muntemba and Chimedza, 'Women spear-head Food Security'

¹⁵⁰ Muntemba and Chimedza, 'Women Spear-head Food Security'

imbalances in staffing, adversely impacted on some experiments. It was, for instance, reported in 1990 that an agro-forestry project in Zambia indicated that the success of the on-farm trials in women's plots in the project was compromised both qualitatively and quantitatively by having only a few female researchers on the team.¹⁵¹ The implication of this statement is that due to a dearth of female researchers, it was difficult to effectively address problems faced by female farmers.¹⁵²

CONCLUSION

The chapter has demonstrated that the Research Branch was fraught with gender imbalances as research in agriculture was, for a long time skewed towards meeting the needs of male farmers. We have argued that during the colonial period, researchers focused on researching into cash crops grown by men as opposed to indigenous or food crops grown by women. It has been argued that in the first sixteen years of the country's independence, gender imbalances were perpetuated as researchers leaned towards research into cash crops. The chapter has demonstrated that in the first sixteen years of the country's independence, there were generally weak links between research and extension workers in reaching out to traditional and small-scale farmers. This meant female farmers were rarely reached as most of them were fell into these two categories of farmers. It has been observed that the only section that liaised well with extension workers in reaching out to male and female farmers was FCSU and later ARPT. It has been argued that FCSU in concert with the Home Economics Section sought to reach out to males and females through employing different methods. We have further argued that ARPT scored remarkable successes in reaching out to small-scale male and female farmers. Through adaptive research, we have noted, access to research information by small-scale farmers of both sexes was enhanced. By conducting adaptive research, there was accuracy in results as experiments were conducted right on the fields of male and female farmers. It has been contended that through on-farm

¹⁵¹ Quoted in Saito, Mekonnen and Spurling, 'Raising the Productivity of Women Farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa', 67.

¹⁵² In previous chapters we alluded to challenges in male-female relationships vis-à-vis imparting of agricultural knowledge. The same situation applied to relationships between male agricultural researchers and female farmers.

research, the growth of new varieties of women's crops like sweet potatoes was promoted, thereby enabling some women to sell part of their sweet potato harvest. The chapter also demonstrated that through carrying out surveys, ARPT was able to ascertain that by the 1980s, the traditional gender roles had begun to break down due to the commercialisation of agriculture. We noted that, with the introduction of hybrid maize in areas like the Northern Province, females assumed new roles like applying fertilizer while men also began to contribute greatly to weeding and harvesting. Extension-research liaison, we have argued was also achieved through field days and agricultural shows during which farmers of both sexes, extension and research workers were in attendance. It has been argued in the chapter that, there were gender imbalances in staffing in the Research and that due to a dearth of female researchers in the branch, it was difficult for some experiments to be conducted. With examples from Vietnam, it has been observed that gender imbalances in agricultural research were not unique to Zambia but rather were a common occurrence in the developing world.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

Our study has highlighted the dynamics of gender in agricultural development in Zambia between 1890 and 1990. As a background, we examined gender roles in agriculture in the territory prior to its occupation by the British South Africa Company. The study had several objectives. It attempted to examine gender roles in agriculture in colonial and post-colonial Zambia. It also sought to analyse efforts made by the Government of the Republic of Zambia to address gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector. It further sought to assess major constraints that stood in the way of bridging gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector. It also tried to identify the major beneficiaries of donor supported agricultural projects between male and female farmers. Finally, it attempted to examine the extent to which the Research Branch liaised with the Extension Branch in reaching out to farmers of both sexes.

Primary and secondary sources of information were consulted. Secondary sources used included books and Journals focusing not only on Zambia's agricultural history but agricultural histories of the rest of the world as well. We obtained

information from different institutions in Lusaka. These included the UNZA, INESOR, NAZ and ZARI. Most books on Zambia's agricultural history were limited in scope because of their limited focus on gender issues in the country's agricultural history. We filled in this gap through consulting colonial and post-colonial government reports, conference papers and through oral interviews. Reports from NAZ gave us valuable information on the agricultural history of colonial Zambia while reports published by the Extension Branch of the Department of Agriculture gave us insights on the role played by the government of independent Zambia to reduce gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector. Oral interviews were conducted in Lusaka, Mazabuka, Monze and Kitwe. In Lusaka, we mostly benefited from oral interviews with former employees of the Ministry of Agriculture. They gave us valuable information on the challenges faced by female farmers and the important contributions made by men and women to the country's agricultural development. In Mazabuka and Monze, we interviewed small-scale farmers of both sexes who gave us insights on their experiences as farmers. We also conducted some phone interviews with respondents in and outside Lusaka. They included an informant in Western Province and another in the Luapula Province. During our research, we were weary of the fact that not all sources of information are reliable.

Avanich pointed out that:

The analysis of historical sources is perhaps the most important aspect of a historian's work. The professional competence of the historian can be measured by his or her ability to make the right choices when choosing from many sources as well by his or her ability to ascertain the authenticity of a source, verify the information it contains and compel it to 'speak'.¹

Borrowing from Avanich's view, we strove hard to choose the right sources of information for our thesis. It was not all our sources of information that proved to be as authentic as we expected. The initial stage of our research involved consulting secondary sources of information. When we went out in the field, we realised that some facts in primary documents contrasted with information obtained from secondary

¹ Boris V. Avanich, 'The Historian and the Source: Problems of Reliability and Ethics' in Francis X. Blouin and William G. Rosenberg (eds.), *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 490.

sources of information. We were consoled by Avanich's view that, "We cannot forget that historians, themselves, whatever their levels of professional competence, can never entirely rid themselves of all subjectivity in approaching their sources".² We, therefore assumed that the contrasting information may have been due to subjectivity on the part of some scholars whose work we consulted. Fortunately, we were able to verify most facts with former employees of the Ministry of Agriculture whose oral testimonies, in most instances were similar to information from primary documents. NAZ was an important source of information for our research. As Cook pointed out, "Archivists are active agents in constructing social and historical memory. Archivists are guardians of the past."³ We anticipated to obtain a lot of information from the NAZ, being a guardian of Zambia's past. Unfortunately, a number of files especially on the country's agricultural research history could not be traced. Perhaps, more care needs to be taken of our archives. Archives are valued world over as they contain documents that are original and stored over generations. Making reference to diaries of Barthelemy Boganda, a Priest and Politician in French Equatorial Africa from 1910-1959 which were found in the archives of French Spiritans, Walraven stated that the diaries gave more information on the earlier stages of Boganda's life, on which fewer sources were available. He pointed out that, "The diaries, after all, were never intended for other peoples' eyes and thus provide an impeded view into some of his inner reflections."⁴ This statement underscores the importance attached to archival material. A Canadian national Archivist, Sir Arthur Doughty emphasised the value attached to archives when he stated that, "Of all national assets, archives are the most precious. They are the gift of one generation to another and the extent of our care of them marks the extent of our civilization."⁵

² Avanich, 'The Historian and the Source: Problems of Reliability and Ethics', 496.

