

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

**Commercialization of Agriculture in Nigeria: A Gender Analysis
of Cash Crop Production in Yekemi, Osun State**

Being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the University of Hull

by

Monsurat Mojirayo Afolabi

BA (Hons), M A, (Delhi) M.Ed. (Ife)

January 2015

Acknowledgements

A PhD journey is never a lonely one. It is a journey that is full of activities, with many people on board, for a successful completion of the purpose. First and foremost, I give glory, honour and adoration to the Heavenly Father, Almighty God, the Beginning and the End, the controller of the journey of life, for seeing me through the PhD journey, which He started with me. May His name forever be glorified. Amen.

I highly appreciate my two supervisors Dr. Suzanne Clisby and Dr. Rachel Alsop, for their inspiration, guidance, zeal, constructive and detailed comments. Right from the first day of the programme, a new academic family was established, and this was sustained till the end. Thank you for the meaningful, precious times of yours spent on this thesis, your kind-heartedness and your understanding. Words are not enough to express my gratitude for everything you have done to see me through this academic journey. It is a privilege to know you, and I will always cherish those moments with you. My gratitude also goes to Dr. Mark Johnson, also of University of Hull, for academic support and for making some of his books available for this research. I equally appreciate Professor Nina Banks of Bucknell University Lewisburg, PA. USA, for her encouraging comments on this research, and for e-mailing relevant materials to me to enrich this thesis.

I appreciate Prof. Omolara Olusi and Prof. Victor Kobiowu, both of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, for their academic support. I appreciate Prof. (Emeritus) D. A. Ijalaye (SAN) an alumnus of Hull University for his guidance in my academic journey. I also appreciate Mama Ijalaye for her encouragement and moral support. My appreciation goes to my mentor and role

model, Professor Funmi Togonu-Bickersteth, from whom I have learnt so much. I will continue to treasure your inspiration.

I am very grateful to the Federal Government of Nigeria and those associated with the Education Tax Fund, for awarding me a scholarship for this study. I am grateful to Professor Michael Oladimeji Faborode, Vice Chancellor (2006 – 2011) and Professor Funmi Togonu-Bickersteth, Deputy Vice Chancellor (Academics) (2007-2011), both of Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife, Nigeria, for their inspiration, and for recommending me for a scholarship award. I am deeply grateful to the School of Social Sciences, and the Graduate School, both of University of Hull United Kingdom, for sponsoring me for a conference in USA. I thank Dr. Suzanne Clisby for recommending me for this conference sponsorship award.

I am grateful to all my lecturers, Dr. Suzanne Clisby, Dr. Rachel Alsop, Dr. Mark Johnson, Dr. Iain Brennan, Professor Keith Tester and Professor Majid Yar for their invaluable teachings that widened my horizon in Gender Studies. I am equally grateful to Dr. Nigel A. Shaw and his team in ‘the PhD Experience Conference’ (2011) University of Hull, for the wonderful programme that focused on the rudiments of PhD study. I thank Judy Savage, postgraduate administrator, for School of Social Sciences (2011) for her warm reception. I appreciate all Graduate School staff, for their readiness at all times to assist and give direction on administrative issues.

I equally appreciate all those who contributed to the success of my fieldwork study. I thank the Honourable Commissioner for Agriculture and Food Security of Osun State, Nigeria, Hon. Richard Adewale Adedoyin, the project manager of

Tree Crops project, Mr. Charles Oluseyi Adegbebo and Hon. Tajudeen Lawal, Chairperson of Ife East Local Government in Osun State, Nigeria. I thank Dr. Ajibola A. Olaniyi, Rural Finance Officer of FADAMA III Project, Iwo, Osun State, for his various suggestions, and recommendations. I thank Mr. Ganiyu Oladejo, for facilitating the initial interaction with the Yekemi Community, Mr. Jimoh Fakojejo for facilitating my meeting with the Local Government chairperson and Mr. Ezekiel Adebisi for serving as an escort in the forests and farms of Yekemi during the walking survey of the farms.

I owe the King (Oba Adedotun Adefioye, Osinkola of Yekemi), the Queen (Olori Oluwatoyin Adedotun Adefioye, Olori of Yekemi), the chiefs and the people of Yekemi a debt of gratitude for their support, when I was with them during my fieldwork. I cherish their openness, tolerance, generosity and willingness to share intimate details of their experiences in cash crop production.

I am greatly indebted to my Obafemi Awolowo University family- Mrs. Modupe Ojo (former Registrar of Obafemi Awolowo University), Late Prof. J. F. Ojo, Engr. 'Lanre Togonu-Bickersteth, Prof. and Mrs. J. R. O. Ojo, Prof. and Mrs. Y. K. Yusuf, Prof. and Mrs. V. O. Olanrewaju, Rev. and Mrs. S. O. Olowoyo, Mrs. Iyabo Olaniyi, The Empire For Christ Ministry, Late Mrs. Modupe Ogundana, Late Dr. (Mrs.) Toyin Dibu-Ojerinde, Prof. A. T. Salami (Deputy Vice Chancellor Academic) Obafemi Awolowo University - for their encouragement and moral support.

I equally want to appreciate the fellowship of families and friends in the Hull community - Rev. Wesley Loane and his wife Gwyneth Loane, Rev. Martin Batstone, Engr. Parker Durose and his wife Pat Durose, Janet Duck, Dorothy

Edwards and Donald Edwards, Gail and Kevin, the Good News Fellowship, all of Trinity Methodist Church, Cottingham road, Hull. The list also includes my colleagues Julie C. Walsh, Yoana F Nieto Valdi and Suzanne Benn.

My gratitude goes to my husband - Rev. (Dr.) Bayo Afolabi, for his full support, consistent trust, unwavering love and understanding, throughout this journey. My Honourable Princess, Barrister Oluwasikemi Adedayo Afolabi, I highly cherish you and appreciate the depth of your understanding, tolerance, patience, sacrifice, and encouragement. My dear Prince, Adeyemi Afolabi, thank you for being responsible and reliable. Barrister Sijuwade Afolabi, I appreciate your love. I extend my heartfelt appreciation to my 'father' and brother, Alhaji Olaide Olayiwola, for his love for my family generally and for me in particular. I equally appreciate Chief (Mrs.) Yetunde Olarewaju for her encouragement, zeal and true love. I also want to appreciate my wonderful Mother, Alhaja S. A. Olayiwola. I thank God for making you what you are to me. I cherish every word of your advice, prayer, love, encouragement and support, in seeing me through this academic journey.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my late father - Alhaji M. R. Olayiwola, a true source of inspiration, a dedicated and loving father.

The Commercialization of Agriculture in Nigeria: A Gender Analysis of Cash Crop Production in Yekemi, Osun State

Abstract

The commercialization of agriculture is seen as a cornerstone of processes of development and modernisation and the incorporation of rural farmers into this economy shows their importance as a major pillar in the economy. In Nigeria, cash crop production is highly significant for farmers in terms of raising their income and improving their economic status. It tends to be the case that within Nigerian contexts, broadly speaking, there continues to exist patriarchal forms of social organization and normative gender relations. In Yorubaland, even though the word ‘farmer’ as a term for involvement in agriculture is gender-neutral, the societal job demarcations, coupled with cultural expectations, makes the word ‘farmer’ become synonymous with ‘male’ and women are seen as farmers’ wives. Little attention or recognition is paid to women farmers within agricultural production and their economic contribution to national economies through commercial agriculture, with little or no gender-segregated data on agricultural outputs.

This thesis examines the impact of women’s involvement in the commercialization of cash crop production on gender relations at inter and intra household levels, focusing on Yekemi. It examines the effects of men migrating from Yekemi on cash crop production; the phenomenon of a shift in gender roles in the Yekemi community; the causative factors; the reactions of men to the shift; and the future prospects and lessons of the shift. An ethnographic approach was used, involving observations, interviews, visitations, walking the land and focus group discussions to gather detailed data about the change in status quo in gendered power relations.

This study reveals the power dynamics associated with female cash crop farmers. It shows that Yekemi, though a traditional rural setting, has overcome some of these traditional gender divisions and gender segregation in agricultural labour. I discovered that women in Yekemi empower themselves through their involvement in agricultural commercialization of cash crop production, which incurs recognition of their status as farmers in the village and ability to exercise agency in decision making within their households.

From the findings the thesis concludes that if participation in agricultural commercialization could be responsible for sustained economic independence and shifts in gender power dynamics beyond traditional norms in Yekemi, this could be seen as a critical example for use elsewhere. It could have significant implications for other female farmers and help to develop ways to empower rural women to gain a more visible and recognized foothold within commercial agriculture.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Acknowledgements | 2 |
| Dedication | 6 |
| Abstract | 7 |
| Table of Contents..... | 8 |
| Illustration Table and Figures | 14 |
| Chapter 1 | 15 |
| Gender and Agricultural Change in Yekemi: An Introduction to the Aims and Structure of the Thesis | 15 |
| Introducing agriculture and change: a gender analysis | 15 |
| Locating the study | 17 |
| Cash crops and their economic value: an avenue for participation in agricultural commercialization | 18 |
| Objectives of the study | 24 |
| Research evidence on women’s constraints in agricultural production. | 27 |
| Structure of the thesis..... | 30 |
| Chapter 2 | 33 |
| Methods and Methodology: Feminist / Gender and Development (GAD) Perspectives | 33 |
| Introduction | 33 |
| Research Methodology | 36 |
| Ethical considerations | 38 |
| Fieldwork Preparation..... | 40 |
| Location Selection..... | 40 |
| Brief historical background of the name – ‘Yekemi’ | 42 |
| Access to the village | 43 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Selection of the Participants for study | 46 |
| Participant Observation..... | 47 |
| Interviews with Yekemi people | 50 |
| Focus Group Discussions | 52 |
| Consultations..... | 54 |
| Farms visitations/ walking survey..... | 55 |
| Fieldwork End: Appreciation Meeting | 57 |
| Return to Yekemi: dissemination of early findings | 58 |
| Dissemination of findings to government: a future plan..... | 59 |
| A Note on Usage of Different terms for ‘Third World’ | 62 |
| Conclusion | 62 |
| Chapter 3 | 65 |
| Masculinization through Mechanization of Agriculture: Gender Relations and Development of Agricultural Commercialization in Historical Context | 65 |
| Introduction..... | 65 |
| Historical background of agriculture in development programmes: the emergence of development discourse since the Bretton Woods’ Agreement.... | 66 |
| Modernization theory of development: an assumed solution to development ‘backwardness’ | 68 |
| Incorporation of women into development programmes..... | 69 |
| The Emergence of Agricultural Commercialization | 73 |
| Agricultural Modernization: the Green Revolution | 81 |
| A Critical Analysis of the Impacts of Agricultural Commercialization in the Developing World | 87 |
| Gender issues in agricultural production and commercialization | 90 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| An Assessment of the Green Revolution on rural farmers and gender relations | 96 |
| Malay Women and Rice Production in West Malaysia- Cecilia Ng (1993) ..98 | |
| Example 2 - Gender, Food Production and Property Rights: Constraints on | |
| Women Farmers in Southern Africa - Anne Akeroyd (1993)..... | 102 |
| Agricultural commercialization in Nigeria | 105 |
| Conclusion | 112 |
| Chapter 4 | 114 |
| The Dynamics of Agricultural Production in Yekemi Village..... | 114 |
| Introduction | 114 |
| Historical perspective of Yekemi..... | 117 |
| Infrastructure within Yekemi village | 119 |
| Transportation | 121 |
| Yekemi market operational system | 121 |
| Schools in Yekemi..... | 122 |
| Health facilities in Yekemi..... | 122 |
| Agricultural activities in Yekemi | 123 |
| Traditional farming practices and gender divisions of labour in Yekemi..... | 125 |
| Case study one: Deji’s overview of his family farm | 126 |
| Case study two: Philip’s Account | 129 |
| Case study three: Suleiman’s story | 132 |
| Migration in Yekemi | 136 |
| Male migration out of Yekemi..... | 139 |
| In-migration of Gara people in Yekemi | 145 |
| Women and Choice of Farming as a Means of Livelihood | 148 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| Access to Land in Yekemi | 153 |
| Table 4.1 Female Cash Crops Farmers and their Agricultural Activities | 157 |
| Table 4.2 Male Cash Crops Farmers and their Agricultural Activities | 159 |
| Table 4.3 Farm Labourers and their Agricultural Activities..... | 160 |
| Process of land acquisition..... | 161 |
| Conclusion | 162 |
| Chapter 5 | 165 |
| Shifting Gender Power Dynamics: Women and cash crop farming in Yekemi | 165 |
| Introduction..... | 165 |
| Different levels of involvement of Yekemi Women in agriculture: an uneven relational bargain..... | 166 |
| Women as farmers | 167 |
| Women as farmers’ wives: | 168 |
| Women as farm labourers..... | 168 |
| Gara’s wives as farm assistants | 169 |
| Gendered division of labour in Cocoa Production in Yekemi | 170 |
| Gendered division of labour in palm tree production in Yekemi..... | 171 |
| Gendered division of labour in kola nut production in Yekemi..... | 172 |
| Peculiar challenges of women in cash crop production | 174 |
| Power and agency: women and cash crop production in Yekemi | 177 |
| Shifts in traditional norms and divisions of labour | 184 |
| Women as retainers of culture – in terms of endurance, perseverance, and submission..... | 194 |
| Women’s work and responsibilities | 195 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| Case studies of farm acquisition by women in Yekemi..... | 200 |
| Case Study 1 | 200 |
| Case Study 2 | 202 |
| Case Study 3 | 205 |
| Conclusion | 207 |
| Chapter 6 | 210 |
| Market Access and Commercialization of Cash Crops in Yekemi | 210 |
| Introduction..... | 210 |
| Selling cash crops in Yekemi..... | 211 |
| Method of selling cash crops in Yekemi..... | 213 |
| The importance of cash crop farming to Yekemi women..... | 220 |
| Social capital and informal networks in cash crop production in Yekemi | 222 |
| Interesting dynamics surrounding differential pay rates for the farm labourer..... | 227 |
| Gender and skill..... | 229 |
| Justification for disparity in wages..... | 232 |
| Perceptions of what ‘real work’ is..... | 234 |
| Women’s participation in the commercialization of cash crop production | 235 |
| The Commissioner for Agriculture and his role in Yekemi..... | 241 |
| Gender relations in cash crop farming in Yekemi | 242 |
| Mechanization of cash crop farming..... | 246 |
| Likely effects of mechanization on Yekemi | 250 |
| Conclusion | 253 |
| CHAPTER 7..... | 255 |
| CONCLUSION | 255 |
| Introduction..... | 255 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Researching Yekemi | 256 |
| Framing Agrarian Change..... | 257 |
| Emerging Themes and Findings | 259 |
| Looking to the future..... | 275 |
| References..... | 279 |
| Appendix 1..... | 310 |
| Areas of Concentration for Focus Group Discussion..... | 310 |
| Appendix 2..... | 313 |
| To be completed for all FGD participants..... | 313 |
| Section A..... | 313 |
| Section B Farm activities: | 314 |
| Appendix 3..... | 316 |
| Areas of concentration for interviews with different groups..... | 316 |

Illustration Table and Figures

Chapter 2 Methods and Methodology: Feminist / Gender and Development (GAD) Perspectives

| | |
|--|-----|
| Figure 2.1 Map of Nigeria showing Osun state in the national setting..... | 41 |
| Figure 2. 2 Aye River in Yekemi, where the name of the village was coined..... | 433 |
| Figure 2.3 Women working in their farms..... | 488 |
| Figure 2.4 Farm visitation..... | 55 |
| Figure 2.5 Palm tree climber..... | 56 |
| Figure 2.6 Palm tree climber harvesting palm fruits..... | 57 |
| Figure 2.7 Cocoa crop of the local farm | 61 |
| Figure 2.8 Cocoa crop of the government demonstration farm..... | 61 |

Chapter 4 Agricultural production and women's access to farm resources in Yekemi village

| | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| Figure 4.1 The non-functional bore holes available in Yekemi village..... | Error! Bookmark not defined. |
| Table 4.1 Age distribution of the participants | 142 |
| Table 4.2 Female Cash Crops Farmers and their Agricultural Activities..... | 157 |
| Table 4.3 Male Cash Crops Farmers and their Agricultural Activities..... | 159 |
| Table 4.4 Farm Labourers and their Agricultural Activities..... | 160 |

Chapter 1

Gender and Agricultural Change in Yekemi: An Introduction to the Aims and Structure of the Thesis

Introducing agriculture and change: a gender analysis

Studies of commercialization of agriculture and its impact on the economy usually focus on its potential contributions to economic growth and foreign earnings. Less visible is its impact on the gender relations amongst the rural farmers who are the principal actors of this process. It is important to note that in Africa, as significant as cash crops are in the global economy, their production is still largely dominated by rural people at community levels (Akande, 2003). Cash crop production continues to be of immense value to developing economies for their effective participation in international trade. It is also regarded as a desirable means for rural farmers to improve their economic status. The commercialization of agriculture is a major transformation from subsistence farming to cash crop farming, and it is of great value to the economy of the developing world. Past reviews (for example, Buvinic and Mehra, 1990; Sørensen, 1996; Rai, 2002; Momsen, 2010) of the participation of developing economies in commercial farming have shown that the importance given to commercial crops has led to some stereotypical categorization of types of crops farmed, based on gender. As Rai (2004:7) states, ‘the introduction of tradable cash-crops has resulted in a gendered shift in the management of household resources. Women are increasingly concentrated in food production and men in cash-crop production’. Gender roles in agricultural activities have been the focus of a range of research, and several studies have endeavoured to ascertain factors that influence decision

making about the type of crop production men and women are engaged in (see for example Brydon and Chant 1989; Whitehead, 1991; Mosse, 1993). In a traditional setting, such as in many parts of Africa, it was observed that there is a kind of unwritten law as to the role of each gender in the family or household. Whitehead (1991: 74) argues that ‘Women may be particularly responsible for short-term spending – for example, for food – while men are responsible for long-term spending, especially the purchase of farming inputs’.

The focus of this research is on agricultural change and gender relations in cash crop commercialisation in a village in south western Nigeria called Yekemi. This study provides an interesting illustration of a shift in gender dynamics, in terms of cash crop production, decision making, power and control. This is different to many of the findings of previous studies (Dey, 1981; Braun & Webb 1989; Ng, 1993; Akeroyd, 1993). In examining processes of agricultural change over the past few decades, gender analysts have acquired evidence that certain ways in which these processes of agricultural change in commercialization have been introduced have tended to lead to a displacement of women’s visible productive labour and women’s roles in these agricultural processes (Shiva, 1988). So it tends to be perceived, and it is no doubt commonly the case, that within agricultural production, women are more likely to be involved in subsistence agriculture (Brydon, 1993; Momsen, 2010). When processes of agriculture become increasingly commercialized and oriented towards cash crop production, we see patterns of men being better able, and being expected to take a lead and dominant role in cash crop production (Shiva, 1988; Sørensen, 1996). This is because of prevailing gender norms, which will be discussed in more detail later in this thesis.

Through extensive ethnographic research in Yekemi, over a period of 9 months, I have been able to see evidence of, and examples of where typical gender dynamics in terms of control, decision making and gendered roles in cash crop production have not played out in the same kinds of ways that have been evident elsewhere. The key aim of this thesis is thus to provide a clear and detailed examination of processes of agricultural change in Yekemi. It is an interesting and valuable illustration of patterns that may be less typical than what we have more commonly seen elsewhere, and this makes this study a significant addition to research in this field. Yekemi women are actually playing important roles in cash crop production, as opposed to being perceived purely as subsistence farmers. Thus, rather than remaining within the ranks of subsistence production and ‘helping’ husbands or working as labourers on the farms of male cash crop producers, we actually see a shift, where women in Yekemi are becoming owners, controllers and decision makers in their own right, over the process of cash crop production.

Locating the study

Yekemi village is in Osun State, Nigeria, a state situated within the cocoa belt of south western Nigeria with a total landmass of about 12,820 square kilometres (Sanni, 2010). Osun State could be classified as a rural state with 19 out of 30 local government areas being non-urban local government councils (Sanni, 2010). Yekemi, a Yoruba village, is predominantly a farming community, with about 4000 inhabitants located in Ife Local Government Council. The state’s location and the nature of the rural environment make it an important place for the study of agricultural change. The prevalence of cash crop production activities in Yekemi

and the high level of involvement of female farmers in cash crop farming provide a valuable context for research on gender relations in cash crop production.

This research is based on nine months of ethnographic fieldwork within a Yoruba community, focusing on gender roles in cash crop production and providing a detailed case study of agricultural production, cash crop production and gender dynamics in Yekemi. This study looks at issues around migration, and ownership and control of cash crop production. It examines the determinants of men and women's participation, the implications of these for wider gender relations and how this impacts on household decision making, women's economic livelihood, the socio-cultural situation of the village, and above all, the effects or changes this has brought to the reproductive and productive spheres of production in a traditional community like Yekemi. Though the commercialization of cash crop production has often led to a breakdown in the conventional gender roles in rural communities, as reported in previous studies (Boserup, 1970; Charlton, 1984; Afshar, 1993; Brydon and Chant, 1993; Momsen, 2010), the picture in Yekemi challenges the results of existing studies (Dey, 1981; Ng, 1993; Akeroyd, 1993). In Yekemi, I have found interesting contemporary examples of the way in which these processes are not playing out as they have played out elsewhere.

Cash crops and their economic value: an avenue for participation in agricultural commercialization

The transformation of the agricultural sectors within low income developing nations has been seen as a strategy for economic development (Todaro, 1994, 2012). The World Development Report 2008, *Agriculture for Development*, has also identified farming as one of the major pathways out of poverty in rural areas

(Brown, 2008). This has offered opportunities to rural dwellers to take advantage of new economic opportunities which lie in the commercialization of agriculture that is also being referred to as the Green Revolution¹, a term that will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3 beyond subsistence farming. These new development processes make a clear distinction between subsistence and cash crop farming and the benefits associated with them. As a result of this, other inputs for farming appreciate in value and cash crop farming becomes an important activity which rural farmers endeavour to participate in, in order to achieve higher incomes. One impact of agricultural commercialisation, however, has been the reinforcement of existing inequalities within the households of farmers which place women at a disadvantage in terms of equal participation.

The importance of cash crops is elaborated by Maxwell and Fernando (1989: 1677) in terms of 'land use, employment, output, income or exports at the household, village, regional or national levels'. The importance attached to cash crop farming influences job demarcation in the rural areas, with a distinction between subsistence food and cash crop economies emerging. In Yekemi, the major cash crops (cocoa, palm trees and kolanuts) share similar attributes, being more highly valued than food produced through subsistence agriculture. The income from each of the crops, especially cocoa, can be significant, which is enticing and encouraging. The three of them can be grown on virtually any land

¹Green Revolution refers to processes of commercialisation and mechanisation of agriculture in an introduction of high yielding crop varieties (HYVs) that was rolled out as part of modernisation processes of development from late 1960s onward.

without the task of irrigation. The life span of these crops gives the farmers a long period of access to land. This dichotomy between cash crops and subsistence farming has been associated with the 'mechanistic effect of the commercialization of agriculture on gender relations' (Sørensen, 1996: 609).

The adverse effect of both genders not being equally involved in cash crop farming was affirmed in Cloud's (1977) research on 'Sex Roles in Food Production and Food Distribution Systems in the Sahel'. According to Charlton;

Cloud's research confirmed that the raising of cash crop tends to be dominated by men, although women often contribute labor. [...] When trading occurs over longer distances and for cash, it tends to be done by men. Cloud's report makes it clear that without significant effort to reverse the trend, an expansion of the monetary economy will increasingly disadvantage women. (1984: 73)

Culturally, men as a group are the key beneficiaries of socio-economic norms, regulations and conventions, which serve to facilitate their access to the cash economy. This cultural demarcation of power is typically disadvantageous to women who are participating in this cash economy. However, as Wilson comments, 'it is the socially constructed relationship between men and women that will govern the degree and direction of women's response to agricultural change rather than the 'impact' of commercialization or capitalization processes per se' (Wilson, 1985: 1021 cited in Sørensen, 1996: 609). Gender relations are a major issue when addressing the impacts of commercialization and modernisation on different communities. The participation of Yekemi women in cash crop farming is an interesting development which provides a useful illustration of the

dynamic nature of agrarian communities, and one that runs somewhat counter to common gendered patterns found in many studies of agrarian change (Boserup, 1970; Dey, 1981; Braun & Webb 1989; Ng, 1993; Momsen 2010).

The involvement of Yekemi women in cash crop production could only be appreciated when considering the social barriers usually faced in cross-gender activities, especially in a rural setting. The economic values of cash crops, coupled with gender inequalities in society, often create major barriers to women's participation in cash crop production. This similarly affects the remuneration for their labour. Maxwell and Fernando (1989) consider the relationship between cash crop farming and the distribution of the benefits associated with it, and argue that;

The gainers are said to be the rich, the landed, the male and the urban, as well as the foreign. The losers are said to be the poor, the landless, the female, the rural and, in an international context, the developing. The argument against cash crops is not necessarily that they cause initial maldistribution, but rather that they act as a mechanism whereby initial disparities are worsened. (1989: 1683)

The differential costs and gains associated with agricultural commercialisation are closely connected to socio-cultural norms, which associate lucrative work (cash crops) with men and ignore women's role in cash crop production. Enete and Amusa (2010: 78) also attest to the fact that men have continued to dominate farm decision making, even in areas where women are the largest providers of farm labour. Whitehead and Bloom (1992) refer to Dixon-Muller's research to affirm levels of women's recognition in farm activities; 'Dixon-Mueller documents how statistics collected through farm and agricultural censuses enumerate two to ten

times as many unpaid female workers as other sources' (Whitehead and Bloom, 1992: 42). Women tend to have little or less power when it comes to farm decision making. Moves to redress this could be seen in the context of new development paradigms in which the importance of recognizing women's participation in agriculture has been stressed for effective policies and programs (World Bank, 2009). This is discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

The importance of agricultural commercialization to developing economies cannot be overemphasized, especially in Nigeria where 40.06% of the GDP was gained from agriculture in the second quarter of 2013, of which crop production account for 35.04% (NBS, 2013:14-15) and '80% of farm holdings are small-scale' (CAADP, 2013: 3). Agricultural commercialization played an important role in the Nigerian economy before the discovery of oil, and even now, despite the oil, 'agriculture remains the largest contributor to growth in the Nigerian economy' (NBS, 2012: 6), hence one of the major sources of revenue for the nation. GDP report of NBS, 2013 remarked that it 'represents the highest growth rate in the sector in the last eight quarters' (NBS, 2013: 6). This makes the role of agriculture crucial when addressing development issues in Nigeria, especially in rural areas where the main occupation is farming. The importance of agricultural commercialization in development is emphasized in the recommendation of cash crop expansion by World Bank (1981a, 1981b) 'to exploit comparative advantage and provide the basis for industrial development through inter-sectorial linkages' (Maxwell and Fernando, 1989: 1677).

The agricultural sector remains a major source of employment for rural dwellers and source of foreign exchange earnings for Nigeria. As Akande (2003: 5) states,

‘agriculture is the largest single sector of the economy, providing employment for a significant segment of the work force and constituting the mainstay of Nigeria’s large rural community, which accounts for nearly two-thirds of the population’. The fact that a larger percentage of the Nigerian population is involved in agricultural production makes it mandatory that agricultural issues be placed in the forefront of the nation’s developmental and economic agenda. However despite the huge number of people in agricultural production, agriculture in Nigeria still largely operates within subsistence and semi-commercial levels of production. This is also despite the fact that the ‘country is endowed in underground and surface water reserves, rich pastures and favourable agro-ecological conditions in the country’s low-lying planes with alluvial deposits called Fadama’ (ADF Appraisal report, 2003: viii).

Momsen argues, with reference to Odame et.al (2002), that ‘twice as many women as men work in an agriculture-related activity in developing countries’ (2010: 141). It is obvious that the high level of rural women’s participation in both the agricultural labour force and agricultural activities make them crucial human resources that oil the wheels of economic development in Nigeria. Rural women play prominent roles in the production and distribution of economic services, most especially in the areas of agriculture and trading activities.

In spite of the hard work of these women, they still experience significant poverty and are not fully recognized as producers in agriculture. As Ogunlela and Mukhtar (2009: 19); have argued;

Most farmers in Nigeria operate at the subsistence, smallholder level in an extensive agricultural system; hence in their hands lie the country’s food

security and agricultural development. Particularly striking, however, is the fact that rural women, more than their male counterparts, take the lead in agricultural activities, making up to 60-80 percent of labour force. It is ironical that their contributions to agriculture and rural development are seldom noticed. Furthermore, they have either no part or minimal part in the decision-making process in agricultural development. Gender inequality is therefore dominant in the sector and this constitutes a bottleneck to development. (Ogunlela and Mukhtar, 2009: 19)

As Momsen (2010: 141) argues, 'women's work in agriculture is largely unremunerated and so is undervalued and often unrecorded'. There is very little recent data available that concerns the level of African women's participation in agriculture. Similarly, statistical evidence on gender roles in agriculture in Africa is very unreliable. There is therefore a need for more research focusing on rural women's activities that could provide updated information on these gendered roles, and this is what this study does.

Objectives of the study

The few studies that exist of Yoruba women's role in agriculture in Nigeria have concentrated on various aspects of their complementary roles such as the processing of agricultural outputs, the marketing of farm produce, subsistence farming, women as farm labourers, as farm assistants and more generally, as traders of various wares (Brydon, 1989; Mtsor and Idisi 2014). This is also substantiated by McIntosh who is of the view that 'because women were commonly engaged in trade, preparing palm products, or craftwork, the family gained more net value from letting them pursue their own income-generating

activities' (2010:212-121). However the dynamism of the agrarian community is not reflected upon, and the changes that are taking place in rural Yoruba communities receive less attention. In some cases when such issues are studied, the focus is mostly on rural migration and its attendant problems (Onipede 2011, Aworemi et al. 2011, Okhankhuele and Opafunso 2013). The danger is that rural areas are presented more or less like static communities without change. Changes in the agricultural activities generally, and particularly those concerning women in cash crop commercialization, are yet to be fully explored.

This research sets out to study the changes that are taking place in cash crop farming in Yekemi. The general objective of the study is to examine the growing commercialization of farming through cash crop production and the related gendered impacts of women's involvement in cash crop production on both women and men within the Yekemi community. Within this analysis the study considers the ongoing impact of modernisation of agriculture, through mechanisation and the increased deployment of intensive farming methods, on women's participation in cash crop farming.

The terms *modernisation* and *commercialisation* are often used in conjunction in reference to agriculture, as it tends to be the case that mechanisation is targeted primarily towards the commercial agricultural sector, or cash crop production. However, while closely related, these terms are not synonymous. Mechanisation refers to the technical mechanics of agricultural activity and can apply to both commercial and subsistence production. Agricultural mechanisation, as defined by the Food and Agriculture Organisation,

‘is the process of improving farm labour productivity through the use of agricultural machinery, implements and tools. It involves the provision and use of all forms of power sources and mechanical assistance to agriculture, from simple hand tools, to animal draught power (DAP), and to mechanical power technologies’ (FAO, n.d.)

Commercialisation refers, obviously, to agricultural production for commercial sale rather than as primarily for subsistence. Mahaliyanaarachichi and Bandara define commercialisation succinctly as having the following characteristics;

‘Farmers’ production is aimed mainly for sales. Production should be oriented to profit maximization. It should aim at the satisfaction of different needs and interests of consumers. It is an agri –business that implies concept of business management. It leads to entrepreneurial achievements of farmers’ (2006, 14)

In this thesis I am focusing primarily on agricultural commercialisation, cash crop production, and women’s roles therein. I also refer to processes of mechanisation within cash crop production. The focus of this thesis is further divided into several specific objectives, which are to:

- assess women’s involvement in agriculture, and especially in cash crop farming.
- examine the gendered impact of women’s involvement in cash crop production on both women and men at inter and intra household levels.

- understand the nature of women's farm activities, and provide a detailed analysis of their investment and returns on the cash crops in terms of turnover, expenditure and profit.
- identify problems being faced by women farmers in rural areas, and suggest concrete ways of alleviating the problems.
- consider the potential for the increase of mechanisation of cash crop production in Yekemi
- identify what the various governments (local, state and federal), non-governmental agencies and others are doing to encourage the female farmers especially, and examine the areas of strength and weakness of such contributions.

Research evidence on women's constraints in agricultural production.

In this section I draw on existing work on women, and gender issues in agricultural production to provide a contextual frame for my research. In Boserup's classic study (1970) of woman's role in economic development in Asia and Africa, she attributed women disappearing from farming systems to two major issues. The first is the transition from hoeing to ploughing, which entails a 'radical shift in sex roles in agriculture. Men take over the ploughing, even in regions where the hoeing had formerly been women's work' (Boserup, 1970: 33). Secondly, the situation was exacerbated with the introduction of cash crops and modern methods of cultivation that were targeted at men during the colonial period. Whitehead (1991) accounts for how African households fulfil increased cash requirements, (either directly by tax demands or indirectly by new consumption goods) by men's cash cropping or migrant labour and

women's increased work as family labour in cash cropping, or by increased trading. Dey's (1985) study of Bukinabé women's (women from Burkina Faso) roles in rice production and von Braun & Webb's (1989) study of the impact of new crop technology on Gambian women's rice production, all reveal a shift in women's agricultural roles when new crop technology is introduced. The shift in women's economic role due to the introduction of technology was also highlighted in Dey's (1981) earlier study of women in rice farming in the Gambia. Each of these studies found common patterns of women's displacement from agricultural production, or at least from the visible ownership and control of that production, when modernisation and commercialisation occur. However according to Buvinic and Mehra (1990), Dey was of the view that 'the increase in production due to irrigation in the Gambia was not as significant as it might have been if women's expertise in dry land rice production had been tapped' (Buvinic and Mehra, 1990: 15).

Ling (1991) also provides an account of the effects of technology on rural women farmers. In this thesis I would be referring to these processes as forms of proletarianization where we see increasing class differentiation between farmers and processes of masculinization through mechanization, where we see women being pushed away from farming practices as new technologies are introduced which are assumed to come under men's control. This process which I refer to as proletarianization and masculinization is discussed in more detail in chapter 3

Here Ling narrates Malaysian men's and women's classed and gendered experiences, with the changing farming focus of the area;

the introduction of high yielding varieties of rice, oil palm and rubber has increased the use of chemical fertilisers, pesticides and herbicides. Land control and ownership has shifted from small farmers to large land holders, be they local individuals, corporations (local or foreign) or government agencies. Cash crop production rapidly excluded women's usufructuary rights to cultivate and control land for food production. The cash economy and new technologies placed men at the centre, marginalizing the role of women in the traditional rural economy, reducing women to a role of dependence. (Ling, 1991: 23)

Staudt (1987) and Sudarkasa (1987) also studied the status of women in traditional, pre-colonial societies and how colonialism altered gender roles. Ng's (1993) study of Malay women and rice production in Malaysia and Perry's (2005) study of Wolof women in rural Senegal discuss the change in women's status, relative to men, through greater access to earnings and the impact of this on gender norms. All these cases draw attention to the ways in which mechanization of farming often marginalizes women through a process of masculinization. I look at the gendered impacts of the Green Revolution in some specific examples in the next chapter.

However, this study of Yekemi women reveals ways in which women are challenging the gender norms of cash crop farming. Within the existing literature there is little attention paid to the participation of Yoruba women specifically in cash crop production. Most studies of Yoruba women's commercial roles have focused on trade (Brydon, 1989). Even in trade, there is gender demarcation, in

terms of the kinds of trade men and women tend to engage in. Sudarkasa (1987) elaborates on this differentiation along gender lines;

If men were farmers women were food processors and traders. Where women and men were engaged in the same productive activity (such as farming or weaving), they produced different items. Among the Ibo, females and males grow different crops; among the Yoruba, the female and male weavers produced different types of cloth on different types of looms. Where both females and males traded, there was usually a sexual bifurcation along commodity lines. (Sudarkasa, 1987: 35)

My research has identified some interesting shifts in the patterns described above.

Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. This first chapter explores the focus of the research, discusses research issues regarding gender analysis of agricultural change, spells out the aims of the study, and presents the structure of the thesis.

Chapter 2 discusses the methods and methodologies, used during this research. In a bid to produce valuable research findings which integrate women, influence policy decisions and make women's issues and their role in cash crop production visible, methodology from feminist and Gender and Development (GAD) perspectives is found appropriate and used. This is based on recognition of the importance of women in cash crop farming in Yekemi, not only as farm labourers, but as farmers in their own right, along with their male counterparts.

Chapter 3 provides a brief context to processes of agricultural change often referred to as the Green Revolution in the sphere of global development. It draws

on gender and development literature, for example by looking at the work of Brydon and Chant, (1993); Whitehead, (1991); Akeroyd, (1993); Ng, (1993) and Momsen, (2010). The chapter looks at the processes of modernization in development since the Bretton Wood's agreement towards the end of the Second World War in 1944. The chapter also provides an overview of the ways in which processes of modernization and development impacted on agricultural change and agricultural development through the process of the 'green revolution' and how this in turn impacted on processes of agricultural production in less developed countries of Asia and Africa. It looks at how the green revolution played out specifically in African contexts and what the changes have been in terms of agricultural production in Africa in the past few decades.

Chapter 4 looks specifically at Yekemi and examines the mechanisms that are in place for men and women to operate in cash crop production and the effects of this on their economic status. It also examines how accessible it is for female cash crop farmers to acquire farm land, their modes of negotiation, method of paying for the rental and the impact of their participation on their reproductive work. In particular this chapter focuses on how migration in and out of Yekemi has impacted on women's greater involvement in cash crop farming, focusing especially on the consequences of male migration out of Yekemi on the organisation of farming practices within Yekemi. Furthermore this chapter elucidates on different types of family farming systems and studies the effect of joint farms on both men and women. It also explores the gender relations and gender divisions of labour, in terms of agricultural production through ownership and control of land and space in Yekemi.

The aim of chapter 5 is to look at the impact of migration and the greater participation of women in cash crop on power and agency, both at intra and inter household levels. In addition the discussion highlights the challenges faced by the cash crop farmers in terms of transportation, modernisation processes, for example, the pressure to use more expensive chemical inputs, and the marketing of their produce. This chapter also discusses women's changing attitudes to culture and tradition. Issues of violence and divorce within the community are also raised.

Chapter 6 focuses on the selling processes of cash crops in Yekemi. It examines the justification for differential wage rates between male and female labourers in terms of gender and skill, and gendered perceptions of what 'real' work is. This chapter analyses the potential effects of mechanization of cash crop farming within the community on women's participation. The social capital and informal networks in cash crop production are studied. The effect of norms that shape the social interaction within and outside the village and how this interacts with cash crop production are also examined. The role of government in Yekemi is assessed and the likely effects and outcome of mechanization of cash crop production on both genders are also discussed.

Chapter 7 is the concluding chapter, which summarises the emerging themes and findings from the study of Yekemi and make recommendations and suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2

Methods and Methodology: Feminist / Gender and Development (GAD)

Perspectives

Introduction

Studying gender relations in cash crop production from a feminist / Gender and Development (GAD) perspective enables me to develop an in-depth study of gender relations within agricultural commercialization in Yekemi. The importance of using feminist methodology in gender research is clearly critical. According to Stanley and Wise (2008:222), feminist methodology ‘provides important tools for helping to produce a better and more just society, and so it has political and ethical reverberations too’. This study assesses both women’s and men’s roles in the traditionally male area of cash crop farming. It studies the shift in gender power dynamics in the village, due to women’s participation in cash crop farming. I aim for this research to be ‘an emancipatory type of inquiry’ (Sarantakos, 2005:54). According to Hesse-Biber, (2012) ‘feminist perspectives also carry messages of empowerment that challenge the encircling of knowledge claims by those who occupy privileged positions’ (Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber, 2012: 3). In other areas male farmers have ring-fenced cash crop farming for themselves because of its high earnings. This research, however, illustrates how women can empower themselves to become cash crop producers, within this usually male-dominated domain of farming.

All too often as Abbott and Wallace (1990) argue;

malestream scientific knowledge, including sociology, has been used to justify the exclusion of women from positions of power and authority in cultural, political, and intellectual institutions of society. (Abbott and Wallace, 1990: 203)

Feminist perceptions of developmental issues provide a critical clarity and challenge the practice of presenting women's issues as neutral (Abbott and Wallace, 1990). However as Harding, (1987 cited in Abbott and Wallace, 1990) argues, the significant difference between feminist methodology and male-stream research does not necessarily lie in the research method, but rather in the methodological approach; that it concerns women's issues, in the kind of evidence that is used, and the purpose of the inquiry.

The theoretical framework of Gender and Development (GAD) as discussed in chapter 3, has been found to be of immense relevance to this study. Drawing particularly on Connelly et al. (2000), tools of GAD analysis are therefore utilized for this research. The first tool that I used was to explore gender divisions of labour. This involved the study of different roles, responsibilities and activities which Yekemi society has allocated to each gender, and the ways these responsibilities are valued within the community. I then examined and evaluated the types of work that are prevalent in the community in the three main areas identified, through a Gender and Development (GAD) analysis, as productive, reproductive and community management work, and the degree of involvement of women and men in these roles. Next, I examined access to, and control over resources and benefits within the community. Here I examined women's and

men's relative positions, in terms of their access to, and control over resources and benefits, and how this affects women's productive capability in the community. I then examined some of the influencing factors that affect gender relations and the productivity of women in Yekemi. Factors which influence, shape and change gender relations, such as changes in the economy, environment, religion, culture and political situation are also examined. As part of the working tools of gender analysis, the position of women in Yekemi society was evaluated. A distinction was made between the day-to-day condition of women, and their overall social position, in Yekemi in order to establish whether their material position is commensurate with their social position in relation to men. While women's day-to-day condition refers to their material position in terms of the work they do, where they live, what they need for themselves and their children, (water, food, shelter, education etc.), their social position refers to women's overall social, economic and practical standing vis-a-vis that of men. The overall social position of women in the society is influenced by the effects of cultural and societal norms regarding values that are attached to their inputs and / or contributions to society. The cultural restrictions on the areas of involvement that are expected of women is another indication of the overall social position of women. This is measured by male-female disparities in wages and employment opportunities, participation in legislative bodies, vulnerability to poverty and violence and so on.

I also examined the practical needs and strategic interests of women, in line with GAD analysis (Momsen, 2010). These are, as Momsen explained 'practical gender interests that is items that would improve women's lives within their existing roles, and strategic gender interests that help to increase women's ability to take on new roles and to empower them' (Momsen 2010:13). In every human

society, practical needs (such as those for food and water, health and education of children and increased income) and family survival are priorities. The satisfaction of these needs is a prerequisite for women's ability to promote their strategic interests. With this in mind, I studied women's involvement in cash crop production in relation to men, and assessed the impact of culture on their activities. I also examined the level of participation of women in decision making activities in the community, and their ability to organize themselves to address their own needs and plan solutions to their problems. Lastly, I examined the potential for transforming and improving the position of women in Yekemi society, asking; what are the likely future effects of mechanized farming on women participation? What are the impacts of commercialization of agriculture on men and women? Does women's participation in agricultural commercialization lead to their improved social and economic status? What effect does it have on the time schedule of women farmers? How did it affect men and women in the village? What economic and social impacts does it have on their households? The next section spells out the methods used to achieve answers to these key questions of the study.

Research Methodology

Anthropologists are of the view that for a full understanding of a group of people, an extended period of observation is required (Silverman, 2000). Ethnographic enquiries are effective in portraying the significance of social practices, customs and interactions, as they occur (McLeod and Thomson, 2009). In order to study agricultural commercialization and its impacts on gender relations, this study was carried out through ethnographic research over a period of 9 months. Through

detailed ethnography I was able to achieve a better understanding of often intangible, gendered experiences and understandings of hidden but essential issues regarding both genders' involvement in cash crop production, people's feelings and behaviours, and men's and women's attitudes towards gender dynamics in cash crop production within the community. This ethnographic approach thus enabled me to capture the intricate gender relations that exist among both female and male cash crop farmers of Yekemi.

My methodological approach combined anthropological and feminist / GAD perspectives. This combination of gender analysis and ethnography also facilitated a deeper and richer engagement with my participants so that I could better understand the complexities of their lives and their gender roles and relations. Wambui (2014) argues that

Feminists have consistently emphasized the importance of social context, insisting that feminist methods should be contextual - that is, they should avoid focusing on the individual in isolation, cut off from interactions and relationships with other people. (Wambui, 2014: 1)

In order to achieve the main aims of this study, qualitative methods that encourage openness, and free expression by participants were deployed to establish the all-round changes that modernization of agricultural commercialization is having on gender relations. The use of qualitative methods in a gender-related study of this nature is also strengthened by a remark from Wambui, that;

It has therefore been argued that qualitative methods are more appropriate for feminist research as they are best suited to reveal and understand

experiences of women in contemporary society and adequately address their needs by allowing subjective knowledge. (Wambui, 2014: 2)

In order to build a more in- depth analysis, I used a combination of research instruments:

- participant observation, involving taking note of daily activities and roles of each gender in such activities;
- unstructured and semi-structured interviews, to elicit information on type of crops grown, and the type each gender is engaged in;
- in-depth interviews with traditional elders and a local government chairperson;
- focus group discussions (FGDs); and
- visitations, consultations and walking surveys of the farms and lands used.

I thus explored the causative factors that influence the changes in economic activities of both men and women, through my detailed observation and study of the daily activities of the people of Yekemi and the interrelationships of cash crop farmers, on a day-to-day basis, over a nine month period.

Ethical considerations

During the course of the research, strict attention was paid to ethical considerations. A key ethical issue is access to confidential information, especially about household and financial issues, for this reason the names of the participants have to be anonymized and pseudonyms were used instead. However, in this study I did not anonymise the name of the village. The key reason why I did not anonymise Yekemi is because I would like both the

community and the governments (local, state and federal) to be able to make use of this research in the development of positive gender-aware agricultural policies for the improvement of female cash crop farmers of Yekemi. If I had maintained anonymity of Yekemi, my research would likely be less valuable to the local community. This is evidenced by the community's subsequent liaison with the local government in which it falls, concerning Yekemi's future agricultural development. The people of Yekemi were always aware that I was not anonymising the name of their village and raised no objections to this overt approach. So I am providing a link between government and the Yekemi community, in terms of introduction of the community and its agricultural activities and needs to relevant agencies of government, so that this research can have practical influence on the development of Yekemi.

A formal introduction of myself and the purpose of researching into gender relations in cash crop commercialization in Yekemi was done. I spent quite a lot of time, explaining to individuals and groups of male and female villagers and farmers, that I am trying to produce a case study of their village, and in particular of their farming practices. The elders and the king of the village gave me permission to work there, indeed they welcomed me. I returned to Yekemi after the period of fieldwork, to disseminate the key findings of my study in their community. They assured me that they are happy with my using the data collected in their community for my study.