³ Terry Cook, 'Remembering the Future: Appraisal of Records and the Role of Archives in Constructing Social Memory' in Blouin and Rosenberg (eds.), *Archives, Documentation and Institutions of Social Memory*, 170.

⁴ Klaas Van Walraven, 'The Diaries of Barthelemy Boganda, Priest and Politician in French Equatorial Africa (1910-1959)', *History in Africa* 43 (2016), 26-27.

⁵ Cook, 'Remembering the Future: Appraisal of Records of the Role of Archives in Constructing Social Memory', 170.

In spite of challenges we faced in obtaining information from some institutions, we were able to achieve the objectives of our study. Using evidence from different sources of information, several conclusions emerged. We underscored the important roles played by men and women in traditional farming systems. The study has demonstrated that prior to the advent of colonialism, men and women complemented each other in labour roles in the agricultural cycles of their traditional farming communities. They divided the work of food production according to the local systems of sexual division of labour. In both shifting cultivation which was a form of migratory farming and in permanent/semi-permanent cultivation, chores were divided according to gender although in permanent cultivation, the division of labour was not as strict as in shifting cultivation. This study has demonstrated that during BSAC and Crown government rule, the communally-oriented household production system where men and women produced for consumption was undermined as the policies these two administrations formulated aimed at increasing agricultural production for the market. The labour they sought to involve in their enterprises was male. Ultimately, the woman as a food producer was, for the most part, ignored. When they formulated policies for the country, they did not take into account the important roles played by women in the agricultural cycles of their communities. Rather, they focused on the man as an agricultural producer. These policies led to a distortion of gender roles in farming.

The study has demonstrated that various pieces of legislation were imposed on the people by BSAC and men were proletarianised for the mines and farms. This was in the light of the fact that the company wanted to generate revenue. One piece of legislation involved introducing taxation into the territory in 1900 for North-Eastern Rhodesia and 1901 for North-Western Rhodesia although it was delayed at Rhodes' request until the administration was fully established. The study has demonstrated that it was the desire to raise money to fulfil tax obligations that prompted able-bodied men to embark on long journeys in search of employment in the Central and Southern African sub-region as well as locally. Ultimately, the countryside was depleted of able-bodied men. We have noted that there was a debate on the extent to which the absence of males impacted on women's farming activities among traditional African societies. The impact, we have noted depended on the nature of the social structure and the degree

of reliance on male labour. Scholarship on ethnic groups like the Tonga, Mambwe and Ngoni has argued that the absence of men did not significantly negatively impact on women's farming activities as measures were put in place to avert hunger. We have under-scored the relevance of males in the agricultural cycles of the traditional farming communities. When men were forced to leave as labour migrants by the colonial state in collaboration with mining capital, the burden of domestic food supply shifted to the remaining women and their children. This meant the onus was on them to fend for themselves. This entailed them assuming male gender roles in farming, thus their gender status in society was disfigured. We have contended therefore, that even though among the Tonga, Mambwe and Ngoni, food security was assured in the absence of men, it was at the expense of the clearly defined traditional gender farming roles. With evidence from colonial reports, we have demonstrated the negative impact that the absence of males had on the agricultural cycles of ethnic groups like the Bemba of Northern Province and the Ushi of Luapula Province.

Another piece of legislation imposed on the Zambian people by BSAC was the banning of the 'chitemene' agricultural practice which, from the on-set was perceived as a wasteful method of cultivation that was leading to the deforestation of the country. In consequence, legislation was passed to ban it in 1906 and prosecution was immediately employed to punish those who continued farming using this agricultural practice. We have cited instances of people being punished for farming using the 'chitemene'. It has been demonstrated that because of complaints from Bemba Chiefs that their people were dying from famine arising out of the ban of the 'chitemene', it was allowed to resume in 1909 but close to villages and that there were controls on the 'chitemene' like the Chitemene Control Scheme introduced in 1938 in Abercorn (Mbala). We have illuminated that this ban on 'chitemene' was a blow to the affected people. The clearly marked and distinct gender roles in this practice had been held in high esteem and dug-out gardens were not the basis of agriculture for these peoples. No wonder, some Colonial officials even paid homage to the division of labour inherent in this agricultural practice.

The study has concluded that the two world wars and the Native Reserves policy were important phenomena that led to women assuming male gender roles in

farming. During both wars, Zambian men were conscripted to serve under the British flag. Ultimately, there was a shortage of able-bodied men in the country-side. Women, therefore assumed male roles in farming. This distortion of gender roles in farming led to a drop in harvests in some areas as agricultural tasks previously deemed as men's domains could not be effectively carried out by women. Worse still, in 1926, Native Reserves were created in the country. This was as a result of increasing pressure from the settlers in the farming regions of the country to alienate land for settler occupation. Consequently, Africans were pushed out of the fertile areas and pushed into infertile areas to pave way for the occupation of the fertile areas by settler farmers. Because of the deplorable living conditions in the reserves, the men-folk began leaving them in search of better areas. In consequence, women began performing agricultural tasks previously performed by males. Worse still, because of reserves being small and populous, the 'chitemene' could not effectively work. By the end of World War Two, whatever reciprocal division of labour that existed had ended.

Ironically, in African agricultural schemes introduced by the colonial state after World War Two, females were side-lined. Under the ten-year Agricultural Plan that ran from 1947 to 1957, many agricultural schemes were established in the territory. These included the African Farming Improvement Scheme (AFIS) established in 1946 in the Southern Province but as part of the plan extended to Central Province in 1952, the Peasant Farming Scheme (PFS) of 1948 and the Intensive Rural Development Programme that was begun in 1956. The state perceived women as housewives and not as farmers, therefore in colonial reports, women do not come out as scheme participants. Under the African Farming Improvement Scheme, loans were made available to participants. However, chances of women getting such loans were diminished by the fact that none of them became progressive farmers. Worse still, these schemes even incorporated boys while excluding girls. We cited an example of 80 school boys that were camped on one of the peasant farm groups in Serenje where they were instructed in the principles of the scheme and did practical work alongside farmers and labourers. Girls were not part of that instruction. We also cited examples from the Southern Province where new technology like ploughs and other techniques were introduced to scheme members. Ironically, such technology was just directed at male

heads of households while wives, mostly in polygamous arrangements were used as cheap labour.

The study has also demonstrated that, like in agricultural schemes, agricultural education in the territory was also characterised by gender imbalances. During the post-war period, no significant changes were made in as far as bridging gender imbalances in agricultural education. The ten-year plan stressed the fact that it was a class of African men that would develop, in time to take over the functions of European Agricultural Supervisors. Reports indicate that it was males that were enrolled into the agricultural colleges opened in the territory. When Development teams were set up in Development Areas by the colonial state in the 1950s to instruct men and women, while men were being acquainted with various agricultural skills, for the most part, women were instructed in house-keeping. This was a reflection of the class aspect of these Development teams. We have noted that this emphasis on Home Craft continued even up to the time the country became independent in 1964.

It was demonstrated, in the study that while the colonial state greatly contributed to the marginalisation of women in farming, cultural constraints also stood in the way of bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector. Traditionally, girls did not receive as much formal education as boys. It was common for girls in rural areas to be married off as soon as they got of-age. Thus, their chances of being incorporated in the country's agricultural sector were diminished. Reports indicate that at primary and secondary schools, enrolment figures for girls were low. This negatively impacted on their incorporation into the country's agricultural development. We have illustrated in Appendix 1, the extremely low level of female attendance at selected primary schools in the Southern and Eastern Provinces of the country as was observed by Cadets on tour. We have shown that in all the schools toured, there were wide gaps in numbers between male and female attendees with all schools recording more male than female attendees. For instance, at Chivuna Middle School for Jesuits in Mazabuka, Southern Province, the total average attendance for boys in 1951 was 87.5 % while for girls, it was 10 %. The situation was not different at selected Primary Schools in Eastern Province where the total number of boys on roll was 178 while girls on roll were 82. This was to the amazement of the Cadets on tour. At a school in Chief

Kabamba's area in Serenje district in Central Province, the Cadet observed that absenteeism was fairly low judging from the month of September which showed attendance of 94.93% for girls and 94.28% for boys.⁶ He thought it was surprising to notice the very small percentage of girls to boys at that school although that was typical throughout the district despite the fact that there were just as many boys as girls in the villages. We have also demonstrated that the colonial state, in the post-war era made no attempts to halt labour migration. We have illustrated in Appendix 2, the ever increasing number of migrants to employment centres in the post-war era. Therefore, rural areas continued to be denuded of able-bodied men. The consequence was that gender roles in agriculture continued to be distorted as women assumed male roles in farming.

Although the general picture presented is that in the period before and after the war, the state primarily focused on the welfare of men in farming, there were instances in which the same state appreciated women in farming and tried to incorporate them into farming activities in the territory. We have cited an instance of a woman Agricultural Supervisor who was stationed at Chief Mshawa's area in Chipata in order to help carry out soil conservation measures to help agricultural development through an approach to the women, who, in that province did most of the hand cultivation. Reports indicate that at Training Centres established in the territory in the post-1950 period, women were receiving some instruction in agriculture. We have also demonstrated that a few women participated in field days on selected farms in Native Reserves. However, these were just isolated cases. For the most part, women were marginalised. By independence in 1964, gender imbalances in the country's agricultural sector were still apparent.

In the first ten years of the country's independence, visible cogent efforts were made by the Zambian government to incorporate women into the country's agricultural development. Both FNDP and SINDP had chapters on envisaged policy on agriculture. Hence, a number of agricultural colleges, FTCs and Farm Institutes were born under the plans. In 1970, the Home Economics Section was also established under the Extension

⁶ NAZ 2/668 Serenje Tour Report No. 14, 1956.

Branch of the Department of Agriculture. Its goal was to address the challenges faced by women in agriculture. Then, in 1971 the School of Agricultural Sciences was established at UNZA and began offering degree programmes in Agricultural Sciences. It has been demonstrated that these agricultural institutions opened in the post-independence era were gender sensitive as they strove to cater for the needs of both sexes. We have illustrated, through statistics obtained from reports that both sexes were enrolled at these institutions. In the Home Economics Section, some women received instruction through mobile and residential training. However, an examination of statistics of attendees at these institutions indicated that there were wide gaps in numbers between male and female trainees with institutions recording more male than female attendees. Worse still, for the most part, women continued receiving instruction in Home Economics, a scenario that was prevalent in colonial Zambia. It was males that basically enrolled into agricultural-based disciplines. In summing up this emphasis on Home Economics training for women, Chipungu stated that, “The mounting of Home Economics courses for women farmers reflected the state’s attitude that extension work for women should primarily help to solve rural nutritional problems.”⁷ We have also illustrated, in our study that a year after the country attained her independence, the then President of the country, at a rally in Ndola in 1965 encouraged Zambians to embark on a policy of forming farming cooperatives. Although cooperatives were born in the colonial era, farming cooperatives only began to spring up in the post-1965 period. Ironically, when these farming cooperatives began to spring up, it was men that dominated them. Reports indicate that female membership in these cooperatives was generally low and that positions of responsibility in the cooperative movement were generally held by men.

It has been demonstrated that through-out this first ten-year period of the country’s independence, gender imbalances in agricultural-related jobs continued to be recorded. Senior positions in the Ministry of Agriculture were dominated by males. In 1974, there were staff changes at higher levels in the Ministry of Agriculture due to the Zambianisation programme. A number of positions, most of them formerly held by

⁷ Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia: A Case Study of the Southern Province*, 155.

expatriates were assigned to Zambians. None of these positions went to women in spite of the Ministry of Agriculture having a female degree holder who could have been assigned a position in the Home Economics Section to effectively represent female farmers.