My interaction with participants, assuring them of their privacy, winning their confidence at the grassroots level, opening up to them about the purpose of the research, and the system of participation I adopted, allayed the fears of the

participants and facilitated their participation. I believe my methodological approach has been based on integrity, honesty and ‘informed consent’ (Ramazanoglu and Holland 2007: 157). In anonymising individual participants, I have tried to ensure confidentiality. I appreciate that this is sometimes problematic in the context of case studies of this nature where the locale is identified.

Fieldwork Preparation

Before embarking on the field research, desk research was conducted to put every plan in place for a successful and reliable data collection in the fieldwork. This involved a prepared checklist of questions, which focused on the objectives of the study; a preliminary list of likely sources of information; planning and arranging initial meetings. A daily diary plan, which detailed what to cover during the study was developed. Guided questions for different groups of informants were prepared, which included the preparation of semi- structured interviews and guided questions for focus group discussions.

Location Selection

In the research on cash crop farming, there are relatively few contemporary accounts of women’s participation, either as labourers or farmers, in their own right. In the existing literature, little has been written about Yoruba women being farmers, or being engaged generally in agriculture in Nigeria. Osun state is the chosen setting for this research, because apart from being situated within the cocoa belt of south western Nigeria, Osun state is the second largest cocoa producer in Nigeria (National Bureau of Statistics 2012 cited in Cadoni 2013: 8). The importance of Osun state chosen as a location could be further seen in

Cadoni’s description of the state of cocoa production in Nigeria, when she states that ‘[a]lthough cocoa is mostly grown in fourteen of the Thirty-six Nigerian States, the main producing states (aside from Cross River, in the South East) are located in the South West of the country, with most production areas located in: Edo, Ekiti, Ogun, Ondo, Osun, Oyo’ (Cadoni 2013:8). Osun state is also one of the core Yoruba speaking states. It was notably one of the pioneer states for the Federal government of Nigeria’s Fadama (dry season irrigated farming) agricultural project, in collaboration with the World Bank (Ayanwale et al., 2004; Cadoni 2013)

Map of Nigeria

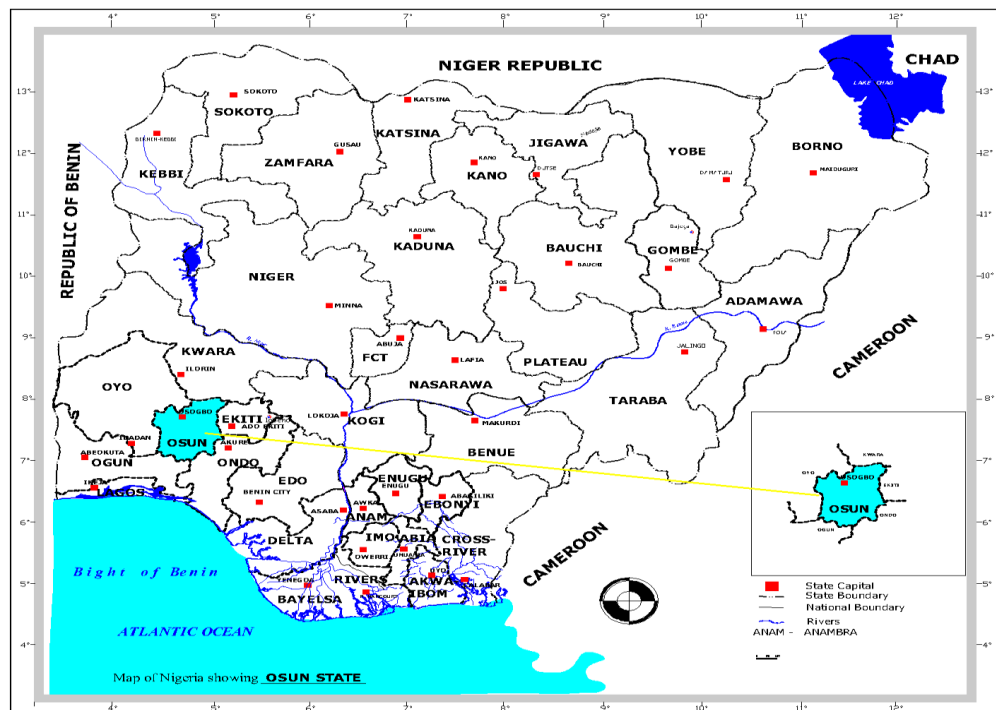


Figure 1.1 Map of Nigeria showing Osun state in the national setting.

Source: Osun State Ministry of Lands and Physical Planning, Osogbo, Nigeria (2010).

Osun state has a dominant culture of agriculture, and Yekemi village is a rural settlement where cash crop farming is the main occupation. It is a village that draws her population mostly from various Yoruba towns and cities, due to the value of crops grown in the area.

My initial intention was to study the changes that have taken place in the community, especially in the lives of women who are working either as labourers or wives of farmers. On arriving in the village however, it was clear that women were also cash crop farmers. The village is a full- time cash crop growing community. It has a relatively long history of cash crop farming and is a focal point within this particular locality, for cash crop production. The fact that I could speak Yoruba made communication easier and also enhanced greater trust by the people. For all of these reasons, Yekemi became an appropriate choice of location for this study.

Brief historical background of the name – ‘Yekemi’

Yekemi is a village located towards the North Eastern part of Ile-Ife town in Osun State of Nigeria. According to my findings, the name Yekemi was coined from the name of a business woman called Kemi, who, together with her husband was the first settler in the area, and a river called ‘Aye river or Odo Aye’ that is in the present location of Yekemi. According to narrative accounts, travellers on the route used to describe the river for other new passers-by as Aye-Kemi (river in Kemi’s place). Kemi came to be associated with Aye River because she settled with her family close to the river. The river then came to be known as Kemi’s property (Aye-Kemi). Aye-Kemi was later shortened to Yekemi village. The river still serves as the main source of water supply to the community. I find it

interesting that a village named after a woman is also a place where women have entered into a dominant (male) form of production. This observation was also made by some of my participants.



Figure 2. 2 Aye River in Yekemi, where the name of the village was coined
Source: Fieldwork 2012

Access to the village

The study started in January 2012. I arrived in Nigeria in mid-January, when there was a serious fuel scarcity crisis and the entire workforce across the country was on strike because of increase in petrol pump price. This was the first major obstacle encountered. However, before the end of the month, a level of normalcy had returned, and I was able to make arrangements with a contact person who knows the place. I was thus able to make my first visit to Yekemi. During my first visit to Yekemi in January 2012, I met the community leaders, in order to obtain permission to undertake the research there. In actual fact, it was not as straight forward as I had, perhaps naively, initially anticipated, and I had to make

several return visits to Yekemi and talk with the elders over a period of time, before I was granted permission to come and live there for research purposes. However, this period of travelling backwards and forwards between Ife (the nearest town) and Yekemi village proved useful. I was able to become more familiar with resources that were available, and those that were not available in the village (for example I had to bring drinking water, cooking facilities and lanterns, since there was no electricity). I also found that it was impossible to purchase food or other provisions in Yekemi outside of the market day. Finally, another important learning experience resulting from this initial period in January when I had to travel to and from the village seeking permission was an appreciation of how difficult it is to access the village. The only road to the village is untarred and very difficult to pass through, particularly during the rainy season. My contact and guide to Yekemi was a man I managed to make contact with through an extended grapevine. He was formerly an inhabitant of the village but had migrated to the city (Osogbo, the capital of Osun State). However, he kindly agreed to take me, and make the initial introductions to the village elders. After a few false starts, in which I was unable to make contact initially, on my third visit, I was lucky to be introduced to the village head who was the king of the village. The village was elevated to kingship from elder/ head status in August 2009. I introduced myself and discussed my intention to study the agricultural activity of the village with him. He gave me another appointment date, so that he can discuss the issue with the council of elders in the village. I met the king and the elders as scheduled. After a session of questioning, I was granted approval to commence my research in their community. I discovered that the people there are busy people. During my initial visits, only a few people were always available in the

village. I was assured that there are people around, but that they have gone to the farms, as it was the palm oil season. The king offered me the best accommodation he could, as a guest of the community. It was an empty, unpainted room with no fixtures or furniture. It was however very cool, quiet and decent enough, relative to the other houses in the village. The people there are friendly and accommodating. I moved into the accommodation with my bed, beddings, lantern, torch, stove, food items and 200 litres of pipe borne water in four 50 litre plastic kegs. I went ahead to clean up the room and settled down to begin living in the house provided. Thus, the main study was carried out between February and September 2012, targeting both female and male farmers in cash crop production. I made a return visit for dissemination purposes between 10th of December 2012 and 15th of January 2013.

Apart from the access to the village, it became important to negotiate my access to the people I would be working with during the period. I requested to meet both male and female farmers in the village during my interaction with the elders of the village. I was introduced to a woman called Felicia, who was to help me with my study needs in the village. Felicia is also a farmer. This gesture of the elders helped me immensely in gaining access to the farmers. Although this sounds as if everything would henceforth be automatic, it was not. I had to prepare for general acceptance of these farmers, and the community as a whole. I had a meeting with Felicia after a lunch with her, on how to arrange for a meeting with farmers in the village. She took me round on a familiarization tour within the community, introducing me to other elders in the village; those I would have to see with regard to the historical background of the village. I also met with the major cash crop farmers, both male and female. Felicia assisted me in convincing the farmers to

come for focus group discussions with me. Each focus group discussion required visitations, at least twice; one to inform them of the meeting, the other to remind them of the same meeting, so that they can have it in their plan to attend. As time went on, the number of houses I had to visit for each focus group discussion reduced, because they started informing and reminding each other of the focus group meetings.

Selection of the Participants for study

On the 1st of March, I had an initial general interactive meeting with 43 adults (28 female and 15 male farmers) in the community, at the village's Cooperative Society hall. It was a very successful interaction. I was able to brief them about the purpose of my staying in the community, my plans and expectations. I was able to identify the various groups which I intended to organise and work with later. The various groups also expressed their feelings, spoke on the nature of their work and the problems they are facing. From this information, I was able to form six focus groups of men and women who engage in cash crop production in the village, with a group focusing on the auxiliary workers. The first three groups were of women who are cash crop farmers. The second set of two groups were of male cash crop farmers and the sixth group was the auxiliary workers.

It was after this meeting that I discovered that to actually achieve my aims in the community, I would need to incorporate Felicia as a local facilitator and a link with the village members. Felicia was able to direct me to different farms and farmers, with whom I wished to speak. Without her, I would have been, quite literally, lost, at least at first.

Participant Observation

This method is an important tool for this fieldwork. Participant observation method plays an important role in establishing the actual position of the situation in the community. This is an additional way of improving or establishing data collected through interviews. As has been stated by Bell, interviews:

provide important data, but they reveal only how people perceive what happens, not necessarily what actually happens. Observation can be useful in discovering whether people do what they say they do, or behave in the way they claim to behave. (Bell, 2005: 184)

A study of Yoruba women, making their living from their labour in cash crop production, is a shift from the general perception of Yoruba women and their livelihood. Yoruba women are generally known for trading, processing farm produce, tie and dye etc. (Brydon and Chant, 1993). Women's farm work in Yoruba communities is assumed to be that of assistance to their husbands, and not for them to make their own living. They are expected to have their own business, which is trading, either in the house, or in the market. This is separate from their farm activities within their families. The discovery of female farm owners, working diligently on their personal farms in Yekemi, makes the extra step worth taking, towards this research.



Figure 2.3 Women working in their farms
Source: Fieldwork 2012

During the course of this study, different aspects of both men's and women's daily activities were studied, and shifts in gender roles mostly in economic activities were observed. These are analysed in chapters 4, 5, and 6 of this thesis. With perseverance, commitment and dedication, useful data were collected through this method. The method greatly assisted in understanding the Yekemi community. Different stages of palm oil production were observed (from farm to processing centre), kolanut cleaning was also observed, cocoa spraying and the social life of the various farmers were equally studied.

Participant observation methods involved me taking part in various activities with the local people, taking part in discussions and debates and watching people at work, to see in practical terms the challenges and processes of cash crop production. I made personal observations for several months. This involved walking with farmers to their farms, to observe their work and sometimes to assist

them. I was able to study their gender relations in terms of roles and expectations. Their personal observations were recorded in the form of conversations, note takings, photographs, walking surveys of land, one to one interviews and focus groups discussions. The method also includes on-site visitations and participation in works done. As will be discussed in more details in this thesis, participant observation highlighted certain key issues:

- a. The economic situation of the village does not encourage storage of farm produce till the time when prices would rise, when they can make more money from sales of their farm products. They sell each produce as they are producing it, especially in the case of palm oil. More importantly, they do not have storage facilities for their products. This affects their revenue negatively as they have to sell their products as buyers demand, rather than at times when their crops would command higher prices.
- b. The only road to this village is not motorable, especially during rainy seasons. Those customers who buy their goods find it difficult to reach them, and could only come when the price is low, compared to other villages that have road access.
- c. Cash crop farming is capital-intensive, as it requires a lot of finance and additional labour, both in terms of management and harvesting. Low levels of technology or capital investment in Yekemi results in lower levels of productivity and lower capacity to expand and generate more income.

From informal discussions, it became clear that some of the major problems faced by the farmers of Yekemi village include lack of investment capital, problems of transportation of their goods to markets where the value of their products will

appreciate, and insufficient modern farm implements, in terms of both mechanical and chemical inputs, for harvesting and processing their palm produce. These constraints were identified in all the groups.

Interviews with Yekemi people

Both unstructured and semi-structured interviews were used as one of the major methods during this study, in addition to participant observation. As Bernard (1995: 209) states; ‘unstructured interviews are based on a clear plan that you keep constantly in mind, but are also characterized by a minimum of control over the informant’s responses’. The open ended questions were framed to suit each participant’s area of operation in the farm activities, without any constraints on their responses. Unstructured interviews enabled me to have access to in-depth information about the environment and the activities of the people. During this period, 46 unstructured interviews were conducted during the ethnographic study of the community. In addition to the targeted participants, other relevant people were also interviewed. During walking surveys, most people I met on the farm doing one thing or the other were interviewed. The interviews were scheduled in advance with the participants agreeing on a time and venue. In some cases, I combined participant observation with unstructured interviews, especially with those I met on the farms during the walking surveys. This was helpful in the sense that it guided my questions. The interest I have shown in their work made the environment friendly and relaxed for such activities. With the focus of my research in mind, each of these people were interviewed as to their roles in agriculture, the nature of their work, their experiences, how they find their work, which gender is responsible for which work, and whether farming is the only

source of their livelihood. If they are labourers, their wages were also discussed. They took their time in responding to questions, with different gestures to express their feelings and the conditions of their work. When a question seriously touched them, they usually stopped to express such for some time, if not, they talked as they worked in the farm.

This is one of the issues with those I met on farms; to have a long session with them on their farm required a longer waiting time, because they had to combine the interview session with their work. The lengths of a session of unstructured interview varied but often lasted up to two hours.

I also conducted 14 semi-structured interviews. These include 2 sessions on the historical background of Yekemi with two very senior members of the community, 2 sessions with the head of the community, 1 with produce buyers at Yekemi, 2 with produce buyers in Ife town, 1 with the local government chairperson, 1 with an agricultural officer of the Osun State, 1 with the State Commissioner for Agriculture and Food Security, and 4 sessions with palm oil workers. All these sessions were tape-recorded and transcribed. The nature of their activities enabled me to have time for transcription during the fieldwork. Most of the interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in the evenings, when people are back from their farms. Interviews conducted lasted for between 45minutes to 80 minutes per session. My day time periods were used for participant observation, walking surveys or for transcriptions. I completed the translations (from Yoruba to English) of the transcribed field recordings after the field work. It is necessary to point out here that due to the participants' schedule of duties, longer interviews could not be conducted. This is due to the fact that

domestic activities begin immediately after leaving the farm at dusk, and so they have limited time to spend on interviews.

Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussion is an effective method for community research, which facilitates in-depth information and digging into areas that could not be studied with the use of interview or questionnaire surveys (Aanand, 2013). I used FGDs to discuss the gender roles in cash crop farming activities within Yekemi community. This method actually brought to light the gender relations which under normal situations, tend to present gender roles as ‘normal’ and ‘natural’ ways of being in the community.

Organising a focus group discussion with Yekemi farmers was a major task. This is due to their schedule of work in the farm. In studying their yearly activities, I discovered that I just have to plan with them to make it a reality, as they work throughout the year from one crop to another. With the help of the head of the community who sent messages around, the farmers were able to remove their initial suspicion that I was either the usual politician or journalist looking for news. Eventually, I was able to fix a convenient time for the first meeting.

A focus group entry form was designed for information about the participants, and this is provided as appendix 2. It was structured to revalidate my data collected. It covers both personal and farm activity information. Initially I limited the research participants to 20 female and 10 male cash crop farmers, as planned at the beginning of the fieldwork, but the incorporation of auxiliary workers increased the number by 8. The 30 initial participants remain the main focus of the study, as

they are the ones in the business of cash crop production and the auxiliary participants are the assistants on the farms.

Six focus groups were formed, each one consisting of six to eight people. Three focus groups were formed among female cash crop farmers, two groups were formed among male farmers who are engaged in cash crop production, and one group was formed for the auxiliary workers. The focus groups discussed such issues as gendered perceptions of women's role in agriculture, the chances for aid, their experiences, challenges and prospects of their work. Each group discussion could not be finished in one session because of the nature of work in the community which leaves only the evenings available for discussions (in-between domestic works). So while some of the discussions took two evenings, others took three. The same issues were addressed by these groups, as they all deliberated on such issues as the cash crop production, their work calendar, methods of commercializing their farm products, problems faced as farmers, the transportation system in the village, gender issues within farming, land ownership and the inadequate working capital for farm implements.

The initial meetings held with farmers were heterogeneous in nature. This enabled me to study the gender relations among farmers of Yekemi. Each group consisted of people with the same cash crop production. Arrangement for the time of the meetings was difficult to fix due to their busy schedule, as it was the time of palm oil processing on the farms. The sessions had to be arranged, and evening meetings were agreed upon. Each session took about one and a half to two hours. Each group consisted of 6 to 8 members. For the auxiliary workers, they were 8 in number, consisting of – 3 palm tree climbers, 3 porters and 2 cocoa harvesters.

Any one of them can equally work on kolanut trees during harvesting. The 3 porters work in both cocoa and palm tree farms. The farmers' cooperative house in the village was chosen for the venue of the meetings, as the front part of the house is more spacious and central for most of the members. Refreshments were always provided by me. There was active participation by all, although there were some challenges which I did not allow to discourage me. One of such challenges was the intrusion of a man who would not leave during the women's focus group discussion. He was later identified as a cocoa buyer. He joined the discussion group as if he was a female, listening to their discussion. This I believed could hinder free flow of expression of some of the women on issues at hand. I politely and privately requested him to excuse the women, but he refused and responded loudly that he was just an observer. This made some women to address and point to him in a satiric manner as their exploiter in the cash crop business, to his face. This forced him to leave the arena of the discussion.

The use of focus group discussions put participants at ease, as there were open and free expressions in their responses. At the end of each session, we concluded by summarizing the day's discussion and I expressed appreciation for their patience and willingness to participate, out of their demanding schedules.

Consultations

Consultations with 2 elderly members of the community were made to gather information for the historical background of the village. It was quite interesting to note the importance of the name of the village to the women in the village. The name is what one of the elders referred to as 'women motivator', women have

always been economically active in the village. I was able to gather reliable information that Yekemi has been existing for over 100 years.

Farms visitations/ walking survey

The month of March 2012 was used to focus on visitations to farms where these people operate. 18 farms were visited at Yekemi village, plus one nursery farm and one government demonstration garden. It involved a lot of trekking, as we had to walk between 5 to 15 kilometres in a day, through some difficult rural terrain and forest.



Figure 2.4 Farm visitation
Source: Fieldwork 2012

The farming system is a mixed one, as different activities may be carried on at the same time depending on the mode of ownership (this is discussed in detail in chapter 4). It is important to make it clear here that in the case of palm oil, farm areas are different from the processing centre. The farms are quite far away from the processing venue. The plan to include farm visitations brought in another

important aspect of the study that was not listed among my initial plan of activities to be carried out in the field. This involved some other players in the course of cash crop production that need to be incorporated. They are the other labourers who work for those farmers at various levels of production of palm oil, kola nut and even cocoa. These include produce buyers for cocoa, palm climbers for palm oil and kola nut, and cocoa harvesters. To be able to have a successful interaction, the need to know these other labourers' areas of operation became important. They are the labourers I met in the farms during our visits.



Figure 2.5 Palm tree climber
Source: Fieldwork 2012



Figure 2.6 Palm tree climber harvesting palm fruits
Source: Fieldwork 2012

The farm visitations played an important role in paving the way for the rest of the fieldwork. It also cleared the doubt and suspicion of me being a journalist, who just wants to make use of the farmers for news, or an agent of a political party covering villages for a political campaign.

Fieldwork End: Appreciation Meeting

A final meeting was jointly organized by me and the community in September 2012. It was titled ‘Appreciation meeting’. This actually made my stay in this community an even more memorable one, as the event was recorded and made elaborate beyond my expectations. It included drummers and dancing around the village. This event served two purposes. Firstly, it was used to notify members that the fieldwork phase has ended; and, secondly, and most importantly, to inform the community about the researcher’s exit. This meeting became an essential tool for drawing hidden information. From this meeting, some important

issues were noted from the kind of songs women and men sang, which brought out some hidden gender issues from their activities. Satirical songs reflecting what seem to be the challenges women are facing in the cash crop production, especially cocoa, were sung. The songs made it obvious that not all people support women's involvement in cash crop production. A song with the words 'cocoa will not bud for those of you that are envious of our participation, of our success', sung by the women, indicates this. At the end of the dancing round the village, both male and female farmers confronted each other in a light mood, with joking but confrontational songs such as 'our work is now our husband, our children are now our hope' sung by the women farmers. Men also responded in songs to the effect that if the women refuse to go back to their traditional responsibilities, men will not cater for them again.

Return to Yekemi: dissemination of early findings

The last part of my research was a return visit to Yekemi to disseminate my earlier findings in the community. This was done between 10th of December and 15th of January 2013. Participants were gathered together and they were briefed about the findings. This process is an important tool to cross check information collected. During the study the women clamoured once again for government assistance on diverse issues, ranging from motorable road, to availability of fertilizers, pesticides and other chemicals to improve their farm yields.

During this period I briefed the participants about the outcome of my visitation to the Ministry of Agriculture. I reported my findings concerning their cash crop activities and sought further approval for utilization of the information in my research write-up. During this visitation the community also reported back to me

the effort they have made in linking up with the government of the state which I facilitated during the study. It was reported that the community now has a representative that is soliciting for them, and linking them up with government, for government input into their farming activities. It was also discovered that the initial timidity in relationship with the government has been removed, as they now have direct contact with the government officials in charge of trees and crops in the State Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security. Dissemination of my findings enabled them to consider the potential importance of HYVs in cash crop farming. Government involvement will go a long way in helping them to make meaningful profit from their cash crop production. The community commended my return visit, they said that mostly when visitors are done with their work, they rarely come back to see them again. They appreciated the period I spent with them and the linkage facilitated through the study of their activities. They still made a request that I should continue to assist in following up with the government, so that they could be properly included in government plan for rural farmers, especially women.

Dissemination of findings to government: a future plan

I intend to disseminate my findings in relation to the situation of cash crop farming in Yekemi, to both the Local Government and State Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security of Osun State (places visited during the fieldwork) later in future. This is due to the fact that ‘Agricultural and rural development that benefits the poor can succeed only through a joint effort by the government and all farmers, not just the large farmers’ (Todaro and Smith, 2012:450). This makes the incorporation of small scale farmers into government plans an important issue

that cannot be neglected. Though Yekemi's cash crop production is commercially based, the old system of farming still prevails. This results in low productivity which makes government intervention a major and immediate need of these cash crop farmers. The World Development Report 2008 which focused specifically on agriculture for development emphasized the importance of replacing the soil nutrients that have been mined for decades for higher productivity (World Bank, 2007: 233). There is the need to disseminate my findings to government, for the rural farmers, especially women who are already into cash crop production, to benefit from government programmes. Although the programmes of AGRA agenda since its inception in 2006 focused more on the rural farmers in Nigeria, this programme is yet to reach the people of Yekemi. As it is evident from the study, cash crop farming is the way of life in Yekemi community. Women in cash crop farming see their participation as their economic strength, that gives them confidence to attend to their daily needs. Government intervention becomes important for local farmers like those in Yekemi to benefit and participate in HYVs, farming without stress of accessing the HYVs inputs.

Dissemination of the findings to government will have a positive influence and act as a reminder to keep the people of Yekemi on government agendas. It will also encourage recognition, and integration of women cash crop farmers' needs into policy and programmes. The concluding part of this study enumerates those important areas of Yekemi cash crop farming that need government intervention for effective implementation.

Comparing the government demonstration farms with those of the local farmers, the superiority of government intervention is obvious and can clearly be seen in

the comparative photographs of figs 7 and 8 overleaf. Though the people are making their ends meet in cash crop production, involvement of the government could assist in increasing their yield, thus heightening their quality of life.



Figure 2.7 Cocoa crop of the local farm
Source: Fieldwork 2012



Figure 2.8 Cocoa crop of the government demonstration farm
Source: Fieldwork 2012

A Note on Usage of Different terms for ‘Third World’

The term ‘Third World’ has been used occasionally in this work, to refer to countries outside the core of western industrialized nations (Abbott and Wallace 1992). I am not unaware of the different interpretations and criticism against the usage, which have engendered the use of alternative terms such as ‘the developing world’, ‘developing areas’, less developed countries, underdeveloped countries, the global south etc, as opposed to first world, developed world, developed countries or the global North. All these terms are still problematic and politically charged. According to Worsley ‘the politics of naming and being labelled is important’ (Worsley 1964 cited in Potter et al, 2008). Despite its criticism the term Third World is still in use even by its constituent states in fora such as the United Nations (Wolfe Philips, 1987). I have used Third World and these other terms interchangeably, but not without an understanding that these are not wholly accepted labels.

Conclusion

This chapter gives a vivid account of fieldwork preparation, fieldwork activities, the selection of location and different methods used in data collection for the study. It gives a brief historical background of the village name – ‘Yekemi’ and justifies the use of methodology from feminist / GAD perspectives as an appropriate methodology in studying gender relations in cash crop production, as it help to provide an objective assessment of farming relations in the Yekemi community. Tools of GAD analysis enabled me to capture the whole scenario of agricultural activities in the village which covers reproductive, productive and community work of both men and women in the village of study, and the value

attached to these different roles performed in farmers' households. The methodology enabled a detailed study of access to, and control over resources and benefits, practical needs and strategic interests of women, and other factors that influence both genders' participation in cash crop farming. Capturing this intricate relationship requires the use of an ethnographic approach. The methodology adopted necessitated the use of different research instruments such as participant observation, unstructured and semi-structured interviews, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, visitations, consultations and walking surveys of the farms. All these were done with careful ethical considerations at every stage of the study.

This chapter also explicitly gives an account of how gender analysis and an ethnographic approach were used, to study different roles of men and women in cash crop production in Yekemi community. This method allowed openness and free expression of views by participants, on the issues that are being researched into. The use of qualitative methods for the study was prompted by the need to capture the effects that modernization of agricultural commercialization is having on gender relations as discussed in the research methodology on pages 32 and 33.

The chapter also gives details of how I gained access to the village and how the main fieldwork study ended with an appreciation meeting. The importance and benefits associated with the dissemination of findings could be seen from the awareness created about the difference between HYVs and local cash crop produce and the link facilitated during the study between the village and the government to enable the village to benefit from government agricultural programmes. This has necessitated future dissemination of my findings in Yekemi

cash crop farming, to both the Local Government and the State Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security of Osun State, for incorporation of both men and women cash crop farmers of Yekemi into government plans.

Chapter 3

Masculinization through Mechanization of Agriculture: Gender Relations and Development of Agricultural Commercialization in Historical Context

Introduction

The importance of agriculture as a key component of economic development in the Third World must be placed in the broader context of the modernization of development, at its height in the 1950s through the 1970s - a dominant paradigm that remains pervasive even today. There is therefore a need for a brief overview, to serve as a contextual backdrop to the Green Revolution and its impacts on farmers in the developing world, and on gender and class dynamics, within wider processes of modernization and development in the post-World War 2 era, following the Bretton Woods agreement. Although the focus of this thesis is on gender and rural development in Nigeria, it is nevertheless important to locate this study within these broader theoretical and historical frameworks. It is also important to note that a majority of Third World people still rely on agriculture as a main source of livelihood (World Development Report 2008). In view of this, this chapter provides an overview of some key historical and theoretical developments since the Bretton Wood agreements in 1944. It is structured into three key sections. The first section traces the historical background of agriculture in development programmes. It discusses the term 'development' and more specifically provides a brief contextual overview of processes of modernization in development in the post-Second World War era, in the decades following the Bretton Woods agreement. The second section addresses the emergence of agricultural modernization, examining the Green Revolution as the outcome of

development policy. It traces the emergence of agricultural commercialization with special reference to the Green Revolution, discussing its pros and cons as it affects gender relations and production, citing examples from previous studies in Asian and African countries. The third section critically explores agricultural change in Nigeria in particular, focusing on the impact of the Green Revolution and agricultural commercialization for men, women and gender relations.

Historical background of agriculture in development programmes: the emergence of development discourse since the Bretton Woods' Agreement

The Bretton Woods agreements of 1944 emerged from a historically significant conference of 44 allied nations, pioneered by the UK and the USA and held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. The purpose of the conference was to 'establish global economic rules which would prevent a replay of the great depression and its aftermath' (Weiss and Daw, 2006:4). Bretton Woods agreements focused on the development goals and issues that global leaders perceived needed attention, the measures to be taken to ameliorate existing problems and the forms of international cooperation that were necessary. The Bretton Woods agreement was made with the stated purpose of achieving all-round development and post-war reconstruction. The result of this agreement was an initial economic boom, experienced by the developed countries. This was based on full employment and low inflation enjoyed during the 1950s and 1960s. This led the economists of that time to see how those policies could have positive effects on developing countries, by moving them from traditional to modern society, through economic growth (Hewitt, 2004: 293).

In this the pace of world economic development was established, and here, the contemporary history of agricultural development is located. Eicher and Staatz (1990) divided the changing roles of agriculture in development into three periods, the economic-growth-and-modernization era of the 1950s and 1960s; the growth-with-equity era of the 1970s and the economic growth and policy reforms of the 1980s. During these periods too, a number of development policy approaches were embraced to include women. These include:

- the welfare policy targeted at women in their reproductive roles during the 1950s to early 1970s;
- the equity approach of the 1970s that is concerned with the eradication of impediments to women's advancement;
- the anti-poverty policy in the 1970s that addresses women's low status;
- the efficiency approach of the 1980s that emphasizes the importance of efficient mainstreaming of delivery capacity of women in development planning and programming. This approach emphasizes increased economic participation of women and seeks to ensure that development is more efficient and effective through women's economic contribution;
- the empowerment approach of the 1990s that was linked to participatory approaches to development,
- and gender mainstreaming since 1995 that promotes gender equality

(Moser, 1993; Berhane, 1993; Connelly, 2000; Marie Riley, 2001).

All these development approaches emerged after the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944. Over the past several decades, since the post-Second World War period, a range of different advocates for women's involvement in development emerged.

These various theoretical and methodological positions came to be referred to by various shorthand groupings, namely, *Women in Development* (WID), *Women and Development* (WAD) and *Gender and Development* (GAD). For the purpose of this thesis, as discussed in chapter 2, I have drawn on the Gender and Development approach, for my methodological approach and analysis.

Modernization theory of development: an assumed solution to development ‘backwardness’

Modernization Theory is the dominant development paradigm that emerged from the post-Bretton Woods era. It is used to explain processes of modernization within societies. It refers specifically to a process of developmental evolution from traditional to modern society, from underdeveloped or developing to a developed economy. According to Moore, modernization is ‘a total transformation of a traditional or pre – modern society into the types of technology and social organization that characterizes the advanced, economically prosperous and relatively stable nations of the western world’ (1963:89). For Harrison, modernization theory represents a ‘shorthand for a variety of perspectives that were applied by non-Marxists to the Third World in the 1950s and 1960s’ (1988:1).

Modernization of technology brings about a shift from the use of simple traditional tools and techniques to the application of modern scientific tools (machines) and knowledge. The commercialization of agriculture incorporates a transition from subsistence to commercial farming. This makes people focus on cultivation of cash crops, wage employment and international trade. Industrialization encourages a change from use of human and animal power to

machine power. Cash crop products emerge to be the targets of commercialization. For the remaining farmers in the rural areas, technological knowledge of modern tools is a pre-requisite for modern agriculture. Hence, according to Charlton (1984) the commercialization of agriculture led to a significant shift from traditional divisions of labour and introduced new technological approaches to production, within which women were disadvantaged as a gender. This is because, as a result of patriarchal gender constructs, women tend to lack opportunity of access to new technologies and training and their productive skills are often displaced within this economic framework (Charlton, 1984: 33).

Modernization was redefined by social scientists when it was not working as expected, to mean 'progress towards a complex of welfare goals'(Hulme and Turner, 1994:5). This also was further modified to address three specific goals i.e. provision of basic needs, creation of full employment and reduction of inequality. Hulme and Turner (1994:5) defined development akin to Amartya Sen's Capacity approach as 'the realisation of the potential of human personality' which recognizes individual potential for development.

Incorporation of women into development programmes

Modernization paradigms have been critiqued for being gender blind, giving little or no reference to women, both in terms of contributions and inclusion in the development plans. Afshar (1993:3) rightly observed that 'the process of modernization, with its emphasis on capital accumulation and the shift from artisan production, is not of itself necessarily gender-specific. However its effect has often been to deprive many poorer women of ready access to reliable revenue,

based on subsistence production.’ To some extent, technical change has made the traditional practice of farming inefficient and obsolete.

Women in Development (WID) frameworks emphasize equal opportunity for women. WID attempts to enhance women's access to development (Connelly et al., 2000). This perspective called for improvement in women's access to education, training, property, credit and better employment. To achieve these goals, it maintained that women must be integrated into development projects and plans and have a say in policy design and implementation. In Ostergaard's (1992:2) view, ‘programmes of human-resource development must be at the centre of economic development strategy. Everything else - economic growth, fiscal policy, exchange-rate management is no more than the means to achieve the fundamental objective of improving human welfare’. This was a major achievement as it provided a checklist for ensuring women's status in societies. This was a major achievement as it provided a checklist for ensuring women's status in societies.

WID has been highly influential in promoting women's incorporation into development processes but it is not a total answer to women's development. Some of the major short comings were its failure to fundamentally challenge the principles of modernization theory that was based on western ideology. It assumes development to be a government-to-government activity, and assumes states to be the answer for the advancement of women. The need for women to be productive was emphasized in order to incorporate what was seen as a relatively untapped resource, through income generation targeted at women. However, they failed to acknowledge that much of women's productive (often less visible, informal)

labour and the importance of the time-consuming nature of their reproductive roles was ignored. It ignores women's role in markets and also ignores the basic structure of inequality in gender relations in its approach (United Nations, 1999).

Women and Development (WAD) further sensitized the policy arena to women's concerns, through active engagement at the policy and community levels, to change policies and place women's issues and concerns on national and international agendas from the south (Connelly et al. 2000). WAD also recognises the plight of poor Third World women in the development process that ignores them (Mosse, 1993; Rathgeber, 1989).

Though the WAD approach corrected the WID supposition of male-dominated states as a means of changing gender inequalities, WAD has also been criticized on the grounds of its women-only approach which limited its transformative potentials and tends to present women as a class, with little attention to racial and ethnic differences among women (Connelly et al., 2000). Kabeer (1994 cited in Visvanathan, 2002) also pointed out that the approach has not given adequate attention to the reproduction spheres and household level relations between men and women.

All these concerns gave rise to Gender and Development theory. Gender and Development approaches emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s because some feminists and development theorists were not convinced about the operations of WID and WAD in solving the problem of gender inequalities in development. The GAD approach is also known as the 'empowerment approach', 'gender-aware planning' or gender analyses of development (Connelly et al., 2000:62) As articulated by the United Nations;

The (GAD) approach signals three departures from WID. First, the focus shifts from women to gender and the unequal power relations between women and men. Second, all social, political and economic structures and development policies are re-examined from the perspective of gender differentials. Third, it is recognized that achieving gender equality requires ‘transformative change (United Nations, 1999:7).

GAD notes some key issues affecting women’s status in the society, such as their position in society at all levels (regional, national and global economies), the material conditions of their lives, the effects of patriarchal power within their societies at the national, community and household levels, and the different impacts of development policies and practices on women and men. This makes it an appropriate approach for my own gender analysis of cash crop production in Yekemi. ‘In agriculture, gender analysis provides insights into how socially constructed roles and responsibilities shape the myriad decisions around agricultural production and processing’ (Doss 2013:1) For GAD, women are agents, and not just recipients of development.

In the past few decades, in order to facilitate the goal of gender equality, gender mainstreaming has emerged as an instrument for transformative change. The functions of gender mainstreaming is imbedded in its UN definition, which states that

Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women, as well as of

Men, an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality. (The United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), 1997 cited in ILO Gender equality tool)

Hence mainstreaming is more than adding women, it is the transformation of unequal social and institutional structures into equal and just structures, for both men and women.

The Emergence of Agricultural Commercialization

Returning to the emergence of modernisation and post-World War II era of development, initially, there was a lack of emphasis on agricultural development. This was because ‘most of the western development economists of the 1950s did not view agriculture as an important contributor to economic growth. [...] Development was often equated with the structural transformation of the economy, that is, with the decline in agriculture’s relative share of the national product and of the labor force’ (Eicher and Staatz 1990: 4). The contention of these earlier studies was that agriculture was concerned with subsistence. They were of the view that national development policies based on industrialization were the sure way of development (Lewis 1954, Lipton 1977, Krueger et al. 1988 cited in Christiaensen et al. 2010). This engendered ‘urban bias’ (Lipton 1977, Bates 1981 in Varshney 1993). It was not really until the early 1960s that academic economists began to recognise the significance of agricultural development for wider processes of modernization. For example, Johnston and

Mellor's article, 'The role of Agriculture in Economic development' (1961) and Nicholls influential article 'The Place of Agriculture in Economic Development' (1964) were the starting points of a concern, acknowledgement and understanding of the potential of agriculture in development and the importance of the interdependence between agricultural and industrial growth (Eicher and Staatz 1990). Important broader roles of agriculture for development were acknowledged in the 1970s by focusing on equity and employment, and with the continuing evidence that growth in agricultural productivity across millions of smallholders was pro-poor (Byerlee et al. 2009).

The processes of modernisation did not come cheap, and by the late 1970s many developing nations were highly indebted to western lending institutions and banks. We thus enter the era of the debt crisis and the increasing importance of the international Monetary Fund and the World Bank in controlling global economies (Potter 2008). The 1980s saw the introduction of structural adjustment programmes which were aimed at reducing fiscal imbalances of the borrowing countries in the short term, for long term economic growth (Lall 1995). Structural adjustment programs are part of the loan terms and conditions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, a condition for debt rescheduling, which varied from country to country (Mosse 1993). This shifted the attention of the developing countries to market oriented economies, to boost their economy (Greenberg 1997). The introduction of SAPs 'dismantled the elaborate system of public agencies that provided farmers with access to land, credit, insurance, inputs, and cooperative organizations' (World Bank 2007:138) and led to agriculture largely disappearing from the development agenda in the 1980s and 1990s (Detheir et al. 2012). In Gonzalez de la Rocha's view '[s]tructural

adjustment has produced deep social restructuring at various levels of society and certainly at the household level' (2008: 51). In the view of the critics of SAPs, 'foreign debt is simply another form of dependency that effectively transfers power from underdeveloped nations to lending countries and institutions' (Greenberg 1997:86). This led Third World governments to concentrate on export production, for repayment of their debts, and remove subsidies which translated into increases in the cost of basic goods and needed agricultural inputs (Greenberg 1997). This resulted in the further neglect of agriculture as it was assumed not to be the most effective approach to achieve industrialization and economic development. This phase culminated in the mid 2000s when sharp increases in prices in international commodities were recorded and the global food crisis exposed the high cost of the agricultural neglect (De Janvry 2009).

There is now renewed interest in the problems of the agricultural sector. The multiple functions of agriculture in the development of developing countries has increasingly been recognized beyond its role as support for industrialization. The 2008 World Development Report emphasised the importance of agriculture, and since then, there has been increasing understanding and recognition of the relevance of agriculture for development. This could be seen in the increasing numbers of programmes such as the \$22 billion G8 countries' promise for agricultural investment during the Aquila, Italy 2009 meeting (De Janvry 2010). The Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) was established in 2006, with a vision of 'a food secure and prosperous Africa, achieved through rapid, sustainable agricultural growth, based on smallholder farmers who produce the staple food crops of Africa'(AGRA n.d.:2), targeting smallholder farmers with special attention to women farmers (Toenniessen et al. 2008). AGRA is supported

by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and Rockefeller Foundation with three major goals for 2020. The goals are called the strategy for an African Green Revolution. The goals are

- a. Reduce food insecurity by 50 percent in at least 20 countries.
- b. Double the incomes of 20 million smallholder families.
- c. Put at least 30 countries on track for attaining and sustaining a uniquely African Green Revolution (AGRA n.d.: 2)

With the renewed attention to agriculture, the recognition and incorporation of women farmers into agricultural commercialization plans and programmes is important. The transformation from household consumption to production for commercial purposes could be referred to as commercialization of smallholder production.

This section focuses on the development of agricultural commercialization during the 20th century, since the 1960s to the present day. Modernization incorporates agricultural commercialization as a means of achieving developmental growth. Johnston and Mellor (1961) view agricultural development as a means of transforming agriculture from a passive to a driving force in economic growth of Third World economies - a structural transformation that could be achieved by appreciating agricultural potentiality in terms of its provisions of labour, capital, foreign exchange, food for the growing industrial sector, and supply of raw materials for locally produced industrial goods.

Agricultural commercialization is an important aspect of developing nations' participation in world trade and is seen as a crucial step towards modernisation for

developing countries. However, the level of agricultural commercialization varies from one region to the other, creating disparities. The less developed countries have become net importers, while developed countries have become net exporters (Morgan, 1995). The productivity gap between commercializing regions (net exporters) and the subsistence regions (net importers) keep them far apart from each other, and may not only result in inequality, but also lead to absolute poverty of the subsistence regions. This emphasizes the need for proper modernization of agriculture, for better participation of developing countries. There is however, the problem that farmers are not competing on a level playing field. Farmers in advanced countries benefit from government agricultural subsidies which growing economies cannot afford for their own farmers (FAO, 2003; Ghosh, 2013; Dorward, 2014 draft chapter), and in many cases, are not permitted through their loan conditionalities to provide (Eurodad report, 2006). Hence, in commercialization, rural farmers in developing economies face several barriers in marketing their goods, not least the subsidies enjoyed by their western counterparts. Any gains expected from agricultural commercialization have to be seen in the context of these inequalities that still exist in both the local and international markets.

Dixon (1994:19) also pointed out a key difference between agriculture in the Third World and the developed world. In his view, the agricultural production of the developed economies is not merely a sophisticated version of that of the Third World, but may be characterized as capital-intensive and market orientated in nature, hence labelled by some writers as 'agribusiness'. Dixon noted the lack of control by the Third World in the area of price fixing. For example, 'the price levels of most tropical and sub-tropical crops, such as rubber, tea, coffee and

cocoa, have always been determined by the developed world consumers [...] The Third World has little influence over price levels' (Dixon 1994:19) as developed countries exert considerable control over world agriculture.

Commercialization of agriculture promotes the shift from subsistence agriculture to increased production for sale. This can improve the standard of living of farmers generally and also lead to greater market orientation of farm production. In Jaleta et al.'s (2009:1) words 'Commercializing smallholder agriculture is an indispensable pathway towards economic growth and development for most developing countries relying on the agricultural sector'. From a modernization perspective then, the commercialization process is a fundamental part of the growth and spread of capitalism.

In analyzing farming systems, Morgan (1977) categorized farming into three types. The first is the subsistence system, the second is the semi-commercial system and the third is the commercial system. These three types of farming, which can be regarded as stages to commercialization reflect the gradual change from a subsistence farming system to the specialized farming that agricultural commercialization requires. Increases in the level of commercialization would gradually transform subsistence food crop production to a diversified market-oriented production system. This is in line with the aims of the Green Revolution as discussed below.

The commercialization of agriculture is 'the development and promotion of a profitable agricultural production and marketing system, such that agricultural products are competitive locally, regionally and internationally' (Pinder and Wood, 2003:5). Agricultural commercialization, as an aspect of processes of

Modernization, is seen as a supporting requirement for industrialization. As Díaz-Bonilla (2002:36) explains, first, agriculture transfers unemployed workers (labour surpluses) from agriculture to industry. Secondly, it provides both food and raw materials which reduce the costs of production in the industrial sector. Thirdly, savings from the agricultural sector are used to sustain investment in industry and infrastructure. Finally, it generates foreign currency for payment for importation of capital goods and industrial inputs.

Development in agricultural production and the need to produce beyond subsistence level is a necessary contribution to socio-economic modernization. This enables some sectors of the population to focus on other aspects of societal needs, other than food acquisition. Specialization thus emerged, to meet the diverse needs of the growing urban population.

The changes in terms of modernization that have taken place differ from one region to another. However, a common impact of the introduction of various new farming methods in the 1960s and 1970s was that the production of food increased rapidly (Siwar et al., 2009). In line with the requirements of modernization, it was argued that there was a need for the developing world to find means of adopting new methods to enhance the productivity and marketability of their products.

According to an International Assessment of Agricultural Knowledge, Science and Technology (AKST) for Development;

Agricultural productivity and production have increased steadily in response to several drivers of change, including the generation and

application of AKST. While in North America and Europe (NAE) this phenomenon has been on-going since the 1940s, in other regions of the world, such growth only began in the 1960s, 70s or 80s. In some parts of developing countries, formal Agricultural Knowledge of Science and Technology is yet to make its presence felt as a major driver of agrarian change. The pace of technology generation and adoption has been highly uneven (McIntyre, et al. 2009: 18)

Based on existing literatures (Moore, 1963; Arnon, 1981; Haviland, 1990; Bernstein, 1992; Ng, 1993; Ngambeki, 2003; McIntyre, et al. 2009; Siwar et al., 2009), it is obvious that modernization of agriculture has become a prerequisite for economic growth for developing countries. For successful implementation of this, Arnon (1981) was of the view that ‘four related functions have to be simultaneously developed:

- a. new technology has to be generated, implying an effective research organization;
- b. the new technology has to be rapidly transferred to the farmers, requiring an efficient system of education;
- c. the essential incentives and conditions have to be provided, in order to motivate the majority of the farmers to change their methods of production, and to enable them do so successfully; and
- d. an appropriate strategy for promoting the entire process must be devised and implemented (Arnon, 1981:19).

One of the ways adopted for achieving this was through the introduction of changes known collectively as the Green Revolution.

Agricultural Modernization: the Green Revolution

The 'Green Revolution' was a historic period of modern agricultural change during the 1960s and 1970s, in which technological methods of farming that could substantially raise the yields and increase farmers' income regardless of their scale of operation were introduced to some developing areas (Bernstein, 1992:57). It involved the adoption of both improved high yielding crop varieties (HYVs) and mechanization technologies, together with the use of fertilizers, irrigation and improved management practices in Asia and South America (Ngambeki, 2003:13). It focused on improved cereals, such as wheat, rice and maize. The Green Revolution enabled the achievement of national self-sufficiency in food grains in India (Bernstein, 1992:57). It improved varieties, and developed irrigation infrastructure in the Philippines (Ngambeki, 2003:13) with farmers having adequate water and an increase in their growth of crops per year. This resulted in double annual output per capita. The same improvement was recorded in Brazil and Bolivia where the Green Revolution was practised. Thus 'the Green Revolution comprised of biological, chemical, mechanical and hydrological science and technology' (Ngambeki, 2003:15). The objectives of the Green Revolution were:

- a. to enhance the genetic potential of the rice varieties, to make the plant high yielding, resistant to diseases, early maturing, efficient in the use of water and fertilisers, and tolerant to low temperatures, soil alkalinity and salinity.
- b. to disseminate widely, rice related technologies information, knowledge and skills

- c. to maintain sustainable development of the production systems for more efficient use of inputs, the protection of water and biotic resources (Ngambeki, 2003:17).

The Green Revolution resulted in higher productivity as many farmers in Asia and South America adopted the high yielding varieties, learnt how to develop a good seed bed for nurseries and canals for controlling irrigation. Thus many traditional farming systems were changed to modern production systems. However not everyone was seen to benefit from these changes. In a process I refer to below as proletarianization, the new technologies for example, facilitated richer farmers to buy up smaller farms, rendering the latter landless, because poorer farmers could not sustainably afford the high inputs required by the Green Revolution (Ngambeki, 2003).

Moreover the ‘green revolution was far from ‘green’ as the UN (2011) World Economic and Social Survey states:

[t]he so-called green revolution of the 1960s and 1970s helped boost agricultural productivity worldwide, but did not conduce to a sustainable management of natural resources, nor to food security for many of the world’s poor. The world now needs a truly green revolution in agriculture—one conducive to the kind of technological innovation that aims to radically improve the productivity of small farm holdings through environmentally sustainable natural resource management embedded in broader developmental agricultural support measures (United Nations 2011:67).

Another major issue in this modern approach to farming is that the way in which the Green Revolution was implemented led to a displacement of the visibility of women's roles in agricultural production, as it re-emphasized the perception of women's main labour as one of subsistence production, and for wealthier farmers led to a re-emphasis on women's reproductive roles in a process I refer to below as housewifization (Mie, 1986; Ng, 1993, Radel, 2011).

Thus, through processes of mechanization, there are shifts and changes in both gender and class relations. The Green Revolution institutionalized proletarianization, masculinization and housewifization in agriculture. Proletarianization is a situation where wealthier farmers are economically better able to capitalise on the new opportunities, and buy into new training and new technology, which in turn leads to an increase in their productivity. Farmers who cannot afford these inputs cannot compete with richer, larger landholders, in terms of the sale of their crops. This is because the richer farmers are now producing more and can command better prices and control over the sale of those crops in the market place. Agricultural practices among the poorer farmers are more labour intensive, making it difficult for them to accumulate capital. The bigger farmers are able to accumulate capital over a period of time. This increases the level of their profit, and they have more cash available for the expansion of their farmlands. By so doing, the bigger farmers increase their yield productivity, increasing their sales and accumulate more capital. They are therefore in a better position to control their sales, unlike their poor counterparts within the community. They are able to buy up more farmlands from the smallholder farmers, who could not afford the expenses required by Green Revolution, to maintain their farms. The richer farmers become bigger, buying up the poorer

farmers' farmlands. They subsequently buy the labour of their poorer neighbours and increase divisions in social relations. The introduction of new technology requires new types of training. Poorer farmers are less able to buy into these more expensive technologies and compete with their wealthier neighbours. Thus poorer farmers become proletarianized as landless labourers. This increases the class differentiations within the local community. Shiva (1989 cited by Braidotti et al.) sees Green Revolution technology as a capitalist mode that penetrated India and destroyed the economic base of smallholder farms. As Braidotti et al. (1997) stated,

Shiva sees the dominant mode of development as western, patriarchal and based on a reductionist model of science and technology, that serves the global market and is effectively destructive for women, nature and all 'others' – non-western people (1997: 57).

The Green Revolution has had a direct impact on gender relations and the differential power and decision making of female farmers, largely through a process referred to as housewifization. Housewifization is a situation whereby the wealthier farmers' wives ceased from being perceived as farmers or farm workers in their own right, but are rather perceived as housewives. Mies' (1986 cited in Braidotti et al., 1997) view of housewifization could easily be applied to the situation of rich farmers' wives. Many rich farmers stop their wives from working as a mark of having arrived (status symbol). In this case the housewifization of women is putting productive hands out of visible work, to demonstrate the luxury and wealth of rich farmers. Thus productive hands are increasingly domesticated in the houses of the rich farmers. This could be seen as disempowerment of

women in farm activities. Women's control over their income and their participation in meeting domestic expenses, have become a trade-off, for demonstration of their husbands' wealth. This retracts their ability to cater for strategic gender needs which they had previously acquired through personal efforts. Having increased their wealth through mechanization, larger landholders are better able to displace their wives from the visible, agricultural production, as this brings to the men greater status. This lends greater power to the man in patriarchal contexts, as he is considered more powerful because he has a non-working wife. What happens to the wife is that she becomes less visible. Poor women and poor farmers' wives are not excluded from processes of proletarianization which can also lead to 'enforced' housewifization when their farms are taken away from them. As stated by Elisabeth Prügl (1996), 'proletarian women are often housewifized against their will' (1996: 115).

The Green Revolution disrupted social relations among farming communities, and built up a class system that created demarcations between the rich and poor farmers. In addition, it strengthened the patriarchal orientation of the society and masculinized farming. 'The paradigm of masculinity in food production has come to us in many shades and labels, such as 'Green Revolution', 'scientific agriculture' etc.,' (Sobha 2007: 108). In addition to processes of proletarianization and class differentiation, and processes of housewifization whereby women are pushed into more traditional housewife roles, we have also seen processes of masculinization through mechanization. What I mean by this is that when new mechanized technology was introduced to farming system, it tends to be assumed, based on normative (and often western) gender constructs, that men are the ones who use technology. For example men drive tractors, and women are therefore

often by-passed and ignored when all these technologies are utilised and when training and extension services to support the new technology are introduced. The term 'farmer' becomes more synonymous with men and mechanization thus becomes synonymous with masculinization, relegating women to subsistence farming and men to cash crop or commercial farming. Arnon (1981) reveals in the work of Lele, (1975) the effect of this on Gambian women. When rice production changed from food crop to cash crop, men immediately became involved in its production, replacing women. Cagley and Klawitter (2009) also cited the displacement of women in Gambia when yields improved under the new irrigation scheme, and in the case of Burkina Faso women were not only displaced but also witnessed major change in their culture when a modernised / mechanised irrigation system was introduced. Women who were traditionally in control of both household and personal inland fresh water swamp rice crops, and usually passed their land rights to daughters, saw men taking over these rights and changing inheritance rights to sons. Hence 'Western stereotypes of appropriate roles and occupations tended to be exported with aid' (Tinker, 1976:33 cited in Kabeer 1994). To elaborate further on these effects, the following section expatiates on women's access to commercial farming, by focusing on the study of these effects on developing countries such as Malaysia and South Africa.

As alluded to earlier, other consequences of the Green Revolution include the negative environmental impacts, degrading the environment and polluting water courses. There are also impacts in terms of the farmers' loss of power and control over their seeds, loss of bio-diversity and reliance on imported high yielding varieties, fertilizers, and pesticides.

Green Revolution processes occur in the context of wider processes of modernization, from a particular ideology of ‘what is west is best’. It is a patriarchal model of development that capitalised on production for profits instead of local needs, and which took sales and profits as indicators of wellbeing. This has led to the relative exclusion of poorer men and women from their food production activities (Sobha 2007). Modernization is seen as good and cash crop production is regarded as exemplifying modernization. The major demarcation between subsistence and cash crop farming tends to translate into a gender segregation of work in farming, with women concentrated in subsistence farming and men in cash crop farming.

In summary, there are impacts in terms of environmental factors, power and control over production. This results from a reliance on foreign companies who monopolise the production of these farm supplements. This tightens the processes of control over developing agricultural producers. These Green Revolution processes also impact on gender and class relations through processes of proletarianization, mechanisation and housewifisation, as I have explained here, and as I discuss in more detail later in this chapter.

A Critical Analysis of the Impacts of Agricultural Commercialization in the Developing World

As I have argued above, whilst the introduction of agricultural commercialization has brought some economic and productive benefits to national economies and those farmers who are well placed to take best advantage of such inputs, there has nevertheless been a range of critiques of these processes of agricultural modernization outlining the negative consequences of commercialization.

Morgan (1977:48) identifies the crucial factor in the trend of agricultural development in the Third World to be the developed countries' dominance of the world economy. The incorporation of traditional agricultural systems into the world economy, which centred on commodification of agricultural products, has put more pressure on rural farmers. Generally, production for commercialization has put the farmers of the Third World into 'a range of new uncertainties, which they had no mechanisms for coping with' (Dixon, 1994:49). This has put more stress on Third World farmers, making them less able to participate fully, even when they have the opportunity.

Subsidies play a major role in trade globalization. According to Olurode (2003:71) 'the driving force behind globalization is not philanthropy or a pre-occupation with human welfare or social reproduction. The invisible hand behind globalization is the profit motive; the rate of return to capital being the main goal'. Subsidies amongst other factors, enable capital in the advanced countries to have the upper-hand in agricultural commercialization. These countries are able to export their agricultural products at artificially low prices, which make them extremely competitive against those of poor or underdeveloped countries that are compelled through liberalization of trade to maintain free market policies and low or nonexistent tariffs. According to Body (1982), awarding of subsidies to farmers in the advanced economies only distorts the price mechanism. He is of the opinion that 'the only way to ensure that the naturally efficient producer receives the highest return is to allow the price mechanism to equate supply and demand' (Body 1982:6). The involvement of governments of advanced economies in subsidies creates an uneven ground for Third World farmers to compete with the advanced nations at the global level.

As Leavy and Poulton (2007:9) explain, commercial agriculture differs significantly from subsistence agriculture, in utilizing economies of scale, specialization, introduction of capital-intensive farming techniques and labour-saving technologies to achieve higher profits. The introduction of synthetic and natural resources (fertilizers, hybrid seeds, irrigation, etc.) also enhances maximization of crop yields per hectare. Meijerink & Roza. (2007:1) are of the view that reduction of the economic potential of the rural sector is due to liberalization in the 1990s and the greater openness to trade without barriers. Their work analyses the effects of this liberalization on rural production. They argue that local products could not compete with cheaper imported goods. This trade in agricultural commodities occurs where multiple market arrangements and agreements coexist, a complex environment where equality of benefits is not a criterion. With the advancement of technology, the 'liberalization of specific commodity markets may favour some producer countries and certain categories of farmers. Other economies and types of producers may lose their market share, and face further restrictions, as their import capacity and purchasing power are affected by the decline in export revenues' (Garcia, 2006:35). In most cases, those rural farmers with traditional means of farming will not benefit significantly from trade liberalization. As Garcia (2006:37) continues, 'even though increased trade may promote investment, the development of large-scale commercial farming and cash crops for export, it threatens household subsistence farming and small-scale production systems'. The liberalisation of trade puts pressure on farmers in developing countries to improve their farming techniques for higher productivity which will enable them to compete both locally and internationally. It is clear that where there is no improved productivity (and this may not be for lack of effort),

rural incomes will fall as imported products are likely to be cheaper than the locally produced ones, due to economies of scale and power imbalances in global contexts.

Gender issues in agricultural production and commercialization

As previously stated, agriculture is a major sector in the economic development of Third World countries (Arnon, 1981; Jaleta et al., 2009). Under normal circumstances, it is expected that the commercialization of agriculture offers opportunities to all the people involved and one would expect well-guided policies and programmes with adequate records of agricultural output. However the 2009 *Agriculture and Rural Development: Gender and Agriculture Sourcebook* shows otherwise. It shows for example that ‘the design of many development policies continues to assume wrongly that farmers and rural workers are men’ (World Bank, IFAD and FAO 2009: 37).

The recognition of the gender blindness of development policies and the lack of acknowledgement of women’s role in agriculture has long been noted. For example Boserups’s *Women’s Role In Economic Development* (1970); Tinker’s *The Adverse Impact Of Development On Women* (1976); Rogers *The Domestication Of Women: Discrimination In Developing Societies* (1980) and Kabeer (1994: 20) all pointed to this problem. As Momsen has also more recently pointed out;

the numerical importance of women in the agricultural workforce is increasing in developing countries, where the proportion of women workers has steadily increased from 38.59 percent in 1950 to 43.83 per

cent in 2000 and is predicted to rise to 44.44 per cent by 2010 (2010:158-159).

Momsen clearly outlined three major changes that occur in the rural economy and their effects on the socio-economic condition of women. She analysed the gendered impacts of agricultural modernization, structurally, technically and institutionally. According to Momsen (2010) structurally, capitalist penetration of the traditional rural economy resulted in loss of rights to usufruct, landlessness and sale of small properties. The effect of this could be seen in the proletarianization of labour. This has also led to an increase in male and young female migration to urban areas for different unskilled jobs, leading to a decline in rural farm work and an increase in overall working hours of rural farmers, especially those of women who remained in the village.

In the case of mechanization, women operate smaller farms and may not find means to invest in new implements. Besides, through processes of masculinisation, with the introduction of technologies targeted at male farmers, female farmers can be excluded from mechanization on grounds of gender, as well as for economic reasons. This affects their opportunity to develop large production for commercial purposes, and reinforces their concentration on subsistence crops and crops for local markets. This affects them in many ways. In terms of decision making, they have little or no input, due to their economic status. Their living standard may also decline as cash crops take over land traditionally used for subsistence production by women.

It is imperative that policies affecting rural communities should be made gender-sensitive, and as such the sensitization of policy to gender issues in agriculture is

to be welcomed, and is one major effect of gender analyses of development, from Women in Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD). Development has increasingly been understood to be gendered and this is seen as a positive evolution in development policy (March et al., 1999; Clisby, 2005). The textual incorporation of GAD discourse into policy documents is not, however, the end of the story (Clisby, 2005). Similarly Cornwall et al. (2007:5) is of the view that ‘the extent of change in women’s lives does not match this discursive landslide’. This is in line with Jiggins’ view, that despite all these efforts;

the commercialization of agriculture, the increasing globalization of commodity and food trade and food retailing, and urbanization are changing the balance of responsibility, resource access, and potential to benefit from economic growth among men and women, as well as among different categories of women, with diverse impacts on gender equality (Jiggins, 2011:2).

The Agriculture for Development Policy brief of 2008 emphasized the importance of the recognition of women in farming, stating that ‘failure to recognize their roles is costly— it results in misguided policies and programs, forgone agricultural output and associated income flows, higher levels of poverty, and food and nutrition insecurity’ (Farnworth, 2010:1).

Agriculture in rural areas is dominated by women whose efforts are often unrecognized or unremunerated. Confirming the value attached to this often invisible labour of women, Momsen (2010:141) shows that their activities are not limited to fields and caring for livestock, but also include post-harvest processing, storage of crops and animal products, seed selection and marketing. Modern day

agricultural technology has reached a level such that attention must be paid to women farmers, in order to ensure all-round productivity, most especially in sub-Saharan countries, where the majority of their rural dwellers still engage in agricultural activities, but at a subsistence level.

A lack of gender awareness of processes of agricultural production leads to a partial understanding of agricultural productivity, in view of modern changes that have taken place in agriculture and the importance given to them. The gender relations in all these changes are rarely addressed. As Garcia (2006:35), explains;

a strong gender imbalance is fostered by this process of agricultural transformation and concentration of production and resources, as most women farmers tend to hold small-scale and family farms, while men, more likely to own medium-sized or large scale commercial farms, are in a better position to capitalize on the expansion of agricultural tradable goods.

Momsen (2010) elaborates on the complexity and contradictions embedded in the impact of modernization of agriculture on gender, which 'varies according to the crops produced, the size of farm and the farming system, the economic position of an individual farm family and the political and cultural structure of societies' (Momsen, 2010:156). A key GAD critique of modernization is that women's inputs in development are seen as part of household responsibility and often overlooked. Whitehead (1991) brings to light the dynamic nature of women's involvement in agricultural production in Africa, arguing that 'African men have long grown and continued to grow food crops for self-consumption, and women also work on cash crops, and are engaged in market production' (1991:69). As she

pointed out, cash crops are sometimes food crops (giving the example of maize, groundnuts and rice), and some cash crops, like groundnuts and cocoa, are some of the cash crops that are not grown with modern inputs. She emphasized the need to study the present situation of gender relations in farm activities and identify the gender issues in such engagements. This is because different kinds of techniques could be used for both cash and food crop farming. According to Whitehead (1991) the major issue is allocation of scarce resources and the prioritization of what is assumed to be viable, which both men and women experience differently, due to their different socio-economic roles within the family.

Boserup's (1970) work on women in agriculture highlights the importance of the undervalued work of women labourers in agricultural production. Her work led to more research on women's contribution to agricultural production. Sachs cited in Radel (2011:32), discovered during her research on the relationship between gender and agriculture that;

first, women's significant farming labor does not translate into income control, decision making, or improvements in status. Secondly, attempts to divide labor tasks into productive and reproductive have been frustrating: women engage in multiple tasks at the same time, and single tasks serve multiple purposes (Sachs, 1996; cited in Radel, 2011:32).

The significant roles of women in agriculture need to be recognized for proper allocation of farm resources, and addressing gender specific problems that emanate. Whitehead (1991) and Ezumah et al. (1995) are of the view that for effective participation of women in agriculture, there is need for access to resources. In the World Development Report 2008, they also find the need to

continue to call for a greater visibility of, and record of women's contribution in agricultural productivity (World Bank, 2007)². This puts productive roles of women behind their reproductive roles, leading to equating women's roles in development to domestic work.

Holmes and Slater's (2007) analysis of the two major World Development Reports on rural agriculture (the 1982 report on 'Agriculture and Economic Development' and the 2008 report on 'Agriculture for Development') shows the shift in perceptions of women's roles in agriculture and rural development. The focus of the 1982 report was on increasing inequality, the thwarted economic growth of developing nations, and the need to invest in agriculture as a way out of poverty. Although it recognized to some extent Boserup's (1970) argument for equity and the view that women's contribution to productivity is an important complementary component in agricultural growth, it sees these solely in relation to welfare and women's unchanging reproductive roles, and not as formal work. The 2008 World Development Report focused on the effectiveness of agriculture for development through differential policies that serve different categories of household, identifies changing gendered roles and division of labour in terms of emerging employment opportunities, and provides better understanding of the relationship between gender-specific barriers and low productivity and growth. Thus, the 2008 report provides a significant improvement in analysis and vision of how gender inequality engenders poverty in agricultural productivity and growth (Holmes and Slater 2007).

² The World Development Report 2008 was published by the World Bank in 2007

An Assessment of the Green Revolution on rural farmers and gender relations

It is important to recognise that the Green Revolution had wide effects. There is no doubt that the adoption of the Green Revolution has proved to be a catalyst in increasing productivity and changes in agriculture, which is argued to have positive effects on rural farmers, in terms of high returns from the introduction of HYVs, possible increase in rural savings, food availability, and land improvement. More importantly, for a range of analysts, rural life has also been improved and the countries affected tend to see the implementation of the Green Revolution as making a fundamental contribution to their economic development (Evenson and Gollin, 2003; Pingali, 2012; Frankema, 2013). These are the positive effects of the Green Revolution. However, as previously discussed there are also negative effects. For instance, the increased production costs of HYVs made poor farmers unable to participate as effectively as expected. These include the costs of buying fertilizers and using nitrogen, which increases the crops' vulnerability to pests and diseases at every growing stage and which in turn increases the demand for chemical inputs for plant protection. The inability of HYVs to withstand local growing conditions in some cases, in terms of drought, extreme temperature and flood, and the concurrent impact of such issues on employment need also to be factored in. A further significant issue is the effect of the Green Revolution on gender relations and there are a range of studies, focusing on gender analysis of these processes, showing the shifts in gender and class relations. Again as previously discussed, and as explored in more detail below, in terms of employment, the Green Revolution has engendered processes of proletarianization, housewifization and masculinization in rural economies.

Proletarianization involves poorer farmers losing their land to rich farmers, and having to sell their labour to other farmers. It was observed that the new technologies facilitate richer farmers to capitalise on these opportunities and increase their income, by buying up smaller farms, rendering the latter landless, because poorer farmers could not sustainably afford the high inputs required by the Green Revolution (Ngambeki, 2003), As Shiva (1993: 47) remarked

The Green Revolution was necessarily paradoxical. On the one hand it offered technology as a substitute to both nature and politics, in the creation of abundance and peace. On the other hand, the technology itself demanded more intensive natural resource use, along with intensive external inputs, and involved a restructuring of the way power was distributed in society.

Moreover, it is a farming system that favours male farmers, and rich male farmers in particular, who eventually may relieve their wives of their visible roles in agricultural activities, reinforcing patriarchal household arrangements through the housewifisation of women farmers. Lastly, the masculinization of mechanized farming occurs when there is gender selective training, focusing on male farmers in operating tractors, pumps, the intensive application of modern inputs with men orientation etc.

In order to illustrate this in more detail, I refer to two examples, both of which are based on the studies in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The two examples look at processes, of the Green Revolution as experienced in two particular contexts, for women in Malaysia and women in Southern Africa.

**Malay Women and Rice Production in West Malaysia- Cecilia Ng
(1993)**

Research has shown that introduction of technology to agriculture has different effects on both genders. In this study of Malaysian women Ng identifies three major effects of mechanization on women farmers, when projects assumed a gender neutral position.

Cecilia Ng's (1993) study of Malay women and rice production in West Malaysia was carried out in Sawah Sempadan village, located within the Tanjong Karang rice belt- a community that has been into rice production since 1960s and has benefited from government intervention, at different stages of technological implementation from the early years of the Green Revolution to full mechanization. A gender analysis of the impact of the government intervention in the production of rice was carried out in 1987. The intervention aimed at rural development and was expected to promote increased agricultural productivity, and to transform rice production from the traditional to commercially oriented farming production. The government invested in mechanized farming, complemented by improved infrastructural facilities. This process subsequently transformed the social organization of rice production in Sawah Sempadan village. Despite some positive effects of the Green Revolution and the mechanization of agriculture, Ng, in her study of changes in gender relations and labour utilisation patterns in the farming of rice in Sawah Sempadan village, found evidence of proletarianization, masculinization and housewifization.

One key effect of the introduction of technology was the reduction of labour utilization of men and women, compared to the traditional, more labour-intensive methods. Advanced mechanization resulted in the deprivation of both poor women and men of their income. However, the effect was felt more greatly by women, who experienced a more significant reduction of labour in transplanting and harvesting in what was ideologically conceived to be women's work in Swah Sempadan. The analysis also provides an illustration of proletarianization whereby the middle level and richer households could command the labour of others, and only the wealthier families could buy their own machinery, as a form of investment, to hire to others. This price effect is a major tool used by richer farmers to commandeer the labour of others who could not afford the price of land. Ng found that the coercive role of the government in agricultural modernization ended up forcing poorer farmers out of production, which made the richer farmers better off. Above all, richer farmers have better access to bank and other credit facilities, hence they are able to buy up more land, including those of the poor farmers' farms. The commoditization of padi production in this village increased the value of land, making it unattainable for poor farmers. In the case of government projects, only farmers on projects that were dependent on state aid and extension services could avail themselves, in terms of credit and training, of the new technology. Not every farmer has access to this because it is controlled through a block leader, which seems not to be very effective, as it ended up leaving poor farmers out of the programmes. Another major

issue Ng found was that advanced technology increases the production costs for the majority of rural farmers.

Advanced mechanization as shown in this study resulted in masculinization of agriculture as the control of machines tends to be assumed to be a male preserve. This led to a shift from communal and gender-specific work to mainly male farm workers. The introduction of machines for broadcast and harvesting in this area has masculinised the farm work. Male farmers commandeered the work, leaving the female farmers only with the tasks of burning off the dried stalks for field preparation, and domestic roles. Elimination of labour intensive work made the operation of machines relatively easy, and with the strong believe that technology is men's responsibility, women were left with their reproductive tasks. Masculinization of agriculture could be registered in the area of ownership and control of farm assets, especially when it involved commercialization. The majority of inputs, linked to technology, such as tractors, sprayers, motorcycles etc. are presumed to belong to men, irrespective of socio economic status or position. Where there was joint ownership, in terms of household assets, many of the women in the study did not want to acknowledge that they were involved, as this was seen to run counter to gender norms. It was also noted that in terms of access to, and actual utilization of, agricultural resources and training, the difference was more significant between genders than across strata. Three-quarters of the women never met extension workers, and 90% never attended any meetings, training, nor attended field demonstrations. Though the statistical findings for men are also not impressive, they are better than

those for women. It was acknowledged in the study that the dissemination of technology information was done through block leaders, a trickle-down system. This was not an effective method, as many of the farmers did not receive the information from their leaders. Above all, men were the main beneficiaries of this method, and, as a result, women were deprived of knowledge of new techniques and access to credit facilities. In the long run, it lowered women's status as rural producers, and contributed to the masculinization of agriculture. Furthermore, family life education programmes conducted by community teachers (guru KEMAS) consolidated women's roles as housewives, rather than visibly productive workers / farmers.

Housewifization occurred after richer farmers gradually acquired wealth and were able to disengage their wives from visible farm work to become full-time housewives. This has resulted in women's de-skilling, a decrease in their knowledge of rice production, and technology, with men taking over the management of rice production. Thus housewifization becomes a sign of wealth and status, for those who are able to stop their wives from performing visible agricultural labour. By so doing, the rich farmers deprived their wives of income earning opportunities and decision making power. The wider effects of housewifization could be enormous, for example a divorced woman, under the justification of not contributing to the farm in terms of physical work on the land, and since house work and/or subsistence production is not formally recognised as having an economic value, may lose any rights to farm assets.

Example 2 - Gender, Food Production and Property Rights:

Constraints on Women Farmers in Southern Africa - Anne Akeroyd

(1993)

Anne Akeroyd (1993) based her research on four different studies, carried out in three southern African countries. She illustrated different facets of women's subordination, and reflected on different assumptions and impressions about women's roles in agriculture. From the study of women farmers in four villages, she explored women's position, benefits and expectations within the development agenda. The study assessed women's roles from subsistence farming through to commercial farming, and highlighted the reasons for the under-evaluation of women's roles. Akeroyd is of the view that women's labour time is not adequately evaluated or appreciated. Each of these case studies has its own peculiarity. The first case study she analysed was a study on Mukunashi village, in Zambia, where matrilineal descent governed social relations. The study revealed that men still dominated village politics, they were in control of land, and were seen as progressive farmers. They were targeted by the government for support. Women were seen as subordinate and their farm activities were seen as being solely at subsistence farming level. What could be deduced from this first case study is that, the matrilineal descent notwithstanding, men were still in control of the land. In the second case study that focused on Msengezi village, a patrilineal society in Zimbabwe where medium-scale commercial farming was taking place, women were not given control over the means of production. They were nevertheless indispensable because of the services they rendered on their

husbands' farms. Because of the importance of women's labour, high bride-wealth compensations were demanded by parents, in place of the labour loss of their daughter in marriage. Above all, the study of Msengezi village highlights the possibility of polygyny as an effective strategy for recruiting labour for commercial agriculture. In this case the potentialities and importance of women in agricultural production remained visible..

The third case study looked at a settlement scheme set up for farmers in Tabex Company of Mount Darwin, Zimbabwe. In it, nuclear families were used as units of labour/selection and they were under the control and management of the company. In analysing the farming system, Akeroyd was of the view that apart from peasants being subordinated to the production process, the women and children were expected to be dependent, and to be unpaid helpers. The belief is that benefits accruing to men will benefit their families, which makes it rare to see women chosen as beneficiaries. It went further to show that development processes that are based on settlement and cash cropping are always with a purpose of upgrading male farming skills. The procedures for land allocation and tenure reflect this. This makes the labour of women in such settings invisible and unacknowledged.

The fourth case study was a reflection on gender relations in the Zomba district of Malawi, where both men and women participate in agricultural production. The study revealed the inequalities, in terms of their knowledge and access to extension services, which could be seen from women's preference for the local variety of seed rather than those introduced by extension services, as some of the women claimed not to

have had contact with extension service officers. This gave the richer farmers an advantage over their poorer counterparts. The growing pressures on land had effects on women's access to land, especially when men grew cash crops. Economic differentiation of the two genders could thus be seen in their access to land, and in opportunities for trade and wage labour.

In her analysis of the issues raised in the case studies, Akeroyd (1993) argued that the exploitability and vulnerability of women was an outcome of ideologies, structures and customs embedded in culture, politics, law, education and religion which limit women's freedom of action, power and authority in the household. Married women needed the approval of their husbands in decision making on their investments, in terms of buying land, disposing of personal property, engaging in paid work, or even offering gifts to relatives. There was little information on female contributions, in terms of labour, in the male-headed households, and in the case of female-headed households, some of their actions were limited by law and social custom. Akeroyd found that women faced a series of challenges, ranging from economic and institutional, to social barriers, in their development efforts.

Accounting for women's contribution is still a major issue. Deficiencies in statistics and methods of data collection make their work, whether as subsistence farmers, or in terms of their reproductive work, or their work in cash crop production and commercial farms, both invisible or unrecorded. This leads to biased conclusions about women's contributions.

Both Ng's and Akeroyd's works provide useful illustrations of processes of masculinisation and housewifization, occurring as a result of the intervention of agricultural commercialisation in different regional and cultural contexts. Ng's study also provides illustration on proletarianization.

Agricultural commercialization in Nigeria

Nigeria has a large population of over 177 million people (CIA, 2014) living on a land area of 923,768sq km. About half of these live in rural areas (CIA, 2014). Approximately 41% of the country's GDP comes from agricultural resources (NBS, 2013), with around 70% of the labour force employed in agriculture (CIA, 2014). Thus the contribution of agriculture to the Nigerian economy is seen largely in the areas of employment generation, gross domestic product (GDP) and export revenue earnings.

According to Hartmann (2005), the director of Nigeria's International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA), agricultural production placed Nigeria among the world's highest producers of palm oil, cocoa, and groundnuts in the 1960s and early 1970s. Despite the important role being played by agriculture in Nigeria's economy, 'less than 50% of the country's cultivable agricultural land is under cultivation' (Manyong, et al. 2005: 1). With the discovery of oil in the 1970s, emphasis was shifted away from agriculture to petroleum resources. This caused agriculture to suffer a major setback. In spite of the vast wealth made from petroleum resources, this revenue does not benefit the Nigerian people, and the majority of Nigerians live below the poverty line. A nation that was once a net exporter of agricultural resources now has a substantial trade deficit and still remains a country dominated by subsistence agriculture (Canadian Agric-Food

Report, 2011). There is a need for appropriate policy measures targeted at alleviating poverty, with consideration of agriculture and rural development as priorities for all-round development. As Ayanwale et al. explain, ‘the FOS/World Bank in their analysis of the poverty trends in Nigeria noted that poor families are in higher proportion in farming households who are mainly in the rural areas’ (Ayanwale et al., 2004:157). Agriculture in Nigeria is a major source of employment for rural dwellers (Akande, 2003:5). They cultivate most of the land and they still use rudimentary production techniques for their farming activities, which continue to result in low yields of agricultural products. Generally, agriculture in Nigeria continues to be subsistence-based and underdeveloped. This has led to an influx of imported food. According to the Canadian Agric-Food Report (2011)

Nigeria's agricultural and industrial capacity (excluding oil) has been on a decade-long decline and has continued to exacerbate its dependence on imports and compound its food security issues. Nigeria imports approximately US\$3.5 billion food products annually and exports only US\$500 million (Canadian Agric-Food Report, 2011: 2)

This really calls into question the validity and appropriateness of government programs. The question is, are the smallholder farmers benefiting from these programmes and initiatives? Do the programmes address the gender relations in farming? Rural development is often used as means of addressing rural needs. This does not necessarily mean that it addresses gender issues that are most relevant to women in the rural areas.

As mentioned earlier, agriculture has a long history. It is fundamental to all human populations and it has a multiple effect on the socio-economic advancement of human societies. Unlike in more advanced economies where the multi-functional nature of agriculture has been more highly developed, developing nations are yet to experience the full benefits associated with agricultural commercialization, both to meet their growing population needs, and to generate foreign exchange for the benefit of the wider economy.

A study was conducted by the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture (IITA) and the University of Ibadan in 2005 on 'Identifying Opportunities for Increased Commercialization and Investment in Nigeria's Agriculture,' with the aim of providing adequate information for designing a new Agricultural Policy Strategy for USAID-Nigeria. As detailed as this study is, the aspect of gender relations in agriculture was not included in it. 'Gender neutral' or 'gender blind' approaches in research never favour women, who have to compete with men in the areas of resources, nature of crops, technical knowhow and even in marketing their products. The major problems facing farmers in Nigeria still persist, in terms of 'poor access to modern inputs and credit, poor infrastructure, inadequate access to markets, land and environmental degradation, and inadequate research and extension services' (Manyong et al., 2005:1). With the report of the World Bank (cited in Ayanwale, 2004:157), 'agriculture is the locus of [the] majority of poverty in Nigeria'. The importance of strong and efficient farming needs to be recognized, in order to facilitate higher living standards. According to Ogen (2007:184) 'a strong and an efficient agricultural sector would enable a country to feed its growing population, generate employment, earn foreign exchange and provide raw materials for industries'. This is a new long-term strategic approach,

taken up by USAID-Nigeria, to ensure a sustainable agricultural sector and diversify economic growth. According to the researchers, the main focus of the research is on policy makers and implementers. It also addressed the private sector and other stakeholders in agriculture, like associations and individual investors (Manyong, 2005). It was not targeted towards the inclusion of rural farmers who are the real people working on low scale farming.

Commercialization of cash crop production is perceived by rural farmers as a means of increasing the quality of rural farmers' livelihoods, and employment opportunities in the rural areas, to provide better lives for their families. Participation of rural farmers in cash crop production in global market networks is expected to improve their living standards because agricultural commercialization stimulates specialization and market orientation of agricultural production (Hinderink and Sterkenburg, 1987). Though commercialized agriculture tends to be regarded as large scale production with modern mechanisms in place, in Nigeria, small scale farming still dominates the production of these crops (FMAWR, 2013). The significance of rural farmers' input into cash crop farming is indicated by Nigeria's position in the world market. Currently, for example in cocoa production, according to Cadoni (2013) 'Nigeria is the fourth leading exporter of cocoa in the world. [...]. Cocoa is the main agricultural export in Nigeria. (Cadoni 2013:3). However, since the discovery of oil in 1958, (Akinlo 2012) less emphasis has been placed on cash crop production. As a result, from being the second highest producer of cocoa in the world ranking in the 1960s (Onwumere and Njoku (2010) citing Oyinloye et al. 1999), it has declined in recent decades, but is still significant. Akinlo (2012)

also argues that ‘the huge revenues from oil led to massive rural urban migration and the neglect of agriculture’ (2012: 167–168).

However, ‘there is a fear that commercialization essentially means promoting change that is in the interests of larger, more powerful players, to the detriment of smallholder farmers’ (Leavy and Poulton, 2007:2). Akande (2003:5) reveals that the major source of employment for rural dwellers is still agriculture. The fact remains that rural people continue to rely on their farming activities and most of them combine subsistence with commercial methods to make ends meet. Moreover, Nigerian agricultural commercialization still depends on small holder rural farmers in products like cocoa. The important role of rural farmers of cocoa crops can be seen in the report of Nigeria’s position in world exports as dwindling, with the exception of cocoa crops. This is attested to by Aderibigbe who states that

by the mid-1980s, Nigeria’s world market share for agricultural products had dwindled to less than 0.1 percent. Today, none of the country’s export crops, with the exception of cocoa, commands any significant world market share. With the increasing need to eradicate poverty and put an end to hunger and malnutrition as enshrined in the MDG targets, Nigeria and indeed many African countries are returning to the agricultural sector for possible solutions (2007:14).

Despite the lack of improved agricultural commercialization in Nigeria today, Green Revolution projects were implemented in Nigeria between 1980 and 1983 during the tenure of President Shehu Shagari. The main aim of the Green Revolution was to modernize the agricultural sector to achieve self-sufficiency in

food production (Akande, 2003:10). It was expected that in the long run, self-sufficiency would be attained. The Green Revolution project relied on the Agricultural Development Programme (ADP) and River Basin Development Authorities (RBDA). The problem was that ADP and RBDAs are limited in coverage, in terms of spread of their activities and the number of farmers involved (Akande, 2003: 42). Non-participating farmers, who are in the majority, and those on off-project sites were not able to benefit. Consequently, the vision of an optimum output could not be achieved, due to the limited scope of the Green Revolution programmes.

The limited Green Revolution experiment in Nigeria during the 1980s, met with a range of problems—typical of the problems experienced by agricultural commercialization programmes elsewhere in the world. The Nigerian Green Revolution featured mainly grain crops (rice, maize, sorghum, millet and wheat) and tubers (cassava and yam). The choice of wheat as a main crop by the RBDA was a mistake, since wheat is a temperate and not a tropical crop. Its inclusion resulted in a colossal waste of resources. Even with sorghum, maize, yam and millet, there were challenges (Akande 2003). This was due to the fact that these crops were to be mono-cropped under the Green Revolution recommendations, whereas farmers had been used to planting them in mixtures of two or three crops together, in a farming season, and so due to various constraints, including personal preference there was no significant yield as many of the farmers did not mono-crop.

In the case of rice, plant inputs were in short supply, so farmers did not have enough to achieve optimal rates which could result in significant yields. Farmers

also complained about the susceptibility to pests and diseases of the rice hybrid given for planting. The HYV maize and cassava also suffered from pests and diseases. Another challenge of the Nigerian Green Revolution was that the local people preferred traditional varieties which they found more palatable, better suited to the local environment, and of higher quality than the Green Revolution project varieties. Moreover, project officials gave priority attention to wealthier farmers with larger land holdings. This led to proletarianization and increased class differentiation between farmers in local areas.

Some of the tools of the ADPs and RBDAs were costly and too expensive to maintain. They included huge dams with sprinkler-type irrigation technology. In view of the literacy level of farmers, simpler and less capital-intensive methods should have been adopted. These would not require dependence on foreign countries for management of equipment, technology spare parts and imported fertilizers.

The Green Revolution project in Nigeria was also gender-blind. It had no special consideration for female farmers or particular products planted by women. In view of the patriarchal nature of the Nigerian nation state, which gives men advantages in terms of land acquisition and recognition as farmers, women were put at a disadvantage, as they had to compete with men for every opportunity, from an unequal basis, under the Green Revolution programme. The advantages associated with the Green Revolution, such as higher yields, have been largely negated by the high sum of expenditure incurred through importing fertilizers, spare parts for agriculture machinery and foreign expertise (Akande 2003).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the historical background of development, and identified the varying ways in which women and men have been integrated into the development process. It has traced the emergence and implementation of agricultural commercialization in the 20th century, including analysis of the Green Revolution. For a better understanding of gender participation in cash crop farming, it is important to study the key emergent theories of development and evaluate their strengths and weaknesses in relation to gender. A key starting point is the Bretton Woods agreement of 1944 in which major decisions that continue to affect the world economy were taken. As far back as this period, women's issues were incorporated into development but mostly at the level of welfare, targeting the reproductive roles of women, and ignoring women's wider contributions to agricultural development.

In this chapter I have traced the incorporation of women into development programmes, looking at a range of theoretical and policy perspectives, from Women In Development (WID) to Gender And Development (GAD). As stated in the introductory part to this chapter, an understanding of these issues is necessary, to understand issues of gender relations and farming in Nigeria, and thus provide an important theoretical backdrop for my analysis of the rural community of Yekemi.

In the past decades, we have seen shifts, in terms of agricultural production, through the implementation of Green Revolution, producing the interrelated processes of proletarianization, masculinisation and housewifization, within many agricultural communities. As Akeroyd, (1993); Ng, (1993); Brydon (1989);

Momsen (2010) and others have illustrated, women often become less visible as producers in cash crop commercialized production. This re-inscribes the idea, the stereotype, that women only produce food for subsistence, and are not involved in commercialization. In so doing, it re-inscribes the differential status attached to these two forms of production: the low status of subsistence and the higher status of cash crop production for commercialization. It re-inscribes the association of cash crop production with men and subsistence farming with women.

One of the key findings of existing research is that moves to cash crop production tend to marginalise women, instigate a masculinization of cash crop production, and a general lowering of women's overall material and social status. As will be explored further in the following chapters, the situation in Yekemi contradicts this general trend, with women predominating within cash crop production. This study therefore provides an important opportunity to explore the wider gender dynamics underpinning and resulting from the particularities of this agricultural structure.

Chapter 4

The Dynamics of Agricultural Production in Yekemi Village

Introduction

Although 'Farmer' is a gender-neutral term in the Yoruba language, it tends to be the tradition that men are more likely to be regarded as farmers than women. Of the limited research that exists pertaining to Yoruba women in agriculture, most have presented Yoruba women to be predominantly traders (Brydon 1989, Banwo 2004). This illustrates how women's contribution to farming is hardly acknowledged. Ojo (2004:238) also references Yoruba women, but again while she describes Yoruba women as 'intelligent, lively, expressive, determined, courageous, devoted to family, enterprising and versatile,' she does not refer to women's roles in agricultural activities. Men are described as predominantly farmers who engage in strenuous farm work, using traditional farming practices.

Cash crops have been gender-stereotyped as male forms of production (Ogunlela and Mukhtar 2009). It is popularly believed that men need to spend more money than women and so should engage in income-generating ventures, while women should play supporting roles in business and agriculture. This is because women's main role is seen as being in household management, and child-rearing. This is the most common convention in south western Nigeria (Banwo 2004). This view could be contested on the ground of a study (Brydon 1989) that shows that women in south western Nigeria have always been engaged in one trade or the other.

This study explores, however, how trends in agriculture are changing, in terms of gender and cash crop farming specifically, in Yekemi. The focus of this chapter is on agricultural production and access to farm resources within Yekemi. It thus explores changes in the gender relations and divisions of labour within agricultural production of cash crops in this community. Within this context, farming systems, types of farm ownership / access to land and sources of land resources are discussed.

This chapter explores specifically how male migration from Yekemi is changing gendered trends within agriculture and re-shaping traditional practices in land ownership and farming. Labour is an important input in agricultural production and this makes the effect of migration on rural areas a serious issue. Given the important position of agriculture in the Nigerian economy as a primary non-petroleum export (Peterman et al. 2011), one would assume that special attention would be paid by the government to the retention and improvement of the labour force of this sector, but the situation in the rural areas suggests this is not the case. This, coupled with other reasons such as rural poverty, meagreness of incomes from agricultural produce, and lack of essential social facilities have engendered the migration of labour out of rural areas, leaving a significant effect on both agricultural production and the farming system of the rural community. Migration out of agricultural work has become a common phenomenon, with significant effects on both the rural and the urban areas. This phenomenon, according to De Haas, et al. (2010),

has long been dominated by pessimistic views, which—inspired by the structuralist paradigm and dependency theory—have seen migration as a

force that undermines rural communities and economies in developing countries by depriving them of their valuable labour force, while remittances would be mainly spent on (conspicuous) consumption, and rarely on productive economic activities (2010: 44).

Though this pessimistic view has been questioned under the new theoretical approaches that are influenced by the new economics of labour migration (NELM), to some extent, deprivation of valuable labour force in the rural areas as a result of migration cannot be doubted. As has been rightly observed by De Haas (2010), for better understanding of migration impacts, it is better to locate it in relation to development, gender inequalities and migration.

Migration is increasingly being understood to be a gendered process (Hugo 2000). My research indicates that male migration out of Yekemi has been a key factor in enabling women to move into cash crop farming. This not only impacts on the gendered organisation of farming in the community, but also on divisions of labour and power within households and the wider community. Migration in and out of Yekemi and the changed economic status of women cash crop farmers, is facilitating a transformation in patriarchal relations. This chapter explores the relationship between men's migration in and out of Yekemi and women's economic activities, and the power dynamics among cash crop farmers in Yekemi. Yekemi is a community where transformation in patriarchal relations is taking place due to participation of women in cash crop farming.

Hence this chapter focuses, in part, on recent patterns of migration in and out of Yekemi, in relation to women's involvement in cash crop production. Given the significance of this largely male migration from Yekemi, as well as in-migration

to Yekemi by both men and women, this chapter explores the causative factors that make men migrate from Yekemi to cities and small towns and the effects of this on cash crop production, and their impact on women's roles within agriculture.

Historical perspective of Yekemi

Yekemi is a Yoruba village in Ife East local government area of Osun State in Nigeria. Based on my empirical research, I estimated the population of the village to be 4000. However accurate figures are extremely difficult to determine. Within Yoruba culture, people will not tell you the numbers of their children. It is felt to be highly inappropriate to count the numbers of the children you have and to tell people who are not family member how many children you have. As such the estimate of population of 4000 inhabitants is based on my observation of average household size and number of households counted in the village. The majority tended to be relatively large polygamous households within which there may be four wives with their respective children and grand-children of the same family. (Thus we could see three generations of the same family commonly live within a household).

Some households were smaller, especially of those who have come to the village as manual labourers and were living in rented accommodation and may not have been joined by their whole family. Some households included family members who had migrated to the city which reduced the overall household size periodically. Yekemi is a community that has existed for over a hundred years. According to my findings, 90% of the adult inhabitants of Yekemi are farmers and farm labourers.