The study concluded that several bottlenecks stood in the way of bridging gender imbalances in Zambia's agricultural sector during the first decade of her independence. We have demonstrated that gender relations in which males were perceived as a supreme sex was primary in the failure to bridge gender imbalances. At colonialism, women were side-lined by the colonialists who saw it fit to deal with males rather than females. This gender prejudice was perpetuated at independence and therefore male Extension Officers saw it fit to impart knowledge to male as opposed to female farmers. Their argument was that cultural norms could not allow them to deal with another man's wife. However, Keller, Phiri and Milimo were of the view that culturally determined attitudes that a male extension worker should not approach another man's wife or deal directly with a female head of household were used as justification for not finding acceptable strategies to ensure the provision of extension services to women.⁸ Worse still, there were reports to the effect that even at agricultural institutions, females were looked down upon by males and some working conditions favoured males as opposed to females. Low education levels among females, like in the colonial period continued to be a major problem the government was grappling with. Because of their low education levels, it became increasingly difficult for them to be incorporated into the country's agricultural development. Worse still, low staffing levels of females at farmer training institutions made it increasingly difficult for female farmers to be reached out. Among the many constraints was the transport constraint that made it difficult for female trainees to be transported to and from farmer training institutions. Because of these challenges, it was difficult for the Zambian government to end gender imbalances in the agricultural sector during the first decade of the country's independence.

⁸ Keller, Phiri and Milimo, 'Women and Agricultural Development', 256.

It has been demonstrated that in spite of the many bottlenecks that stood in the way of incorporating women into the country's agricultural development during this ten-year period, some measure of success was achieved by the government as it strove to reduce the gender divide in the agricultural sector. A major success scored was the drive by the Home Economics Section to reach out to rural women through mobile training. Through training women right in their villages, a number of females, who because of family commitments could not receive institutional training were reached. Another significant achievement was women breaking into domains previously deemed as men's domains. Thus, the post-1970 period saw women being trained in courses like Animal Husbandry, Oxen and Farm Machinery as well as Dairying. We have also illustrated that the first decade of the country's independence saw an increase in the numbers of females being admitted to colleges of agriculture and UNZA, School of Agricultural Sciences. By 1972, the staffing position in Home Economics Sections in the country's provinces had also improved. Through Women's Clubs and Young Farmers' Clubs, women and girls respectively were incorporated into the country's agricultural development. Another significant achievement recorded was the drive to incorporate both sexes into the cooperative movement through the introduction of farming cooperatives in the post-1972 period which incorporated the whole family (husband, wife and children). A significant achievement was women venturing into poultry farming, a type of farming from which the government began reaping huge financial returns in the early 1970s. Lombard and Tweedie hailed women in the poultry industry noting that at independence, Zambia was an importer of poultry but that from that year production took off rapidly and that in 1970, a bad year for maize, poultry became Zambia's largest single enterprise. He hailed Women's Clubs for their resounding success in this enterprise.⁹ We have demonstrated that through the Radio Farm Forums introduced under FNDP, both men and women began to acquire agricultural knowledge through the medium of the radio. These forums represented a major step towards reducing gender imbalances in the agricultural sector. By 1974, although not much was achieved in the way of bridging gender imbalances, the

⁹ C. S. Lombard and A. H. C. Tweedie, *Agriculture in Zambia since Independence* (Lusaka: National Education Company of Zambia, 1972), 41.

successes scored were also significant compared to the colonial era when females were, for the most part side-lined.

The study has under-scored the important role played by UNO in catalysing the reduction of gender biases in the country's agricultural sector. Arising out of the UNO declaration of the 1976-1985 period as the UNO Decade for Women, there was a drive by the GRZ to support women in farming. Thus, during this decade and its aftermath, a lot was achieved in the way of bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector. By 1990, significant successes had been scored by the government as it tried to narrow the gender gap in the agricultural sector. Women's Clubs continued exposing women to better methods of cultivating crops. The Home Economics Section also embarked on a process of training female members of Young Farmers' Clubs. Mobile and residential training of women and the youth were conducted by the section in different parts of the country during the period 1975 to 1990. Women were also encouraged to be attendees and participants at agricultural shows and field days. Another success scored was in the increase in staff members of the Home Economics Section. From 1976 to 1985, for instance, there was a yearly increase in staff members in the Home Economics Section. Ultimately, the needs of female farmers were effectively addressed. Through agricultural colleges and through the Extension-Training Unit of the Department of agriculture, female school leavers and female members of staff of the Department of Agriculture respectively received agricultural instruction. It has been demonstrated that Radio Farm forums continued to be an important platform for reaching out to males and females through the medium of the radio. At farmer training institutions, both sexes were receiving instruction in Radio Farm Forums and in Radio Farm Forum groups, instruction continued to be aired in local languages and at times suitable to both sexes.

The study has concluded that in spite of these successes scored in the Decade for Women and its five-year aftermath, there were still bottlenecks that stood in the way of bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector. At agricultural colleges, there were still wide gaps in numbers between male and female trainees as colleges continued recording more male than female trainees. This was the same scenario at UNZA, Farm Institutes and FTCs. Worse still, at colleges like NRDC and the ZCA, few females

received instruction in agricultural sciences. Rather, most of them were enrolled into Nutrition. The Extension-training Unit that was given the mandate to organise international in-service training for employees of the Ministry of Agriculture continued recording more male than female trainees sent abroad for training. Because of the low numbers of female trainees recorded at agricultural training institutions, staffing levels of females in the Department of Agriculture were, inevitably low. This adversely impacted on the dissemination of agricultural information to females. We have demonstrated that a factor that was responsible for the failure to fully incorporate females into the country's agricultural development were the gender imbalances in extension which were perpetuated in this fifteen-year period. Ministry of Agriculture reports as well as oral testimonies from former employees of the Ministry of Agriculture pointed to a perpetuation of these gender biases in extension, adversely affecting the acquisition of agricultural knowledge by females. Worse still, the few females trained at agricultural institutions meant that the Extension Department had few female Extension Officers. Therefore, it was difficult for the needs of female farmers to be effectively addressed. Other challenges faced by the department were funding and transport constraints. Reports pointed to the adverse impact funding constraints had on Home Economics Sections country-wide. Because of transport challenges, even when females were interested in receiving instruction, it was difficult for them to be ferried to instruction centres.

During this period, female farmers generally lacked access to factors of production. Women in Zambia were generally marginalised by agricultural financial institutions that made it difficult for them to have access to loans. Reports from provinces country-wide indicate that the Agricultural Finance Company, the major financial institution that was lending money to small-scale and traditional farmers only lent a small fraction to females because of the conditions which female applicants could not meet. Because of the limited access they had to finance, they were not able to acquire technological devices. Studies conducted in some parts of the country indicated that women had limited access not only to technology but also to land. Culturally, in many ethnic groups, the power to own land rested in the hands of males. That women had limited access to resources was echoed by Geisler when she pointed out that,

“Female headed households have been consistently recognised as a vulnerable group because of their often weak resources.”¹⁰ Because of these constraints, by 1990, the gender gap in agriculture was still apparent.