The people of this village focus on an agricultural-based economy for their livelihoods. The village comprises different people from various towns and cities from Yorubaland such as Osogbo, Ipetumodu, Ogbomosho, Ibadan, Ife, Ikirun, Igosun and Offa, who have come to the community purposely for farming. According to my findings, most of the Yoruba people migrated here for farming as a result of availability of fertile lands in Yekemi and the need to diversify efforts towards economic activities, especially where large expanses of arable land are not readily available. Most of the villagers are not indigenous to the village. Many of them travel back to their various towns during festivals. However, they nonetheless form a rural community in Yekemi as they are resident there during most periods of their lives. Mr Fakunle (male, cocoa farmer) called attention to this issue during the introduction of participants:

I'm an indigene of Yekemi, but there is no one among us who does not have another town, but it is our occupation that brought us here,

This view was supported by Elizabeth (female, cocoa and palm oil farmer) during a female focus group discussion, who said,

Where one's wealth is, is one's home. If we travel home for festivals now, after 15 days we will be thinking of coming back. This place is the main home. May God let us succeed.

They decided to stay in Yekemi because of the land which is conducive for cash crop productions on which their livelihoods are based. Whilst people have migrated to Yekemi for economic engagement, the characteristic features of the village make it a rural setting in terms of its location deep in a forest, with an

absence of social amenities and a relatively small population of about 4000 people.

Infrastructure within Yekemi village

Some infrastructural facilities are present within the Yekemi community. These include, Yekemi maternity centre, a primary school, a secondary school and a local market.

The few amenities that can be seen on ground are either not functioning at all or are yet to be commissioned. Some of these include the electricity and borehole water. According to the villagers, the electricity transmission lines that could be seen passing through the village to another place for electrification have never brought light. The Local government chairperson in charge of the constituency explained that the electricity of the area is the federal government's responsibility, and that the procedure for getting Yekemi to tap the electricity is a long one. In the case of water supply, the only major source of water in the village is the Aye River – a very small free-flowing river.

There are 3 bore holes provided by the Osun state government for the village several years ago. None of these bore holes is working presently. According to my findings, from the inception of the bore holes, the community has been having one problem after the other with the installation; hence they did not last six months before they stopped working. Their operating machines have been removed for repairs over 5 years ago. The present Local government chairperson is of the view that there should be continuity. According to him repair of those bore holes are

part of his programme for the community. He said his government is working on it.



Figure 4.1 One of the non-functional bore holes available in Yekemi village
Source: Fieldwork 2012

The road that passes through Yekemi and other villages around to collect farms produce is very dusty in the dry season and largely unmotorable during the rainy season as it becomes very marshy. There is no standard market in Yekemi as the local market is an open place without shops or stalls. Although Yekemi people benefitted from the 1st phase of UNICEF Community Development Replication Initiative of Osun state for the villages, the market is yet to be commissioned, as of the time of this research. Though the market is situated in Yekemi, it is also accessible to other villages, that is, it is to serve all villages around.

Transportation

People of Yekemi emphasized the importance of a good road in their agricultural business. This they believe will facilitate good access to the new market when it is eventually opened. Bad roads are a major hindrance to the Yekemi market system which in turn affects the price of goods produced in the village. New roads would reduce trekking between farms and village. At present, there is no local transportation within the village and the farm area, and all movements have to be done by trekking. There are four commercial motorcycles in the village which are used to transport farm products from individual farms to processing centres and from the village to the nearby villages, or to a bus station to connect with buses to town.

Yekemi market operational system

The market in Yekemi operates every five days. This is the selling point of Yekemi farm produce, with people coming from towns and villages around Yekemi to the market. Vehicles are brought from various places to buy their farm produce. According to my findings, there is no association for price fixing for their products. The farmers say they have little or no power to decide the price of palm oil for example. If some farmers insist on a price there will be others who will be willing to sell at a lower price due to their urgent need for money. This is as a result of poverty. Palm oil is a business that is associated with the women of Yekemi.

Schools in Yekemi

The village has a primary school and a secondary school. The secondary school was established in 1980. These schools serve Yekemi and all the surrounding villages and farm settlements. According to information gathered, the population of the secondary school is very low. The number of final year students is below 50 and as a result the school could not be registered for the West African School Certificate Examination unless the students are merged with an existing registered school. Because of the poor state of the school (it needs serious physical renovation) and the existing poor social amenities in Yekemi community, the richer farmers in the Yekemi community send their children to towns and cities for secondary school education.

Health facilities in Yekemi

The community has a health centre (not only for Yekemi but also for all the other villages around). It comprises of a nurse and one administrative staff. The other villages/ farm settlements under Yekemi include Oke Erin, Oke Aye, Amondo, Eleja Onikoko, Wanikin, Aye Koka, etc

The chairperson of the Ife East Local Government also expressed his government's intention to update the comprehensive health centre in Yekemi as it is not only for Yekemi village but also for other villages which are included in the Yekemi ward. (The facilities there will be for all the villages around). The Local Government is about to deliver an ambulance (bus) for the health centre in Yekemi and open a newly built health centre for the community. However the provision of electricity is a matter for the federal government, and beyond the

scope of the local government. Electricity and the building of better roads into Yekemi would impact positively on the standard of healthcare in Yekemi also.

Agricultural activities in Yekemi

Yekemi's main crops are cocoa, palm trees, and kolanuts. These are the principal crops for commercialization. Other crops grown are mostly for family consumption. These include crops like yam, cassava, maize, vegetables and fruits (bananas, oranges and pineapple). The system of farming is mixed cropping of cash crops. On the same farmland cocoa, palm tree and kolanut are often planted together. The same farmers who engage in cocoa planting also plant kolanut and palm trees. All the farms I visited contained at least two of these cash crops. In Yekemi all the farmers operate at a commercial level, and this is clear from the size of the farms and the yield of their products. Most of the farms range from 4 acres to 35 acres, and whilst being commercial, almost all of them have a small separate place for subsistence farming. James (male, cocoa farmer) made it known that 'food crops cannot be combined with cash crop farming on the same parcel of land because the shade of cocoa trees will not allow the food crops to grow well, in the absence of direct sunlight'.

The cocoa and palm trees of Yekemi farms are the local type, and the people are still using traditional methods to farm, using hoes and cutlasses. According to an agricultural officer I spoke with, local cocoa takes 7 years including the nursery period to fruit and it has a life span of 70 years, whereas the modern high yielding seedling fruits within 24 months (including 6 months of nursery period) and yield increasingly for 35 years. It has a life span of 60 to 70 years, although its best period is the first 35 years. In the case of the palm tree, it takes 4 to 5

years including nursery for local ones to fruit. It has a life span of 150 years. The high yielding seedling fruits within 4 years and yields increasingly for 50 years.

Most of the cash crops planted in Yekemi are older than 30 years. Both cocoa and palm trees are lifelong crops. According to the farmers, changing to high yielding crops is a gradual thing in the sense that they cannot clear old ones off and start planting the new breed. As one farmer comments:

What shall we eat till the new trees begin to fruit? Effective monitoring is what we need to do when there is need for replacement of the old ones for high yielding ones. Replacement could only be done on those trees that are not as fruitful as expected (Akinyemi, male cocoa farmer).

For both the old and the new hybrid seedlings, the performance of cash crops depends greatly on the kinds of input and attention the crops receive. Cocoa nurturing requires the farm land to be cleared two or three times a year, replacing bad or dead ones with new ones, planting young trees or banana plants to shield the new ones from direct sunlight and taking care of the cocoa trees to a certain extent before they will need to be fumigated.

Male cocoa farmers often use their wives as labourers while female cocoa farmers often hire labourers when additional hands are required. This is because the husband may not be around, or he may only assist in arranging for labourers, and advises when there is a need. Cocoa plantation requires both genders to make it thrive. One of the male palm tree climbers confirmed the importance of joint efforts in cocoa farming:

A cocoa farmer may be married or not but he needs women to assist in the farm because he can't do it alone. If he does not have a wife, then he will employ women to work for him and he will pay them. If it's the fumigation period, it's the women that will fetch water which the man will mix the chemical with, before fumigating the trees. When it gets to harvest period, it's the women that will do the packing and gathering, pod cutting and bean packing processes. All these are women's work. ..., same thing with women cocoa farmers, both need each other ... most of these women are even hardworking and committed to these farms than the men ...their effort make it a lucrative one for them (Gabriel, male, palm tree climber).

This comment shows that women are not just starting work on cocoa, they have been doing so for a long period of time. The difference now, however, is the new trend of women who acquired cocoa farms for themselves.

Traditional farming practices and gender divisions of labour in Yekemi

In Yekemi village a number of traditional practices have been observed over the years. The cocoa and palm trees of Yekemi farms are the local type, and the people are still using traditional methods to farm, using hoes and cutlasses. Traditionally, it is assumed that men are the farmers who engage in both cash crop production and subsistence farming, while women were recognised as mere assistants to their husbands on the farms. Unmarried children assist their parents on the farms. Women in Yekemi are known to combine petty trading with the assistance they give to their husbands on the farms. Women's 'labour' that is qualified as 'assistance to husband' does not truly reflect the involvement of

women in farming. In family cocoa farms women's roles are tedious as it involves fetching water, refilling the pumps for spraying and continuous walking up and down to refill the empty pumps the men are using. During harvesting, men harvest cocoa fruits from trees and dry them in the sun. It is the responsibility of women to gather cocoa pods, break them open, process the seeds, and transport them home for drying. In the case of palm trees, trimming and harvesting are done by men, while the processing of palm fruits lies on women. Women's roles in farming have not been duly referenced or recorded in Yoruba communities. This may be due to gender-neutral approach in traditional practices. To illustrate the ways that women have always been involved in family farming system, with greater or lesser opportunities to own or control their output, the following 3 case studies elaborate on different family farming practices in Yekemi.

Case study one: Deji's overview of his family farm

Deji is a 54 year old male cocoa farmer with two wives and many children. They all live together in Yekemi village. Deji refused to mention the number of his children as he believed in Yoruba culture that sees it as wrong to count the number of one's children or mention their numbers to outsiders. He inherited his farm from his father and bought additional farmland to increase his output. His main products are palm oil and cocoa. In his account, he equally has very few kolanut trees on the farm which women process for sale.

The whole family works jointly on the family farm. According to him, while all the older members of his children are now in towns or cities either in school or in work, the few younger ones that are schooling in

Yekemi participate in farm work along with their mothers. He is of the opinion that every member of his family is satisfied with this system of farming, and that as long as he is still alive, it is his responsibility as the head to make decisions for the family including his wives. For example his wives decide on food for the family and their expenses are made known to him for final approval. He said the whole family is happy together because he is always accessible. His wives are the ones in charge of palm oil, while he takes charge of the cocoa. At the end of it all, the whole money is given to him as the farm household head except the money from sales of palm kernel which is usually seen as remnants for women in joint family system). Income generated from this family farm is only known to him as the head who is in control of all the family spending and he remunerates other members of the family during periods of festivity. He is the one in charge of all school fees, feeding and clothing of the children. During festivals, he makes sure everybody is happy as it is always the period of thanksgiving for the family. Other sources of money for his wives are money made from other income from their petty trading in the village.

He is of the view that it is better for the whole family to work together in one farm. According to him 'agbajo owo lafi nsoya, owo kan ko gberu dori', meaning 'joint efforts yield better results'. In terms of each individual's role in the family farm, he said there is no real division of labour as the work at hand dictates the work each member of the family will do. He said that during cocoa period they all work together in pruning, treating and replacing of cocoa plants when the need arises. But he said

during treatment of the cocoa trees, the work has to be divided. Women are the ones to be fetching water for mixing of the chemicals (pesticide) for spraying. According to him this is the most tedious aspect of cocoa farming as it requires a lot of water and where women are fetching it from is quite far. According to Deji, family involvements in farming reduce the expenses you might have incurred if they are not there. Hence the more the hands of family members, the more the profit, since it reduces the numbers of hired labour needed. During the harvest everyone is involved in the process, in terms of harvesting, moving the products from farm to village or when sun-drying the seeds. All these processes are jointly done.

For the palm tree farming, he said everybody has his or her own role to play, but that majorly, it is women that process the product. According to him, as a family working together, everybody joins the women to see that they achieve a bounty harvest for the family. He said his wives have to be at the processing centre sometimes till morning, working over night because the products must meet the market day. None of the work is easy and that is why it is better to do it jointly than individually, for better yields and lower production costs, compared to when it is done individually. Regarding their leisure time, they do have resting /leisure periods on the farm. For him, his rest is either when he lies-down or plays games with other farmers. He says his wives also rest by having breaks for cooking, for caring for the family on the farm. Cooking and caring in his regard are perceived as a break and resting period from work for women!

Case study two: Philip's Account

The second case study is that of the family of Philip, a 60 year old male farmer. He has a different kind of arrangement which can be referred to as a division of labour in family farm work. Each member of the family has a specific area of operation until the finishing stage and all profit made from their own share of work is returned to the head, who is in charge of all household expenses.

Philip is the land owner, who concentrates on cocoa farming and allows his wives to work on palm trees. At the end of the harvest the whole profits belong to him. This simply implies that the women are working for their husband without defined remuneration. Philip is a man with four wives, two of the wives are in the village with him and the other two are in his home town. His main products are cocoa and palm oil. Kolanut is minimal on his farm. This division of work is not rigid, as they help their husband during cocoa season, either to fetch water, or to carry the cocoa produce from the farm. The husband also assists in supervision of the women's labourers.

He makes arrangements for, and regulates the periods that two of his wives will stay with him on farm. Presently, two wives are with him in the village/farm and the other two are in town (his native place). He is of the opinion that those with him are the ones enjoying his presence, and that is why he has to make sure that they are all with him at one time or the other, to make it fair. This necessitates an arrangement to regulate their time of stay in the village. Normally each set of wives stays with

him for a period of about one or two years before the next set come. In the course of further discussion, it was discovered that the arrangement was also a kind of market strategy for the sale of his farm produce from palm tree production directly to people in town, and also to encourage his wives in town to engage in petty trading as self-generating income. The wives in town sell their husbands' produce and remit the money to Philip.

Decision-making power lies with him. He decides everything that concerns his home, including the arrangement of who should be in town and who should stay in the village. In his case too, most of his children are in town, only the young ones are with him. As the head, Philip is not accountable to anyone. Instead, it is the responsibility of his wives to render account of what they have in their possession. He said all the money from cocoa and palm oil is in his care, that his wives in the village make money from palm kernels, (a by-product of palm oil) a few kolanut trees on the farm and their petty trading, while those in town make their own money from their petty trading, excluding the trading they are doing on behalf of the family.

To Philip, the changes in the farming system in the village in which women are now cash crop farmers seem good, but must be done with caution so that culture will not be thrown away. In his word 'Cash crop farming is not women's job, they are to stay at home and take care of children and assist in the farm when needed ... one of my wives is begging to have her own farm, allowing her will break the family ties'. Philip is not ready to compromise his position.

Philip said he is in total control of cocoa products without interference of anybody, be it wife or children when it comes to marketing of farm produce. This is not possible in the case of palm oil. His wives' attention is needed either to produce or to market. That is the area in which all the wives are very important, both those who sell it in the village and those who sell it in town. He is however not prepared to publicly acknowledge this importance. He is of the view that there is no real rest and leisure in farming activities here at Yekemi. Since crop seasons overlap each other, farmers work throughout the year. The only real break they have is during Christmas. At the same time, he said there is no rigidity about resting or leisure time, when you feel that the body needs rest you just have to give it. Quoting him, 'You know, you civil servants are always retired from active service at a particular stage, so it applies to us farmers too. Just ask me what always retires us? It is death that retires us. You know civil servants will receive pension after retiring from service, there is nothing like that in our own situation'.

One of the wives of Philip, in a women's focus group discussion, remarked that 'with all these joint family farming systems, it will be horrible if you have to wait for your husband on everything you need. ...you deserve respect from your children and the only way they can respect you is when you are able to add to what they receive from their father'. Though she said the joint system is okay with her, one could perceive her yearning for financial independence to make her (in her view) a worthy mother to her children. She has a preference to be in town, though she said it requires having enough money for business. She

explained that the women in this family were able to make some money for themselves in town, through their personal sales, separate from the family business.

Case study three: Suleiman's story

Suleiman, a male farmer aged 67, is a farmer with another kind of family farming system where the husband is the farm owner but divides his palm trees among his wives to be working upon, while he concentrates on cocoa. Suleiman has four wives all of whom are living with him in the village. The system is a kind of renting out of the palm trees to his wives, who have certain amounts of kegs of oil to pay to him from their produce. The remaining money made from it is used as their profit at the end of harvest. Income generated in this household is personal. Each of the members keeps information about income personal, but Suleiman could perceive how much each wife is making from the amount of kegs of oil remitted to him. He knows who really needs help among his wives, in terms of financial assistance. He is of the view that it is wrong for his wives to know his income, as then they would know his worth and could easily compare him with others, which is bad for his image in the village. His wives are however financially independent due to the type of system they practice in their household. To him culturally, it is wrong to find out how much his wives are making in their businesses. The arrangement could be likened to a rental system that is operating in farming households with outsiders. It is a kind of payment for the land use, even though it belongs to their husband. Individual marketing operates in this system, the

only joint system available being when you lend a helping hand to another member of the household. His main products are cocoa and having given palm tree farming to his wives. All his wives jointly assist him in the farm during cocoa spraying and harvesting. Each woman supervises her palm tree harvest, which the palm climbers do for them. All the women play roles in the lives of their children. As these women have a source of 'independent' income, their own responsibilities are higher than within the other systems of farming. Whilst Suleiman perceives himself as the main decision maker, women gain access to power in this household because of their financial independence. As a result, they also contribute to decision- making in their household, especially when it comes to the education of their children and other financial matters.

From Suleiman's perspective, he still felt responsible for his children's education. However he commented on the fact that with his wives' increased earnings, they were able to contribute towards their children's education, so it saved him money. Despite some rivalry amongst the wives, there is generally peace and harmony in the house. The women cook separately and take care of their children individually. The only major thing they share is their husband. They see this approach as a modern method of solving potential family disputes. When it comes to unity at home, one of the wives (a member of one of the focus groups for women) said it is not like those who practice full joint family farming system, as this system is individualistic in nature. Their husband also commented that his wives are so ambitious in their approach, and they are now competing with him who is their husband. They also want to

build their own houses ‘I don’t know who will live there ...’ According to Suleiman, he is enjoying his peace with the system, as this system reduces a lot of financial burden on him since the women take care of most of their expenses themselves, and at the same time he still has them within his reach.

Generally in joint family farming systems discussed above, the men hold on to cocoa farming. It is more profitable and the money comes once altogether. The men perceive this as better than palm tree farming where the production process cannot be completed in one go, and the sale cannot be done at once, hence money from palm trees flows in gradually throughout the year. As such, money generated from palm oil is used for running the home in most cases. However women in the focus group discussions still believed that they are better off in the long run as they participate in both cocoa and palm oil. Kolanut is also there to bring additional income. In comparing their farm activities, women remarked in chorus ‘Yes, men can harvest cocoa likewise the women’, then one of them went further to explain that;

‘They only harvest cocoa which is at its peak in the months of September and October, that’s when they always have money. But the women bear all responsibilities including feeding at this present period, we have money throughout the year because we work on both cocoa and palm oil. From January to August, is the period of pride for women, we are in control of palm kernels and palm oil production. It is a lie if any man says he is bearing any responsibilities right now’ (Felicia, female, cocoa and palm oil farmer)

So some women then have access to their husbands' land, while others either inherit, or purchase or rent their farm lands. However, those women who farm jointly with their husbands claim to work under a joint family system. It was during sessions with male farmers that they elucidated the different kinds of joint family system.

The other women who engaged in farm production are those who either inherited their farms from their husband or parents or purchased or rented their own farms from male farm owners in the community. An important aspect of this group is that their farms are independent of their family or husband's farms. Though some are farmers' wives, they are not in a joint system with their husband. In the case of the rental system, there are different types. There is the joint rental system where three farmers could come together to rent a farm from the farm owner, each working on a different cash crop e.g. cocoa, kolanut and palm tree. The payment of this rent is with produce of the farm individually to the farm owner. This joint system could be all women or both women and men. It can be rented individually or a woman or man could rent the whole farm and seek other hired hands to work on other crops of the farm. The second type of joint rental is sub-let a situation in which the farm is shared with the farmland owners. In this case the owner owns the cocoa farm while the palm trees are given out for rent to women working on farms. Lastly there are some women who rent the whole farm. This I refer to as an individual rental system. These are women who rent the whole farm from the farm owners and everything on the farmland belongs to the individual farmer who rented it.

Migration in Yekemi

Yekemi is no stranger to issues of migration, indeed it has always been influenced by migration. It is a village that comprises of people who left their various original places with their family to farm at Yekemi and finally settled there. In and out migration is significant in Yekemi due to the changing effect it has on the village as a whole. In agricultural production, apart from access to land, another key input is labour, and most of the time men have been regarded as the major source of rural labour strength and land owners. In Africa, human resources continue to play important roles in agricultural production where mechanised farming is yet to be fully adopted, and this is the case in Nigerian rural areas (Momsen, 1991; FAO, 2008). Traditionally, the provision of agricultural labour in rural areas is either through internal members or hired labour. The internal members have always consisted of members of the farmers' households which normally comprise of wife / wives and children of the household. There is equally a kind of cultural division of labour, which indicates the area of operation of each gender in a farm work. Male migration out of the village has affected this gendered division of labour in Yekemi and has paved the way for new gender relations in farm work. This has effects on the economic outcome of the households.

From the information collected from the field, traditionally men in Yorubaland are responsible for family expenses. They are regarded as the 'breadwinners' of the household and are expected to be productive enough to meet these responsibilities. Women in Yoruba culture are expected to work to earn a living, in addition to their domestic responsibilities. Their role is to complement men's

roles in the household. But there are certain responsibilities that are strictly for men. These include the provision of shelter, money for feeding the family, for health care and for children's education. In the case of farm work, men are generally regarded as farmers, especially in the case of cash crop farming. Although cash crop farming requires the participation of both genders in activities, women's contributions are rarely acknowledged by government and even community members. Women are always expected to assist in farm work, as well as in trading, while domestic work is seen as naturally women's work. Financial responsibilities are usually the men's domain, hence the need for men to have lucrative works at hand. Thus any economic activity with high returns is usually seen as men's area of operation. In most cases, due to the size of farmers' households, to provide for all members of the household often becomes a problem, which often leads to the children of farmers remaining uneducated, and hence the need for men to work hard to meet their responsibilities (Focus Group Discussion participants 2012).

Migration from rural to urban areas by men has resulted at least to some extent, in an emerging shift from a family farming system to an individual farming system, where the cooperation of others is no longer enjoyed as before. The level of rural agricultural development is not commensurate with different government programmes in place. Nigerian rural development programmes (such as Agricultural Development Programmes (ADPs), 1972; the Green Revolution (GR), 1979; Directorate of Food Road and Rural Infrastructure (DFRFI) 1986, Better Life for Rural Women –(BLRW), 1987; National Poverty Eradication Program (NAPEP), 2001; National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS) 2004, are indeed expected to incorporate and

facilitate the modernization of the rural community. They would likely have reduced the labour migration out of rural areas where labour input in agriculture is required. However the effect of the programmes is still not visible in Yekemi village, where this study was conducted. Employment in the rural areas of Nigeria largely depends on agriculture, this is substantiated by Nyagba (2009) who found out that 90 % of the labour force in rural areas are in one way or another dependent on agricultural activities for their living (Cited in Ikechukwu and Chukemeka, 2013:1). This has long been the case as Olatunbosun (1975:10) states, citing a 1970 ILO Report, 'it is estimated that agricultural activity occupies four-fifths of the rural population'.

Labour in rural areas is a resource that is provided by human effort, and this traditionally makes farm work family work in rural areas. As essential as this agricultural sector is in the economy of Nigeria, people of this domain struggle to survive. The small returns to their physical inputs in farming are discouraging and the very low income generated from it equally cause the craving for improvement in their economic and social status. Nchuchuwe and Adejuwon (2012: 46) are of the view that 'despite the strategies adopted by various governments in Nigeria to address agriculture and rural underdevelopment problem, (sic) the story remains the same. There are still inequality and poverty, particularly in the rural areas'. Yekemi is one of such village in which the unequal distribution of resources, old system of farming, non-availability of farm implements, together with societal expectations, induce labour migration out of the village. From my findings most of the labourers who migrate out of the village are young men.

Male migration out of Yekemi

There were four key interrelated reasons presented to me through my fieldwork for men's migration out of Yekemi: firstly societal expectations placed the responsibility for being the breadwinner on men; secondly, they were increasingly unable to do this as they were unable to generate enough money to support their households through traditional farming systems, thirdly cash crop farming required initial increase in capital inputs which many farmers were unable to capitalise on in the short term; finally it was perceived that there were better opportunities for employment which paid higher wages in the cities.

Looking back at how farming was organised previously, Risikat, a female cocoa farmer said 'farming in those days was easy as there were different kinds of labour that jointly work in a farm at a time.' Four major types of labour were mentioned. The owners' labour, family labour (comprises wives and children), extended family labour (comprises brothers, uncles, wives of brothers and their children), and reciprocal labour (this is group of farmers coming together to work in each other's farms). All the above mentioned types of farming involve non-monetary labour. Though reciprocal farming is also not monetary, farmers have to pay back the labourers in the form of their own labour service when it is the time of others to farm.

Nowadays paid labour is more commonly used in cash crop farming. The old system of reciprocal labour is no longer in operation and this increases the cost of production. Big farms with traditional systems of farming, without access to the reciprocal labour incur greater costs because of the need to hire labour. This in turn reduces the income from it. According to male participants of this study,

cocoa farms especially require constant clearing, application of agrochemicals, harvesting of cocoa pods, breaking of the pods, transportation of cocoa beans from farm to village, fermentation and sun drying of the cocoa seed. All these require labour which farmers have to do to make the produce marketable. Women said that the responsibilities of men have changed from mere housing and feeding, and living on meagre resources for subsistence. Farmers want better lives for their children too.

‘Those that have been to cities have brought news of easy life of the cities to the village and we also see this when we visit our home town for one festival or another’ (Philip, male, Cocoa farmer)

Men see the need to improve their socio-economic status hence the rise in male out-migration. Akinyemi, a male cocoa farmer, commented that ‘a man with no money is not a husband. He explained further that

‘If a man says there is no money on him, that means no money for his woman ... There will be no respect’ (Akinyemi, male, cocoa farmer)

Men feel incompetent, emasculated even, when unable to fulfill their societal expectations as breadwinner and heads of households. Other economic reasons that can be associated with migration include the fact that many people see it as a way out of abject poverty and the search for a better future, through increased job opportunities in the cities. This is in line with push and pull factors that encourage migration. Poverty pushes rural dwellers to migrate to cities, while their expectation of a better life and better jobs pulls them to the cities. Other explanations given for migration, during focus group discussions with different

groups is that some young men migrate to town because they do not have personal farms. They do not want to continue working on family farms which may belong to 4 or more children of the family. In such situations, the family decides to rent out or sell such farm land. Similarly, when the main farm owner is old and all the children have migrated to town, migration of the children leads the old owners to rent out their land. Many farmers' children are no longer willing to continue with farming as a means of livelihood. They also want to explore towns and cities, for better living possibilities, in terms of amenities and opportunities as commonly experienced elsewhere (Adesiji et al. 2009; ILO 2010; Okhankhuele and Opafunso (2013).

Thus migration from rural to urban areas with the aim of improved living standards and well-being is a significant issue for consideration. Some of the causative factors of rural male out-migration are also due to unequal distribution of resources and low speed of development in the rural areas. Lack of social amenities, such as electricity, good / motorable roads for marketing of farm produce, pipe borne water and good health facilities, low remuneration for farm work, with little hope for a better future, have driven young and able-bodied men of the rural areas to search elsewhere for better living standards (ILO 2010; Aworemi et al. 2011; Okhankhuele and Opafunso, 2013). Nigeria, despite its endowment in human and natural resources, is still ranked globally among the very poor nations, with 54% of her population living below the poverty level (Akinyele, 2005 cited in Nwokocha, 2007:2). Poverty has contributed to the reduction of the labour force for agriculture in rural areas and an overpopulation of the urban areas. This creates disequilibrium between supply and demand of

labour, which results in a scarcity of labour in the rural areas and surplus labour in urban areas.

My calculation of the population composition of Yekemi revealed that there are more elderly men than young men. This could also be perceived from the age distribution of the participants as outlined in the table below. During the general introduction meeting with farmers in the community, it was observed that out of 43 farmers who attended the meeting, 18 were men, with only 4 of them below 60 years of age, while 18 out of the 25 women were below 60 years of age. This could equally be seen from the gender / age skew of the participants for the study.

Table 4.1 Age distribution of the participants

| Age | Total Participants | | | |
|---------|--------------------|-----|------------|-----|
| | Frequency | | Percentage | |
| | Women | Men | Women | Men |
| 20 – 29 | 2 | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| 30 – 39 | 5 | 0 | 25 | 0 |
| 40 – 49 | 3 | 1 | 15 | 10 |
| 50 – 59 | 3 | 2 | 15 | 20 |
| 60 – 69 | 5 | 4 | 25 | 40 |
| 70+ | 2 | 3 | 10 | 30 |
| Total | 20 | 10 | 100 | 100 |

Source: 2012 Field Report

The study identified the generational dynamics in the course of migration out of the village. Most of the migrants are young men leaving their wives behind in the village for better opportunities in towns. The younger generation has a different conception of farming. To them farming and rural life have become associated with poverty and poor living in developing economies, and this appears a major factor for young men's migration into urban areas. Continuation of the old traditional farming system is another reason why young people develop negative attitudes towards farming. One of the male participants commented that;

‘the glory of this farming for me is to see my children in high positions in the country and not to come and continue the suffering’ (Philip, male, Cocoa farmer)

The older generation wants their children to be educated and be prosperous in cities, like other educated people in urban areas. The younger generation witness the suffering of the older generation of farmers who strive on their own to make ends meet. The situation is exacerbated by the traditional system of farming and the inheritance system of the Yorubas which make farmers' children to wait for farm inheritance until after the death of their father, making access to land difficult for them while they are still young. Philip, a cocoa farmer, elucidated as to why the migration is so rampant. In his view, the young people are not interested or ready to dedicate their lives to farming in the same way as the older generation. The young ones know the importance of rural infrastructure, how it is lacking in Yekemi, and the implications of the neglect of rural farming by the government. The farmers believe that this has an effect on the future ambitions of the younger generation.

Male migration out of Yekemi has both negative and positive effects on the community. The negative effects include the scarcity created by withdrawing of labour from farm activities, which has effects on the production output. Secondly, it reduces the farm population which equally has effects on the economy of the village and lastly, it can lead male migrants to abandon societal responsibilities towards their family and the community at large, thus adding more to women's burden and that of the community.

On the other hand, a positive effect of this migration can be seen in gender relations which have been altered due to migration. There has been a shift in power dynamics which has given women greater opportunities to exercise some power, not only in the farm household, but also in the community. This is perceived to be due to women's taking up economic roles in farming. Perhaps even more importantly, there have been shifts in the economic power and change of status of women due to their access to farm land and the opportunity to be farm owners, not only through inheritance but also through purchase and rental of farm land.

Even though it is a challenging task, women enjoy their participation in cash crop farming because of the higher income they are able to generate, and the agency it gives them within the community. The fact that women are able to take over and make a success of cash crop farming in Yekemi village, (whereas the men that migrated out of Yekemi had seen it as not viable) is an indication that Yekemi women are more dynamic and more resilient than those men that migrated out of the village. Women participation in cash crop farming could

however only be celebrated when they have access to all it takes to make the work more interesting, more profitable and less cumbersome.

In-migration of Gara people in Yekemi

With most young able-bodied men migrating to towns and cities, hired labour becomes scarce and expensive. The majority of women work on palm trees which require climbing for harvesting of palm fruits. This is seen as men's work, hence the continued reliance on men for this job in their farms. Traditionally, women are not allowed to climb palm trees in Yorubaland. The out migration of male farmers and farm assistants has had serious effects on the availability of labour for such agricultural activities within Yekemi, It slows down the pace of farm work and reduces production of cash crops in the area. The need for additional labour arises in almost all areas of agriculture. To meet this need, some young Gara men from Kogi State and a few Igbo men migrated in to Yekemi, on hearing about the need for hired labour in the village. They became desirable farm assistants for the farm activities to continue and increase for many local households, and especially for women farmers. They assist, to some extent, in addressing the labour scarcity in palm tree farming. Similarly in the case of cocoa farming, women farmers hire labour when it comes to spraying their cocoa. The women supply water for the mixture of the chemical and supervise the work, but the men spray the cocoa.

Male migration out of Yekemi thus attracts and creates another kind of migration into the village. This is the in-migration of Gara people to Yekemi. Their community in Kogi State is known for growing groundnut, beans, maize, and millet and there are a few palm tree farms too. According to my findings, most of

them migrated to Yekemi for farming as a result of poor performance of their businesses and/or the poor economic situation in their various towns and villages. Additionally, some of them equally claim to see migration as business. Both married and unmarried Gara men participate in this migration and their main agricultural activity is palm tree climbing for harvesting palm fruit. The married ones moved down to Yekemi with their family. They reside there as landless labourers. From my findings, some of them also married more than one wife, and mostly, their wives work along with them in their hired work /farm business. There is no specific remuneration for their wives from the work done with their husband. According to Matthew, a palm tree climber;

‘we work together for family maintenance. She has to work with me whenever I have work to do because she knows that is where I get money for family upkeep, and I don’t need to pay her. She is my wife’
(Matthew, a palm tree climber).

According to my findings, the Gara people also reside in Yekemi by renting houses in the village and they travel home in December to return in January. Though their language is Gara, they can also speak in Yoruba language which makes communication easy in the community.

The Gara people now have an association that addresses their concerns in the community. They fix prices for their services so that there will be uniform prices and benefits for their Gara members and this perpetually puts the women at their mercy. A woman farmer commented that;

‘farm assistants are like the husbands we must take care of, to get things not just done, but also on time. We have to appease them.’ (Felicia, female, cocoa and palm oil farmer)

Hired labour is now a major business in Yekemi. Information about women’s domination of cash crop farming at Yekemi continues to attract Gara men who are motivated by the economic potential of farming activities, such as palm trees fruit harvesting and clearing of farms in Yekemi, as there is a lot of work, due to a high number of women having their own farms.

Migration of some men from the village thus has an effect on the cost of production for the women farmers, since all non-household labour assistants have to be paid for effective delivery of the work. This in turn increases the cost of production and minimizes the gains accruable to the farmers. All the free assistance and services previously enjoyed by men by utilising family labour without remuneration are not usually available to women.

Nevertheless, the women in Yekemi also feel that hiring labour enables them to exercise power over their farms. They control the workers and instruct them on what to do in the farm. They also act as supervisors for hired labourers who are working in their farms. Moreover women incur money from renting rooms to the Gara male migrants, which allows some women to relieve some of the additional cost for hiring labour. It is another source of income to counter some of the cost of paying for labour.

Thus, as agriculture is a main source of employment in Yekemi, and most of the other economic activities of the village depend on it, migration in and out of

Yekemi is crucial to the organisation of farming activities, leading to shifts in the traditional divisions of labour and to a feminisation of agricultural ownership in the area. Feminism as defined by Sinha et al. is

a broad social enterprise striving for equality for all as well as emphasizing the importance of values such as co-operation, tolerance, nurturance and the freedom for each person to achieve her or his potential (2012: 62).

This feminisation of agriculture has a positive effect on women's empowerment in the village. It gives room for more women to become farmers and grants them the opportunity to exercise power and agency, both within their household and in the community. This is in line with Sinha et al.'s (2012) view of women empowerment which can be expressed in terms of decision making power. Women's participation in cash crop farming in Yekemi continues to increase, and more women are hiring labourers to perform the traditionally 'male' aspects of the farm work, seen as inappropriate for women, most especially the palm tree climbing.

Women and Choice of Farming as a Means of Livelihood

The predominance of cash crop production activities in Yekemi and the preponderance of female farmers in cash crop farming as earlier stated, makes Yekemi a choice location for this research. Rural women and men have always been working jointly on the farm. Rural farming is traditionally family work in which every member has their role to play. However, patriarchal assumptions in Yoruba culture see cash crop farming as a predominantly male domain. Women have traditionally been seen as helpers when it comes to cash crop farming

activities (Banwo 2004) and this had previously deterred women from participating or functioning as co-operators in this area of agriculture. This is a major limiting factor for women farmers who may wish to embark on lucrative agricultural business, beyond petty trading in agricultural produce.

Consequently, women's entry in to the cash crop farm business in Yekemi is a major decision that is out of tune with the traditional duties and cultural expectations of the wider community. Thus women's involvement as owners or co-owners in cash crop farming and the changes in gender relations in Yekemi are indicative of significant socio-economic and cultural change. Results from this study show that when women have more control over outputs they appear to develop greater autonomy in decision making power in the context of agriculture. I would also argue that increases in potential income and economic status can lead more women to participate in the cultivation of cash crops.

Contrary to cultural practice where women are expected to be meek and mild, some of the young rural women in agriculture appear to be more assertive than older women. They make decisions about the sale of their agricultural products more freely, have input in household income, invest in houses or purchase land at their own will. More importantly, they seem to express themselves freely. All these reflect major changes in the traditional gender divisions of responsibilities both at levels of household and farm work. This is clear in the comment of a young female farmer I met working on her farm. Although her husband is alive, she regards him as good as dead!;

The future of my children is my focus. I'm investing in my old age since it appears I have no husband. I'm married and my husband also is hale

and hearty, but I'm solely responsible for my welfare that should have been the duty of my husband. This palm fruit business is my source of livelihood (Lolade, female palm oil farmer)

The causative factors for increased female participation in agricultural production are varied. These I have categorized into three: the migration effect; the economic effect; and family inheritance. Firstly, in many instances their husband's migration paved the way for the women to become cash crop farmers. The migration of men can be seen as a kind of empowerment for many women as it encourages women's determination to survive without waiting for their husbands' remittance or presence, to make a living. The journey starts with making decisions, in the absence of men. More importantly, the greater availability of land for rent due to the retirement of some aged cash crop farmers, and the absence of men to take over the land due to migration invite a wave of new immigrants from town, who come to try their hands at cash crop production.

Secondly, engagement in cash crop production activities by both women and men in Yekemi is a reflection of the importance of survival strategies, to secure better livelihoods and self-reliance in every household. The struggle for economic self-sufficiency, which brought about women's participation in the cash crop agricultural economy, is a way of fighting against poverty.

Thirdly, the opportunity to inherit farms by women, either from husbands or parents after their death paves ways for their participation in cash crop farming. Different categories of women's participation in farming were identified during the course of study. Some participate because their husbands are farmers, some due to their background as children of farmers. This is in the case of women who

inherited farm lands from their fathers. Others participate due to economic hardship that made them to move from cities to the village, to try their hands at farming to gain a livelihood. Participation of any category was possible due to the availability of land which can be family land, land purchased or land rented. From my findings, all these available avenues make women's participation possible and profitable. Some of the female participants narrated how and the reason for joining farming during a focus group discussion. According to Mulikat, a palm oil farmer:

‘You see, I can say I resorted to farming in order to discharge my responsibilities as the eldest child in my family. You know my siblings can come any time to request for assistance, also my children too and the food stuffs which I was trading in was not bringing in profit at all. We all have husbands but none of our husbands is working with the government or can get a white collar job in this village. They can only have money on them during the harvest season, and we will not say we won't take care of our children because our husbands are broke. That's why I decided to add farming to what I'm doing, in order to make ends meet, because the food selling business was not even going well before it packed up. It is because the businesses we are into do not yield reasonable profit and there are a lot of responsibilities on ground which must be honoured, that's why we ventured into farming’ (Mulikat, Palm oil farmer)

In Tosin's (female Cocoa and Palm tree farmer) view

[...] what brought many of us into farming was because petty trading was not sufficient to bear the responsibilities of taking care of the home, that's

why we ventured into farming, adding farming to whatever petty trading one is involved in. It goes a long way in ameliorating the burden. For example you can quickly run to a produce buyer to collect or borrow money if you want to pay your children's school fees, but that is not possible in petty trade because there is even no profit at all and the profit is spent immediately it is made (Tosin, female Cocoa and Palm tree farmer)

Kemi concluded that

This is why most people resorted to farming. You see, we women in this place are like men, we always wear trousers because we are responsible for those responsibilities that are meant to be borne by men (Kemi, female cocoa and palm tree farmer)

From these comments it could be perceived that cash crop farming is viable and serves as collateral for farmers to borrow money from produce buyers. This ability to borrow money from produce buyers acts as an encouragement for women to participate in cash crop farming in Yekemi. Women's involvement in farming impacted on the gendered division of labour in the home in some instances. I found, during the period of fieldwork that some young male participants have had to take on some of their wives' traditional responsibilities to their own, such as seeing to the dressing of the children and sending them to school, making sure that they are not late for school. These tasks were traditionally the responsibility of their wives;

When I know where she has gone, nothing stops me from preparing my children for school (Tajudeen, male, machine operator)

Tajudeen's view was further reinforced by Grace

It is good to be empowered you know! When you are, you are respected and even receive help where you least expected ... our husbands know the importance of our work to the family income, hence the reason for enjoying their cooperation ...hey, note, not all of us enjoy this privilege, or rather we are not all enjoying it at the same level (Grace, female, palm oil farmer)

Women of Yekemi see these changes as a major enhancement for their economic development. Women farmers in Yekemi do not only plant, harvest, transport and process, but have the opportunity to own or rent their own farms. Their direct access to farms enables them to have control over their production. Whether they rent or acquire their own farms through inheritance or purchase, they are in control. They take charge of the activities right from the farm to processing and selling of their products, especially in the areas of palm tree farming. In the case of cocoa production, they play ownership roles and are employers of labour where there is need to employ staff.

Access to Land in Yekemi

During the course of this research 10 male and 20 full-time female farmers were studied, including at the level of their involvement in cash crop production. I also visited 18 farms, out of which 14 are managed by women and 4 belong to men. The 14 farms that belong to women are either bought, rented by individual

women or jointly rented (a situation where 3 farmers rent different produce on the same farmland), either with other women or sub-let by male farm owners. The 4 farms that belong to men are either men's individual farms or family farms. From this, I discovered that there are various forms of farm ownership, which I categorized into three major types.

In terms of the nature of ownership there are three types of ownership of farmlands within Yekemi village. Some are original owners, some bought their farmlands, while others rent their farmlands. The first group are the original owners, largely men and very few women, who possess the land through inheritance. The second category are those of a new generation of women and men who bought their own lands and took control of their possessions. Women purchasing land for farming is a new development in Yekemi village as it used to be the exclusive preserve of men. The third group are those who rented their farm lands, and the majority of women fall in this category. Those male farmers who leave the village for towns and cities rent out their farms or allow their wives to manage the whole farm or part of it and this increases women's access to farmland. There is always an agreement between the owner of the farm and the farmer renting the farm. However, farmers pay cash to the farm labourers who work for them on their farms. Apart from this, the nature of access to land in the Yekemi community varies. There are women and men who are sole owners of their farms. In some cases, women jointly rent with the owners. In other cases women come together to jointly rent a farm, and in some cases a woman could rent a whole farm meaning that everything (mostly cocoa and palm trees) on the farm are managed by her for the period of rent.

Of the 20 women who participated in this study, 9 rented their lands, 5 women had bought their lands (2 of these 5 also rent other farms for higher output), 3 women farmed jointly with their husbands under different terms of operation, and 3 had inherited their lands (2 from their biological family and another from her husband). Please see appendices 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 for overviews of the Female Cash Crop Farmers, the Male Cash Crop Farmers and the Labourers detailing in tabular form their related activities in relation to household formation, crops farmed, types of land ownership and occupational status.

For some women farmers, the major source of access to land is through their husbands who either make a portion of the land available to his wives, or has a kind of division of work in the farm, meaning that the wife may be working on palm tree and the husband working on cocoa. The farming system in Yekemi is mixed cropping, as all the farmers have more than one crop on their farms.

In the sublet cases, a husband sublets his palm trees to his wives by dividing the farm into the number of wives. Each of the wives has her own section of operation while the husband takes over the cocoa of the entire farm. It is a sublet in the sense that at the end of the year or harvest, they pay their husband 'rent' with a certain numbers of kegs of oil from their palm tree farming. They use the remaining for their own profits. Some women in this category have also bought more farms, in addition to the one made available to them by their husbands. Women farmers are of the opinion that this is a valuable way of re-investing their profits. Jointly owned farms are those farms that could be referred to as family farms. The farm belongs to the whole family, but still the husband is the head of the farm system. There are usually gender divisions of work on the farm,

such as a wife working on palm trees and the husband working on cocoa, but at the end of the harvest the money realised goes into one family purse. In another case, a family jointly works together on both crops but the wife's remuneration in this case is determined by the husband. He decides the payment accruable to each member of the family, especially when there is more than one wife, which is the situation in most cases. The payment is mostly paid during festivity seasons, apart from their husband sponsoring the daily expenses.

The last group are those women working for their husbands. This group of women assume that they are jointly working with their husbands. I grouped them separately from others after I discovered their mode of operation within the family farms. The husband is the land owner, who concentrates on cocoa farming and allows his wife to work on palm trees. At the end of the harvest the whole profit still belongs to the husband. The husband is of the view that since he is not slack in his responsibility as the husband and the head of the family, there is no reason why the family should be divided over money generated from the farm produce. In reality this implies that the woman is working for her husband without direct remuneration. Although women in this category claim to make profit from the palm kernel realised from the palm oil made by them, the point is that their input vis a vis the main farm production processes is not directly remunerated.

Table 4.2 Female Cash Crops Farmers and their Agricultural Activities

| S/N | Name | Marital status | Household composition (+ 1 husband each, except for the widows) | | | Ethnicity | Sector of Agricultural Production | | | Types of land ownership | | | | Occupational status | |
|-----|----------|----------------|---|---------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------------------|----------|----------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------|--------|---------------------|--------------------|
| | | | Wife/ Wives in the house hold | Children in the household | Dependants | | cocoa | palm oil | kolanuts | Inherited | husband's farmland | Purchased | Rented | Farmer | family farm worker |
| 1. | Sifawu | Married | 2 | 5 | 2 | Yoruba | - | X | - | - | - | - | X | X | - |
| 2. | Arinola | Married | 1 | 3 | 2 | Yoruba | X | X | - | - | - | - | X | X | - |
| 3. | Funmi | Married | 4 | 11 | 4 | Yoruba | - | X | X | - | X | - | - | X | X |
| 4. | Falilat | Married | 3 | 10 | 3 | Yoruba | - | X | - | - | X | - | - | - | X |
| 5. | Tosin | Married | 2 | 6 | 2 | Yoruba | X | X | - | - | - | X | X | X | - |
| 6. | Sikiratu | Married | 2 | 4 | 3 | Yoruba | - | X | X | - | - | - | X | X | - |
| 7. | Grace | Married | 1 | 2 | 3 | Yoruba | - | X | - | - | - | - | X | X | - |
| 8. | Maria | Widow | 3 | 13 | 3 | Yoruba | X | - | - | X | - | - | - | X | - |
| 9. | Tolu | Married | 1 | 4 | 2 | Yoruba | - | X | - | - | - | - | X | X | - |
| 10 | Risikat | Married | 2 | 6 | 2 | Yoruba | X | - | X | - | - | X | - | X | - |
| 11 | Aminatu | Widow | 2 | 9 | 1 | Yoruba | X | X | X | - | - | X | X | X | - |
| 12 | Simbi | married | 3 | 11 | 4 | Yoruba | X | X | - | - | - | - | X | X | - |
| 13 | Awawu | Married | 1 | 2 | 1 | Yoruba | - | X | - | - | - | - | X | X | - |
| 14 | Risi | Widow | 3 | 10 | 3 | Yoruba | X | X | X | X | - | - | - | X | - |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-----------|---------|---|----|---|--------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 15 | Lolade | Married | 1 | 4 | 2 | Yoruba | - | X | X | - | - | - | X | X | - |
| 16 | Felicia | Married | 1 | 5 | 2 | Yoruba | X | X | X | X | - | - | - | X | - |
| 17 | Damilola | Married | 3 | 8 | 2 | Yoruba | X | X | X | - | - | - | X | X | - |
| 18 | Elizabeth | Married | 4 | 13 | 3 | Yoruba | X | X | - | - | - | X | - | X | - |
| 19 | Kemi | Married | 2 | 8 | 3 | Yoruba | X | X | X | - | - | X | - | X | - |
| 20 | Mulikat | Married | 1 | 3 | 2 | Yoruba | X | X | - | - | X | - | - | X | X |

Source: 2012 Field Report

Table 4.3 Male Cash Crops Farmers and their Agricultural Activities

| S/N | NAME | Marital status | Household composition | | | Ethnicity | Sector of Agricultural Production | | | Types of ownership | | | Occupational status | |
|-----|----------|----------------|-----------------------|----------|------------|-----------|-----------------------------------|----------|----------|--------------------|-----------|--------|---------------------|--------------------|
| | | | Wife/wives | children | dependants | | cocoa | palm oil | kolanuts | Inherited | Purchased | Rented | Farmer | family farm worker |
| 1. | Philip | Married | 4wives | 9 | 4 | Yoruba | X | X | - | X | - | | X | X |
| 2. | Akinyemi | Married | 2 wives | 8 | 2 | Yoruba | X | X | - | X | X | | X | - |
| 3. | Sunday | Married | 2 wives | 7 | 3 | Yoruba | X | X | X | X | - | - | X | - |
| 4. | Jimoh | Married | 3wives | 8 | 2 | Yoruba | X | X | - | X | - | - | - | X |
| 5. | Deji | Married | 2wives | 5 | 3 | Yoruba | X | X | - | - | X | X | X | X |
| 6. | Muniru | Married | 2 wives | 7 | 3 | Yoruba | X | X | X | X | - | - | X | - |
| 7. | Suleiman | Married | 4wives | 11 | 5 | Yoruba | X | - | - | X | X | | X | - |
| 8. | Fakunle | Married | 3wives | 9 | 2 | Yoruba | X | - | - | X | - | - | X | - |
| 9. | James | Married | 1 wife | 3 | 2 | Yoruba | X | X | - | - | - | X | X | X |
| 10. | Joshua | Married | 1 wife | 5 | 3 | Yoruba | X | X | X | - | X | - | X | - |

Source: 2012 Field Report

Table 4.4 Farm Labourers and their Agricultural Activities

| S/N | NAME | Sex | Marital status | Household composition in Yekemi | | | Ethnicity | Sector of Agricultural work | | | Mode of payment | |
|-----|------------|-----|----------------|---------------------------------|----------|------------|-----------|-----------------------------|----------|---------|-----------------|------|
| | | | | Wife/wives | children | dependants | | cocoa | palm oil | kolanut | Farm produce | cash |
| 1. | Matthew | M | Married | 1 wife | 4 | 2 | Gara | X | X | - | - | Cash |
| 2. | Gabriel | M | Married | 2wives | 3 | 2 | Gara | X | X | - | - | Cash |
| 3. | Benjamin | M | Married | 1 wife | 3 | 2 | Gara | X | X | X | - | Cash |
| 4. | Folorunsho | M | Married | 1 wife | 2 | 1 | Gara | X | X | - | - | Cash |
| 5. | Musili | F | Married | 2wives | 5 | 2 | Gara | X | X | - | - | Cash |
| 6. | Sade | F | Married | 1 wife | 2 | 2 | Yoruba | X | X | X | - | Cash |
| 7. | Bili | F | Married | 1 Wife | 1 | 1 | Gara | X | X | - | - | Cash |
| 8. | Julius | M | Married | 2 wives | 4 | 1 | Gara | X | X | - | X | Cash |

Source: 2012 Field Report

Process of land acquisition

Land in Yekemi is purchased with either money or produce of the farm. There are only few cases of land being purchased permanently with money. In such a case a buyer approaches the owner, who is the only authorised person to sell the land. They negotiate the price and, after an agreement is reached, the buyer pays with cash for the land. The buyer is usually given a written paper in form of receipt, stating the amount of money paid, the size of the land purchased, the agricultural produce on the land and the location of the land. Such a paper would be signed by the seller, the buyer and the witnesses on both sides. This purchase includes both the land and the products on it. There is a second form of purchase which is similar to modern day leasing. In this case, a buyer purchases a farmland, not with money but with the products harvested on the same farm land. Under this arrangement, a buyer undertakes to manage an existing farm for a long period of time, sometimes from twenty five to fifty years. At every harvest the buyer pays one third of the total produce to the farm owners throughout the years agreed upon.

Farms for rental basis are locally called 'Sengbe'. This is usually for a short term period. The idea for the rental could be initiated by either the farm owner or the tenant. Sometimes when farm owners need money they rent out a part or the whole of a particular farm of theirs to a prospective farmer who needs farmland for a short period of time. It could also be initiated by a prospective farm tenant who wants to go into farming but lacks the requisite land. In such a case, the prospective tenant looks for farmers with large acres of land who may wish to rent out part of the farm. The payment for the land in this case is by produce of the farm. Another type of short term rental is called 'Papin' (combined sharing). This usually occurs where a

farm owner wishes to allow other farmers to take care of her/his farm to keep the farm going. Under an agreement of sharing both the expenses and the incomes from the farm, the owner looks for an interested farmer to whom the farm could be handed over. The language of use in these last two types makes a distinction between the two. While the farmer under the first arrangement sees herself/himself as an owner of the farm during the period covered by the agreement, the 'Papin' farmer see herself/himself as a care taker of the farm.

All these agreements are usually done under the supervision of witnesses from both sides, a few reputable elders and relatives of the two people going into agreement.

Conclusion

This chapter outlines the changing agricultural scene in Yekemi. In sketching out some of the infrastructural facilities and agricultural activities in Yekemi, I have drawn attention to the formation of the Yekemi community, which was principally based on the access to farm land that is conducive for cash crop production. This has made it a farming community where both genders are indispensable in the nature of the farming activities, either as farmers or labourers. Attention was also drawn to the process of land acquisition and the motives behind women's participation in cash crop farming. The different modes of accessing farm land, farming practices, gender divisions of labour in Yekemi and the different types of family farming system are also explained here. Three tables (4.1, 4.2 and 4.3) were used to explain the agricultural activities of female and male farmers and that of farm labourers. Importantly, it reveals the relationship between men's out-migration and the increased women involvement in cash crop production and calls attention to the subsequent changes that have occurred.

The account highlights the limited research on women in agriculture in Yoruba community, with most previous research focused on women's economic activities as traders and their roles as processors of agricultural produce. Their roles in agriculture have tended to gain less attention, because they are generally seen as helpers / assistants or labourers in farming activities, and not as farmers in their own right, either at subsistence or commercial level. This chapter explores the current situation and highlights the trend of changes that have occurred, both in social and familial relations and in cash crop farming in Yekemi community. In particular this chapter highlights the impact of male migration out of Yekemi on the gendered arrangements of traditional farming practices noting women's recent moves into cash crop farming.

In this chapter, I have traced the level of involvement of women's participation in agriculture in Yekemi, and studied the mechanisms that are in place for them to function as farmers, alongside male cash crop farmers. Although women's participation in cash crop farming is not without challenges, especially in commercialisation, negotiation and knowledge of ruling prices, all the same, women are of the view that they will reach that level of perfection as time goes on. They do not allow their domestic responsibilities to rob them of their economic roles that accord them greater respect in their respective households. I have argued that increases in potential income and economic status can lead more women to participate in the cultivation of cash crops.

The study also reveals that though the community allows women to participate in agriculture, it is not without upholding some cultural values and norms in agricultural practice, such as not allowing women to climb palm trees. Women say

this is not a barrier to their participation as they hire male labourers to do this for them. In a nutshell, this chapter discussed the organisation of the farming system and its dynamics, and how these impact on some women's greater economic independence, that is, the impact this has on decision making in their households. Developments now exist beyond previous research findings (Dey 1985, Brydon & Chant 1989, Ng, 1993, Akeroyd 1993). There is change in farm ownership as women are joining cash crop production in different kinds of ways. Women now compete with men in cash crop farming in Yekemi. They also own land by purchase, inheritance, or rent farms. This is now the modern trend in farming in Yekemi village, which has increased the visibility of women's productive economic roles in the community.

Chapter 5

Shifting Gender Power Dynamics: Women and cash crop farming in Yekemi

Introduction

Traditionally men and women in Yorubaland are believed to have complementary obligations in farm activities. While men are known for farming, women are known to be involved in the processing of farm produce and selling of farm products. In Yorubaland, men considered the free labour women provided on their husbands' farms as an extension of women's traditional responsibilities to the family (Mtsor and Idisi, 2014). This situation is similar to that of Igbo land (eastern part of Nigeria), as attested to by Ezumah and Di Domenico (1995) study. Traditionally, cash crops are generally perceived as male crops and men are in control of the revenues generated from them. However, as discussed in chapter 4 male migration out of Yekemi has played an important role in making land available to some of the female farmers.

The aim of this chapter is to assess the gender and power dynamics linked to cash crop production, arising from different kinds of male migration. This in and out migration, and the shifting patterns of cash crop production, ownership and control of land in Yekemi is creating very interesting dynamics between the interplay of gender, ethnicity and class relations. I examine the shift in gender roles in Yekemi community as a result of this migration in terms of productive, reproductive and community management, the impacts of this on power relations and agency, the effects of changes in women's financial status on their households and the implications of these changes on different aspects of Yekemi society.

In Yekemi, women participate in agriculture at various levels and in different capacities, indicating their productive roles. This chapter also highlights different levels and capacities of women's involvement in cash crop farming in Yekemi, and analysed the gender divisions of work at various levels. The roles of each gender in cocoa, palm tree and kola nut farming are distinctively analysed for clear demarcation of responsibilities. The chapter discusses the impact of women's participation in terms of empowerment and decision making in their household. It further explores the relationship between men's migration in and out of Yekemi and women's economic activities, and the power dynamics among cash crop farmers in Yekemi with women's entry into cash crop farming.

Different levels of involvement of Yekemi Women in agriculture: an uneven relational bargain

In Yekemi, women's involvement in agriculture was a gradual process. Though farming in general incorporates both genders in its activities, as women provided important part of the labour force even in cash crop production (Dennis 1993), its incorporation generally tends to subject women to subordinate positions, particularly when only men are recognised as farmers. However in Yekemi today, women operate at different levels and in different capacities. The level of women's involvement in cash crop farming in Yekemi has implications for the kinds of gender relations that exist. This is in consonance with the views of Blua & Ferber (1986) who stated that we are in a world of rapid changes in the roles of women and men and their relations to each other. This is unlike the period 'when women were women, and men were men, and both knew their proper place' (Blua & Ferber 1986:15). The gender relations that exist in Yekemi are: women as farmers, as

farmers' wives, as agricultural labourers and as unpaid family labourers assisting Gara migrants.

Women as farmers

In Yekemi's agricultural production, ownership of farms is not limited to a particular gender. According to my findings, it was not like this from the inception of agricultural production in Yekemi. Agriculture, and especially cash crop production, was initially a male-dominated enterprise. Women now participate as cash crop farm owners, acquiring land either through inheritance, purchase or through rent. Their participation as cash crop farmers is significant and distinct as they control virtually every aspect of their production by paying either in cash or with produce where payment is required. Women engage labourers when additional hands are required and assign work to them. As one of the participants said;

‘ownership gives you confidence and dignity in the society ... though strenuous, we are enjoying it’ (Tosin, female, Cocoa and Palm tree farmer)

In some cases, men assist their wives in getting labourers. Men do not do the work for their wives. Conversely, when women do have their own farms, they still assist their husbands in their farms when the need arises. This increases pressures on women's labour time and also serves to decrease any available leisure time. As farm owners, women control their farm activities, including employment of labourers and control over their own income. They pay male labourers to do the jobs which women are restricted from doing due to normative cultural values and appropriate gendered behaviour, for example climbing of palm trees in the case of palm tree farming. This increases women's production costs. Women may say they

are happy that their husbands do not do the 'male' jobs for them, as keeping them out of it maximizes their control over their own farm and agricultural business operations, nevertheless through these differential practices, women experience an uneven bargain *vis a vis* their male farming counterparts.

Women as farmers' wives:

From my findings there are some women who are still fully working jointly with their husbands. Some other women combine working with their husbands with petty trading. In both cases, they work in cash crop farms, not as owners, but as wives of farmers. Their remuneration in the family farms is not defined. Most of the time, it is without remuneration. For most of those who are remunerated, such remunerations come during one festival or the other. In some very few cases some husbands assist their wives financially in their petty trading. In this farming system, men enjoy the support of their wives. This is in contrast to when women own and control their own farms, which is believed to have limited women's contribution (a responsibility expected by society of women) to their husbands' farms. Hence some men prefer joint farming to women's independent farming, since in joint farming they have access to their wives' labour all the time, at little or no cost.

Women as farm labourers

With the increase in the number of women farmers, the need for more farm assistants prompted women to hire both female and male labourers. Those female labourers are local women who have low or no means of acquiring or renting farm land. They make their living from what they were able to make through their labour. These labourers are paid in cash, based on their negotiation or on daily rate.

Gara's wives as farm assistants

The other women labourers available are the wives of the Gara labourers in Yekemi. Generally wives of Gara labourers are expected to take care of their husbands and the children. They are expected to be full-time housewives. Any additional work out of their households is still presumed to be their responsibility. They often assist their husbands on their labour duties. Their farm work is seen as an extension of their domestic responsibilities, hence their husbands see no justification to pay them for their farm services.

This disaggregation then has implications for the kinds of gender relations discussed: between husband farmers and unpaid wives; between migrant husbands and female farmers; between female farmers and male agricultural workers etc.

In spite of the existing uneven relational bargain, the greater opportunity for both genders to participate in cash crop farming, as has been witnessed in Yekemi, can be seen as a major step to development. This has given Yekemi women an edge, if not over everything, at least to overcome poverty. It is not that they are self-sufficient, but at least they have a means of surviving. From my findings, cash crop farming has always involved male and female labour even though it has been associated with men and male control for many years. When women do not own a farm they still have roles to play in the farming of cash crops. This has created a cooperative relationship between the two genders, as each has their roles to play for the success of the production. In an interaction with the auxiliary farm workers, one of them said 'farm work is not a thing you struggle for here in Yekemi, neither is it a few people's work, so work is always available here in Yekemi' (Musili, a porter). During the season of either cocoa or palm oil, there is always need for more

labour for farm work. Women farmers complain about the insufficient availability of labour. They expressed their dissatisfaction over the long period of waiting for hired labour. According to them, 'even after you might have booked in advance, your work may not be done on time as you don't know who is before you or when exactly it will be your turn'. The size of the farm also dictates how long the labourer will work there.

Overall gendered assessment of inputs in cash crop farming in Yekemi shows that because women participate in all cash crops in the village, they work round the year, whereas the majority of men work on cocoa alone which they believe has more value than any other cash crop in the village, although this is seasonal. Women, especially those who combine two or the three cash crops in the village, derive their income from a diversity of produce at various points in the year.

Gender roles in cash crop farming in Yekemi

The main economic activity in Yekemi is cash crop farming. Most farmers also have small subsistence farms for family food consumption only. Significantly in Yekemi, the numbers of women that are engaged in cash crop production are increasing. The three main cash crops Yekemi people focus on are cocoa, palm oil and kola-nuts. Yekemi people farm throughout the year. They move from one cash crop that is out of season to another that is in season. There is therefore no 'off season' or a period of rest from work in the community.

Gendered division of labour in Cocoa Production in Yekemi

My research reveals that before women started to have their own farms they were actively involved in different stages of agricultural production process, as farmers'

wives. At the pre-harvest stage both genders participate in excision of diseased cocoa pods, weeding, and clearing of cocoa plantations. During the spraying of cocoa, men are the ones that do the spraying while women fetch water for mixing the agrochemicals. Women mixed the chemicals and take refills to the men spraying. Thus women do a lot of trekking with heavy load of the spraying machine. This makes the work of the women to be equally as tedious as that of the men. As has been rightly observed by UTZ/CSN (2009) if given the opportunity of training women could take part in virtually all the cocoa farming activities as these tasks are not forbidden to women, they only require instruction on how to perform them. At harvest and post-harvest stages, men prune the cocoa pods while women do the collection and transportation of the pods to the village. The women also invest a lot of energy and time to take the cocoa beans out of the pod husks, to dry them and also do the sorting out of the cocoa beans.

Now that women completely own cocoa farms, they do all these works and also take management decisions over the farms. These include hiring and firing of workers, purchase and supplies of needed implements. In some cases some of the women join the harvesters in harvesting the cocoa pods.

Gendered division of labour in palm tree production in Yekemi

Previously in Yekemi, while palm trees have always been owned by men, women have always been associated with the processing and sales of palm oil. Both genders have responsibilities in the oil palm business but the female gender is more involved in the processing activities.

Women have moved from mere processing of the produce to owning the palm tree farms. They are now in charge of management of the farms and hiring of labour. In the case of palm tree farming, trimming, clearing and harvesting of palm produce are done by men, for women are not allowed to climb palm trees in Yorubaland. Men also strip the palm fruit from bunches into pieces on the farms where they are gathered. The women gather the bunches together in place on the farms, and after the stripping of the fruits, women sort out the fruits and transport them on foot to the processing centres where the main processing tasks begin. They fetch water for cooking of the palm fruits and thresh the fruits (with the threshing machine in the village, men take over the threshing with machine). Women mash, press and sieve the fruits into oil. They further process the oil for commercial purposes by storing them into kegs for sale. In some cases when the work is much, they also employ female labourers to assist in the oil processing.

Gendered division of labour in kola nut production in Yekemi

Kola nut production in Yekemi is not on a large scale like that of cocoa and palm trees. At the same time Yekemi people still have sizeable amounts of it on their farms for sale. Women are in charge of the sale of kola nut to other traders. Harvesting of the kola nut is done by both genders and this is the area men prefer to work when it comes to kola nut farming. Men that engage in kola nut farming always sell it with the pods to women at relatively cheap prices or leave the responsibility of the sale to their wives because the processing of kola nut for sale is boring and time-taking. The processing of kola nut requires that after plucking the fruits, the pods are cut open with knife or cutlass to remove the nuts which are in the husks. The nuts are then soaked in water for about 24 hours to remove the skin or coat which still

envelopes it. After the removal of the coating, the nut is then washed and drained, ready for sale.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that cash crop production is highly demanding for the women involved, but from my findings, women see it as a source of economic freedom and a way of making ends meet. The female farmers outlined different reasons for their involvement in cash crop production:

Though one might not have built a house yet, the pride and dignity of being able to discharge one's responsibilities when called upon by the family is enough as a source of inspiration (Damilola, female, cash crop farmer)

There is a lot of respect when you are seen as a reliable and responsible person, when you are called upon (Tolu, female, palm oil farmer)

I have to sacrifice for the future of my children, they must not suffer like I do ... they need to be educated (Simbi, female, cocoa farmer)

During the focus group discussion, female farmers revealed that most village men do not provide for their women as before anymore, the wife now is left to cater for the husband. As Tosin, a female Cocoa and Palm tree farmer, explained;

that's why everywhere you go in this place, it is the women you meet there most. Everyone is struggling that her children may not suffer (Tosin, female, Cocoa and Palm tree farmer).

Kemi went further to assert that

‘Women are liberating themselves now. The period of women serving men, when our female children continue to serve men, is gradually coming to an end’ (Kemi, Female, palm tree farmer)

Sikiratu concluded that

‘There is a traditional belief that your son is your strength in marriage, because daughters will go and your son remains. This has changed. Daughters are the ones taking care of parents now. If your son marries an ungodly wife, she will take him away completely, and that will be the end of a long awaited joy of old age’ (Sikiratu Female, palm tree farmer)

Peculiar challenges of women in cash crop production

With the increase in the number of women farm owners, in the case of cocoa farming, the need for more farm assistants prompted women to hire (male) labour from the Gara people, who traditionally work on palm trees, to take over the job of cocoa labourers too. One of the palm tree climber’s words depict the scenario of needs for farm assistance and the challenges women are facing in the course of their involvement:

‘Let me say we the Gara men are the only ones who are really into palm climbing since we got to this village. Cocoa farming is just an afterthought; palm climbing is our main vocation here. ... men do cocoa fumigation with their family, women have to employ other men to do this for them, women’s role in this is to provide water for fumigation and if we fumigate them and they don’t produce much fruits, then they will experience shortage. This is because the chemical which we use for the cocoa beans are bought by them

and labour charges are paid. Because farmers are given prices by the buyers who buy their cocoa at extremely low prices, it is often unprofitable' (Benjamin, male, farm labourer)

Benjamin's view was further reinforced by Wale who believed that men make more profit than women due to the lack of their husbands' assistance

'There are many female cocoa farm owners, they will need to employ men as labourers who will help them operate the pump. A person who wants to work for himself is different from a person who is paid to work. A labourer's service is different from that of the owner. The problems which women are facing are much more than the problems men are facing' (Wale male farm assistant)

The case of palm tree farming, which is common among Yekemi women, is similar. Though this is basically women's farming in Yekemi, they still need men during the pruning and harvesting of palm fruits which is the main job of Gara people in the community. Prior arrangements have to be made with both climbers and motorcycle riders for final transportation of their produce to the processing centre. The transportation aspect comes in after the shells have been removed and separated. The process takes more than a week to accomplish because once the fruits are cut into small pieces they have to leave them for some days, for effective removal of the shell. Then during the main processing men still come in as machine operators for the processing of palm kernels, while women clean, cook and do the final processing. There are two women who own their own machines but they employ men to operate the machines for them.

The palm oil season starts in January, reaches its peak in March and April and serious work on oil ends by July. By this time, the clearing and fumigation period of cocoa would be starting. Harvesting of cocoa is by September through January. People of this community work round the year, especially women, who during the oil season could be at the processing centre all night.

From my research findings, the commercialization of cash crop production is done individually. There is no government intervention, or regulation as to ways of selling the products. Mostly the price is given by the buyers who often quote the amount they are selling (take for example palm oil) in town and use that to regulate their prices. This is always in favour of the buyers. In some cases because of poverty, some farmers would have borrowed money from the buyers who will just come and beat down the prices ridiculously to their favour. This tends to leave farmers in perpetual poverty as they have to continue to borrow to survive. The cocoa business can be even more problematic as it is not a direct consumable product. The produce buyers come with prices purportedly given by buyers in town who also claimed to have received such prices from agents who in turn got their prices on the internet.

In terms of the nature of ownership there are three types of ownership of farmlands within Yekemi village. Some are original owners, some rent their farmlands, while others bought their farmlands. These types of ownership apply to both genders. Women are in the majority among those who rent their farms and are less among those who buy their farms. Women who are among the original owners are those who inherited the farms from their parents or their late husbands. In the case of farm rental, rent for the farms is usually paid, using products from the farm every

year. There is always an agreement between the owner of the farm and the farmer renting the farm. However, farmers pay cash to the farm labourers who work for them on their farms.

Power and agency: women and cash crop production in Yekemi

As previously discussed, within Yekemi Yoruba culture, traditionally, women join their husbands in farming as farm assistants, usually with no direct cash remuneration. Men make decisions on farming and women assist in the farm. Whilst women in Yorubaland have been known for different economic activities, largely productive and exchange activities, agriculture remains the main source of income in Yekemi and there is virtually no household that does not engage in agriculture. However, because the nature of farming is not mechanized, it is not as profitable as it could be. The villagers work from hand to mouth, leaving them with marginal profits, if there are any at all. The villagers still hold on to agriculture as security against economic uncertainty, but farming in Yekemi is now an activity mostly done by women, largely due to the movement of some men out of the village to towns and cities.

To women this is significant due to the fact that in village settings, the socio-economic ranking of the household is according to the size of their lands. Hence access to farm land is a major determinant of economic position and future prosperity of farmers in rural areas like Yekemi. The transformation of women's economic activities from petty traders to cash crop farmers has created opportunities for women to improve their socio-economic status and change the old cultural patterns of male domination in cash crop farming. Their access to land rates them among those farmers respected in the community.

Women's full involvement in cash crop farming in Yekemi prompted my investigation of how and why women changed from their assumed roles of petty trading, home management and unpaid family farm labourers, to full-time cash crop farmers. One of the major incentives for their participation is the availability of farmland to operate on, not only through inheritance or on family farms, but also on a rental basis. As already argued, migration plays a very important role both in production of cash crops and the empowerment of women in the community, in that the out migration of men provides space for women to take up cash crop farming. Women in Yekemi utilise this opportunity to empower themselves and reassert their importance in society, thereby improving their social status. Women in Yekemi village now have access to farmland, with some of them building houses in the village. They are powerful sustainers of their homes against poverty, through their own visible farm labour and cash crop production, independent of their husbands. Women's involvement in cash crop production shows their genuine desire to enhance their socio-economic status, in line with Brown's findings that (2008:20-22), 'women make income gains by shifting from subsistence to cash crops'. The outcome of women's participation is the continuity of cash crop production in those farmlands that would not have received proper management once men started to leave, and the economic empowerment of women which reduces the poverty level of their households. Empowerment of women 'has progressively been deemed crucial not only in achieving gender equality but eliminating poverty and leading to development which is truly sustainable' (Chant 2008:173). Sinha, et al. (2012: 61) also emphasize the importance of women empowerment by referencing Sen (2001) that

The expansion of women's capabilities not only enhances women's own freedom and well-being, but also has many other effects on the lives of all. An enhancement of women's active agency can, in many circumstances, contribute substantially to the lives of all people – men as well as women, children as well as adults.

While I have summarised above some of the key drivers for women cash crop farmers, different reasons were given by women for their participation in cash crop farming. These I have categorized into three: the migration effect; the economic effect; and family inheritance. Firstly, in many instances their husband's migration paved the way for the women to become cash crop farmers. Secondly, the greater availability of land for rent due to the retirement of some aged cash crop farmers, and the absence of men to take over the land due to migration invites other women from town apart from those women in Yekemi, to try their hands at cash crop production. Thirdly, some women inherited their farms, either from husbands or parents after their death. Different categories of women's participation in farming were identified during the course of study. Some participate because their husbands are farmers, some due to their background as children of farmers. This is in the case of women who inherited farm lands from their fathers. Others participate due to economic hardship that made them to move from cities to the village, to try their hands at farming to gain a livelihood. Participation of any category was possible due to the availability of land which can be family land, land purchased or land rented, as discussed in chapter four of this thesis. From my findings, all these available avenues make women's participation possible and profitable.

Participation of women in cash crop production in Yekemi is seen as a modern trend by men in the community. According to a male farmer, ‘it makes life easier and it does not stop them from helping you, when you are in need of them’ (Sunday, Cocoa farmer). Women participate in cash crop production as farmers, and the fear of local opinion that normally acts as a deterrent has been removed by the acceptance of men in the community.

Though women’s participation in cash crop production can lead to a greater sense of power, they have to work round the clock to fulfil all their responsibilities. To be a full-time housewife without any other commercial activities in Yekemi village is rare. Women farmers combine subsistence with cash crop farming. Their main source of income is from the cash crops for which the community is known. The cash crops from this village are of high commercial level, namely, cocoa, kola-nuts, and palm oil. Women farmers in this village work hard, with limited or no time for leisure, as there is no off season due to the type of crops they engage in. The season of the crops overlap each other, leaving them with no break or time for engagement with any other types of work. This is the situation with the full- time women farmers. It was equally noted that women farmers in Yekemi participate in investment and building/purchase of houses, both in the village and in their home towns. As explained, there has been an increase in women’s participation in agriculture in Yekemi and this is in line with broader trends;

‘Women in the agricultural workforce is increasing in developing countries, where the proportion of women workers has steadily increased from 38.59 percent in 1950 to 43.83 per cent in 2000 and is predicted to rise to 44.44 per

cent by 2010, whereas in developed countries the proportion of female agricultural workers has declined'. (Momsen, 2010:141)

Despite all the stress in the business, women in cash crop production still prefer it because, by selling their products in bulk, money comes in, in large sums, at particular periods. According to the women, cash crop farming is more profitable for them than petty trading. Some of the obvious benefits associated with cash crop farming include the fact that their engagement in cash crop farming gives them the opportunity to borrow money, either from their customers, cocoa buyers or even within the village, whenever they are in need. Their cash crop farming could be seen as local collateral for borrowing from their customers and cocoa buyers who are sure of having their money back at the end of the sale. Secondly, women's independent participation in cash crop farming in Yekemi grants them control over their produce. Though, hiring of labour adds to the cost of their production, it also gives them power and control. Their empowerment comes from their change of economic status in being able to hire labour for their farm work. There is a class difference in this relationship. The fact that the women are now controlling the labour of these men, portrays a gender class hierarchy. This could be visualised from a hierarchical point of view. Some Yoruba male landowners who are perceived as more powerful than the Yoruba female cash crop farmers have left, and Yoruba women could be perceived to be more powerful than the Gara landless people in some way, because they are hiring them and controlling their labour. The women farmers are also participating in property business, gaining from the presence of the Gara people, by renting rooms to them.

Participation of women in cash crop farming is not without challenges. My research in Yekemi indicates an increased role of females in cash crop farming. However, there is still no disaggregated data in Osun State indicating the degree of women's involvement in cash crop production. This makes women faceless farmers, with no information about their roles in cash crop farming, and with no special attention in terms of farm assistance from government.

An additional problem is that the majority of women in Yekemi are illiterate, and so they could not easily account for the amount of input, to determine the output of their produce. According to them;

we spend money as it comes, which gives no room for proper accountability of expenditure and income (Risi, female cocoa and palm oil farmer)

Another problem is that they do not have information about the current price of their produce, so even when their output is high, they do not have power or knowledge over the price of their produce. This reduces their profit margin. In the case of cocoa, the buyers give the farmers an assumed prevalent rate, but the farmers are not sure of the accuracy of the price. The women farmers narrated their problems and why they need the assistance of the government in their farming activities. One woman lamented that her lack of education has led to problems in her cash crop negotiations. In the history of the village, women have always been working but traditionally, education of the children lies in the hands of the husbands. Whenever the man of the house is unable to provide for his children's education, may be out of respect, timidity, ignorance, or even out of obedience to culture, women have tended to accept the decision of the head of family, even when the women have funds to finance the education. As a result, the majority of the

village children did not go to school in the past. A female participant in a focus group discussion elaborated on this;

‘In those days, mothers do not spend money instead of their husbands. They normally kept their money for their personal use whenever they wanted to buy anything. But we women of today are responsible for virtually everything. So there is no way out if one does not venture into farming. Farming really helps us to make ends meet, especially when it comes to taking care of the children’ (Falilat, Oil Palm farmer)

The discussion went further;

‘The attitude of our mothers who were keeping their money in those days, without boldness to spend on their children was what made people like us not to attend schools. That’s why we are illiterates’ (Falilat, palm oil farmer)

Chorus Response: Yes

However it appears that women who are now cash crop farmers are starting to make different choices with money, for example, educating children, indicating a shift in decision making within the farm households.

Another woman explained;

‘Our mothers’ attitude of not using their money to assist husbands in training their children caused this for us, and we don’t want such thing to happen to our children. The absence of this type of assistance which we are rendering to our husbands in training the children made many of us not to be educated,

because in those days when the father says a child is not going to school because of money, then that's the final. Many people are not educated today, not because they didn't want to go to school, but because there was nobody to sponsor them' (Lolade, female Oil Palm farmer)

From the above reactions, such responses suggest that women's economic independence makes them more conscious of what they now see as the mistakes of past women, who they regard as more passive victims of culture and the patriarchal system. They see their behaviour as submissive to the traditional expectation of the obedient woman, who is expected not to argue with her husband, or go against the husband's will. The present generation of women in Yekemi see this as a retrogressive approach to personal development which must not be encouraged. They are already resisting such generational subordination within their households, in order to have a better plan for themselves and their children. Hence more women utilise the opportunity of availability of land to work (either through renting or purchase) on cash crop farms.

Shifts in traditional norms and divisions of labour

The effects of men's migration could be felt in traditional norms and even in the division of labour. In Yekemi, women's economic activities and their contributions to their households grant them agency and have effects on the gender norms and patriarchal nature of the community. This could be perceived from the changes that are taking place in norms, the language (e.g. women's individualistic expression of ownership) and division of labour, hence in Yekemi, gender norms are changing. This is perceived to have occurred largely as a result of modernization processes that have taken place all over the world, the economic empowerment of women and

the practice of women taking up responsibilities to ameliorate economic hardship within the family. According to a male participant,

‘Change in our village is influenced by modern way of life in the cities ... modernization is taking place everywhere. My wife wants to be known as a successful woman and there is hidden competition in the household of farmers ... let them go ahead, we are still their husbands, they are just making our job easier’ (Jimoh Ali, male cocoa farmer).

From this response, it can be deduced that there is little or no renegotiation of reproductive work, such that women face a double or triple workload while men still enjoy some leisure time. Although Tajudeen, a male machine operator, narrated how he use to assist his wife in preparing the children for school (referenced in chapter four), it could still not be said to have changed the pattern of reproductive work in terms of male participation. This is due to the fact that some of the men are already outside the village and although those who are in Yekemi claim to be assisting their wives, it is not at a significant level. Hence it is not out of place to say women are still fully responsible for reproductive work. As the comment by Ali above suggests, some men seem to welcome women’s earnings, as it reduces men’s economic responsibilities, while they retain their status as household head and still have some ability to govern their wife’s time, as Chant (2006:208) states

Men, on the other hand, despite their lesser inputs, are somehow managing to retain their traditional privileges and prerogatives. This presents a rather puzzling, not to mention worrying, scenario in which investments are becoming progressively detached from rights and rewards, and creating a new and deeper form of female exploitation.

This is in line with Chant's (2008) view of women being in the frontline of ameliorating poverty without much appreciation or recognition of their roles.

Similarly, Deji is also of the view that,

‘women having personal cash crop farms is not traditional, it is an intrusion which is taking away their main responsibility as housewives from them. For whom are we working if not for them? If they still want to make personal money, let them go ahead, once they don't fail in their home responsibilities’
(Deji, male cocoa farmer)

This statement gives the impression that it is men's responsibility to provide for women, who in turn should manage the home front. It is a desire for continuity of the breadwinner ideology or mentality. What could be read from this is that what empowers women could disempower men (Cleaver, 2002). It is one of the expressions by which men cajole women into staying at home, away from enterprise. This statement is equally an expression of a clash in the customs and norms of the society, which is an on-going effect of change. However women in Yekemi have grown to realise that change can be positive.

At the household level, the major roles traditionally associated with women are as mother, wife and home maker. Even in these areas, when there is need for a major decision, she is expected to seek the male head's view. ‘A submissive wife seeks her husband's consent in everything she intends to do’ (Philip, a cash crop farmer). Culturally, men are seen as the head of their homes and expected to be the main decision makers of their households. Men lead in decision making processes, in terms of investments in production, decisions on payments, on costs of production,

and even on some occasions, on the basic needs of the family. Money, position and fame are additional major boosters of power in the rural areas. When all these dwindle, so too does the power associated with them. All these are the fundamental criteria underpinning decision making power in rural communities. For women to have a glimpse of power, they need to possess at least one of these criteria. Culturally, fewer of these qualities are possessed or expected of women, due to their economic status which places them far from the corridors of power. Men without these criteria feel disabled, but do not lose the title of being decision makers, as it is bonded with culture. Male participants of this study are of the view that men have to fulfill expected responsibilities as the head of their homes. The bid to attain this makes them migrate from place to place.

Women of Yekemi also see power as a cultural issue, but one that can be changed by self-empowerment. However, according to some, women are like mere advisers to their husbands in their households, as men are not duty bound to take their suggestions. In Arinola's words

‘traditionally, men are the decision makers, but nowadays some of us take decisions on issues concerning ourselves and the future of our children because we work for our money which we spend on some of these things’
(Arinola, cocoa and palm oil farmer).

Women in this study said traditionally, women are not expected to be involved in decisions that are taken, they are just to be informed of the decisions. However according to women in the focus group discussions, things have changed to some extent. The economic situation has affected household institutions. Women now play important roles, especially in financial matters. The involvement of Yekemi

women in cash crop farming boosts their income, and according to them, they are now able to address financial issues. Simbi a female cocoa farmer emphasized the importance of women's participation in cash crop farming when she said,

‘Our strength is our income from our farm produce, [pause] but the chain system of selling puts us at disadvantage [...] we participate (even though the business is known to be for men) because we realised that there are more gains in it. It is also an opportunity to participate in farming and marketing our produce from it, without relying much on anybody, and above all, our main reason for participating is that we make more gains on it than when we are engaged in petty trading. In the case of palm farming, initially we were only known for processing and final marketing of the product, but now we know that it is better to be in direct control right from farm, as it brings in more gains than just processing and selling’ (Simbi, female cocoa farmer).

Migration of some men out of Yekemi has given some women more opportunities to be either acting or substantial heads of their households, as well as rightful owners of cash crop farmlands, through rental or purchase.

Thus, the level of women's involvement in household decision making is a major achievement of having access to land and of controlling the activities of their own farms. The decision making system has changed due to a change in women's economic status, to a point that some of the women whose husbands have migrated out of Yekemi, claim to be temporary leaders of their households. They claim to be performing men's roles and taking decisions in their husband's absence. According to them, they also participate in decision making at the household level. As Maria explained:

‘In those days, you dare not question your husband’s movement. If he goes and brings another wife, you welcome them. But these days, things are changing. Families jointly take decisions, instead of the husband taking it alone... so he will inform me of some of his plans, but not all’ (Maria, female, Cocoa farmer)

Similarly, Risikat said:

‘I contributed to the money my husband took to town ... when it is money, we are relevant, and our decision is said to be vital on such issue’ (Risikat, female, Cocoa farmer)

This was echoed by Arinola:

‘When you have money, you are relevant.’ (Arinola, female, cocoa and palm oil farmer).

Tosin confirmed her contribution to her husband’s business:

‘I bought a car for my husband for his transportation business in town, from my cocoa business, and he went ahead to marry an additional woman. He cannot request for any assistance from me again, nor raise his voice at me ... I am only to care for my children’s needs’ (Tosin, female, Cocoa and Palm tree farmer)

And this is also similar to Muniru’s view:

‘Our women are strong and hardworking, they help the family in times of need ...we even have women that have built houses ...and everyone in the

village knows of a woman that bought a car for her husband' (Muniru, male, Cocoa farmer)

Women's financial obligations to the family enhance their role in decision making. In terms of decisions over the children's education and care, the women's responses were uniform. They all said they are more or less in charge of the children's welfare because they now earn income from their farms. It was also revealed that in a polygamous household, care of the children lies in the individual mothers' hands. This unevenness between women and men in attending to financial obligations is emphasized by Chant (2008) who argues;

While the burden of household survival has long been widely documented as falling disproportionately on women, the unevenness between women's and men's inputs and their perceived responsibilities for coping with poverty seem to be growing. In some cases, the skew is such that it has reached the point of virtual onesidedness. On top of this, women's mounting responsibilities do not seem to be matched by any discernible increase in rewards or entitlements – whether of a material or non-material nature. The social worth of women's efforts tends to go unacknowledged, robbing them of personal gains, prestige or satisfaction (2008:176-177).

Another issue that was raised in my study is the impact of male migration in reduction of household conflicts and even domestic violence. Although I don't have a great deal of evidence to substantiate this, I feel it is still significant and worthy of mentioning that one woman explained the effect of this on intra- household conflict. According to Arinola,

‘there is no violence or conflict because everybody is busy with their own activities and that has actually reduced any misunderstanding in the house, and especially when the man is not around there is no body to quarrel with...I am the one providing for the family left behind. There is a respect in that regard, so no extended member of the family can quarrel with me [...] I work for my living, and I don’t wait for my husband to take care of my needs... based on this, there is no quarrel in our household’ (Arinola, female, Cocoa and Palm tree farmer)

Though, as stated by Sinha et al. (2012: 64), ‘empowerment is a latent variable that, along with its components, cannot be directly observed or measured’, empowerment can still be studied by investigating gender relations within the household. This comment shows the effect of women’s empowerment. Although it may not eliminate violence in the household, to some extent, it may reduce domestic violence. This can be seen as an advantage of both women participating in cash crop production and the effect of male migration in the community. Women’s involvement in cash crop farming improved women’s power of decision making in the household, and also granted them greater respect and prestige at home and within the wider community. On the whole, women’s involvement in cash crop production is welcomed in Yekemi village. All participants are of the view that women’s visible financial contribution makes life easier than when men alone were seen as main source of livelihood (although women always contributed to household welfare though largely unpaid labour). Men are of the opinion that women’s participation in economic production seriously reduces their family burdens, hence the need for total support from the entire family. Secondly, they are sure that their wives could take care of the home even when they travel, without

needing to wait for their remittance for home maintenance. One man, for example, commented that;

‘She is easily accessible to the family, better than when she has to travel on business trips regularly outside the village. Cash crop farming keeps her at home and it seems she’s making better gains from it as she does not complain about it’(Muniru, male, Cocoa farmer)

Another man supported this view that

‘It seems their involvement carries along with it a kind of boldness, which seem to be a source of encouragement for their work... at any rate, we are still their husbands’ (Akin, male Cocoa farmer)

Though, women claimed that their participation granted them greater respect and prestige at home and within the wider community, it is not without additional burden and responsibilities. Haas et al. (2010) were of the view that the new role is an ‘increase in the tasks and responsibilities ... and should therefore not be equated with emancipation in the meaning of making independent choices against prevailing gender norms’ (2010: 43).

However, the prevailing situation in Yekemi now, is that the women feel happy because they are able to meet their needs and responsibilities to their families and the society at large. The changing role of women in the community is not met completely without some male resistance. Two men in the focus group discussion believed that women in cash crop farming are an intrusion into men’s domain, especially in cocoa farming. But during the course of discussion they later agreed that when there is land they cannot deny them and;

‘it is the modern thing in the village now, women also are now building houses, buying farms’ (Deji, male cocoa farmer)

These men at the same time believe that women’s involvement in farming brings in additional income to the family, it makes women stay in the village to take care of the family, and because of this, it has become more accepted in the Yekemi community.

In Yekemi, economic power of women confers on them some power of dignity in the community as well as in their households. For example, the community sought women’s views on the plan of the new market in the village, and women in Yekemi now have a female representative in the decision making body of this village. Through greater participation in community, we can see gender relations shifting, in terms of both intra- and inter-household relations.

However, despite all these changes, women continue to shoulder their traditional roles. They still take care of domestic work and believe that it is their responsibility to take care of their family, especially their children. However there are a few cases where husbands have got children ready for school when their wives were on their farms.

In short, migration of some men out of the village makes farmland accessible to women. The higher your financial status, the more your power and agency in household decision making and within the wider community. Women of Yekemi are now contesting for change, through their economic activities in cash crop production.

Women as retainers of culture – in terms of endurance, perseverance, and submission

Though women in Yekemi seem to be achieving economic independence and they are major financial contributors to their households, they hold on to household and reproductive labour as their primary responsibilities, hence the need to rise early and sleep late. Men also believe in women fulfilling their cultural responsibilities. Divorce, for example is not common in Yekemi. Most of the women believed that no matter how successful you can be, without a husband, society may not respect you.

Though women in Yekemi are farm owners, either in terms of inheritance, through family farms, or on a rental basis, some of the women still play their roles on their husbands' farms, though not to the same extent as when they were not running their own farms. They nevertheless still spare the time to assist their husbands on their farms. As indicated above, this type of traditional family labour is not readily available for women farmers. In their own case, their husbands on very few occasions would assist them in getting hired labour to assist them in their farms. According to Sifawu, a female palm oil farmer;

Whenever there is work to be done in his farm, I go with him to help him, but there is no need for him to follow me to my farm whenever there is work to be done in my farm. I want to be in charge of my produce. I always contract a labourer for the palm production. Traditionally, it is expected of a wife to help her husband, and my husband not getting involved in my farm activities gives me a sense of full ownership (Sifawu, female palm oil farmer)

Thus whilst we can see that women find empowerment through their husbands not being involved in their cash crop production, they still subscribe to some traditionally gendered aspects of farming, by working also on their husbands' farms as unpaid labour. The women taking part in this study noted still that culture demands that no matter how poor your husband is, as a wife, you have to show respect to him as the perceived head of the household. This 'patriarchal bargain' (Kandoyoti 1998) reflects women's negotiation with culture. This issue has been raised in the gender and development literature. As Mosse (1993:46) similarly argues;

despite the increase in decision making powers within the household and the management of food production, women remain subordinate to their husbands because of dependence on his cash earning (which he may or may not send home) and the rights to the land

However, in a somewhat contrary view to Mosse's rationale above, Yekemi women told me that women's compliance with some traditional gender norms is dictated more by culture and societal expectation than any other benefits from husbands (for example, economic). According to them, this is not due to care, assistance or attention being received from men, but that culture demands that no matter how poor your husband may be, you have to respect him as the head of his household.

Women's work and responsibilities

This section examines the daily programme and routine of female farmers and how this affects their various roles in the community. In the course of the research I discovered that the average woman farmer leaves her home as early as 5am when

dawn is not yet clear and does not return from the farm until 6pm when it is equally getting dark. I discovered this when I scheduled a meeting for 7.00am with the women and none of them could attend it. Some of them even sleep overnight in barns when they have heavy work to do on the farm. During my research, I found going to the farms very useful as it gave me the opportunity to have eye witness accounts of how these rural women work on their farms. Most of our formal meetings had to be scheduled at night when these farmers could be available.