The study has under-scored the important role played by donor supported agricultural projects in bridging gender imbalances in the agricultural sector during the Decade for Women and its five-year aftermath. Arising out of the declaration of the Decade for Women, donor agencies began giving support to women in farming. Some agencies aimed at reaching out to both sexes. It was demonstrated that beginning from 1978, donor agencies began supporting agricultural projects in the country. These included IRDP and the Lima Project which attracted donor funding in 1978 and 1981 respectively. IRDPs which had begun as IDZs in Kasama under MAWD in 1973 were transformed to IRDPs in 1978 after being extended to other areas and then attracted the funding of SIDA, ODA, GTZ, DANIDA and NORAD. They were basically assisting Women’s Clubs with in-puts. However some criticised them for failing to successfully organise the clubs and for discriminating against women. We concluded that despite their condemnation, their successes were significant and that some women acquired agricultural skills through them. The Lima project that was born in 1979 attracted the support and funding of SIDA in 1981. It aimed at improving the quality of life of the low-income rural women through the use of appropriate technology. We demonstrated that through grants to Women’s and Young Farmers’ Clubs, it was able to boost the activities of women and girls in these two clubs. However, in spite of the success of this programme, there were reports that it was mainly males that benefitted from the Lima project. Reports indicate that at Farm Institutes and FTCs, it was mainly males that received instruction in Lima courses. That Lima was more to the benefit of males than females was confirmed by a Women Programme Adviser at MAWD in her report on the Lima programme.

In the post-1980 period, the Home Economics Section in concert with donor agencies initiated three projects. These were the WAVT in 1981, WPRD in 1982 and PPP also in 1982. The earlier two aimed at addressing the needs of female farmers in

¹⁰ Gisela Geisler, ‘Structural adjustment, Gender and the Agricultural Sector in Zambia’, *Journal of Modern African Studies* 3, 1 (1992), 125.

rural Zambia while the later catered for both sexes. Through WAVT, women were exposed to appropriate technological devices. However, the project was not very successful as women did not understand the rationale behind adopting the technological devices. Ultimately, after a Needs Assessment Survey of the project in 1985, its activities came to a stand-still eventually collapsed. Also funded by SIDA, WPRD aimed at improving the quality of life of the most disadvantaged rural women through the adoption of modern techniques in agriculture. Through it, women had access to inputs and credit in its operational areas. However, it was condemned for focusing on well-to-do women and not the rural poor as originally intended. This was an indication that biases were going beyond gender to same sex biases. A report also identified flaws in its work like the late release of in-puts, the late release of money for training and the limited access to transport for close supervision. Thus, SIDA support to the programme was terminated in 1990. Funded by FAO and the Netherlands, PPP began operating in western Zambia in 1982. It also aimed at improving the quality of life of the lower income rural women especially the female headed households though men were also incorporated into the project. Indeed, reports indicate that women had access to loans and were involved in diverse agricultural activities. Because of its successes, it moved to a second phase during which membership increased.

Some donor agencies were operating in individual provinces. These included AETP and SSRP in Luapula Province and EPAD in Eastern Province. Funded by FINNIDA, AETP aimed at training Lima farmers, assisting them through the Co-operative Credit loans, training extension staff and collaborating research and extension staff. Indeed, it funded mobile courses for both sexes in the province as mobile training was seen as an effective way of reaching out to female farmers and trainers. Funded by the World Bank and IFAD, EPAD began its work in Eastern Province in 1982. It was operating under the Training and Visit System of Extension which involved using contact farmers to advise fellow farmers. However, this project was fraught with flaws as a greater percentage of contact farmers were male including the expatriate staff. This was confirmed in EPAD reports and Eastern Province Agricultural Annual Reports. It was supposed to end in 1987 but was extended for a year to enable it complete some unfinished projects. Funded by IFAD, SSRP was also based on the Training and Visit

System of Extension. It became operational in selected areas of the Luapula Province in 1987. Like EPAD, it was also not gender sensitive as it had more male than female contact farmers. The study concluded that through donor supported agricultural projects, some women were able to contribute to agricultural activities in their communities. However, gender biases were evident in those that incorporated both sexes while in those with an all-female membership, some challenges were also apparent. It was alleged that some projects were to the benefit of the already well-to-do females and not the rural poor as originally intended.

The final feature examined in the dynamics of gender in the country's agricultural sector was the link between gender and agricultural research. We attempted to establish the extent to which the Extension Branch liaised with the Research Branch in reaching out to both sexes. It was demonstrated that during the colonial period, it was male farmers who benefited from agricultural research findings by virtue of being improved and progressive farmers and that during that period, research focused on cash crops grown by males. During the first sixteen years of the country's independence, research emphasis continued to be on cash crops grown by males. It was not until the 1980s that the Research Branch started to beef up research into food crops grown by women. This was after the inception of SADCC which began coordinating agricultural research for the region, providing improved strains of indigenous crops like sorghum and millet which colonial regimes had ignored or constrained. Zambia, like other SADCC countries also embarked on a process of researching into indigenous crops like millet, sorghum and cassava which many women grew.

The study concluded that before 1980, there were gender imbalances in linkages between research and extension in Zambia. Because research focused primarily on cash crops grown by males, women were not beneficiaries of agricultural research findings. It was only the Food and Conservation Unit of the Central Research Station that liaised with the Extension Branch in reaching out to farmers and would-be farmers of both sexes. From 1971, this section worked hand in hand with the Extension Branch in disseminating agricultural information to males and females. Liaison was through lectures, courses, personal visits and field days. During such activities, FCSU disseminated information to students at colleges like NRDC, Farm Institutes and FTCs

to female extension staff, male and female farmers and to the public at large. Another section that liaised well with the Extension Branch was ARPT which was born as a section of the Central Research Station in 1980. Its birth was a major landmark in bridging gender imbalances in agricultural research. It worked hand in hand with the Extension Branch in reaching out to farmers of both sexes. It aimed at conducting adaptive research right on farmers' fields. Ultimately, male and female small-scale farmers who were not able to travel to Research Stations due to financial constraints benefited from its work.