Women said of their labourers that if you hired labour and you are not there on time before their arrival, they will not do much work, and they will collect their pay for a day. The hired labourers work from 7.30am to 4.00pm and at most 5.00pm. If the water for the mixing of the chemical to spray the crops is not ready, they continue to be waiting without doing anything. When it is getting to noon their work will be naturally slow, and lastly, women have to make sure that they work more and talk less; if not, by 4.00pm the hired workers will be planning to go for the day. A woman commented, referring to the hired labourers, that 'morning is the working time'. The spraying role that has been stereotyped as a man's job is also changing. The women commented that there are some women who spray their farms themselves or join the labourers, to reduce the cost, and especially when hired labourers are not available or busy somewhere else. Those who cannot spray it themselves, especially those with big farms, have to engage labourers in the work and have to wait for their turn.

Of their own work they say it takes some time to walk down to farm, that if they don't set it early enough, little will be achieved for the day. When I asked about the time of their breakfast, they all laughed, and a member of the group responded

that most women farmers do not take breakfast at home, and even when at home they rarely eat on time.

On the issue of security for women travelling to and from their farms, often in the dark, on the way to the farms, they said there are many people on the way to and from farms at that time. When it is too dark, lanterns are carried along to serve as light. Another woman commented that during the peak season they stay overnight at the farm, especially for palm tree work.

Before leaving for the farm the women have usually taken care of their children's meal for the day. The children are expected to take care of themselves when they are back from school. During the focus group discussion Funmi, a female palm oil farmer, narrated the way they operate if they have very young children;

‘If it were nursing mothers or a woman whose children are not yet old enough to take care of themselves, she will wake up by 2:00am to start preparing food and she will bathe the children and arrange their uniforms for the father to handle that whenever it's time to leave for school. ... Some people might have children that are old enough to cook by themselves. A person who has a grown up child that can cook does not need to go through much stress before leaving for work. It is the child who will prepare the food, take care of the younger ones and take the mother's food to her at the farm before going to his or her own way’ (Funmi, female palm oil farmer)

This is an interesting development, as both female and male children are trained to take care of household chores. The fact remains that women cash crop farmers, in

the words of OXFAM, ‘juggle obligations, hardships and daily tasks that men do not have’ (2013: 3).

Continuing further on the issue of how women feed on the farm, Risi, a cocoa and palm tree farmer, said ‘for our own daily food, we normally take food to the farm, some people do pack their foods in food flasks, and some people will cook yam in the refinery farm and eat it with palm oil’.

Division of labour within the household depended on family structures. In Yekemi there are both polygamous and monogamous households. Arinola, for example explains how power can be exercised differently across households.

In a polygamous household, each wife takes care of her own children and whenever the husband drops money for food, then they will all feed from the family pot. But in a household where there is love, step brothers and sisters can share food with themselves and you cannot differentiate between them in such a household because there is no discrimination among them. In such setting, any of the wives can cater or feed all the children, though they might not cater for the husband if they feel that he is dodging his responsibility. In a polygamous family, the father too might eat from any of the wives. If she prepares his portion too; that’s when he does give money for food. However if it were a monogamous family, it is compulsory for the father to have his meal prepared as the head of the family. But if it were a polygamous family, if he does not give money, occasionally, the wives may decide not to prepare food for him, the two wives will be watching each other, watching who will offer him food between them. None of them will want to do that because the rival will blame her for encouraging him in his act of irresponsibility. But a

wife will endure it quietly if it were a monogamous home. If he has only one wife, the wife will be managing things and nobody will know anything (Arinola, cocoa and palm oil farmer).

Grace, a female palm oil farmer expressed the view that many women still bear their burden as expected in the community. This is a reflection of the cultural and societal expectation of women. She is of the view that when a husband shows too much interest in his wife's farm work, Yekemi society may see such a husband as a lazy man who depends on his wife to survive. Awawu complements this view:

‘There is a limit to a husband's assistance in his wife's farm ... If a wife has a palm oil refining work, it is her right and duty to finish it herself. The husband may not assist her. If he does, society may say the wife has hypnotized him. Secondly, a man with two wives cannot assist one wife without assisting the second wife when his help is required’ (Awawu, Female, palm oil farmer)

Nevertheless, women's greater involvement in farming does not preclude most of their domestic roles of cooking and cleaning. They are usually the last person to go to sleep at night and the first to rise in the morning. After leaving the farm around 6pm, as it grows darker they still have to cook dinner for the family and begin household tasks when they return home.

Moreover, the cultural gendered norms of the Yorubas are still upheld in many agricultural practices. A cultural norm in the farming of palm trees in Yorubaland is that women are not allowed to climb palm trees. Seeing men in the traditional

processing of palm oil is also regarded as absurd, as this is regarded as women's work.

Case studies of farm acquisition by women in Yekemi

A study of women's agricultural activities in Yekemi highlights some of the gender issues involved in the study of women and their involvement in agriculture. The experiences, coupled with the societal expectations, were the reasons given for women's shift from petty trading to cash crop farming.

Women make agriculture (labour that men have often abandoned) viable through their resilience, patience and their vision of it as a way to secure landed property. There is an attitudinal difference between the men, most of whom are said to be more interested in quick money, and the women, who are perceived as more patient and ready to wait for the returns of agricultural proceeds. I would suggest that the women I encountered were more realistic in making use of existing resources as opposed to those men who ventured into unknown territory, drawn by the lure of the city.

Case Study 1

Tosin is a 42 year old Yoruba female farmer who moved from petty trading to cash crop production after her marriage. She narrated how she was unable to break even in her petty trading in town before a friend invited her to Yekemi. She is a woman with three children and the only wife of her husband, before she joined farming. Later, after she became involved in farming, her husband married another woman. She narrated how she gradually became a farm owner in Yekemi. She started by combining her petty trading with palm oil processing. The latter is seasonal in

nature. Her direct involvement made her realise how profitable farming activities are, though highly demanding. Realising how profitable it is with mere processing and selling, she opted for renting a palm tree farm. This allowed her to be in total control of palm production. She explained that everybody knows your worth in petty trading and they know you are not credit worthy if you mismanage your capital. In her view, this is not so in farming, especially in cash crop farming. No matter how much you mismanage your capital, you only need to wait until the next season to get back on track. Such a situation in petty trading would amount to total closure. More importantly, there is a possibility to borrow money from your customers in lieu of the sale of farm produce. Realising this benefit, she discussed the possibility of renting a palm tree farm with one of the elders in the community who eventually acted as an intermediary for the renting of the farm. Initially she was sharing the farm with the farm owner who was working on cocoa while she worked on palm trees. She later learnt that the man was moving to town and was looking to rent his farms. She and the farm owner went into agreement on mode of payment for the farm, with each producing a witness to complete the agreement. She explained that the payment was based on the quantity of the produce and this enabled her to combine cocoa farming with palm oil farming. This encouraged her shifting completely away from petty trading to farm work fully. She narrated how she was able to manage the farm with the help of her farm labourers. She explained that there is no way you can singlehandedly farm without the help of labourers, for example climbing trees to harvest palm fruits is in the jurisdiction of men labourers. Men also dominate the spraying of cocoa with pesticides. Women labourers dominate other areas of farm work such as fetching water for spraying cocoa, weeding, transporting produce on head from the farms to the processing centres. She claimed that

availability of Gara men made her work a bit easier. The men assisted in palm fruit harvesting and spraying of cocoa. She could not give an accurate estimation of her returns, but she said that she is always re-investing the profits in acquiring more rented farms. Although she has not built a house, she can claim to be a farm owner as she bought a farm. She was also able to afford a car for a taxi business for her husband. Above all, her children are schooling in the town nearby. They are living with her sister's family. Though this arrangement is costly, it was the best for the children. She explained that out of her profits in cocoa business she bought a car for transportation business for her husband, to be used in town, so that the children could stay with him but to her disappointment, the man married another woman. This led to her withdrawal of the children as she said she could not be feeding him and his new wife. Part of the reason why she cannot leave farming is because she has access to credit from costumers regularly. Although creditors dictate their price at the end of the season for women who borrow from them, it is better than being helpless when seriously in need. This accords her a lot of respect in the village, as men in the village refer to her as an example of hard working women. This respect accorded her boosts her morale and confirms her integrity. In her view, ownership gives her confidence and dignity in the society. Although the work is strenuous, she prefers it to petty trading.

Case Study 2

Risikat is a Yoruba female cocoa farmer, who grew up in Yekemi village. She has been participating in farming since she was young. She is 59 years old with six children, and the first wife of the two wives of her husband. She narrated how she empowered herself after marriage. She explained that during her younger days one

of the ways to show you are progressing in the village is to trade in towns and cities. She said though her husband is from the village, he longed to join other men working in the nearby town. This made her and her husband to move from Yekemi village to town where she was selling female shoes and the husband was working as a company security guard. She returned to the village after 8 years when her business was not progressing as expected. She started her personal farming by renting a palm tree farm. This did not require cash payment as she paid with farm produce. She could not access her parent's farm land because it was their only source of livelihood then. Working there could have resulted in her working for the family, which would limit her authority over the farm. Even if she was allowed, other children of the family have to be remunerated as the farm belongs to all of them. The only available choice then was to rent a farm to save herself from family tussle. Her major expense was the payment of farm labourers who were working for her. To solve the problem she combined selling of shoes with farming in the village. Gradually she left the shoe business and turned completely to the farming business. Today she is an owner of a farm and even gave out the palm trees on the farm out for rent, after choosing to work on cocoa. She made it known that from her farm business she was able to assist her husband when he lost his job in town. Though her husband married a second wife, she said she is happy to be economically independent, and that all her children know her worth. She talked about the old system of farming in the community and the type of community assistance that was available then, which made maintenance of big farms easy for the farmers in rural areas. This has been replaced with hired labour. She was able to compare her present form of farming to her parents' days. She recollected that they were many in her family and it was children's responsibility to follow their parents

to farms, even if they had no role to play. She said that farming in those days was more interesting. Today she employs the migrant labourers to work for her in her farm as cocoa farming requires the service of both genders. The only period when she employs male labourers is during spraying of cocoa. Women labourers join her in fetching water, packing and gathering, pod cutting and bean packing. When it comes to transportation to the village, she employs the service of motorbikes [men who ride motorbikes and carry produce] . She said it is more profitable for her to give out the palm tree work for rental, so that she can concentrate on cocoa. In her view, the presence of the Gara people for farming activities in the village makes women's participation in farming easier. She jokingly remarked that she also is an employer of labour now, unlike when she was trading in shoes in town. She said the presence of the second wife does not disturb her, though initially when it first happened she felt betrayed and disappointed. She said she has got over that shock long ago. She narrated her experience in the cocoa business, stating that cocoa farming is not for lazy people, because it demands serious monitoring. She said if one pod is bad and no attention is paid on time to it, it will affect the rest. For this reason to make a meaningful gain you have to be 'on your toes'. She involved her last born child as the keeper of records of her produce. She explained that the cocoa market fluctuates and makes projections difficult. She said she was happy to have made the decision to return to the village. As of today she has her own house which she gave out on rent to farm labourers in the village. She now has multiple sources of income – from house rent, farm rent and from her cocoa business. She is thus able to accommodate the demands of her children and grandchildren with ease. Apart from this, she is respected in the village and referred to as a hardworking woman.

Case Study 3

The joy of being an only wife could be felt in Arinola's expression

Arinola, a Yoruba woman is 39 years of age. She resides in Yekemi permanently with her husband, 3 children and 2 dependants. She is the only wife of her husband. According to her, her parents moved to Yekemi for cash crop farming, and since then they have been in Yekemi, only visiting their home town once a year during Christmas. In the case of her family, Yekemi is home as she celebrates every other festival with her children in Yekemi. Her children are schooling in the village. She knows about farming, being a member of the community. Before marriage and for some years after marriage, she was known as a raw foods vendor, selling foods like rice, beans, yam-flour, dry fish, vegetable oil, etc. - those foods that are not produced in the community. With the size of her family, she realised that as her responsibilities increase, income from food vending was not enough to take care of the family. She claims that though her husband contributes to the money for house keep, she bears the major part of the expenses. Being the only wife, she has to uphold the integrity of her husband as people see him as a responsible man in the village.

Though Arinola's parents are still in the village with two of her siblings taking care of her parent's farm, it is still her duty to take care and respond to the needs of her parents and siblings, being the first born of the family. All these led her to combine trading with farming which enabled her to live up to her responsibilities. Arinola narrates how she cares for her in-laws too who are also in the village. Though Arinola and her family have moved to their own house and no longer live together with her in-law, it is still their responsibility to see to their welfare because her husband is also the first born of his family. This makes him to be partially

responsible for the wellbeing of his siblings. She is of the view that the responsibilities of her immediate family, the expectations of her extended family, and that of her in-laws could only be met by adding farming to her petty trading. With all these responsibilities, she realised that her food business is gradually turning to be for home consumption. She then added farming activities to the food vendor business. She explained that cash crop farming is so demanding and making a meaningful profit out of it requires personal dedication. This robs her of proper monitoring of her petty trading. She eventually closed down the petty trading. It was not convenient for her to be shuttling between farm and the village during farming season. In her view, ‘when you are not there to take care of your business, nobody can be you in your business’. She rented a whole farm comprising of palm trees, cocoa and few kola nut trees. Her main focus remains on cocoa and palm tree farming. She engages the Gara farm labourers in spraying of her cocoa and climbing of the palm trees. She equally employs female labourers to join her during the harvesting and processing period. Palm tree farming is demanding, not only during processing but also before processing – there is always need to clear the weeds and trim the branches of the palm tree if you want it to fruit well. Though she is the only wife of her husband, they do not practise joint purse or joint farming. She decided to rent farm as a personal business. She said her husband farms on some part of the family land and bought few additional acres of land for cocoa farming. The importance associated with urban employment enticed him to leave the village for town to work as a factory worker. Working in town is seen as advancement by young men in the village. Presently the husband combines farming with urban work. He only works on cocoa and comes around briefly to attend to it during its season. She believes that it accords her family respect in the community, especially when you are

able to make more profits. Upon all these sources of income for her husband, Arinola's income is still very important for daily running of her household. She assists her husband financially in his business and contributes greatly to domestic expenses. In her view, the presence of Gara people helped a lot in the village, with young members of the village moving to town for paid work or other businesses. In accounting for her profit from farming, accurate account could not be stated but she was happy to say that she has built a house in the village for rent. Caring for her children was made easy with the availability of the two grandparents in the village. She works round the clock because of the over lapping season of cocoa and palm tree farming.

Conclusion

One of the major reasons for migrating out of Yekemi is the lack of a modernized / mechanized farming system. Traditional farming continues to operate in Yekemi village, with the main tools still being the hoe and cutlass. According to the farmers, Yekemi people do not have access to government inputs and have not as yet benefited from the Farmer Field Schools Programme of the Osun state government, which I was informed of, during my visit to the commissioner's office at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security for Osun State, in Oshogbo the state capital. Women's aspiration for better future for their children is one of the major motivators for their participation in cash crop farming. Their resilience and zeal to make the ends meet is a source of encouragement to operate and make viable an agriculture that young men are stepping out of through rural-urban migration. Different levels of women participation were studied, revealing their status at different levels. During the course of this research I found that due to the

poor condition of the road that leads to the village, the agricultural extension officers in charge cannot reach Yekemi. Agricultural (Green Revolution) inputs like high yielding seedlings for both cocoa and palm trees, which are things that are in the programme of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security in Osun State, do not reach the village. Although the Ministry claimed to have started the distribution of inputs, the people of Yekemi are yet to benefit from it. None of their agricultural inputs are purchased from government sources. Yekemi is one of the villages that are still expecting the touch of government for their community development. Nchuchuwe and Adejuwon view rural development to be a 'process whereby concerted efforts are made in order to facilitate significant increase in rural resources productivity, with the central objective of enhancing rural income and creating employment opportunity in rural communities for rural dwellers to remain in the area' (2012:48).

In Yekemi, as men have migrated to the cities and towns, the women have taken up responsibilities in cash crop production which had hitherto been an almost exclusive preserve of men. The chapter examines the gender division of productive, reproductive and community management work and explicitly studied both genders' roles in cash crops production in Yekemi (cocoa, palm trees and kola nut). The chapter establishes that training opportunity for women cash crop farmers will go a long way in enhancing their productivity. The impact of women participation in terms of empowerment was analysed. As women have made money in production, their economic status has improved. This in turn has also affected their social status in both their homes and in the community. There is shift in traditional norms and division of labour. Now they can take decisions which they could not

take before. Since Nigeria is a capitalist-oriented economy where money talks, the women gain new recognition and live better lives.

Women's participation in cash crop production in Yekemi has challenged the dominance of men in cash crop production, and in so doing, raised women's economic and social status, both within their households and in the wider community.

Whilst women still take responsibility for domestic labour, and still subscribe to traditional notions of the husband as symbolic head of the households, they now have a greater control over household matters. This is particularly the case in terms of the education of their children which they see as vital in improving their children's own social and economic advancement.

By hiring male Gara labour, we can also observe shifts in the women's class positions. Through necessity, women have had to hire labour on their farms, giving them the status of employers. That the labour most commonly hired is male labour from Gara community means that women's elevated position also has gender and ethnic implications, as discussed in the next chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 6

Market Access and Commercialization of Cash Crops in Yekemi

Introduction

This chapter explores three further issues that are important to complete my gender analysis of cash crop production in Yekemi. The first is the process of selling of the cash crop produce. The second is the issue of pay, and the interesting dynamics surrounding differential pay rates for the farm labourers (gender and skill), and the justifications given for this. The third element incorporates the mechanization and the increasing commercialization of cash crop production in Yekemi, and the role of the government in the agricultural development process. By looking at Yekemi at a critical point in time when women are visible in cash crop commercialization, it is my view that this provides an exciting and interesting example of women being able to take control of mechanization and commercialization of agriculture. On the other hand, with the development of mechanization and its attendant benefits, there is the possibility that men will reassert their dominance in cash crop farming and make moves to marginalize women. This could turn out to be an end to this beautiful dynamic of women taking greater power and control over something previously known to be men's area of operation in agriculture.

Women's entrance into full-time commercialization of cash crop production in Yekemi puts 'the myth of the masculine market' (Hamilton et al., 2000) for cocoa especially into question. This is because traditionally in Yekemi, only men participate in the commercialization of cash crops. Today, despite women's increased involvement in cash crop farming, men still try to retain overall authority

and maintain patriarchal structures in the village. There are no documents to reflect women's contribution to cocoa production, both at the local and even at the state level, and the productive contribution of female cocoa farmers receives inadequate attention. However, from research in Yekemi it is clear that women's contribution is significant, as majority of women are now participating in cash crop production. The commercialization of cash crop production in rural areas for global markets keeps the situation in rural areas dynamic, with both positive and negative effects on the community. The situation is not static in nature and it has different effects on both genders in rural areas. It should be noted that exportation of cocoa in Nigeria starts from the contribution of individual rural farmers and for any increase in productivity, rural farmers should be encouraged.

This chapter critically appraises the situation and the present position of women in Yekemi who are fully participating in cash crop production and how they are challenging the existing process. I shall be looking at the credit facilities, the differential pay rates, the debate about gender and skill and the likely effects of mechanization in the village, and on women especially.

Selling cash crops in Yekemi

In Yekemi, farmers still use traditional methods of farming. They are yet to embrace mechanized farming. According to the women in focus group discussions, the modern high yielding seedlings can only be planted when there is a need for the replacement of the old trees that die. Embracing high yielding varieties of cash crops farming may be difficult due to the fact that Yekemi people are yet to be reached or involved in government agricultural programmes. They could not benefit from the government programmes that promote high yielding seedlings and disease

control in crops. There are several reasons why these farmers are yet to embrace the new high yielding varieties of cocoa and palm oil to increase their productivities. Firstly, the period for new cocoa and palm oil plants (the high yielding seedlings) to grow and be ready for harvesting makes it difficult for rural farmers to replant or replace the old cocoa trees with new ones. They depend on the produce for their livelihood, so total uprooting of old trees cannot be done, as they will have nothing to rely on for sustenance. Changing to high yielding seedling means ‘folding hands’ (waiting) for another 5 to 7 yrs., which could be economically suicidal. Secondly, the farmers explained that it requires a lot of money to do so, which has to be personally financed. Thirdly, according to the farmers, high-yielding seedlings are not easy to come by. Fourthly, such changes would require more attention in terms of maintenance, the cost of material inputs, pest and disease management and planting of other plants to shade the new ones. Obviously it would also require time to adjust to new seedlings.

Yekemi as a village has its own internal market for selling some of their farm produce. They have customers from all parts of the country. People from the northern part of the country patronize their palm oil and kolanut market, and those people are familiar with the arrangement of the market day. Their buyers sell the produce to local retailers while the northerners usually transport it to the north as major distributors to other sellers of the produce, who will then sell on a retail basis to the consumers. Women are more or less the sole farmers of the palm oil produce and even kolanut in Yekemi. They are also the main marketers of these two products.

Method of selling cash crops in Yekemi

The method of buying and selling of cocoa in Yekemi is different from that of other produce as the transaction is done not in such an open market like other cash crops. The negotiation is usually in the control of the buyers, as external buyers come individually to the village to buy it when it is in season. Cocoa commercialization has a unique way of marketing. It is more or less a one-to-one relationship between the buyer and the seller. According to Risikat, a female cocoa farmer in Yekemi;

‘In the process of selling, the buyer makes it a personal thing. Though there may be a price that is announced in the village, when it comes to your sale, the price may not be the same again. We are told the newspaper or internet is the one announcing the price and they know we cannot read it, so we are at their mercy’ (Risikat, female cocoa farmer).

When both the female and male cocoa farmers narrated the process of selling their produce, it seemed that the process is uniform, in that the intermediary buyers often impose their prices on farmers, regardless of gender. However, in the course of my interviews and focus group discussions some gender issues were raised. According to the women farmers in the study, the buyers are the ones who rate the quality of the produce with their quality indicating instrument, which will state the level of dryness and the general quality of the produce. Whatever they say the grade is, determines the amount to be paid to the farmers. In such a situation, women feel helpless to negotiate. Some men remarked during their focus group discussion that they felt cocoa farming is not a woman’s area of operation. Though each household benefits from the gains associated with women’s participation in cash crop production (to which both male and female members of focus group discussions

attested) men still want to retain their dominance of the cocoa business. This could be perceived from men's response to some issues pertaining to women in the cash crop business. As one of the male farmers commented – 'ayojuran lasan ni' (women are just intruders in the business). This actually demonstrates Fairbank et. al's findings that 'women entering into male-dominated or 'masculine' arenas reported additional issues of male resistance to their 'encroachment' into male domains' (2007:75).

Another comment along this line was that 'emi ni moni ko jeki omiran ninu awon obinrin mo idi oja' – (that is, an attitude of 'I am the owner of my trade' does not allow some women to know the intricacy of the business). The men are of the view that women seem to be secretive about their cash crop business, that they do not carry their husbands along with them, and so definitely the buyers will just use it as an opportunity to exploit them, just because the women farmers want to be independent and make everything personal. Even though women are the ones doing the farming, men still feel that women should see them as relevant instruments when it comes to negotiation and selling of their produce. However, women are of the view that even though they might be cheated because they do not know the intricacies of the way the bargaining is done, and might be perceived to have less power in that negotiation process than male farmers, they are still willing to take that risk of being exploited in order to retain control of that process of selling and control of their business. They would not allow their husbands or male family members to come in and take over, and possibly take control of their cash crop production. The women want to ensure they maintain control of their own economic activities in cash crop production. This could be seen in the response of Tosin to the question on how women negotiate prices of their produce:

We cannot bargain like the men will do, but we too still make our gains. We will learn on the job (Tosin a cocoa and palm tree farmer).

This was further complemented by Arinola who said

if we do not negotiate by ourselves, we will continue to depend on our husbands for the sale and they will take over the aspect of sales, and be in control of the produce (Arinola a cocoa and palm tree farmer).

Women in Yekemi narrated their experiences of selling their produce, explaining in focus group discussions that when men in the village are in charge of cocoa production, they have buyers who will deposit money for the produce even in advance, so that the farmer will not sell it to other buyers. This advance payment enables them to take care of their cocoa farm and this always results in higher productivity. This is not the case with the women in cocoa farming. Women do not have such opportunity of advance payment. They use their personal money to cultivate their cocoa for marketing and in a situation when they borrow money from buyers, the buyers will dictate the price and mode of payment, which in most cases are done with the produce of the farm. Whatever the mode of payment, they are at the mercy of the buyer. So for women 'to persist in a male-dominated environment can require a great deal of confidence and determination' (Fairbank et al., 2007:74).

From these accounts of women's experiences in the business, it is clear that some gender issues exist in the commercialization of agricultural produce, especially that of cocoa. Above all, from men's response to the selling method of cocoa, it could be perceived that men still feel that women, while being the owners of their

produce, should still involve men in the sale, especially of their cocoa. So despite women's involvement, men still feel it is their duty to exert some authority. Moreover, from the satirical songs sung by the women during the sendforth ceremony to mark the end of the field study, it is obvious that there is a kind of hidden rivalry in the business. Songs such as 'Cocoa yin o ni so, cocoa yin o ni so, eyin to riwa lokere to roju koko, cocoa yin o ni so' refers to those who are not happy with women's participation in cash crop farming. The song literally means 'those who are not happy with women's participation ... their cocoa will not bud'. With this they are saying if you do not support female cocoa farmers, you will suffer because we are enhancing the economic gain of the entire village, not just for us, it is your interest to support us, and if you do not support us, your crop will not be as good either because we have to work together.

Certain important issues perpetually keep women away from knowing the intricacy of the cash crop business, and this affects their negotiating ability. The low education of most of the women farmers is a principal causative factor. It inhibits their capabilities since those who are illiterate or semi illiterate are unable to read the latest information about their business and the market prices their crop attracts.

Another important issue here is men often want to come into the business at the point they feel should be men's area of operation, when there is a need to bargain with external (male) stakeholders, since it is believed that men have the power to dominate the bargaining exercise. It is my fear that when the benefits of commercialization eventually set in, through the intervention of government or its agents, men who had hitherto abandoned the business may want to stage a comeback and try to push the women farmers of Yekemi aside. This is because,

despite women's dominance of the cash crops trade, men have still not relinquished their feelings of authority and control there. The younger women in the cash crop production are resisting this. They want to continue to be in control of their business, an opinion expressed during a focus group discussion. For example, as Tosin a cocoa and palm tree farmer said;

our men, whether they have money on them or not will always say that there is no money. I must be in charge of my money too. We are manly in capability, it's just that we are created as women, but we are manly in all ramifications. We would have been wearing trousers in the village just as we do in the farms and in the refinery, but for the community's custom which does not allow it (Tosin a female cocoa and palm tree farmer).

Grace (another cocoa farmer) narrated why it is important for women to be in charge of their cocoa business;

My daughter was sent home for examination fee. Her father put up a bold face before cunningly running away from home that day. She came to meet me at the refinery crying. I could not bear it any more when people started telling me that they saw my child crying on her way to the refinery. I had to run around for the money. If I am not in charge, it will seem as if I am not working. How can I allow a man who could not help me in the farm because of 'what people will say' to come in when I am trading my produce? It is better for him to stay back so that 'people will not talk' (Grace cocoa farmer)

Fischer and Qaim's (2012) view on commercialization of agriculture is that

With the commercialization of agriculture, women are increasingly disadvantaged because of persistent gender disparities in access to productive resources. When new marketing or technological opportunities emerge, farm production is often centralized under men's control. This can have negative implications for women's ability to generate income as well as for overall household welfare. Farmers' collective action, which has recently received renewed policy attention as a mechanism to improve access of small farms to markets and technologies, could potentially accelerate this trend (Fischer and Qaim, 2012:14).

Some of these patterns of gendered experiences in community development and participation which I found in Yekemi are not singular experiences, they can be related to other experiences elsewhere. For example, the processes of public participation in community development in Bolivia as documented by Clisby (2005) could also be likened to Yekemi women's situation. Though the research is not based on agriculture, it is similar in the sense that the community development process that women had been doing and controlling when there was little status or little chance of political gain in it, was hijacked by men when government intervened in it. Through the Law of People Participation (LPP) in Bolivia, money was allocated to the community by government for development purposes. Men suddenly jumped in, and claimed to be interested in community development. So according to Clisby (2005) as much as this process was a

groundbreaking force for enhanced citizenship, democratisation, and much needed community development, [...] the LPP fell short of its potential to effectively mainstream gender into the political processes, for two key

reasons. First, there was a lack of attention paid to gendered analyses of both practical and strategic barriers to women's participation at the policy level. Second, there was a failure to provide adequate and systematic capacity building to facilitate women's participation at local and regional levels. As a result, rather than encouraging women's greater participation and decision making, the LPP has in some cases had the reverse effect of pushing women out of local spaces in which they were previously involved in community development (Clisby, 2005: 23 - 24).

As soon as resources were there, and men had a direct access from the community to the national political level, and to power, men took over to control the process and pushed women out. When it comes to money and power, men are likely to see it as their responsibility to be at the helm of decision making.

With some male farmers' comments on women's involvement in cash crop farming, the possibility of women encountering such a situation similar to the example Clisby (2005) found in Bolivia may not be totally ruled out when government intervention comes in.

Cagley and Klawitter's (2009) study of gender and cropping on rice, in sub-Saharan Africa also reveals similar findings to those of Clisby (2005) in Bolivia. This study also reveals that when pump irrigation was introduced for women in rice cultivation in Gambia and irrigation systems done for women in Burkina Faso, men took them over. According to them;

In The Gambia in 1984, rice was considered a woman's crop, so introducing pump irrigation was expected to raise yields and increase income for

women. Women were even given priority in land registration, in an attempt to keep women's control of the land. However, when yields improved under the new irrigation scheme, men took over control of the land. In Burkina Faso, women traditionally cultivated and controlled both the household and personal inland fresh water swamp rice crops, and passed their land rights down to daughters. However, after an irrigation system was introduced, control was transferred to men and inheritance rights were transferred to sons. (Cagley and Klawitter 2009: 1 - 2)

Returning to Yekemi, in the case of information about terms of the ruling price in the market for cocoa, the buyers are the suppliers of the ruling price, and Yekemi farmers are the price takers. According to my findings, there is no association for monitoring the market price for the products. Secondly, the poor economic situation of the village makes them vulnerable to poor prices. This is also the case for palm oil marketing. The farmers have little or no power to decide the price of palm oil as the buyers come with the ruling prices in the market which mostly do not favour women farmers in Yekemi. If some farmers insist on a price there will be others who will be willing to sell below the price due to their urgent need for money.

The importance of cash crop farming to Yekemi women

The women who took part in this research project tended to view their participation in visibly productive work as an essential and major way of fighting poverty. In their view, no woman in the village sits back at home, waiting for her husband to meet all her needs. The village culture does not even give room for such an attitude. Falilat, a palm oil farmer remarked that 'such a woman will be named 'Alabodo' –

a woman, fed for the purpose of sex. Women need to be economically engaged, in order to be respected in the village’.

From the above comment, we can see the positive and powerful processes of work women are doing in order to be recognized as being productive in the public sphere. What is not recognized however is the key work women have always been doing in the reproductive sphere, which is indirectly productive.

For female farmers, the major gender issues identified during the study, as mentioned earlier, are information and negotiation problems. Another is the absence of credit facilities. Female farmers tend to have more limited opportunities for obtaining credit from cocoa buyers than their male counterparts, in part attributed to the uncertainty of the value of their future agricultural capital, but also linked to normative gender constructs which can place women in a more precarious position in the ‘male’ world of cash crop production. As Rai (2004) pointed out, gender-based distortions take the form of information constraint, negotiation constraint, monitoring constraint and enforcement constraint. All these play major roles in women’s participation in cash crop commercialization. Women mostly rely on secondary information due to their not having a direct link with the final buyers of their produce. Additionally, they are usually not literate, thus limiting their access to market information about their produce. Whatever the buyer quotes is assumed to be the price. When it comes to negotiation for the sale of their produce, their low levels of literacy play a major limiting role in their negotiations, hence they remain as price takers from their buyers.

Moreover, monitoring constraint is a major issue for both genders in Yekemi. A male cocoa farmer narrated how he was almost cheated in terms of the amount of

cocoa beans supplied to buyers. A buyer recorded correctly the quantity supplied but because he knows that it was not noted by the farmer, when it came to payment the recorded quantity changed. The farmer was lucky to have taken his son with him when he was going to supply the produce. The son noted the amount of quantity supplied and this assisted in putting the record straight. Women are of the opinion that if men, who have been in the business for a long time, could face such a situation with the buyers, one could imagine what women could be facing. Enforcement constraints also occur in their business transaction because they cannot enforce their own prices on the buyers.

Social capital and informal networks in cash crop production in Yekemi

Gendered networks and social capital determine how fast men and women receive information about their farm activities. A key issue is that the norms that shape the social interaction within the village do not encourage women to interact freely with other people as men do. This creates a major information constraint for women in Yekemi, in that information reaches men faster than women in cocoa farming, and the men have knowledge of which buyers are better, due to their long interaction with them. There is a longstanding informal network among men in cash crop production that does not exist amongst women. Women have come into a commerce that has been previously dominated by men. Even though in Yekemi the women are now in the majority in cocoa farming, the men who have stayed in it have those networks already in place, and they are able to use these to their benefit. Thus, men gain better knowledge through their social capital, having established over a long period of time, wider informal male networks of social relations, and through this social capital comes economic advantage. Culturally, men have the

opportunity to settle and negotiate, talk and gain information about current practices, about changes in chemical use, changes in seed varieties and other important information useful for their farming activities. There is much acceptable informal, discursive social contact going between male farmers and male buyers and other men within that wider chain of agriculture- a commercial network which women culturally could not have built up. This was observed during the focus group discussion among men to support the view that men should be in charge of the final sales of cocoa produce. Suleiman, a male cocoa farmer, asked rhetorically ‘do you see that women cannot negotiate well for prices, the way we men do?’ This could also be established by the fact that during relaxation periods, while men chat about their activities (through which they gain a lot of information from each other) women spend the time to cook for their families in their individual barns. The structure of the cocoa farming is very isolating and women are often physically separated during the period. They do not have opportunities for day-to-day social interaction while at work on the farms.

Access to information is also influenced by migration. The social capital accruable to migration networks is different for women cash crop farmers in Yekemi. Men are the main buyers and exporters of cocoa and it is easy for migrated men of Yekemi to interact with other men in the business in town or where they are. The information the migrated women might share with the other women in cash crop farming might be a different kind of knowledge that is not related to cash crop production for example, it might be knowledge about the price of other goods that are not available in the village or how best to buy a shop in town or the latest moving business in town. Though, this is good information, it is not relevant to the sale of their cash crops.

Men often access the right information that is relevant to their activities and at the moment women are not able to do that as they have not established these networks. This is a deeper gender issue: social norms dictate that, as women are not allowed to establish such networks with strange men. If there were women among the buyers and the other people within the wider commercial chain of cash crops, then that would have given women in cash crop farming the opportunity to interact with other women in the chain of cash crop commercialization and they could have established female dominated social networks and raise their social capital in that sense. But in the present situation, there are no female exporters or even buyers and they are not permitted to establish such social network with outsiders because of the gender norms and boundaries around appropriate behaviour for women and men.

Lastly, men are able to come together and coordinate for political and community development. They have a leisure time to meet in the evening for social interaction, while women do not really have that leisure time because of their reproductive and productive work. They have little or no space to do that. Women do have their areas of social network, but they are different. In most cases it is around work, such as when washing in the stream, or purchasing things in the market for home use. Also, during palm oil processing, women come to work together and there is conversation and informal interaction.

These issues in Yekemi have resonance elsewhere in wider global contexts. Returning to Clisby's (2005) study in Bolivia, for example, we find some common links. Although the issues are not exactly the same, they are nevertheless related. According to Clisby (2005) Bolivian women have less access to community decision-making and therefore less direct access to power, because the meetings

were held in the evenings when men have recognized leisure time. Women do not attend those meetings because they do not have recognized leisure time. Time poverty of Yekemi women can also limit their access to wider interactions in relating to cash crop production. Hence the experiences of both genders are different in terms of relationship with the buyers and other people within the commercial chain.

Some men who I interviewed are of the opinion that women's bid to make the income generated from their produce personal (in other words to not involve their husbands) makes them fall victim to buyers. According to Deji a male cocoa farmer,

‘... because women do not want their husbands to interfere in their business, they make themselves victims of exploitative buyers, and so our women continue losing money to outsiders’.

Secondly, men are aware that both the buyer and the seller are into this business together so they have a better way of handling each other and do not put themselves at the complete mercy of the buyers as they believe women do. There is a hidden negotiation, they feel, that is known to men which women are yet to learn. In the aspect of the monitoring of the selling process, the measuring scale in use is assumed to be understood by every seller and buyer. According to Suleiman, a male cocoa farmer

Women think negotiation for price is so easy, we and the buyers are men, we know how to handle ourselves, and we can afford to be free with ourselves’.

However the way and manner in which the produce is weighed and recorded, using specific technical equipment which are under the control of the buyers can open up possibilities of misuse or even deliberate misrepresentation of the genuine value of their cocoa produce. In addition, the naturalizing discourses around the technical equipment being perceived as too complicated for women to understand, puts them at a disadvantage, as it is simply perceived that only male buyers understand it and they like to maintain that area of mystification. This relates to underpinning naturalizing discourses around men's and women's differential technical abilities. Although women are used to using some complicated mechanisms (such as the sieves that they construct to separate remnants from oil produced for cooking) during their reproductive and productive activities, they do not have free access to this particular technical equipment. This makes it to seem complicated. The nature of credit facilities experienced by male and female farmers is also different. Creditors dictate their price at the end of the season for women who borrow from them, while according to Philip, a male cocoa farmer, men always try to reach an agreement with the creditors on the method of payment. In most cases, as Tosin, a female cocoa and palm oil farmer commented during the focus group discussion, creditors enforce their terms on women, which is one of the major ordeals women are facing in the business.

A cooperative society where loans could be obtained does not presently exist in Yekemi. In some situations, women farmers have to borrow money from their cocoa buyers, if the buyers are willing to lend to women, to pay their labourers, to be able to meet the sale, while those labourers for the palm oil often wait for women to sell their produce in the five-day market before they are paid. Credit would also be beneficial in other circumstances, since an increase in productivity

requires more money and other inputs. For example, cash crop farming requires money for maintenance, and if maintenance needs are not met, it could have serious effects on the productivity of the farmer which in turn affects their income.

The chain of buyers from farmer to the exporter is a long one. At each level there is an intermediary person. Major export agents liaise with internal agents who in turn distribute money to major cocoa sellers in cities, who have connections with those in towns who are closer to the local buyer. The local buyer is expected to reach the rural buyer who knows those farmers who engage in the cocoa production. This process of reaching the main producer has an effect on the income of the farmer, with each link in the chain taking their cut of the profits.

Interesting dynamics surrounding differential pay rates for the farm labourer

In chapter 6, I explored labour issues and here I develop this discussion to focus more specifically on gender disparity in the payment of labour. As outlined earlier in this chapter, cash crop farming is embraced in rural areas as a means of improving farmer livelihoods. The benefit of commercialization of cash crops is not limited to the farmers alone but also to the farm labourers in the village. It provides jobs for village dwellers who could not own or rent a farm. It is also worth noting that gender disparity in earnings exist in the rural areas, especially in commercial farms such as those producing cocoa, palm trees and kolanuts, something I noticed during my period of residence in Yekemi. Globalization and liberalization of markets have an impact on rural communities (Rai, 2004). As I have observed during the course of my ethnographic research, the competitive pressure of market demand for cash crops, especially that of cocoa in the south western part of Nigeria has its own effect on the rural communal system. My findings reveal that gradually

rural collectivism in the community is turning to individualism. The traditional form of operation of joint efforts has changed, and there is competition among farmers. The old systems of helping each other such as 'Owe' (provision of labour by friends, relations and in-laws) and 'Aaro' (provision of labour by cooperative labour groups) are no longer in existence in the village where one would normally expect tradition to still have its grip. According to men during the focus group discussions, all these practices have been eroded by modernization.

With the decline of the old system of labour availability, farmers have resorted to hiring labour to meet the demands of their farm work. This has an additional effect on the profit of farmers. The farmers sell their produce at the lowest price. This in turn has an effect on wages for farm labour, but this affects men and women differently as there is an unequal wage for farm workers. Because of the chain system of selling, the profit that should have accrued to farmers is distributed among this chain of buyers. There are many people employed between farmers and the final exporters. This makes the crop a more profitable one for the final seller/exporter and not for the farmers. This situation is similar to that of agricultural commercialization elsewhere in Africa where the wages of hired labour and the prices of marketed output from African farmers were kept low, to maintain high levels of return to the modern capitalist sector (Hinderrink and Sterkenburg, 1987:30).

This actually makes the farmers of this produce faceless in the final market, and makes their voice unheard. The situation is exacerbated when there is movement of young and able men from rural to urban areas, leaving the production of farm produce in a few hands. Connections become more tenuous because of women's

relatively weaker bargaining position. Yekemi village is one such village that faces this situation with regards to farm labourers.

Gender and skill

With the decline in agricultural labour due to migration of young men out of the village, one would expect that there would be an increase in the wages of labour and more reward for women labourers who stay behind to attend to farms – female labourer as distinct from those women who are wives of the migrant labourers, who work with their husbands. For those women in Yekemi who cannot rent a farm, their alternative available asset is their labour. Although, some of the (male) farmers perceive agricultural labouring as menial work, it plays a critical role in the whole farm system and requires significant effort. According to Musili, a woman labourer, ‘farmers assume fetching water for spraying a farm is an easy job, without putting the number of kilometres of trekking you have to do into consideration’. I perceived that farmers still see the fetching of water as part of the domestic work of women, which does not require any special training and above all is seen as simply part of women’s role (Irving, 2008).

The reward for such work is always low, compared to that of the men who spray crops for example. This is in line with study carried out by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) between 1990 and 1994 in Nigeria, which established that ‘wage rates for male-dominated tasks were found to be higher than that in female-dominated tasks’ (UTZ/CSN 2009: 8). Even during the harvest of palm fruits, the climber is seen as a skilled person who can spend 20 to 30 minutes per palm tree, while women continue going back and forth to transport the fruit from one place to another. At the end of the day, women are paid half of men’s payment

for a day. So when men earn N1000, women earn N500 per day, and when men earn N150 to N500 for climbing and clearing a palm tree, and also earn N20 per bunch for harvesting the fruits, women get just N20 for their labour, transporting a bunch of the fruit. The work requires that the women labourers trek long distances in the hot sun and tortuous bush paths to fetch water and to perform other duties. This is in line with Fontana and Paciello's view that 'for agricultural wage workers, it appears that working conditions for women are harsher than for men across regions' (Fontana and Paciello, 2010:12).

Men are of the view that their work is more dangerous as they could accidentally fall off the tree and end their life or become disabled. This discussion brought out a story of a woman in another village who because of a desperate need for payment of her son's school fees engaged in transporting wood from the farm to the road for sale. Because of the heaviness of the wood and the distance, she put the price of her wood at N100 per bunch. She made the third round successfully but as she dropped it she went down with it and dropped dead, before she had even sold any out of it. Women use this story to express how dangerous their work can also be, and why there should be an increase in their wages, even if they cannot be paid the same as men. The attitude of 'if not the same as men' is still an element of believing in the supremacy of men in terms of strength. Sade, a female labourer, commented that there is no work without hazard, we all learn how to manage it, to prevent serious effect and that is why the wages should be commensurate with the labour input. Sade's words agree with the view expressed in the World Bank's 'Agriculture and Rural Development: Gender and Agriculture Sourcebook' (2009) that

Most work in agriculture is onerous, and the returns are lower than in other sectors. Improving the quality and quantity of jobs in rural areas, and in agriculture, for both women and men, has been identified as a means of promoting economic growth and reducing poverty (World Bank 2009:315).

This emphasizes the importance of government intervention, to support agricultural development, for example to help farm cooperatives and associations. A major issue raised by the women in Yekemi, was that both the women farmers and women labourers do not have group association. There is no association formed among the other labourers who are not Gara people (who do have their own association). This was also raised as one of the reasons for poor payment of women especially. According to Musili

we women labourers have no association and some men porters too, but those men use Gara wages to bargain for themselves. The Gara people bargain collectively and dictate their wages, because they are more into climbing than any other farm work. They use their association as a weapon to bargain and to protect their wages which we lack because of no association, we will appreciate it if this could be done for us (Musili a female farm labourer).

Bili, another woman labourer, remarked that

Cultural norms also favour men by attributing some particular duties to them which made their presence in farm work important. This also relegates or reduces women's value in farm work. Such work is that of climbing of palm tree and spraying of cocoa farm, [...] although now we have some women

farmers that join in spraying of cocoa either when they are about to be frustrated, or there is delay that may lead to losses in output. Some women farmers join the labourers to reduce the cost (Bili, a female labourer).

The influence of patriarchal perceptions of male dominance could not be totally erased from issues of this nature, as some men in Yekemi expressed during the focus group discussion. Jimoh Ali for instance said ‘... let them go ahead, we are still their husbands, they are just making our job easier’ (Jimoh Ali, male cocoa farmer). This is in line with the views of Cockburn that

to these men it matters crucially that their ‘masculinity’, as they have defined it themselves, is never in doubt. It is often felt to be challenged, it is just as often reasserted (Cockburn, 1983:137).

Justification for disparity in wages

As Walby has stated, ‘it is widely deplored today as a restriction on economic efficiency and inconsistent with social justice for women, yet gender segregation tenaciously persists’ (1988:12). Different reasons are always used to justify the disparity in terms of skills and wages between women and men. In the case of Yekemi, men who climb are categorized as technically skilled farm workers, and women labourers who carry palm fruits as unskilled. This can be explained from a gender perspective. What constitutes a technical skill is something that is learned and because it is learned, it is deemed to be worth more. Women’s manual labour is perceived to be ‘natural’, and seen as part of women’s role. Elson and Pearson explained it clearly when they argued that

the famous ‘nimble fingers’ of young women are not an inheritance from their mothers [...] they are the result of the training they have received from their mothers and other female kin since early infancy in the tasks socially appropriate to women’s role (1998:193).

In the case of Yekemi, considering tree climbing as a technical skill, places men at an economic advantage. Because of their male gender socialization from childhood, men are trained to climb trees because this is perceived as a male activity. What could actually be perceived from this justification is that women’s labour in cash crop production, for example carrying water and produce from one place to another, is still seen as an extension of their reproductive role. Though men are known to have been climbing trees from a young age, as a common game among boys, their work is still deemed skilled. Women’s reproductive but invisible productive labour that is taken for granted is being extended to their visible productive labour. Justifying unequal pay, despite both roles, or ‘skills’ having been learned from childhood, creates major disparities in payment. Irving (2008) explains how women’s skills are generally devalued;

feminized occupations have been devalued since they are constructed as low skilled, and they are designated as low skilled because the skills required are those that women are assumed to possess by nature, rather than through recognized processes of acquisition such as apprenticeship (Irving 2008:164-165).

Lower female wages are justified by reference to supposed natural differences. As Sen points out ‘the tolerance of gender inequality is closely related to notions of legitimacy and correctness’ (1995: 260). Walby also pointed out that ‘inequality of

earnings between women and men remains as a significant feature of contemporary gender inequality' (1997:31). Yekemi is no exception, and so here too we see a gender disparity in wages of farm labour. Both genders are of the view that women's work is not as technical as that of men. A gender disparity in wages largely draws on simple but gendered narratives around skill, to justify women lower wages, often linked to naturalizing discourses around biological roles e.g. 'women are better at cleaning'.

These views are also held by some women farmers who hold that women's labour is not as demanding as that of men. They see men climbing trees as a technical skill that requires training and expertise while that of women is viewed as part of their normal life activities which they do not have to learn a new skill for. They do not tend to consciously consider why women should be paid less. This kind of gender socialization is so deeply ingrained that they believe that is how it should be. As Sen explains, 'the perceived justness of such inequalities and the absence of any contrary sense of deep injustice play a major part in the operation and survival of these arrangements' (1995:260). Rai, referring to the benefits gained from women's participation in employment, points out that 'employment for women can hold the key to their empowerment' (2004:5). Yet the disparity in wages, based on naturalizing discourses could slow down the empowerment of women, especially in rural areas.

Perceptions of what 'real work' is

Perceptions of what is 'real work' is a major gender issue in Yekemi when it comes to the reproductive and productive work of women. Nonetheless, not recognizing reproductive labour as work puts women at a disadvantage and increases their work

loads. It is assumed that reproductive labour is not 'real work' and significantly, the women themselves also draw on this perspective.

The work women do in their homes is not really perceived as work because they are not bringing in money directly but rather, indirectly to the household. Even the Yekemi women themselves just see it as what women 'naturally' do. Importantly however, they too believe that women should additionally be doing work that brings in money. There are narratives here, ideological narratives of differential value and skill, attributed to different kinds of labour, reproductive and productive. Reproductive labour is perceived as 'unproductive' and productive labour is perceived as productive because it is more visibly so. Actually in Yekemi the two are intertwined and there is no recognition or allowance made for the reproductive labour women continue to do in addition to their farm labour (cash crop production). Women themselves adopt these naturalizing discourses to perceive themselves as not doing 'real work' – 'it is just what we do because we are women'. Men also perceive they are doing it because they are women. As Gallin states, 'these ingrained understandings about appropriate male/female roles were carried by women and men to the work place' (1996:236)

Women's participation in the commercialization of cash crop production

Women's participation in cash crop commercialization with its attendant problems may not be noticed, especially where there is no direct link between farmers, the final buyers or their agents and government.

Another major issue is the impact of modernization of agriculture on gender. Agriculture is rightly noted by Fontana and Paciello (2009: 3) as the

primary source of employment for men and women, mostly in the rural areas. The need to fully incorporate women who participate in cash crop production in to the market is important. Afshar observed that;

Although the process of modernization with its emphasis on capital accumulation and the move away from artisan production is not of itself necessarily gender-specific, its effect has often been to deprive many poorer women of ready access to a reliable revenue based on subsistence production (Afshar,1993: 3).

Momsen also noted, that generally;

Modernization in agriculture has altered the division of labour between the sexes, increasing women's dependent status as well as workload (Momsen, 2010: 1)

I began to set up the process of gender and class impacts of the green revolution in commercialisation of agriculture in chapter 3, specifically exploring the process of masculinization, proletarianization and housewifization. Drawing on a gender analysis of the processes of commercialization of agriculture globally and historically from a conduct of gender analysis of those processes, it has been observed by Afsar (1993), Akeroyd (1993) Agrawal (1993), Ng (1993), Mosse (1993), Rai (2004), and Momsen (2010) that mechanization has led to increased masculinization. The extension services and technology have been targeted at men. In consequence, women have been displaced by men from their farm activities. This could be seen in Ng's (1993) case of rice production of Malay women of Malaysia, which resulted in an increase in women's dependency on men, which

could be linked to housewifization, a situation of rendering women to domestic affairs only, with little or no decision-making power. It was also observed that agricultural policies have continued to assume that farmers are rural men. Modernization of agriculture comes along with innovative technological packages such as new practices in irrigation and farming, improved seed, use of fertilizers and use of chemicals such as pesticides, resulting in higher productivity in agriculture, without dealing with the gender dimensions. Rai (2004:33) is of the view that ‘the acceptance of commercialization and mechanization of agriculture meant the marginalization of women’s work in rural societies’. Its focus is on large scale farming which may result in proletarianization, as already noted, a situation where the richer large farm owners buy up the farms of the poor farmers, changing their status from farm owners to landless labourers. In Bryceson’s words ‘it is the better-off farmers producing with economies of scale who can purchase the input packages and maintain their yield levels’ (2002: 734).

Ng (1993) similarly noted processes of class differentiation and housewifization of women farmers in her work on Malay women and rice production in West Malaysia, explaining that the

‘women from the rich and middle households, displaced from their agricultural production, retire to the kitchen, so to speak – donning their new role and status as rural housewife. However, women from the poor households need to work as there is not sufficient cash to command labour nor to buy the whole range of inputs for increased productivity’ (Ng, 1993:206).

These differences directly and indirectly limit economic growth, productivity, and welfare, which continue to make agricultural change a gender and development issue. Yekemi women are bucking these trends to some extent, although facing similar constraints as the men, such as lack of direct access to chemicals and other inputs for their crops and lack of direct market access. They continue to struggle against culture, norms and values of the society that marginalise them to address their economic needs. They are at the same time struggling with different issues that affect their full participation in cash crop production and agricultural commercialization, such as access to credit facilities, information and access to the dynamics of negotiation for the prices of cash crops. Each of these issues has its own effect both on their income as well as on their well-being. As observed by OXFAM (2013) ‘a shift in opportunities available to women cocoa farmers will require steps by many actors in society to help balance the additional household burdens women face’ (2013:3).

Women access land through different means for their cash crop farming. There are certain payments accruing to rented farms and these are largely paid for with the produce of the farm. In many cases, to have access to the land they have to agree with the terms which tend to reduce the gains they could have had from their produce. In a situation when the year is not as fruitful as expected, they have to negotiate their way through. For those who have bought or inherited or rented the land, they are confronted with labour costs, chemical costs and above all, the produce buyers’ discretion about the final grade of their produce, to determine the price it brings.

With the information gathered from fieldwork during this study, Yekemi village is yet to have access to government programmes for cash crop farmers and the farmers' access to chemicals and other inputs are through personal efforts. Yekemi farmers are not linked with any current government program hence they do not benefit from any price reduction or government subsidies. No farm extension worker is in the village, thus limiting the knowledge of women who are entering into cash crop farming. Women farmers' knowledge is based on what they can see operating among men. In some cases they pay more for inputs than men do. Men usually negotiate better prices because of their wider social network. As Arinola lamented, noting the importance of social networking, 'our men usually get chemicals at a cheaper rate than us, they know more sellers and the places where the chemicals are cheap'.

Though some of these problems in terms of government intervention are general, in Yekemi the degree of their effects on both genders is different. The cocoa market is, for women, a one to one market, as each seller has to deal with the buyer separately by presenting the amount of their produce. Secondly, there is little room for bargaining. The buyers determine the quality of the produce which also dictates the price of the produce, and women farmers seem to have no way of verifying this. The villagers sell as they produce because of their need for money. There is no storage facility and the economic situation of the households could not allow them to hold on to a product for an appreciative time because of their daily needs. Finally the cocoa buyers are mostly available during the cocoa season, when prices are lower. For the farmers to sell their produce during a high price period they would have to look for buyers. Men also face challenges in selling their produce, for example the cost of production is high, reducing the farmer's profit. These are

indeed some of the reasons given as to why men are migrating to urban areas and women are staying back to take care of the land and family. Though reasons for migration are complex (Obbo1980), the movement of people in and out of the village is mainly in pursuit of a better standard of living. It is a sign of dissatisfaction with their economic situation. The ability to benefit from government assistance in terms of provision of high yielding seedlings, fertilizers, introduction of modern tools, access to farm supplements and gradual shift from old farming to mechanized farming will reduce migration and be of benefit to all, as long as the policies and their implementation are gender sensitive. Government involvement in the agricultural activities would likely go a long way in retaining men in the villages. Major issues raised by men during focus group discussions are lack of government intervention and the need to incorporate them into government programmes. However any such commercialization of these crops should be guided by gender analysis to reduce the exploitation of farmers. Women's issues should be considered, for example, when taking decisions or formulating policies on agriculture, to ease their work loads and increase their productivity. As Brown explains,

Failure to recognize the different roles and constraints that men and women face is costly—it results in misguided policies and programs, foregone agricultural output and associated income flows, which result in higher levels of poverty, and more widespread malnutrition and hunger (2008:20).

This type of situation will continue restricting the development not only of women, but also of the nation, slowing down overall economic progress.

The Commissioner for Agriculture and his role in Yekemi

With all this data from the field, in order to explore the government's role in Yekemi cash crop production and commercialization, I made a visit to the Commissioner for Agriculture in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security of Osun State. Whilst getting an appointment proved almost impossible, after four visitations to his office, I was granted an interview. We had a brief discussion and he handed me over to an officer who was able to give me an update about Yekemi. During the interview it was established that mechanized farming is in progress in Osun State, but high-yielding seedlings are what the government is currently introducing to cash crop farmers. Though the current government has different programmes for farmers which are already at the implementation stage, Yekemi village is yet to be visited by the government extension workers and none of the programmes has yet reached Yekemi. I was thus able to facilitate a link between the village and the ministry.

As a result Yekemi is now included in the government initiative and the plan is to set up a Farmer Field Schools Programme. The Farmer Field Schools (FFS) programme is a group-based learning process, in which groups of farmers are educated and trained in modern agricultural practices by agricultural extension workers and other agricultural practitioners. This is to enhance productivity in agriculture and to familiarize farmers with new methods and inputs. The FSS programme engages in teaching discovery exercises. These are practical exercises in which new methods of planting, maintenance and harvesting of crops are taught to farmers. The government is also planning to start a nursery of high yielding varieties (HYVs) for cocoa and

palm tree seedlings for Yekemi (interview with Agricultural Officer of Osun State 2012).

In terms of commercialization of these products, the officer in charge is of the view that the government should not be involved in the business, rather government should make the environment favourable by providing quality high-yielding seedlings for farmers, and enabling farmers to access credit. During my second visit to the village (after the end of my initial research period) I was briefed about their subsequent contact with and visit to the ministry. The villagers feel that something good will come out of the interaction. However it was troubling to note that it was only men who visited the Ministry of Agriculture. Despite the predominance of women in cash crop farming in Yekemi, women's lower levels of education and gendered cultural norms put Yekemi women at a disadvantage in negotiation with authorities outside of Yekemi. However I was assured that once the government relationship had been established, women would be asked to be involved in future discussion.

But as will be further discussed in detail below, the dominant role that men played in the negotiations with government means that, as in Clisby's (2005) study of Bolivia, government intervention may work to marginalize women and reassert male authority and power.

Gender relations in cash crop farming in Yekemi

Hunt (2000), revisiting Boserup's work on agriculture, reflects that the one key difference between developed and developing nations in terms of agricultural change is that developing nations are yet to fully embrace the technological know-

how in agricultural production. Yekemi is one such village that is yet to benefit from modernization of agriculture. Traditional ways are still in operation and almost every farmer in Yekemi combines both subsistence and commercial farming to meet their livelihood requirements. Generally, market oriented farming is seen as a mechanism of improving smallholder farmer welfare by increasing their output to meet market demand. But as Leavy and Poulton put it:

the competitive advantages of smallholder farms are centred on their low-cost supply of (generally) highly motivated family labour, whereas large-scale farms face lower costs in most other input and output market transactions (2007:22).

If this is a general overview of the lot of smallholder farms, then there is need to examine the gender implications of it. Firstly, women's participation in cash crop production is more costly than that of men who have the control of all the family labour. Women rely on hired labour for many aspects of the work. Though they control their labourers, male labourers have to be appeased to gain the best work from them, especially in a situation where they are in high demand. Most of the time women farmers have to be with labourers when they are working, to make sure that they do all the work required. In the case of men they give instructions to labourers and inspect the work at the end of it, if not satisfied they send the labourers back to complete their work before payment. There is a major difference in attitude of male labourers towards female and male farmers in Yekemi as collated from different discussions with both female farmers and male labourers. The labourers expressed their attitude to male farmers as a mark of respect to elders. However, I perceived that men are more respected because they are

traditionally the major decision makers of the village who must be pleased or impressed by the labourers to receive their kindness and to enjoy their stay in Yekemi. Women pay more for their economic independence in Yekemi. This attitude may not be noticed, or even if noticed, is seen as normal. This tallies with Sunstein's submission that 'markets will in some ways incorporate the norms and practices of men at least if men are in a position to rule the society' (Sunstein 1995:354).

Nevertheless the effect of women's participation in the commercialization of cash crop production in Yekemi is to incrementally alter men's relationship to cash crop farming. Gradually, responsibilities are shifting ground in Yekemi and the traditional saying of 'ibi to le la nba okunrin' that is 'men are known for heavy and difficult tasks' is starting to change. Women who are seen as delicate and fragile (because their household responsibilities and their support role in farms are not being seen as 'work') are now taking up major responsibilities in their households and in the commercial farms of their own or of the family. A woman in a discussion group commented that, 'it is in those days that men work round the clock to satisfy their homes, these days they look for ways of shifting the responsibilities' (Arinola, female cocoa and palm oil farmer).

However, the male farmers in the focus group discussions are still of the view that although young men are moving to towns and cities, leaving their families behind, it is because men have to move out to find additional sources of income to sustain their position as the head of their homes. They all believe that to be a man is not an easy thing, if you cannot maintain your headship, society will ridicule you and count you unfit to be a man among men. As a man you have to maintain your

dignity to be respected. These expressions reveal the need for men to conform to societal expectations of men, in order to have dignity in the community. Alsop et al (2002) have articulated that man's production and performance of masculinity is not unproblematic and uncontested, and it is not without difficulty for men themselves. Men also have pressure to conform to a version of what it is to be a man, a version of masculinity. These may be relatively unattainable or difficult to sustain. The responses of the male participants (during their focus group discussion) to male migration reveal men's efforts to meet society's obligations on men. Men are struggling to meet and retain the dominance of men in the society. To the elderly male farmers, 'man cannot stand with arms folded when expected to perform his headship role'. While some female farmers see this as an excuse for additional burdens for women, they are of the view that there is money even in the village. You only need to put in more additional effort. According to Tosin

'cocoa season is always a celebration period in the village in those days, but they are gradually leaving the work for us women that does not have the same assets as they do during their own period'. (Tosin, female cocoa and palm oil farmer)

Another woman concluded that

men of now-a-days in the village are looking for easy jobs with high pay. Men are now running away from masculine jobs which are regarded as tough. (Lolade female palm oil farmer).

A woman says

I am now the man of the house because what he ran away from is what I am doing to make a living in the village. [...] I have money all the time because of my palm oil farming. I am 'the bread winner', this he hates to acknowledge (Falila, female palm oil farmer)

To some women, their husbands' income has become supplementary because it is not a regular income for the household. They only have access to it when he comes to the village, which is not a regular thing. However the ideal of the male breadwinner is retained as a cultural value.

Mechanization of cash crop farming

Mechanization of cash crops is one of the demands of the women in cash crop production in Yekemi, for effective participation in agricultural commercialization. Women in palm oil production expressed how important it is to their work to have appropriate equipment for the processing of their produce. A palm oil processing machine is yet to be fully available to the women. . Most of the labour is done manually as the few available machines are privately owned by men and women. According to female palm oil farmers, it is only a grinding machine (called oil seed crushing machine /shredder/screw press) which is available. There is a particular machine that could squeeze the oil out of the palm fruits (Automated Palm Kernel oil seed expeller) that is important for palm oil processing that is not available in Yekemi village. The grinding of palm fruits is just one of the initial preparations for processing of palm oil. In the whole village there are only five of the same grinding machines, and women have to queue to get their work done. Any technical

equipment is always associated with masculinity. The two grinding machines that are owned by women are being operated by men even though women can operate them. It is a general view that the machines will last longer when men operate them because men's usage of such machinery is deemed normal. Thus men in the village have monopolized it as an area of men's work because the revenue from it is high (especially during the harvest season) compared with working in the farm. As we know from experiences elsewhere, mechanization may lead to masculinization, and this is gradually becoming visible with the few machines available in Yekemi.

Thus, access to technology will increase productivity, but at the same time what is the likelihood that once it is introduced women will still have access to farm land as they do now? Mechanization of commercial agriculture has been seen as a major breakthrough for increasing productivity. Binswanger & von Braun (1991) believe that;

the view that technology and commercialization play major roles in stimulating agricultural growth and alleviating poverty is now widely accepted [...] as land becomes less and less available, growth in agriculture depends more and more on yield-increasing technological change (Binswanger & von Braun, 1991:58-59).

Though laudable as the introduction of it in to agricultural commercialization is, Fischer and Qaim (2012) critically assess the impact this may have on women farmers, and are of the view that;

technology adoption and agricultural commercialization may weaken the role of women and their control over production and income. [...] the

adoption of new technologies may potentially reinforce this loss of women's control (Fischer and Qaim, 2012:3).

Similarly Ng (1993) argues that

‘although technology is not gender-specific, rural women seem to have lost out in the wake of technological progress, not least due to village and state patriarchal biases’ (Ng, 1993:206)

For the rural farmers to benefit from modern farming, they are expected to be given technical training and extension services. Farmers should have access to credit facilities. This often requires them having collateral. As Rai (2004:95) observes ‘women often lack formal property rights’. Yekemi women farmers have however overcome this problem as they have been able to buy lands and own property in their own rights. The percentage of those who are able to buy land are however low. Thus the majority of women farmers continue to lack collateral for credit facilities. Hence many of the women are less likely to be given credit externally and so they are less likely to take advantage of this new machinery, techniques and training. In this case men are more likely to be offered credit as part of a government scheme to encourage them to mechanize and so many women farmers are likely to be pushed out of farming.

In most cases, for those men who are in position or able to get credit and take advantage of commercialization of agriculture, they have a step ahead of those who do not. They will be able to build up their farms and become wealthier, and gradually become more powerful and may buy other people's farms. This may result in proletarianization of labour- as explained in chapter three. It is a situation

when some farmers who are lacking inputs for their means of production sell off their farms and become labourers on wealthier men's farms, to make a living. This could create a class differentiation. A small number could become rich and others become dependent on them for their living. In Yekemi the male farmers who are moving out, are doing so in search of greener pastures. The effect may also then lead to housewifization, a situation when wife/ wives of rich farmers are withdrawn from their farm roles, to be full housewives as a means of showing off wealth by their husbands, and a sign of status for men to show their riches: 'my wife can be a housewife now, I am wealthy enough make her not to work'. This is despite the fact that their wives may be doing a lot of work in terms of feeding the workers and even doing lot of less visible productive farm labour. They are thus rendered less visible in terms of what is perceived as productive labour on the farms in front of their husbands. This in turn affects such women as they may have less decision making power in the household and become more socially and economically dependent on their husbands.

Nevertheless, Binswanger & von Braun (1991:58) attest to the usefulness of technology by pointing to Mellor's view that 'One of the most important theoretical and empirical findings in analysis of Western economic growth is the identification of technological change as a major form of growth' (1986:76). In developing nations where rural farmers are still the main producers of agricultural produce, easy, adaptable and subsidized technology should be made available to both female and male farmers.

Finally, there may be a need to examine other possible situations that may arise due to the introduction of mechanization of agriculture. Introduction of mechanized

farming includes the use of high yielding varieties, mechanized equipment, pesticide and fertilizer. For the availability of all these, the presence of governmental and /or transnational corporations will be required. Total reliance on this ties the farmers into relations with foreign companies or makes them dependent on governments for availability of those inputs. In the process, they lose their own traditional varieties of plants. There is also a loss of diversity, as it has an impact on the environment, in terms of harmful and damaging pesticides and fertilizers to keep the crops yielding. For continuity, this increase in productivity requires more funds for the inputs, in view of the fact that the inputs may be expensive. In a situation requiring the replacement or additional seedlings, the farmers are tied to the supplier of the seedlings, be they the government or a foreign transnational corporation. This leads to dependency. Secondly, the old varieties have been adapted to the local environment over hundreds if not thousands of years. In some situations, new varieties may be produced in a completely different climate, and they might not be suitable to the climate they are brought into.

Likely effects of mechanization on Yekemi

Here I summarise some of the inherent gender dynamics that may transpire when commercialization of agriculture and mechanization come into play. In Yekemi we have a semi-commercialized small scale farming system. But the more interesting thing is that women are taking control of cash crops to a large extent. However, within that we can still see some of the traditional gender dynamics in the differential gender pay rates, gendered notions of skill, the bargaining, the gendering of social networks, male domination of the credit facilities and access to extension services.

But let us look at the positive aspects of this in Yekemi where nevertheless women are now taking control of this area in different kinds of ways. What are the likely effects of sustaining them in their current position? What are the likely effects of mechanization in Yekemi? It could either lead to women being pushed out of farming or it could be a very positive, unusual and interesting dynamic, which gives women genuine opportunities to control and gain from mechanization processes, extension and credit services, and to be involved in the commercialization of their cash crops production.

Already in Yekemi the introduction of new technology has been linked overwhelmingly with men. The operators of the few existing machines are men and if care is not taken they may continue to dominate the technology for farming if and when government intervenes in that area. Proletarianization may also gradually occur, if only a few farmers have access to government benefits. Eventually those who could not maintain their farms may have to sell up and work as labourers for wealthier farmers. Housewifization may not be so easy in Yekemi because the women have seen the benefits of working independently and the importance of being economically independent, though I may not be able to totally rule it out, as some women also may see it as a status symbol of belonging to a wealthy family in the village.

The future of women's full participation in agricultural commercialization may not be predicted for now because we have not seen women being pushed out of their agricultural activities. Instead we are actually seeing more women involved in it, largely because of the lack of mechanization and the reliance on labour. It is also possible that if fully commercialized in future, those men who have migrated to

towns might return to re-take their farms. Secondly, Yekemi village has not yet had any government or foreign/external involvement, and if this does come to fruition, women might also get pushed out, due to assumption about norms of the gender roles.

I have studied Yekemi at a really interesting time period, when the community is on the verge of change. It is in a transitional period: women have managed to move into previously male dominated spaces and they are colonising those spaces for change in Yekemi. However if we see government intervention in agricultural commercialization, these changes are in the balance – we may see women pushed out for the usual reasons: that cash crops and mechanized farming are ‘male domains’. Conversely, women may be able to stand their ground and government intervention could ensure women are incorporated into development initiatives.

It was clear from my research that, women do want their farms mechanized, they want government assistance in the form of provision of machines and inputs that will ease their job and increase their productivity. Automated Palm Kernel oil seed expeller, for instance, is not available in Yekemi for now as they could not afford it. The few other machines available are just for grinding palm fruits: for instance they are privately owned and operated by men who are highly paid for their service. Mechanization of agricultural commercialization in Yekemi should happen or be introduced in such a way that both genders will benefit, without having women pushed away and losing the present opportunity they have to improve their economic status. If mechanization is to be introduced and government inputs and supports are to be made available to the village it is vital that government takes a gender and development approach and works with women farmers, so that they also

can learn how to use the technical equipment. Mechanized farming is a welcome development that even people of Yekemi are yearning for. For the obvious benefits, I cannot say no to mechanization, I want to say yes, but only on the terms that the women farmers would be treated equitably, alongside their male counterparts.

We also need to observe developments in proletarianization. We have seen symptoms of it, in the sense that as women get involved in the cash crop they become better off, and they are able to employ male and female labourers to work on their farms, and control the budget of their business. The landless labourers are drawn in to work on the farms and some farmers, including some female farmers, are elevated and become more powerful. This situation has engendered a process of land consolidation through which ‘peasant farmers with small acreages are increasingly selling or renting their land out to larger-scale farmers and turning to agricultural wage labor or nonfarm activities’ (Bryceson, 2002:734). We are seeing elements of that in Yekemi. The difference is that it is women and not men who are being elevated from the landless labouring class. Obviously, some women are left behind and some are still landless labourers; but it is interesting that the women who are the cash crop producers and employers of landless labourers were once farm assistants to their husbands or family.

Conclusion

The three major areas discussed in this chapter provide a gendered approach to the analysis of the commercialization of agriculture. I have explored gender issues in the process of selling cash crop produce in Yekemi, discussed the gender dynamics of differential pay rates and also considered the possible outcome or effects of full mechanization of agricultural commercialization. Yekemi people are yearning for

mechanization and incorporation of women into the processes of this development will go a long way in establishing women in cash crop production and improving their economic status in Yekemi.

The women in cash crop farming in Yekemi need the service of extension workers in the aspect of disease control and they need improved varieties of cocoa to reduce the cost of maintenance and management. These could be achieved via government intervention. The presence of government in terms of provision of agricultural equipment and inputs is necessary for full agricultural commercialization. Yekemi people also want this government involvement and support in their farming activities. This has to be worked out so that women farmers are involved. The next stage in the next few years is a critical point in the lives of Yekemi's female cash crop farmers, so that the pattern of women being disadvantaged by the commercialization of agriculture is not repeated there.

In order to ensure that women are able to capitalise on their cash crop production, the government development policy should take women farmers into consideration. It is not just about extension activities targeting women, it is also about trying to influence the nature of the gendered structure of the chain further up. I suggest that if more women are encouraged to become facilitators and trained to become buyers and exporters up the chain, then we are more likely to see the benefits of these networks moving down this chain to the community level. That is indeed a big wish- but a realistic, realizable one. It is 'not only women who would benefit from expansion of opportunities, but the development process itself would better achieve its targets by virtue of their participation' (Rai, 2004:61).

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This study examined gender relations in cash crop production, focusing on Yekemi, a remote farming village in Osun state, in south western Nigeria. I initially set out with two key aims: first to conduct a gender analysis of the cash crop farming system within the community of Yekemi, and secondly, and more specifically, to assess the impact of women's participation on family farms and/or working with a husband on his farm. However, fieldwork indicated that in Yekemi women are also cash crop farmers in their own right and indeed presently dominate these cash crop activities. This called for a slight refocusing of the research questions so I could better understand how this had come about and the impact of this on gender relations both within households and on the wider community. I thus identified the reasons and motivating factors for this shift and explored the extent of both women's and men's participation in cash crop production in Yekemi in order to identify the patterns of gender differentiation of roles within commercial agricultural activities.

Despite the growing literature analyzing agricultural activities through a gendered lens, there remains a dearth of detailed research documenting women's involvement in farm activities in the Nigerian context. In Yorubaland where women have tended to be recognized as traders, female farmers in the rural areas continue to be under-recognized in as much as their roles as farmers in their own right tend to be overlooked and they are more likely to be seen as farmers' wives, subordinates or

merely farm labourers. This is so because their roles within farming have not been adequately researched and the dynamic nature of rural society not fully appreciated when it comes to agrarian change. This can result in traditional views of farming roles and experiences being perpetuated, rather than capturing the shifting gendered power dynamics within the household, and, where it occurs, women's increased involvement in agricultural commercialization.

This conclusion is divided into four parts, the first reflects on the objectives, the focus, the critical issues investigated and the methodology used in guiding the analysis of the findings and methods of data collection. The second synthesises the contextual and theoretical framework of the study and the third section focuses on summarizing the key issues and findings emerging from the data. The final section ends by considering future possibilities for female farmers in Yekemi and the potential outcomes of planned government intervention in the area.

Researching Yekemi

Chapter one provided the reader with a contextual framework for the study. I discussed the important role of agricultural commercialization for the Nigerian economy, introduced Yekemi and its environment and explained the objectives of the study. In a second section, relevant theoretical perspectives pertaining to gender analyses of development and feminist methodologies were explored. Due to the nature of this research - exploring gender relations among cash crop farmers - a Gender and Development (GAD) approach was seen as appropriate for an effective analysis of this relationship. GAD addresses inequalities in women's and men's social roles in relation to development (March et al., 1999) and this framework facilitates the examination of gender roles in the three main areas of work available

in the community: productive, reproductive and community management roles. Thus through a GAD analysis, women's relative position was studied in terms of: their access to and control over resources; women's ability to capture and utilize the benefits of cash crop production; how their role within this sector affects perceptions of women's productive capacities in the community; and what impact these processes have had on gender relations in Yekemi due to women's full time participation in cash crop farming.

As I discussed early in chapter 2, my methodological approach combined anthropological and feminist/GAD perspectives. I spent nine months engaged in an ethnographic study of Yekemi village, which incorporated both male and female cash crop farmers and farm labourers. This ethnographic approach enabled me to capture the intricate gender relations that exist among both female and male cash crop farmers of Yekemi. This combination of gender analysis and ethnography also facilitated a deeper and richer engagement with my participants so that I could better understand the complexities of their lives and their gender roles and relations. In terms of specific methodological tools used during the period of ethnography, I conducted unstructured interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation, visitations, consultations and walking surveys of the farms and land use.

Framing Agrarian Change

The importance of this study cannot be established without adequate attention to historical contexts of agricultural development, which were discussed in chapter 3 of this thesis. As such I located my analysis in the context of post Bretton Woods development. Here I provided a contextual frame of classic modernization before

focusing on gender analyses of development. This historical review facilitated a broad understanding of the theoretical, political and economic realities of 20th century global development. Through this we can understand key processes, issues and debates pertaining to rural development and agricultural change. A gender analysis of development theories provides an understanding of the gender blindness of modernization paradigms, a model without reference to either women's contributions or inclusion in development plans. Gender analyses of development have illustrated that insufficient attention was paid to women's roles in development processes, showing the ways in which women were largely side-lined in the mechanization, commercialization and modernization of agriculture. Chant (2008) emphasizes the importance of women's contribution to anti-poverty programmes through their participation in economic activities, of which agriculture could be seen as one. As Chant argues;

Women have much to contribute to anti-poverty programmes. Their gendered assets, dispositions and skills, their inclination towards involvement in household survival and at community level, and their precarious relationship to the wage economy, all help to make them appear a peculiarly suitable ally of anti-poverty programmes (2008: 183).

Processes of agricultural modernisation and commercialization have changed the focus of production from what has tended to be seen as a traditional and 'backward' agricultural sector to commercially oriented farming (Ng, 1993). Commercialization has included marketability of agricultural products at all levels of trading, be they local, national or international, which has made agriculture a major factor in global socio-economic change and development (Shaw, 2008).

Tracing the emergence of agricultural commercialization enabled me to identify changes that have taken place over the years in farming and the impact of these for gender relations and power dynamics. Here I made specific reference to the ‘Green Revolution’ and its technological methods of farming that aimed to increase yields and farmers’ income at varying scales of production (Pretty, 1995; Momsen, 1996). There are, of course, significant issues of inequity in the implementation of global commercialization of agriculture because all operators are not given a level playing field and fair opportunities to operate on an equal basis. The penetration of capitalism into rural economies has led to a proletarianization of labour, which has had significant class and gendered impacts for both men and women. Momsen (1996 and 2010) elaborates on the complexity and contradiction embedded in the impact of modernization of agriculture on gender and emphasizes both the need and the effects of recognizing women as farmers. Cornwall et al. (2007) observed that the changes that have occurred in women’s lives are not (at least as yet) commensurate with the discursive achievements of gender analysis. This makes textual incorporation of GAD discourse into policy documents only the beginning rather than the end of the story. There is a continued need to study the changes that have taken place in gender relations, the nature of government interventions and the levels of women’s incorporation and recognition within development contexts, such as agriculture.

Emerging Themes and Findings

The themes and findings emerging from my empirical data were analyzed in chapters 4, 5, and 6 and these chapters form the third part of the thesis. In chapter 4, I discussed the current situation and experiences of farming and the changes in these

processes that have occurred in recent years. I examined the mechanisms that are in place for both genders to function as cash crop farmers and the factors that have improved the overall economic status of rural women in Yekemi. I also explored gender relations and divisions of labour within cash crop production in this community, the farming systems, types of farm ownership and means of access to land resources.

In this analysis I identified migration as one of the major causative factors underpinning women's access to farm land. Though there are different government programmes and policies to incorporate and facilitate the modernization of rural communities, none of these is yet visible in Yekemi village. The people still rely on the old manual system of farming and issues of both economic necessity and societal expectations induce labour migration out of the village. This has resulted in more women participating in cash crop production and the main incentive for women's participation is their access to farmland through inheritance, or family farmland, either purchased or on a rental basis. Thus male out-migration from the rural to urban areas has paved the way for new gender relations in the Yekemi farming system.

I identified the generational dynamics in the course of migration out of the village. The young and able men are the ones leaving the village since they have associated farming with poverty, hard work and poor living standards. In developing economies, poverty appears to be a major factor influencing labour migration. I also discovered that farm labourers from other villages are moving into Yekemi to meet the need for additional hands required by women on their farms – an interesting dynamic itself in that women are employing men from beyond the community to

work on their own land. This led me to research the relationship between men's migration in and out of Yekemi and women's economic activities, and the power dynamics among cash crop farmers in Yekemi. One could argue that male migration out of Yekemi has both negative and positive effects on the community. The negative effects are scarcity of labour created by withdrawing from farm work, a reduction in overall farm population which impacts on the economy of the village and also leads to the abandonment of men's wider familial and community responsibilities, adding to women's burden.

On the positive side, male migration out of Yekemi has led to women's greater participation in cash crop farming. This has led to a shift in power dynamics which gives women greater opportunities to exercise some power both in their household and in the community. Though the necessity of hired labour increases the cost of production, women see it as a means of being in total control of their farm activities and the fact that they now control the labour of hired men has led to some interesting gender and class hierarchies. Indeed, the outcome of this shifting pattern of ownership and control of land for cash crop production in Yekemi creates very interesting dynamics between the interplay of gender, ethnicity and class relations. The absence of men within cash crop production, opened up movement of wage labour coming in to Yekemi. This has been most notable in the form of the Gara and Igbo people coming into the village and selling their labour, which the female cash crop farm owners are buying. These emerging new class relations are also being played out along ethnic lines as there is now a greater ethnic mix within Yekemi.

My findings show that women now compete with men in cash crop farming in Yekemi, not purely as farmers' wives but as women farmers in their own right, and control their own farmlands, either in form of purchase, inheritance or rented farms. This in turn has had significant impacts on gender relations within the wider community. I thus provide in chapter 5 an analysis of the economic position of both men and women in the community along with their decision making powers. I thereby identify what gives power and voice to the relatively voiceless, exploring the extent to which women in Yekemi are able to speak on issues that concern them. This brings to mind the incident that occurred during the initial stage of the women's focus group discussions (as reported on page 48) in which a male cocoa buyer intruded into one of the focus group discussions of the women. The women themselves forced him to leave by pointing to him in a satirical but joking manner, saying that he was one of their oppressors in the cash crop business. This for me was an example of the ways female farmers in Yekemi have the self-confidence to assert their opinions in certain contexts.

An important discussion in the context of gender and agriculture concerns the disparity in farm access and the consistent association of women with subsistence farming, labouring work or farm assistance, while men are generally noted for cash crop production. This perception (albeit grounded in fact) contributes to women's continued sidelining in agricultural development programmes. Significantly my study of Yekemi reveals a quite different situation emerging and it is exciting to find some women in positions of relative power as farm owners and in direct control of cash crop production. This gave me an opportunity to explore how some women became dominant in cash crop production and how men have become largely absent from it. This in turn led to a focus on the impacts of this shift on

wider gender relations, studying impacts on decision making at household and community levels and a gender analysis of the relationship between the farmers and buyers. One issue that emerged from this analysis was how difficult it is for the women to get accurate information about the ruling price in the market because they are excluded from male networks and social interactions, which is critical as buyers continue to be male.

Women's greater involvement in cash crop production has also impacted on gendered relations with households changing, in particular the lives of children, as illustrated in chapter 5. All children are now in school as women have recognized the importance and necessity of education for self-development. I have mentioned the interesting dynamics of women involving both their male and female children to participate in household work. Though household labour continues to be dominated by mothers and daughters, sons are now expected to do some domestic labour such as fetching water. It is a form of social interaction for children in the village as they all go to the river together. In households where children are too young to fetch water, it continues to be women's responsibility to provide this. It is important to recognise that, in the main, there is little renegotiation of reproductive work, and for many of the women farmers their involvement in cash crop farming is in addition to their work roles as wives and mothers within the household. As indicated in the research many of the men are able to retain their status as head of household, whilst having less involvement in economic activities and more leisure time.

However, whilst the work is stressful, my research indicates that women in cash crop production still prefer it because it is more profitable for them than petty trading. Moreover, their participation in cash crop production acts as collateral for

borrowing money from customers. By selling their products in bulk, money comes in large sums in particular periods. Women's independent social position has strengthened their decision making power in their households and their participation in cash crop production also reinforces their economic agency and position. It grants them prestige in the community as they see cash crop farming as a more prestigious work that gives them voice and enhances their recognition in the family and the community.

More importantly women's involvement in cash crop production is welcomed in Yekemi village. Both male and female participants of this research are of the view that women's financial contribution makes family life easier than when men alone were the main source of cash income. Some men in focus group discussions remarked that women's participation in cash crop production has seriously reduced their family burdens, hence, they explained, there is a need for total support from the entire family. It serves as an assurance of the wives' capability to take care of their homes without waiting for a husbands' remittance for home maintenance when men migrate.

An important by-product of changing gender-relations in cash crop farming, according to women in focus group discussions, is that levels of domestic violence have reduced. Women's empowerment appears to have led, to some extent, to a reduction in levels of domestic violence and divorce in the community. Apart from the fact that their husbands are mostly away, coupled with women's tight schedule, women's enhanced economic status has reduced their reliance on their husbands for household needs. This can be particularly important for women in unhappy alliances even where divorce is not seen as an option, as women can still benefit

from greater autonomy, independence, and self-confidence despite their domestic conflicts. On the issue of divorce, the culture does not encourage this. Women are expected to endure and learn ways of pacifying their husbands to enjoy the marriage, because society may not respect a divorced woman. However, again women's improved economic situation can ameliorate their bargaining position within marriage. Some of the women taking part in the study who were in polygamous households noted the greater agency that polygyny gave them in expressing dissatisfaction with household arrangements, being able to refuse some household chores in a way that monogamous wives found more difficult.

Chapter 6 of this study examines the processes of selling, the issue of differential pay rates and the justifications given for this. It also looks at the incorporation of mechanization in cash crop production in Yekemi and moves on to consider the likely or potential effects of mechanization for the community, and particularly for women in the future. As such, I focused on gender issues in the process of selling, in the introduction of technology, and the need for the proper incorporation of women into commercialized cash crop farming in government programmes, policies and projects. Traditional gender dynamics observed during this study related to my analysis of differential pay rates, gendered notions of skill, bargaining, and the gendering of social networks. These are important issues to be taken into consideration when planning for effective modernization of agricultural commercialization. Gender mainstreaming of women into programmes and policies is a critical issue *vis a vis* effective gender-aware implementation of mainstreaming to ensure the participation and retention of women in cash crop production. The introduction of women into the chain of buyers would open up opportunities for women in cash crop farming to also access information about the produce of their

farms. This is one of the major advantages that men in the business have due to their long duration in the operation of cash crop farming and the male networks they have long established.

A further critical point here is that (and in line with traditional processes of mechanization leading to further masculinization) presently, men are the operators of the few existing machines for palm oil processing. The need to train women in both how to operate these machines and facilitate their sense of ownership and control of this mechanized (and typically thus male) space is vital so that further mechanization will not repeat past patterns of masculinization of technology when and if the government intervenes in this aspect. As earlier indicated, the expectation of Yekemi farmers that government intervention is due in the near future is high. The mode of implementing government programmes is crucial. If allowed to concentrate in few hands, proletarianization may occur with rich farmers buying up the farms of others, turning poorer farm owners into landless labourers. There should be equal access to government programmes so that even poorer farmers (both female and male) may be able to take advantage of interventions.

Though women are the ones in charge of cash crops for now, the arrival of government intervention, and the imagined or actual socio-economic and political benefits that these could incur, may result in men coming back to take over cash crop production from women farmers. Indeed the possibility of husbands withdrawing female kin from their farm production could not be ruled out. This may indeed become, again as has been witnessed elsewhere (see for example Ng, 1993), a means of showcasing increased wealth and status and housewifization may become the order of the day. By this I mean a process through which female

farmers are withdrawn from visible farm work and turned into status symbols ‘housewives’, as indicators that male heads have a wealthy family in the village, a family in which their wives do not need to work the land, a sign of prestige for men. However, housewifization seems not to be so easy to establish in Yekemi because of the economic independence already currently enjoyed by women farmers. At the same time some women may also see it as a prestigious thing to be referenced as a rich farmer’s wife, and may not contest the swap of hard labour on the land for the real or imagined ‘softer’ labour of housework and household management. Currently however, both women and men are highly critical of women who do not work, and as had been mentioned earlier the society has a derogatory term to describe such women. They are called ‘Alabodo’ – a woman who is fed and retained only for the purpose of sex. From this concept it is obvious that the society (and often most notably women) frown on the idea of women who are not engaged in any form of economic activities. Thus, the extent and dynamics of how this potential housewifization would play out in Yekemi as yet remains to be seen.

What emerges from my study is that the traditional understanding of cash crop production as a male domain has been subject to change in Yekemi. The roles of Yoruba women especially those in the rural areas, who are known for trading and for ‘helping’ their husbands in the farm, are in the process of changing. As I stress in this thesis, some farmers’ wives are now farm owners controlling the farm activities of their farms. It is a development that has gradually gained ground in Yekemi. The mode of conceptualizing the economic contribution of women in the village is equally changing. Suleiman, a male cocoa farmer and one of the participants in the focus group discussions, regards it as ‘modernization’. As he

explained, 'women also want to have their houses like men, it makes life easy for men, our burden is being shared, it is modernization'. This is not to suggest that all men are wholly in support of women's increased power in farming, however, the benefits associated with it lead some men to feel they do not wish to disassociate themselves from it.

From my study, it is obvious that women have rights and decision-making power over the money made from their businesses, as men of Yekemi are generally of the view that it is a man of low self-esteem who asks for or relies on his wife's income. However during the course of this research I discovered that even though men are not taking women's income from them, they are shifting their responsibilities to them in terms of paying for school fees for their children, provision of food for the family and fulfillment of other family obligations. It was observed that these responsibilities add further to women's burden for they have to work round the clock to meet all these household demands. According to the women in focus group discussions, women have always tended to see their children as the only reward of their labour, but now things are gradually changing as some of the women in cash crop farming in Yekemi, apart from seeing their children as their reward, are also building houses out of their profits, for rental purposes to incoming migrants. Men are also beginning in some cases to acknowledge women's complementary roles in the upkeep of the household.

Cultural norms and societal expectations continue to place women in a subordinate position vis-à-vis men and these have always been seen as major obstacles to gender equality in household relationships. As previously stated, but a point that deserves emphasis, gender analysis of cash crop production in Yekemi has shown

that there is need for proper (and significantly gender aware) translation of government interventions and other programmes of development agencies when it comes to implementing these policies in the community. Women farmers of Yekemi are also clamouring for government intervention, along with men, in their farm work. The need for proper mainstreaming of gender in to policy, programmes and interventions of government for both genders to benefit from these developments is important, so that women will not lose the opportunity to participate fully in cash crop production. Clisby's (2005) study of processes of gender mainstreaming in community development in Bolivia has shown that 'when terminology becomes accepted at a policy level without the corresponding implementation and structural transformation, it can serve to blunt demands, in this case women's demands, for change' (2005:3). She is of the view that 'much work still needs to be done to translate the policy rhetoric into grounded reality' (2005:3). So, as she argues, the danger is that gender mainstreaming is not effectively implemented and the result is merely more 'male-streaming' with women yet again being disadvantaged in processes of change (Clisby, 2005). Hence for effective participation of rural farmers in agricultural commercialization, government presence is required for all stake holders (both female and male). Women farmers whose livelihood now depends on cash crop farming must be encouraged, as they are currently making progress. Several analysts (see, for example, Rogers, 1982; Momsen, 1996; 2010; Rai, 2004) have stressed the importance of women's participation in development. As Rai states, we must understand that 'it was not only women who would benefit from expansion of opportunity, but the development process itself would better achieve its targets by virtue of their participation' (Rai, 2004:61).

One of the major ways women in Yekemi can participate in development is through an opportunity to retain and enhance their present involvement in cash crop production by their inclusion in government interventions (for example credit, extension services and mechanization) for farmers. This could become a classic and notable example of how gender mainstreaming could be used both as an ideological principle and as a methodological tool for attaining greater gender equality through the implementation of development programmes and policies.

Moser (1998) regards gender mainstreaming as an action for effective implementation of programmes and policies. Hence in order for women as well as men to benefit from government intervention in cash crop production, mainstreaming of gender into government programmes and interventions is vital. Moreover, the facilitation and sensitization of women to partake in the chain of buyers and for some women to become buyers in their own right, will go a long way to address the cultural barrier women are facing in terms of information and control of prices for their crops. Integrating gender concerns during the extension training will help women in cash crop production to become confident of their ability to utilize and control new technologies and machinery. I, thus, emphasize the importance of women participating and being represented in all aspects of government and other agents' intervention.

Therefore incorporating interactive processes at each stage and implementing proper follow ups and evaluations within a framework of gender mainstreaming will assist in achieving equal opportunities in development processes (United Nations 1997; Moser, 1989; Parpart, et al. 2000). This includes women's roles in cash crop farming. The utilization of gender mainstreaming tools correctly by

Nigerian governments would include: identifying the gender issues in modernization of agricultural commercialization in rural areas; the design and review of programmes and projects; measuring performance with the guide for developing gender indicators; the planning and execution of programme evaluations; and importantly, the utilization of a gender lens in organizing and running training programmes for agricultural stakeholders, could result in a wonderful and powerful dynamic in the agricultural commercialization of the nation.