Throughout the country, there were reports to the effect that ARPT strove hard to reach out to small-scale farmers of both sexes. It conducted researches into the constraints faced by female headed households arguing that such households were generally resource poor. Through workshops at which research and extension workers of both sexes were represented, these groups of workers exchanged ideas on the challenges they were facing vis-à-vis reaching out to male and female farmers. Studies were also conducted on the differences between male and female activities. It also conducted nutrition studies during which the constraints faced by female heads of households in the area of nutrition were highlighted. In crop research, ARPT emphasised on food crops like cassava and sweet potatoes which were mainly grown by women. In the Luapula Province, it also carried out investigations into ways of ensuring food security during the dry season among female farmers. In a study in the Central Province in 1989, the conclusion was that the existing relationship between extension workers, the male and female farming community had improved since the introduction of ARPT into the province. It also embarked on studies to establish how gender roles in farming among traditional farmers were divided among males and females. A 1987 study in Luangwa, Lusaka Province revealed that while men cleared the fields, women planted, prepared land and weeded while bird scaring was done by children. Another study conducted in the same year in Northern Province concluded that roles in farming in the 'chitemene' were gender specific. It was as a result of the team's investigations into male and female farming systems that it was able to conclude that in the 1980s, there were some changes seen in gender roles in farming in certain ethnic groups. For instance, in Northern Province, there was a flexibility in the division of labour. This

was due to the fact that there was now more production for the market and men now began to contribute more to weeding and harvesting while women assumed roles like applying fertiliser, shelling and bagging of hybrid maize. ARPT conducted on-farm trials on men and women's plots during which it concluded that female farmers, as a group were not adequately recognised by extension workers or represented as contact farmers to be the link between farming communities and the extension workers. It also worked hand in hand with extension workers in ensuring that women attended field days at research stations. These field days were important platforms at which research and extension workers exchanged ideas with farmers on different aspects of agricultural technology. The field days were not gender specific as they were open to both sexes. A report of 1985/1986, for instance attested to the attendance of both sexes at field days in Lusaka Province. Even at agricultural shows, ARPT had displays on nutrition as indicated in reports. All in all, though initially extension-research links in reaching out to both sexes were poor, by 1990, the links had improved markedly. With vigour, ARPT and the Extension Branch ensured that research findings were availed to small-scale male and female farmers.

The study also concluded that the Research Branch, like the Extension Branch did not have a gender balanced staff. Most research scientists were male. This was a reflection of the gender imbalances at agricultural colleges where the male-female sex ratios were imbalanced as the agricultural colleges recorded more male than female students. However, by 1990, the male-female ratio of scientists had improved. This was due to the fact that more female graduates from agricultural colleges and UNZA were being off-loaded on to the job market. In spite of this improvement, by 1990, the gender gap in agricultural research was still evident.

It was concluded that although, overall not much was achieved in the way of bridging the gender gap in the agricultural sector in the first 26 years of the country's independence, the successes scored were also significant. As a result of the deliberate policies put in place by the GRZ, gender imbalances that had hitherto characterised the agricultural sector were reduced. The agricultural profession, previously perceived as a male profession began to be broken into by females. Women began cultivating a lot of interest in joining Women's Clubs while girls became active participants in the Young

Farmers' Club Movement. The Cooperative Movement, previously a male movement began attracting the attention of females. Ultimately, by 1990, a number of Women's Cooperatives had been born. Most importantly, with advocacy from the UNO during the Decade for Women, female participation in farming in the country was catalysed and many women saw it fit to participate in activities of donor supported agricultural projects.

Findings of the study were situated in a broader global and regional context. We have demonstrated that, like in Zambia, other countries observed a rigid division of roles based on gender. Farming families in the 1960s in Germany, France, Yugoslavia and Poland also observed a sexual division of labour in farming. Although women played a central role in farming, the rest of the family also contributed to the success of the farm. This was the same situation in African countries, for instance among the Manganja ethnic group of the lower Tchiri Valley in Malawi men, women, boys and girls were involved in the agricultural cycle with men beginning the process by clearing the land while planting and weeding was done by both sexes. Male children guarded crops against birds. We have demonstrated that like in Zambia, other colonised countries had gender roles distorted due to policies formulated by their colonial masters. In Mexico, there was a distortion of gender roles in farming after the colonisation of the territory by Spain between 1500 and 1800. Once Spain exerted its rule over Mexico, it introduced taxation. In consequence, the country's able-bodied men began going out in search of money to pay tax. Ultimately, females assumed male sex roles in farming. This signaled the distortion of gender roles in farming, the same situation that prevailed in Zambia.

It was concluded that African women were generally hidden in colonial history. Therefore, like in Zambia, other countries in Africa recorded gender imbalances in agricultural education. With examples from countries like Malawi, Mali, Ghana and Rwanda, we showed that these gender imbalances in agricultural education were legion. At colonisation, females in these countries were generally instructed in Home Economics, a situation that did not change much even when they became independent. The post-independence era saw women in these countries, for the most part being marginalised in agricultural education.

The study also noted that like Zambia, women in the rest of the developing world lacked access to capital and resources like land. In Malawi and Tanzania, for instance, women's access to credit was limited because of no access to surety like land. Therefore, even when they wanted to take part in the agricultural activities of their farming communities, they were constrained by the fact that they lacked resources. Female access to resources was recorded in some countries across the continent like in India where female farmers faced the challenge of lack of access to technology and land. Like in Zambia, the gender gap in agricultural extension was also recorded in African countries like Malawi and Zimbabwe and also in Asia. A 1989 FAO global survey on extension and farm women concluded that there were few women extension agents globally.

During the International Women's Decade other countries in Africa, like Zambia embarked on supporting women in agriculture. In Mali, after the declaration of the International Women's Year, the Women's Promotion Division was established and for the first time a Women's Cooperative was established in 1975 which was the first of its kind in Mali. In Kenya, a Women's Bureau was created in 1975 in the Ministry of Social affairs and the World Bank funded Training and Visit System of extension encouraged male extension agents to work with women's groups. Like in Zambia, Adaptive Research Planning Teams were established in many African countries.¹¹ These embarked on a process of conducting on-farm researches on both men's and women's plots, for example in Burkina Faso, Nigeria, and Kenya. In consequence, research findings began to reach women who initially had no access to research findings. Certainly, these debates on gender in agriculture in the region and globally are similar.

APPENDICES

¹¹ See M. Ndiyoi and M. Phiri (eds.), *Institutionalisation of Farming Systems Approach in Eastern and Southern Africa* (Mbabane: The Southern African Association for Farming Systems Research-Extension, 1998). Contributors from different countries discuss the evolution, growth and work of ARPTs in their countries.

Appendix 1: Primary School attendance at selected schools in the Southern and Eastern Provinces of Zambia, 1951

A. Attendance at selected Primary Schools in Mazabuka, Southern Province

School	Average Attendees	
	Boys (%)	Girls (%)
Chijanwa Jesuit Fathers	25.5	7.1
Chivuna Middle School for Jesuits	87.5	10.4
Sianzala Jesuit Fathers	33.2	11.3
Sianjalika Seventh Day Adventist	33.2	11.3
Mainza Salvation Army	24	14
Manjile Salvation Army	42.1	18.5
Total	245.5	72.6

Source: NAZ, MAG 1060, Mazabuka Tour Report No. 3, February, 1951

B. Attendance at a Primary School in Chief Kabamba's Area, Serenje, Central Province

Grade	Number of Boys on Roll	Number of Girls on Roll
Sub A	20	11
Sub B	17	9
Standard I	23	5
Standard II	21	3
Total Attendance	81	28
Average Attendance	76.9%	26.4%

Source: NAZ, MAG 2/668, Serenje Tour Report No. 14, 1956

C. Attendance at selected Primary Schools in Chiefs Madzimawe and Nzamane Areas, Fort Jameson, Eastern Province

Aided Schools

i. *Kalikongwe*

Grade	Number on Roll	
	Boys	Girls
Sub A	19	16
Sub B	13	7
Standard I	15	2
Standard II	6	3
Total	53	28

ii. *Masinja*

Grade	Number on Roll	
	Boys	Girls
Sub A	25	10
Sub B	12	8
Standard I	15	2
Standard II	12	0
Total	64	20

iii. *Vimba*

Grade	Number on Roll	
	Boys	Girls
Sub A	18	14
Sub B	12	13
Standard I	21	5
Standard II	10	2
Total	61	34

Source: NAZ, SEC 2/695, Fort Jameson Tour Report No. 19, 1953

Appendix 2: Statistics of Post-World War Two Labour Migrations, 1956 and 1960

A. Central Province, 1956

Percentage of taxable males away	Area of Designation
75%	Outside the territory
46.7%	Locally within the province
29.1%	On the Copperbelt

Source: NAZ, SEC 2/668, Serenje Tour Report No. 12, 1956

B. Eastern Province, 1960

i. *Chief Madzimoyo's area*

Designation	Percentage of Taxable males
Living at home	30.5
At work within province	22.0
Outside province but in territory	27.3
Southern Rhodesia	1.0
Others	1

Source: NAZ, SEC 2/702, Fort Jameson Tour Report No. 1, 1960

ii. *Chief Chinyaka's area*

	Year			
	1956 (%)	1957 (%)	1958 (%)	1960 (%)
Living at Home	30	33	29	27.6
Working in province	23.9	17.4	19.5	18.6
Working outside province	25.1	29.2	33.5	31.2
Working in Southern Rhodesia	19.4	17.8	17	21
Working elsewhere	0.8	2.6	1	1.6
Total	99.2	100	100	100

Source: NAZ SEC 2/702, Fort Jameson Tour No. 2, 1960.

Appendix 3: Staffing in the Department of Cooperatives, Central Province, 31st December, 1970

Name	Gender	Rank	Station
Ibanza, EL.	Male	Provincial Cooperative Officer	Kabwe
H. Limula, H	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Kabwe
Senkwe, A.	Male	Cooperative Officer	Kabwe
Limula, H.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Kabwe
Mbewe, C.N	Male	Assistant Cooperative Officer	Kabwe
Nyendwa, A. B. D	Male	Cooperative Assistant	Kabwe
Kaambwa, D. D.	Male	Cooperative Officer	Lusaka
Imasiku, G. S	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Lusaka
Kalimamukwento, D.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Mumbwa
Mugwagwa, F.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Mumbwa
Zimba, L.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Chombwa
Daka, A. B.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Mkushi
Mpomwa, G.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Mkushi
Malambo, A.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Serenje
Simakungwe, D.	Male	Cooperative Assistant	Serenje
Chama, P. S.	Male	Cooperative Assistant	Serenje
Mwelwa, M. A. C.	Male	Senior Cooperative Assistant	Mulimba
Mudenda, A. B. C.	Male	Cooperative Assistant	Kakwelesa

Source: NAZ, CNP 1/14/4, Ministry of Rural Development, Staffing, Department of Cooperatives, Central Province, 31.12.70

Appendix 4: Staffing in the Department of Cooperatives, Eastern Province, December 1974

Name	Gender	Rank	Station
Sichalwe, L. M.	Male	Provincial Cooperative Officer	Chipata
Banda, W. C.	Male	Senior Cooperative Officer	Chipata
Njobvu, D. J.	Male	Assistant Cooperative Officer	Chipata
Limula, L. M.	Male	District Cooperative Officer	Chipata
Milimba, D.K	Male	District Cooperative Officer	Chipata
Mulenga, V. A.	Male	Junior Cooperative Officer	Chipata
Nyambe, G. S.	Male	Cooperative Assistant	Chipata
Phiri, A.	Male	Agricultural Supervisor	Chipata
Chirwa, A. Y.	Male	Junior Cooperative Officer	Chipata
Chiumiyati, B. S.	Male	District Cooperative Officer	Lundazi
Siwo, D.	Male	Cooperative Assistant	Lundazi
Msimuko, Y.	Male	Agricultural Supervisor	Lundazi
Mukuka, J. C.	Male	District Cooperative Officer	Katete
Mweene, P. L.	Male	Junior Cooperative Officer	Katete
Mponda, P. Y.	Male	Agricultural Supervisor	Katete
Habbanhi, N. D.	Male	Cooperative Officer	Petauke
Nyirenda, C. E.	Male	Junior Cooperative Officer	Petauke
Phiri, W. D.	Male	Junior Cooperative Officer	Petauke
Peti, Z. M.	Male	District Cooperative Officer	Chama

Source: NAZ EP 4/2/176, Ministry of Rural Development, Department of Cooperatives Eastern Province Report for the year ending 31st December 1974

Appendix 5: MRD, Senior Officials: Assignments, 1974

NAME	GENDER	POSITION
Mughandila, E. P.	Male	Director, Marketing
Sakala, J. A.	Male	Permanent Secretary
Vuttah, W. D.	Male	Head, Rural Information Services
Hamaamba, A.	Male	Director, Agriculture
Akafekwa, G. I.	Male	Director, Veterinary and Tsetse Control
Chiwala, S.B.	Male	Director, Cooperatives
Mukutu, N.	Male	Assistant Director, Agriculture
Mumba, N. E.	Male	Director, Agricultural Research
Zyambo, C. N.	Male	Deputy Director, Vet. And Tsetse Control

Source: No author, 'Ministry Senior Officials get New Assignments', *Farming in Zambia* 8, 4 (1974), 19.

Appendix 6: Radio Farm Forum Broadcasting Schedules, 1969-1973

Year	Language	Day	Time
1969	Lozi	Monday	4.30 p. m.
	Tonga	Wednesday	4. 30 p. m.
	Kaonde	Tuesday	4. 00 p. m.
	Lunda	Thursday	4. 30 p. m.
	Luvale	Saturday	4. 00 p. m.
	Bemba	Tuesday	4. 30 p. m.
	Nyanja	Friday	4. 30 p. m.
1970	Lozi	Monday	4.30 p. m.
	Tonga	Wednesday	4. 30 p. m.
	Kaonde	Tuesday	4. 00 p. m.
	Lunda	Thursday	4. 00 p. m.
	Luvale	Monday	3. 30 p. m.
	Bemba	Tuesday	4. 30 p. m.

	Nyanja	Friday	4. 30 p. m.
1971	Lozi	Monday	4.30 p. m.
	Tonga	Wednesday	4. 30 p. m.
	Kaonde	Tuesday	4. 30 p. m.
	Lunda	Thursday	4. 00 p. m.
	Luvale	Tuesday	3. 30 p. m.
	Bemba	Tuesday	4. 30 p. m.
	Nyanja	Friday	4. 30 p. m.
1972	Same as 1971		
1973	Lozi	Monday	16. 30 hours
	Tonga	Wednesday	16. 30 hours
	Kaonde	Tuesday	16. 30 hours
	Lunda	Thursday	16. 00 hours
	Luvale	Tuesday	15. 30 hours
	Bemba	Tuesday	16. 30 hours
	Nyanja	Friday	16.30 hours

Source: Compiled from *Farming in Zambia* 5, 1 (1969), 39; 5, 2 (1970), 47; 5, 4 (1970), 50; 6, 1 (1970), 54; 6, 3 (1971), 44; 7, 3 (1972), 44 and 7, 1 (1973), 26.

Appendix 7: Female Staffing Position in the Research Branch, 1970-1988

Year	Job Title	Station	Female Employees	Total
1970-1971	Soil Chemist	MMCRS	1	
	Laboratory Assistant	MMCRS	1	
Total				2
1972-1973	Technical Officers	MMCRS	2	
	Soil Chemist	MMCRS	1	
	Laboratory Assistant	MMCRS	1	

Total				4
1973-1974	Technical Officer	MMCRS, Kabwe Research Station	4	
	Plant Pathologist	MMCRS	1	
	CARO	MMCRS	1	
Total				6
1974-1975	Technical Officer	Kabwe Research Station, Msekera Research Station	2	
	Agric Supervisor	MMCRS, Copperbelt Research Station	2	
	Plant Pathologist	MMCRS	1	
	Research Assistant	MMCRS	1	
	CARO	MMCRS	1	
Total				7
1975-1976	Research Assistants	MMCRS	2	
	Agricultural Supervisors	MMCRS, Copperbelt Research Station	2	
	Plant Pathologist	MMCRS	1	
	Technical Officer	Kabwe Research Station, Msekera Research Station	3	
	Technical Officer	Msekera Research Station	1	
	CARO	MMCRS	1	
Total				9
1976-1977	Technical Officers	MMCRS, Misamfu	3	
	Agricultural Assistant	Mochipapa Research Station	1	
	CARO	MMCRS	1	
				4
1977-1978	Technical Officer	MMCRS, Misamfu	2	
	Agricultural Assistant	Mochipapa Research Station	1	

	Laboratory Assistant	MMCRS	1	
	CARO	MMCRS	1	
Total				5
1979-1980	Agricultural Supervisors	MMCRS, Misamfu, Luapula	3	
	Research Assistant	MMCRS	1	
	Laboratory Assistant	Kabwe Research Station	1	
	Laboratory Technician	Kabwe Research Station	1	
	CARO	MMCRS	1	
Total				7
1981-1982	Research Assistants	MMCRS, Kabwe	2	
	Tree Crops Officer	MMCRS	1	
	Agricultural Chemist	MMCRS	1	
	Plant Breeder	MMCRS	2	
	Agronomist (General)	MMCRS	1	
	Agricultural Supervisors	Mochipapa, Kabwe,	2	
	Agricultural Assistant	Golden Valley	1	
	Senior Agricultural Assistants	Misamfu Research Station	2	
Total				12
1983-1984	Agricultural Chemist	MMCRS	1	
	Plant Breeders	MMCRS	4	
	Plant Pathologists	MMCRS	1	
	Research Assistants	MMCRS, NIRS, Golden Valley	3	
	Agricultural Supervisors	NIRS, Kasama, Mufulira, Kabwe	4	
	Technical Supervisor	Mongu	1	
Total				14
1985-	Research Assistant	MMCRS, NIRS, Kabwe	3	

1986				
	Agricultural Assistant	MMCRS	1	
	Works Supervisor	MMCRS	1	
	Agricultural Chemist	Kabwe	1	
	Entomologist	MMCRS	1	
	Plant Breeder	MMCRS	5	
	Agricultural Supervisors	MMCRS, Chalimbana, Msekera, Magoye, Golden Valley, Misamfu, Copperbelt, Kabwe	8	
	Agricultural Assistants	Kabwe, Msekera, Misamfu, NIRS	4	
	Snr Agricultural Assistant	Misamfu	1	
Total				25

Source: Compiled from *Annual Reports of the Research Branch, 1970-1986*.

Note: We were not able to include data for the period 1987 to 1990. While the staff lists were included in the Annual Reports of that period, it was difficult for us to ascertain the gender of the scientists due to the fact that in the reports of the post-1986 period, the staff lists were not arranged by gender.

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Box 26 Agriculture Research Miscellaneous

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