As Connelly et. al. state, 'GAD recognizes the differential impacts of development policies and practices on women and men and sees women as agents, not simply as recipients, of development. This perspective thus calls into question both gender relations and the development process' (2000:61). In this way a Gender and Development approach enabled me to evaluate the gender divisions of labour as they operate in farming activities in Yekemi - divisions that are an essential feature of gender relations. It throws light on how naturalizing discourses continue to determine wages of female farm labourers and enabled me to analyse the influencing factors that allowed women to gain access to cash crop farming.

The study has shown that a lack of availability of social amenities compound women's labour burden in terms of reproductive and productive work. For example, there is no tap or functioning borehole water in the community. They depend on the river water which is at the outskirts of the residential areas. However, my research indicates that women's participation in cash crop farming nevertheless enhances their status, both in the household and in the community as it enables them to meet their needs themselves. Their efforts in meeting these needs earn them

societal respect, though not at the same level with men, but to a large extent, they are in control of their activities. Working as farm owners, either through rent, inheritance or purchase, makes a lot of difference and grants women the opportunity to control their labour. Initial processes of proletarianization that are in operation in Yekemi are now favouring women as they are not just farm assistants but farm owners. This transformation is of particular significance in the sense that women are now taking over the formerly and typically male dominated areas of agricultural production.

As GAD analysts have argued (for example Connelly, et al. 2000; Moser, 1989; Momsen, 2010) women's input in development must be recognized both at national and international levels. This has created, to some extent, the awareness of women's role in the development process, but there is still a need to carry individual women along to see themselves as essential contributors to development. One way of achieving this is through sensitizing and inculcating in women at the grassroots level the significance of their roles in development. This would also help in removing the prevalent belief of cultural subordination amongst women labourers of being less capable than men which I found in the case of Yekemi in terms of explanations of gendered wage disparities.

However, there is some evidence already of shifts in cultural beliefs around gender and cash crop farming in Yekemi. For instance during a focus group discussion, young Yekemi women cash crop farmers expressed the view that they are 'men'. By this they were referring to the fact that they seek egalitarian relations because they are taking on men's responsibilities in their household 'acting' (but still not actually perceiving themselves to be, only 'acting' as head of households) as if they

were heads of household. It is interesting to note here that the women themselves talked about 'acting' rather than being heads of households. Similarly the women's refusal to allow men to become involved in the sale of their produce illustrates another shift in attitudes towards gender roles. Further mainstreaming of gender into agricultural activities could go a long way in restructuring gender power relations both at household and community levels. This will further erode the issue of hierarchy and the previous belief that women have a low input in development in terms of their work. I believe that in this way better and intimate social relations could also be established. Within this it is important that both women and men have equal access to technology and that women's economic productivity is recognized at local and national levels.

As emphasized in chapter 6, the experiences recounted by Clisby (2005) in Bolivia and by Ng (1993) in Malaysia are worth being emphasized in this conclusion because government intervention and advanced mechanization in these two examples resulted in women being pushed out and men taking over due to benefits attached to the intervention. What Clisby (2005) identified to be responsible for this were both the 'lack of attention paid to gendered analyses of both practical and strategic barriers to women's participation at policy level' and the 'failure to provide adequate and systematic capacity building to facilitate women's participation at local and regional levels' (2005:24). Ng (1993) also identifies that though technology is not gender specific, introduction of advanced mechanization and village and state patriarchal biases are responsible for women being pushed out. According to her the state biases could be seen in their intervention programmes for women such as providing community home economics education programmes for women rather than technical training and support in cash crop production. The

examples provided of community development and agricultural commercialization in Bolivia and Malaysia could equally occur in Yekemi when the government intervention eventually comes. If gender mainstreaming is poorly implemented, women may not be adequately targeted for training or incorporated during interventions. In the negative scenario, proper attention may not be paid to the needs of women cash crop farmers who are fully participating in agricultural commercialization of cash crops production in Yekemi.

Commercialization of agricultural production plays an important role in rural development. For impacts to be felt by rural farmers, there is a need for effective integration of rural farmers into the larger market. From the available empirical data rural cash crop farmers have no direct link with any organization in cash crop production. Their major contact with the market is through their buyers who act as gatekeepers to the main producers. As I have discussed throughout this concluding chapter, in Yekemi an important question for the continuity of women's participation is what will be the effect of government intervention on women cash crop farmers, if it eventually comes? The present dynamics could only be continued or even enhanced if women benefit from government programmes for Yekemi. For, as Brown (2008) observed, not recognizing both genders' participation in agriculture, leads to incorrect records and this results in incorrect policies which compound and perpetuate the problem of women's issues being ignored.

It was clear from my research that in order for Yekemi women to retain their cash crop farming, they have to identify where their power lies to be able to bargain effectively. It remains to be seen how Yekemi women might respond to government intervention into agriculture when it eventually comes.

Bargaining power is used by women to negotiate their roles in agricultural labour. This was the case of Cameroonian women who withdrew their labour from men. According to Cagley and Klawitter, (2009), who here draw on and summarise Jones' (1983) and Quisumbing and Pandolfelli's (2008) studies, both in Cameroon,

‘Jones found that women withdrew labor from men's irrigated rice fields (the main cash crop) and cultivated more sorghum (the main food crop) when they felt that compensation from their husbands (through cash and harvested rice) was not adequate. The returns on sorghum labor were much lower than for irrigated rice so the household was less efficient, but the mutual understanding that women would withdraw labor if not adequately compensated was a way for women to increase bargaining power. Control over their own labor is one of women's few bargaining tools. (Cagley and Klawitter, 2009: 1)

From this it could be established that the agency gained by women for having their own farms enabled them to bargain for their remuneration.

Looking to the future

This is a critical historical transitional period for Yekemi and it will be interesting to see how agricultural change and development plays out, and how these changes impact on gendered power dynamics in the community in the years to come. As a result of my stay and research in the Yekemi community, the village has been brought to the attention of both the local government council authority and the Osun State government. After identifying the problems in the community and having discovered that there is currently no government support for activities there,

and as part of my research activities, I contacted the executive secretary of Ife East Local Government authority to which Yekemi belongs. I made this contact with the blessing of the people of Yekemi with whom I had spoken through my research there. I was able to bring government attention to the problems and efforts in cash crop production in Yekemi. The various authorities acknowledged the fact that Yekemi has been hitherto ignored because of the bad road leading to it. As a result of these visits, a number of activities were immediately made available to Yekemi:

- a) allocation of agricultural extension officers to visit Yekemi community from time to time
- b) a listing of Yekemi amongst those communities due to benefit from all future government interventions / subsidies in agriculture in Osun State
- c) placement of the road leading to Yekemi on government priority list for permanent renovation in the immediate future
- d) free distribution of high yielding cocoa and palm oil seedlings will be made available to both female and male cash crop farmers of Yekemi, direct from the state government.
- e) an establishment of a four-week farmer's field school where local farmers (in principle both men and women) in Yekemi will be trained in the use of hybrid seedlings, new chemicals and so on

In the case of (d) and (e) however, we must observe these processes with some caution as this 'Green Revolution' approach has not always been of long term benefit for all – socially, economically or environmentally. It is worth mentioning here however, that farmers were asking for such training, high-yielding varieties (HYV) of seedlings as well as improved fertilizers and chemicals.

Already the government has invited the people of Yekemi to talk with them and a delegation from the village went to meet with the state government as a result of the link I facilitated between the community and the government. However this initial delegation was all male. I have stressed the importance of including women in the members of the village delegation. During my second visit to the Yekemi community, the community head informed me about their visit to the state government and all the promises the government made concerning the village. With all these developments, it is expected that in the near future the anticipated government interventions will commence in Yekemi community. Based on these developments I now end the thesis with a brief discussion of the possible future outcomes of modernization of agricultural commercialization.

So, if and when agricultural mechanization arrives in Yekemi the critical question is can we use this opportunity to create a beautiful dynamic of empowerment for women in agriculture? Can we enhance and support women in their current roles as producers and enable them to have greater capacity building, decision making power and agency, and commercial success as a result of the introduction of mechanization? Or are we going to see a reconfiguration of an old story, a representation of old narratives of men being targeted, men being able to control and dominate this opportunity of mechanization and commercialization for their own gains, and then displacing women from their activities in Yekemi?

This is then a critical moment in history. In the next decade or less, it seems certain that we are going to see great changes in Yekemi. It could become a flagship for analysis of gender and development of agriculture. Yekemi could become a site people across the world can point to, to show what could happen if introduction of

modernization and mechanization is done well (including incorporating effective gender mainstreaming). It could become a guiding story for others to see what they did in Yekemi - how they introduced commercialization and mechanization in ways that involved women farmers on an equal footing with their male counterparts from the inception. This would be so if the intervention involves the whole community and recognizes women`s active and visible roles as producers. Such an intervention would provide capacity building and extension services directly targeted at the female farmers who are working in Yekemi, supporting them through the chain of buyers and providing capacity building for all women to engage in the buying and selling of their produce. It will also support the mechanized farming of their produce. What an amazing example Yekemi could become. This could be the future. Alternatively, we could point to Yekemi in ten years time and use it as a case study of the opportunity that was missed. This may be so if the mechanization, capacity building, extension services and training are concentrated and targeted at only male farmers, instead of female farmers. Kabeer has identified that ‘the state and the development agencies are not neutral players in the processes of exclusion and inclusion, but rather an active force for better or worse, depending on the interests that they represent’ (Kabeer 1999: viii). I agree, and for Yekemi the role they choose to play will be pivotal for the future of the community and the future of women’s cash crop production. The present question is will the story of Yekemi be different from what has been in the past? It is only future assessment of government programs in Yekemi that can tell.

References

- Aanand, L. (2013) 'Feminist Methodological Approach towards Focus Group Interview Research' *International Journal of Scientific and Research Publications*, Volume 3, Issue 9, September, (www.ijsrp.org)
- Abbott P. and Wallace C. (1990) *An Introduction to Sociology: Feminist Perspectives*. London: Routledge
- Aderibigbe, S. O. (2007) *Competitive Commercial Agriculture in Africa: Nigerian Case Study/ Background paper for the Competitive Commercial Agriculture in Africa study (CCAA) Nigeria Case Study*, Final Report Submitted To The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the World Bank October
- Adesiji G. B., Omoniwa V, Adebayo S. A. Matanmi B. M and Akangbe J. A. (2009) 'Factors Associated With The Youths' Rural-Urban Drift In Kwara State, Nigeria' in *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business* Vol 1, No 8 December. ijcrb.webs.com
- African Development Fund (ADF) (2003) *Republic of Nigeria, Fadama Development Project Appraisal Report*, Agriculture and Rural Development Department Central West Region
- Afshar, H. (1993) 'Women and development: myths and realities; some introductory notes' in Afshar, H. (ed.) *Women development and survival in the Third World*, (2nd impression), London and New York: Longman

Afshar, H. (1993) 'Development and survival Strategies' in Afshar, H. (eds.) *Women Development & Survival in the Third World*, (2nd impression) London and New York: Longman.

AGRA (Undated) 2020: *Strategy for African Green Revolution - Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa*, partnership-africa.org/.../agra-2020-strategy-african-green-revolution

Agarwal, B. (1993) 'Agricultural mechanization and labour use: a disaggregated approach' in Afshar H. (ed.) *Women development and survival in the Third World*, (2nd impression) London and New York: Longman

Akande, O. (2003) *Nigeria Macro Report: A Report to Afrint Project* July, blog.sam.lu.se/afrint/pdf/nigmacro.pdf

Akeroyd, A.V. (1993) 'Gender, food production and property rights: constraints on women farmers in southern Africa' in Afshar H. (ed.) *Women Development and Survival in the Third World* (2nd impression), London and New York: Longman

Akinlo, A. E. (2012) 'How Important is Oil in Nigeria's Economic Growth?' *Journal of Sustainable Development* Vol. 5, No. 4; April www.ccsenet.org/jsd

Akinyele, O. (2005) *Poverty, Malnutrition and the Public Health Dilemma of Disease* University of Ibadan Postgraduate School Interdisciplinary Research Discourse 2005 Ibadan: University of Ibadan

Alsop, R., Fitzsimons, A., and Lennon, K. (eds.) (2002) *Theorizing Gender: An Introduction*, Oxford UK: Polity Press

Arnon, I. (1981) *Modernization of Agriculture in Developing Countries: Resources, Potentials and Problems*, New York: John Wiley & Sons

Aworemi, J. R., Abdul-Azeez, I. A. and Opoola, N. A. (2011) 'An Appraisal of the Factors Influencing Rural-Urban Migration in Some Selected Local Government Areas of Lagos State Nigeria' *Journal of Sustainable Development* Vol. 4, No. 3; June (www.ccsenet.org/jsd)

Ayanwale, A. B. and Alimi, T. (2004) 'The Impact of the National Fadama Facility in Alleviating Rural Poverty and Enhancing Agricultural Development in South Western Nigeria' in *Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 9, No. 3 Kamal Raj

Bates, R. (1981), *Markets and States in Tropical Africa*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press

Bell, J. (2005) *Doing Your Research Project: A guide for first-time researchers in education, health and social science* (4 edition) Berkshire: Open University Press

Bello, W. F., Cunningham, S. and Rau, B. (1994) *Dark Victory: The United States, Structural Adjustment, and Global Poverty*, Institute for Food and Development Policy Transnational Institute Series. Oakland, Calif.: Institute for Food and Development Policy (Food First)

Berhane, H. (1993) *Analysis of the Approach to addressing Gender Issues in the Information Sciences and Systems Division*, International Development Research Centre (IDRC) Ottawa, Ontario, (<http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/10856/1/95807.pdf>)

Bernard, H. R. (1995) *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (2nd Ed) Alta Mira, Walnut Creek, CA

Bernstein, H. Crow, B. and Johnson, H. (eds.) (1992) *Rural Livelihoods: Crises and Responses*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Bernstein, H. (2004) 'Colonialism, Capitalism, Development', in Allen, T. & Thomas, A. (eds.) *Poverty and Development in to the 21st Century*, Oxford: O. U. Press

Binswanger, H. P. and von Braun, J. (1991) 'Technological Change and Commercialization in Agriculture: The Effect on the Poor' *The World Bank Research Observer*, vol. 6, no. 1, January

Blau, F. D. and Ferber, M. A. (1986) *The Economics of Women, Men and Work*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs

Body, R. (1982) *Agriculture: The Triumph and the Shame*, London: Temple Smith

Boserup, E. (1970). *Women's Role in Economic Development*. London: Allen and Unwin

Bradshaw, York W., and Jie, H. (1991) 'Intensifying Global Dependency: Foreign Debt, Structural Adjustment, and Third World Underdevelopment', *Sociological Quarterly* Vol. 32

Braidotti, R., Charkiewicz, E., Hausler, S. and Wieringa, S. (1997) 'Women, the Environment and Sustainable Development' in Visvanathan, N., Duggan, L.,

Nisonoff, L., and Wiegersma, N. (eds.) (2002), *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*, London: Zed Books

Braidotti, R., Charkiewicz, E., Hausler, S. and Wieringa, S. (1997) *Women, the Environment and Sustainable Development: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis*, London: Zed Books

Brown, L. (2008) 'Women Make Income Gains by Shifting from Subsistence to Cash Crops' in 'Making Agriculture a Development Priority', *Development Outreach World Bank Institute*. Vol. 10, No.3

Bryceson, D. F. (2002) 'The Scramble in Africa: Reorienting Rural Livelihoods', *World Development*, Vol. 30, No. 5

Brydon, L. (1993) 'Gender and Rural Production' in Brydon and Chant *Women in the Third World: Gender Issues in Rural and Urban Areas*, England: Edward Elgar Publishing

Brydon, L and Chant, S. (1993) *Women in The Third World: Gender Issues in Rural and Urban Areas*. England: Edward Elgar Publishing

Buvinic and Mehra (1990) 'Women in Agriculture' in Eicher, C. K. and Staatz, J. M. (eds.) (1990) *Agricultural Development in the Third World* (Second edition) Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press

Byerlee, D., De Janvry, A., and Sadoulet, E, (2009) 'Agriculture for development: Toward a New Paradigm' *Annual Review of Resource Economics* 1, (gspp.berkeley.edu/assets/uploads/.../Annual_Review_of_ResEcon7.pdf)

Cadoni, P. (2013) 'Analysis of incentives and disincentives for cocoa in Nigeria'. Technical notes series, MAFAP, FAO, Rome, (http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/mafap/documents/technical_notes/NIGERIA/NIGERIA_Technical_Note_COA_EN_Feb2013.pdf)

Cagley, H. C. and Klawitter, M. (2009) 'Gender and Cropping: Rice in Sub Saharan Africa' with assistance from Georgine Yorgey. Prepared for the Science and Technology Team of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (http://evans.washington.edu/files/Evans%20UW_Request%2027_Gender_and_Cropping_Rice_in_SSA_05-09-2009.pdf)

Canadian Agric-Food Report (2011) *Agri-Food Trade Service Agri-Food Past, Present and Future Report Nigeria* (<http://www.ats.agr.gc.ca/sah/4145-eng.htm>)

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (2011) *The World Factbook*, November 2, 2011 (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ni.htm>)

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (2014) *The World Factbook* (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ni.html>)

Chant, S. (1989) 'Gender and Reproduction in Urban Areas' in Brydon, L and Chant, S. (1989) *Women in The Third World: Gender Issues in Rural and Urban Areas*. England, Edward Elgar Publishing

Chant, S. (1992) 'Migration at the margins: Gender, poverty, and population movement on the Costa Rican periphery' in Chant, S. (ed.) *Gender and migration in developing countries*, New York: Belhaven Press

Chant, S. (2008) 'The "Feminisation of Poverty" and the "Feminisation" of Anti-Poverty Programmes: Room for Revision?' *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 2

Charlton, S. E. M. (1984) *Women in Third World Development*, Boulder and London: Westview Press

Christiaensen, Luc; Demery, Lionel, and Kuhl, Jesper (2010) 'The (evolving) role of agriculture in poverty reduction—an empirical perspective', *Journal of Development Economics*, (www.ifad.org/drd/agriculture/13.htm)

Cleaver, F (2002) 'Men and Masculinities: New Directions in Gender and Development' in Cleaver, F. (ed.) *Masculinities matter!: Men, Gender, and Development*, London: Zed Books

Cleaver, F. (ed.) (2002) *Masculinities matter!: Men, Gender, and Development*. London, Zed Books

Clisby, S. (2005) 'Gender mainstreaming or just more male-streaming? Experiences of popular participation in Bolivia' in *Gender and Development: Mainstreaming a critical review*, vol. 13 No.2

Cloud, K. (1977) *Sex Roles in Food Production and Food Distribution Systems in the Sahel*, Report to the U. S. Agency for International Development Washington, D.C.)

Cockburn, C. (1983) *Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change*, Pluto Press, London

Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP) Nigeria (2013) 'CAADP Brochure 1: Review of Ongoing Agricultural Development Efforts' *CAADP Country Brochures*, (<http://www.resakss.org/sites/default/files/pdfs//nigeria-caadp-brochure-1-review-of-ongoing-agricul-43000.pdf>)

Connelly, M. P., Li, T. M., MacDonald, M. and Parpart, J. L. (2000) 'Feminism and Development: Theoretical Perspectives' in Parpart, J. L., Connelly, M. P. & Barriteau, V. E. (eds.) *Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development*, IDRC, Canada

Corbridge, S. (ed.) (1995) *Development Studies: A Reader*, London: Edward Arnold

Cornwall, A., Harrison, E. and Whitehead, A. (eds.) (2007) *Feminisms in Development: Contradictions, Contestations and Challenges*, London: Zed Books

Cornwall, A., Harrison, E. and Whitehead, A. (eds.) (2008) *Gender Myths and Feminist Fables: The Struggle for Interpretive Power in Gender and Development*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing

De Haas, H. and Van Rooij, A. (2010) 'Migration as Emancipation? The Impact of Internal and International migration on the Position of Women Left Behind in Rural Morocco', *Oxford Development Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 3

De Janvry, A. (2009) *Agriculture for development: New paradigm and options for success* Elmhirst Lecture, IAAE Conference, Beijing, August 16-22, (<http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/53202/2/Elmhirst%20IAAE%20Beijing%20de%20Janvry2.pdf>)

De Janvry, A. And Sadoulet E. (2010) 'Agriculture for development in sub-Saharan Africa: An update' *AfJARE* Vol. 5, No. 1 (http://www.afjare.org/resources/issues/vol_5_no1/1%20%20De%20Janvry%20%26%20Sadoulet%20-%20FINAL.pdf)

Dennis C. (1993) 'Constructing a 'Career' Under Conditions of Economic Crisis and Structural Adjustment: The Survival Strategies of Nigerian Women' in Afshar, H. (ed.) *Women Development & Survival in the Third World* (2nd impression), London and New York: Longman

Detheir, Jean-Jacques and Effenberger, Alexandra (2012) 'Agriculture and Development: A Brief Review of the Literature' *Economic Systems* 36, (<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0939362512000271>)

Dey, J. (1981) 'Gambian Women: Unequal Partners in Rice Development Projects'. *Journal of Development Studies* 17, no. 3

Dey, J. (1985) 'Women in African rice farming systems' in *Women in Rice Farming: Proceedings of a conference on Women in Rice Farming Systems*, the International Rice Research Institute, Manila, Philippines, 26-30 September Andershot, England: Gower

Diao, X., Hazell, P., Resnick, D. and Thurlow, J. (2007) *The Role of Agriculture in Development: Implications for Sub-Saharan Africa*. Research Report 153. IFPRI: Washington, D.C. (<http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/pubs/pubs/abstract/153/rr153.pdf>)

Díaz-Bonilla, E., Robinson, S., Thomas, M. and Yanoma, Y. (2002) *WTO, Agriculture, and Developing Countries: A Survey of Issues in Trade and*

Macroeconomics Division International Food Policy Research Institute Discussion
Paper No. 81

Dixon-Mueller, R. B. (1985) 'Women's work in Third World Agriculture: concepts and indicators' ILO *Women, Work and Development* Series No. 9

Dixon, C. (1990) *Rural Development in the Third World* London: Routledge

Dixon, C. (1994) *Rural Development in the Third World* London: Routledge

Dorward, A and Morrison, J. (2014 Draft) 'Heroes, villains and victims: agricultural subsidies and their impacts on food security and poverty reduction' Draft chapter for Robinson, G., D Schmallegger and J Cleary (eds.) *Handbook on The Globalisation of Agriculture*. Edward Elgar (<http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/16754/1/Subsidies%20chapter%20%20Dorward%20Morrison%20posted.pdf>)

Doss, C. (2013) *Data Needs for Gender Analysis in Agriculture* IFPRI Discussion Paper 01261 (www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/ifpri01261.pdf)

Eicher, C. K. and Staatz, J. M. (eds.) (1990) *Agricultural Development in the Third World* (Second edition) Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press

Elson, D. and Pearson, R. (1998) 'The Subordination of Women and the Internationalization of Factory Production' in Visvanathan, Duggan, Nisonoff and Wiegersma (ed.) *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*, London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd.

Enete and Amusa (2010) 'Contribution of Men and Women to Farming Decisions in Cocoa based Agroforestry Housholds of Ekiti State, Nigeria' in *TROPICULTURA*, Vol. 28, No. 2

Eurodad (the European Network on Debt and Development) (2006) *World Bank and IMF conditionality: a development injustice* Eurodad report June 2006 (http://www.eurodad.org/uploadedfiles/whats_new/reports/eurodad_world_bank_and_imf_conditionality_report.pdf)

Evenson R. E. and Gollin, D. (2003) 'Assessing the Impact of the Green Revolution-1960 to 2000', *Science*. Vol. 300, DOI: 10.1126/science.1078710 (www.sciencemag.org)

Ezumah, Nkoli. N. and Di Domenico C. M. (1995) 'Enhancing the Role of Women in Crop Production: A Case Study of Igbo Women in Nigeria', *World Development*, Vol. 23, No. 10

Fairbank, A.; Clisby, S.; Holdsworth, J. and Miles, H. (2007) *Breakthrough: Researching Gendered Experiences of Education and Employment in Yorkshire and Humberside*. Report 4: Women's Experiences of Work: Breaking Through the Barriers. European Social Fund in conjunction with Research Papers in Social Sciences and Policy, University of Hull

Farnworth, C. R. (2010) 'Gender and Agriculture' in 'Platform Policy Brief' No. 3 // December, (http://www.pandiawarleggan.com/pdf/PolicyBrief-Genderand_Agriculture-21122010.pdf)

Fischer, E. and Qaim, M. (2012) *Gender, Agricultural Commercialization, And Collective Action In Kenya* In Selected Papers prepared for presentation at the International Association of Agricultural Economists (IAAE) Triennial Conference, Foz do Iguaçu, Brazil, 18-24 August (<http://ageconsearch.umn.edu/bitstream/126659/2/Fischer.pdf>)

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) (n.d.) *Mechanization*, (<http://www.fao.org/tc/exact/sustainable-agriculture-platform-pilot-website/energy-management/mechanization/en/>)

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) (2003) *The State of Food Insecurity in the World 2003: monitoring progress towards the World Food Summit and Millennium Development Goals*, Viale delle Terme di Caracalla, 00100 Rome, Italy (<ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/006/j0083e/j0083e00.pdf>)

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations & UNDO (2008) *Agricultural mechanization in Africa... Time for action* Planning investment for enhanced agricultural productivity Report of an Expert Group Meeting January 2008, Vienna, Austria

Fontana, M. And Paciello, C. (2010) *Gender dimensions of rural and agricultural employment: Differentiated pathways out of poverty a global perspective*, Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, the International Fund for Agricultural Development and the International Labour Office Rome (www.fao.org/docrep/013/i1638e/i1638e.pdf)

Frankema, Ewout (2013) *Africa and the Green Revolution: A Global Historical Perspective* Inaugural lecture upon taking up the post of Professor of Rural and

Environmental History at Wageningen University on 23 May 2013
(<http://edepot.wur.nl/264765>)

Gallin, R.S. (1996) 'State, Gender, and the Organization of Business in Rural Taiwan in Moghadam, V. M. (ed.) *Patriarchy and Economic Development: Women's Positions at the End of the Twentieth Century*. A study prepared for the World Institute for Development Economics Research of the United Nations University (UNU/WIDER) Oxford: Clarendon Press

García, Z. et al. (2006) 'Agriculture, trade negotiations and gender' in the FAO Gender and Population Division of the UN interagency publication on *Gender and Trade: Challenges and Opportunities*, 2004, United Nations Rome

Ghosh, J. (2013) *Why farming subsidies still distort advantages and cause food insecurity* (<http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2013/nov/27/farming-subsidies-distort-advantages-food-insecurity>)

Gonzalez de la Rocha, M. (2008) 'The Construction of the Myth of Survival' in Cornwall, A., Harrison, E. and Whitehead, A. (eds.) *Gender Myths and Feminist Fables: The Struggle for Interpretive Power in Gender and Development*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing

Greenberg, J. B. (1997) 'A Political Ecology of Structural-Adjustment Policies: The Case of the Dominican Republic Culture, Agriculture, Food and Environment' *The Journal of Culture & Agriculture* Vol. 19, No. 3 Fall

Gordon, A. A. (1996) *Transforming Capitalism and Patriarchy: Gender and Development in Africa*. London: Lynne Rienner

Hamilton, S., Asturias, L. and Tevalán, B (2000) 'Women the Myth of Masculine Market: Gender and Agricultural Commercialization in Ecuadorean Andes' in Spring A. (ed.) *Women Farmers and Commercial Ventures: Increasing food Security in Developing Countries* Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner (books.google.co.uk/books?isbn=1555878695)

Harding, S. (1987) 'Introduction: is there a feminist method?' in S. Harding (ed.) *Feminism and Methodology*, Milton Keynes: Open University Press

Harrison, D. (1988) *The Sociology of Modernisation and Development*, London: Routledge

Hartmann (2005) 'Foreword Report' in Manyong, V. M., Ikpi, A., Olayemi, J. K., Yusuf, S. A., Omonona, B. T., Okoruwa, V. and Idachaba, F. S. *Agriculture in Nigeria: identifying opportunities for increased commercialization and investment*. Ibadan: International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA)

Haviland, W.A. (1990) *Cultural Anthropology*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, London

Heintz, James. 2006. *Globalization, Economic Policy and Employment: Poverty and Gender Implications*. Employment Policy Unit, Employment Strategy Department, International Labour Organization, Geneva

Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2012) 'Feminist Research: Exploring, Interrogating, and Transforming the Interconnections of Epistemology, Methodology, and Method' in Hesse-Biber, S. N. (ed.) *Handbook of Feminist Research: theory and Praxis* (Second Edition), Sage Publications, (http://www.sagepub.com-upm-data-43563_1)

Hewitt, T. (2004) 'Half a Century of Development' in Allen, T. and Thomas, A. (eds.) *Poverty and Development into the 21st Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Hinderink, J. and Sterkenburg, J. J. (1987) *Agricultural Commercialization and Government Policy in Africa*, London and New York: KPI Limited

Holmes, R. and Slater, R. (2007) *Realising gender in agricultural policies: The fight for equality is not over* ODI Blog. Accessed at: (<http://blogs.odi.org.uk/blogs/main/archive/2007/12/07/1760.aspx>)

Hugo, G. (2000) "Migration and women's empowerment" In Harriet Presser and Gita Sen (eds.), *Women's Empowerment and Demographic Processes: Moving Beyond Cairo*, Oxford; Oxford University Press

Hulme, D and Turner, M. (1994) *Sociology and Development: Theories, Policies and Practices*, London: Harvester Wheatsheaf,

Ikechukwu, U. B and Chukemeka, E.E.O. (2013) 'Enhancing Rural Development In Nigeria: Periscoping The Impediments and Exploring Imperative Measures' *Singaporean Journal Of Business Economics, and Management Studies* Vol.1, No.8

International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2010) *Gender and Rural Employment Policy Brief #6: Making migration work for women and men in rural labour markets* (http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---migrant/documents/publication/wcms_225228.pdf)

Irving, Z. (2008) 'gender and work' in Richardson and Robinson (eds.) *Introducing Gender and Women's Studies*, Palgrave Macmillan (Third edition)

- Jaleta, M., Gebremedhin, B. and Hoekstra D. (2009) 'Smallholder commercialization: Processes, determinants and impact'. Discussion Paper No. 18. *Improving Productivity and Market Success (IPMS) of Ethiopian Farmers Project*, ILRI (International Livestock Research Institute), Nairobi, Kenya
- Jiggins, J. (2011) 'Foresight Project on Global Food and Farming Futures' *Science Review* SR: 48, Gender the food system in Government for science foresight, UK
- Jones, C. (1983). 'The mobilization of women's labor for cash crop production: A game theoretic approach'. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Vol.65, No.5
- Johnston, B. F. and Mellor, J. W. (1961) 'The Role Of Agriculture In Economic Development' *American Economic Review* Vol. 51, No. 4
- Kabeer, N. (1994) *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought* London and New York: Verso
- Kabeer, N. and Subrahmanian, R. (1999) 'Introduction' in Kabeer, N. and Subrahmanian, R. (eds.) *Institutions, Relations and Outcomes: A Framework and Case Studies for Gender-Aware Planning*, London and New York: Zed books
- Kandiyoti, D. (1998) 'Bargaining with Patriarchy' in Visvanathan, N., Duggan, L., Nisonoff, L., and Wiegiersma, N. (ed.) *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*, London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd
- Krueger, A., Schiff, M. and Valdes, A. (1988) 'Agricultural incentives in developing countries: measuring the effect of sectoral and economy wide policies', *World Bank Economic Review* 2–3

Lall, S. (1995) 'Structural Adjustment and African Industry' *World Development*, Vol. 23, No. 12, Great Britain: Elsevier Science Ltd Printed. (<http://www.science-direct.com/science/article/pii/0305750X9500103J>)

Leavy, J. and Poulton, C. (2007) *Commercialisations in Agriculture*, FAC Working Paper 03, Brighton: Future Agricultures Consortium (http://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/123456789/2345/FAC_Working_Paper_003.pdf?sequence=1)

Lele, U. J. (1975) *The Design of Rural Development – Lessons from Africa*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins press

Lewis, W.A., (1954) *Economic development with unlimited supply of labor*. Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies 22 May

Ling, C. Y. (1991) 'Women Environment and Development: The Malaysian Experience' in Wallace and March (eds.) *Changing Perceptions: writings on gender and development*, Oxford: Oxfam

Lipton, M., (1977) *Why Poor People Stay Poor: Urban Bias and World Development*. London: Harvard University Press, Temple Smith

Lubeck, Paul. M. (1992) 'The Crisis of African Development-Conflicting Interpretations and Resolutions', *Annual Review of Sociology* 18

Mahaliyanaarchichi, R. and Bandara, R. (2006) 'Commercialization of Agriculture and Role of Agricultural Extension', *Sabaragamuwa University Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp.13-22

Manyong, V. M., Ikpi, A., Olayemi, J. K., Yusuf, S. A., Omonona, B. T., Okoruwa, V. and Idachaba, F. S. (2005) *Agriculture in Nigeria: identifying opportunities for increased commercialization and investment*. Ibadan: International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA)

March, C., Smyth, I. A. and Mukhopadhyay M. (1999) *A guide to gender –analysis frameworks*, Oxford: Oxfam

Marchand, M. H. and Parpart, J. L. (eds.) (1995) *Feminism / Postmodernism / Development*, London: Routledge

Marie Riley, O. P. (2001) *From Women in Development to Gender and Trade*
Reprinted from the Center of Concern's quarterly newsletter, CENTER FOCUS,
Issue # 152, June (https://www.coc.org/files/cf152_601_womens_0.pdf)

Maxwell, S. and Fernando, A. (1989) 'Cash Crops in Developing Countries: The issues, the Facts, the Policies' in *World Development*, Vol.17, No. 11, Great Britain: Pergamon

McClintock, A. (1993) 'The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the term post-colonialism' in Williams P. and Chrisman, L. (eds.) *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory: A Reader* New York and London: Harvester Wheatsheaf

McInosh, Marjorie Keniston (2009) *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*, Indiana: Indiana University Press

McIntyre, B. D., Herren, H. R., Wakhungu, J. and Watson, R. T. (eds.) (2009) *Synthesis Report with Executive Summary: A Synthesis of the Global and Sub-*

Global, International Assessment of Agricultural knowledge, Science and Technology for Development (IAASTD) reports

McLeod, J. and Thomson, R. (2009), *Researching Social Change: Qualitative Approaches*, London: SAGE

Meijerink, G. and Roza, P. (2007) 'The role of agriculture in economic development', *Markets Chains, and Sustainable Development Strategy and Policy Paper*, no. 5. Stichting DLO: Wageningen. <http://www.boci.wur.nl/UK/Publications>

Mies, M. (1986) *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale. Women in the International Division of Labour*, London: Zed Books

Moghadam, V. M. (ed.) (1996) *Patriarchy and Economic Development: Women's Positions at the End of the Twentieth Century*. A study prepared for the World Institute for Development Economics Research of the United Nations University (UNU/WIDER) Oxford: Clarendon Press

Momsen, J. H. (1991) *Women and Development in the Third World*, London: Routledge

Momsen, J. H. and Kinnaird, V. (eds.) (1993) *Different Places, Different Voices: Gender and Development in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, London: Routledge

Momsen, J. H. (1996) *Gender and Development*, London: Routledge

Momsen, J. H. (2010) *Gender and Development*, London: Routledge

Morgan, W.B. (1977) *Agriculture in the Third World: A Spatial Analysis*, London: G. Bell & Sons Ltd

- Moore, W. E. (1963) *Social Change* Englewood Cliff. N. J.: Prentice – Hall
- Moser, C. (1989) ‘Gender Planning In the Third World: Meeting Practical and Strategic Gender Needs’ *World Development*, Vol. 7 No. 2
- Moser, C. (1993) *Gender Planning and Development. Theory, Practice and Training*, New York: Routledge
- Mosse, J. C. (1993) *Half the World half the Chance: An Introduction to Gender and Development*, Oxford: Oxfam
- Mtsor, Y. G. and Idisi, P.D. (2014) ‘Gender inequality and women participation in agricultural development in Nigeria’, *Merit Research Journal of Education and Review*, Vol. 2. No. 11, November
- National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) (2012) *2011 and Estimates for Q1 – Q2, 2012 Gross Domestic Product for Nigeria* (www.nigerianstat.gov.ng)
- National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) (2013) *2013 and Estimates for Q1 – Q2, 2013 Gross Domestic Product for Nigeria* (www.nigerianstat.gov.ng)
- Nchuchuwe, F. F. and Adejuwon, K. D. (2012) ‘The Challenges of Agriculture and Rural Development in Africa: The Case of Nigeria’ *International Journal of Academic Research in Progressive Education and Development* July, Vol. 1, No. 3
- Ng, C. (1993) ‘Malay women and rice production in west Malaysia’ in Afshar, H. (ed.) (1993) *Women Development and Survival in the Third World*, (Second Impression) London and New York: Longman

Ngambeki, D. S. (2003) *Towards a Green Revolution in Africa: Harnessing Science and Technology for Sustainable Modernisation of Agriculture and Rural Transformation* (SMART/AGRI) Economic Commission for Africa, Sustainable Development Division, (http://repository.uneca.org/bitstream/handle/10855/3810/bib-29687_I.pdf?sequence=1)

Nicholls, W. H. (1964) 'The Place of Agriculture in Economic Development' in Eicher, C. K. and Witt, L. W. (eds.) *Agriculture in Economic Development*, New York: McGraw-Hill

Nwokocha, E. E. (2007) *Engaging the Burden of Rural-Urban Migration in a Non-Regulatory System: the case of Nigeria*, paper presented at 7th Berlin Roundtables on Transnationality and Migration into Cities, Berlin Germany, 24-28 October

Nyagba, S. (2009) *Review of Nigeria's Rural Development Policy for sustainable Development* paper presented at Business Round Table at Abuja, 9 – 11 July

Odame, H. H., Hafkin, N., Wesseler, G., and Boto, I. (2002) *Gender and Agriculture in the Information Society*, Briefing Paper 55, The Hague: International Service for National Agricultural Research, (<http://isnar.cigar.org>)

Ogen, O. (2007) 'The agricultural sector and Nigeria's development: comparative perspectives from the Brazilian agro industrial economy, 1960-1995', *Nebula Journal Australia*, Vol. 4, No.1 (<http://www.nobleworld.biz/images/Ogen.pdf>)

Ogunlela Y. I. and Mukhtar A. A. (2009) 'Gender Issues in Agriculture and Rural Development in Nigeria: The Role of Women' in *Humanity & Social Science Journal.*, Vol. 4, No. 1

- Ojo, E. (2004) 'Women and the Family' in Lawal, N.S. et al. (eds.) (2004) *Understanding Yoruba Life and Culture* Eritrea: African World Press
- Okhankhuele, O. T. and Opafunso, O. Z. (2013) 'Causes and Consequences of Rural-Urban Migration Nigeria: A Case Study of Ogun Waterside Local Government Area of Ogun State, Nigeria' in *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, Vol.16 No.1 (<http://www.bjournal.co.uk/BJASS.aspx>)
- Olatunbosun, D. (1975) *Nigeria's Neglected Rural Majority*. Ibadan: Oxford University Press
- Olurode, L. (2003) 'Gender, Globalisation and Marginalisation in Africa' in *Africa Development*, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 3 & 4, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
- Onwumere, J. and Njoku, M. E. (2010) 'Profitability and Viability Analyses of Small-Holder Cocoa Production Three Management Systems in Abia State Nigeria: A Study For Commercialization Implications', *Journal of Agriculture and Social Research (JASR)* VOL. 10, No. 2
- Onipede, K. J. (2011) 'Oye-Ekiti Community in Ibadan' in *Stud Tribes Tribals*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (www.krepublishers.com/.../S-T&T-09-2-123-11-221-Onipede-K-J-Tt.pdf)
- Ostergaard, L. (ed.) (1992) *Gender and Development: A Practical Guide*, London: Routledge
- Osun State Ministry of Lands and Physical Planning, Osogbo (2010) *Osun State Tree Crops Project* <http://osunagric.org/tree-crops-project>

Oxfam (2013) *Gender inequality in cocoa farming in Ivory Coast*, <http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/gender-inequality-cocoa-ivory-coast.pdf>

Oyinloye K. A and Usman J. M. (1999) 'Assessment of Economic Activities of Cocoa Liscenced buying agents (IBAS) in Odeda Local Government Area of Ogun State Nigeria Akoka' in *Journal of Technology and Science Education* Vol. 3, No. 1

Parpart, J. L. Connelly, M. P. and Barriteau, V. E. (2000) *Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development*, International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada

Perry, D. L. (2005) 'Wolof Women, Economic Liberalization, and the Crisis of Masculinity in Rural Senegal' *Ethnology* Vol. 44 No. 3, Summer, The University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, PA USA

Peterman, A., Quisumbing, A., Behrman, J. and Nkonya, E. (2011) 'Understanding the Complexities Surrounding Gender Differences in Agricultural Productivity in Nigeria and Uganda', *The Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 10

Pinder, C. and Wood, D. (2003) *Socio-economic Impact of Commercial Agriculture on Rural Poor and other Vulnerable Groups* for DFID Zambia, Feb

Pingali, P. L., and Rosegrant M. W. (1995) 'Agricultural Commercialization and Diversification: Pro-cesses and Policies.' *Food Policy* Vol. 20, June

Pingali, P. L. (2012) 'Green Revolution: Impacts, limits, and the path ahead'. *PNAS* July, Vol. 109, No. 31 (www.pnas.org/cgi/doi/10.1073/pnas.0912953109)

Potter R. B., Binns, T, Elliott, J. A. and Smith, D. (2008) *Geographies of Development: An Introduction to Development Studies* (Third Edition) Pearson Education Ltd, Essex

Pretty, N. J. (1995) *Regenerating Agriculture: Policies and Practice for Sustainability and Self-Reliance*. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd

Prügl's E. (1996) 'Home-Based Workers: A Comparative Exploration of Mies's Theory of Housewifization' *Frontiers: Journal of Women Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1

Quisumbing, A., and Pandolfelli, L. (2008) *Promising approaches to address the needs of poor female farmers*, Washington D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute

Radel, C. (2011) 'Becoming Farmers: Opening Spaces for Women's Resource Control in Calakmul', *Mexico Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 46, No. 2, by the Latin American Studies Association

Rai, S. M. (2004) *Gender and the Political Economy of Development: from Nationalism to Globalisation*, Cambridge: Polity

Rathgeber, E. M. (1989) *WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice*, International Development Research Centre, Ottawa

Rogers, B. (1980) *The Domestication of Women: Discrimination In Developing Societies* London: Kogan Page

Rushing, A. B. (1996) 'On Becoming a Feminist: Learning from Africa' in Terborg-Penn, R and Rushing, A. B. (eds.) *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora: A Reader* (Second Edition) Washington, DC: Howard University Press

Sachs, C. (1996) *Gendered Fields: Rural Women, Agriculture, and Environment*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Sanni, L. (2010) 'Distribution Pattern of Healthcare Facilities in Osun State, Nigeria' *Ethiopian Journal of Environmental Studies and Management* Vol.3 No.2

Sarantakos, S. (2005) 'Feminist research' in Sarantakos, S. (ed.) *Social Research*, (Third edition), Palgrave Macmillan (<http://www.palgrave.com-sociology-sarantakos-docs-chapter3.pdf>)

Satyavathi C. T., Bharadwaj C.H. and Brahmanand P.S. (2010) 'Role of Farm Women in Agriculture: Lessons Learned' *Gender Technology and Development* (<http://gtd.sagepub.com/content/14/3/441>)

Sen, A. (1995) 'Gender Inequality and Theories of Justice', in Martha Nussbaum and Jonaathan Glove (eds.), *Women, Culture and Development*, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Sen, A. (2001) *Many faces of gender inequality* (<http://www.frontlineonnet.com/fl1822/18220040.htm>)

Shaw, D. (2008) 'Pre Capitalist World' in Daniel, P., Bradshaw, M., Shaw, D., and Sidaway, J (ed.) *An Introduction to Human Geography, Issues for the 21ST Century* (3rd Edition) London: Pearson

Shiva, V. (1988) *Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India*, London: Zed Book

Shiva, V. (1993) *The Violence of the Green Revolution: Third World Agriculture, Ecology and Politics* London and New Jersey: Zed Book

Shukla, A. (2011) *Wwhat is the definition of Development?* (<http://www.paggu.com/getting-into-roots/what-is-the-definition-of-development>)

Silverman, D. (2000) *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*, London: SAGE Publications

Sinha, B., Jha, S. and Negi, N. S. (2012) 'Migration and Empowerment: The experience of women in households in India where migration of a husband has occurred', *Journal of Gender Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2012.639551>)

Siwar, C., Alam, M., Murad, W. & Al-Amin, A. (2009) 'Impacts of Climate Change on Agricultural Sustainability and Poverty' in *Malaysia International Review of Business Research Papers* Vol. 5, No. 6 November

Sobha, I. (2007) 'Green Revolution: Impact on Gender' in *Journal of Human Ecology*, Vol. 22, No. 2

Sorensen, P. (1996) 'Commercialization of Food Crops in Busoga, Uganda and the Renegotiation of Gender', *Gender and Society*, Vol. 10, No. 5

Spring A. (2000) 'Commercialization and Women Farmers: Old Paradigms and New Themes' in Spring A. (ed.) *Women Farmers and Commercial Ventures: Increasing*

food Security in Developing Countries' Lynne Rienner, (http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/aspring/publications/Spring_2000_WomenFarmers_Chpt1.pdf)

Stanley, L. and Wise, S (2008) 'Feminist Methodology Matters' in Richardson and Robinson (eds.) *Introducing Gender and Women's Studies* (third Edition) Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Staudt, K. (1987) 'Women's Politics, the State, and Capitalist Transformation in Africa' in Markovitz, Irving L. (ed.) *Studies in Power and Class in Africa*, New York: Oxford University Press

Sudarkasa, N. (1987) 'The 'Status of Women' in Indigenous African Societies' in Terborg-Penn, R., Harley, S. and Rushing, A. B. (eds.) *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora* Washington, D. C.: Howard University Press

Sunstein, C. R. (1995) 'Gender, Caste, and Law' in Nussbaum, M. C. And Glover, J. (eds.) *Women, Culture, and Development a study of Human Capabilities*, World Institute for Development Economics Research (WIDER) of the United Nations, University Oxford: Clarendon Press

Terborg-Penn, R and Rushing, A. B. (eds.) (1996) *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora: A Reader* (2nd Ed.) Washington, DC: Howard University Press

The United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) (1997) *Gender*(<http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/gender/newsite2002/about/defin.htm>)

Timmer, C. P. (1997) 'Farmers and Markets: The Political Economy of New Paradigms', *American Journal of Agricultural Economics*, Vol. 79, No. 2 May, (<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1244161>)

Tinker, I. (1976) 'The Adverse Impact of Development on Women', in *Women and World Development*, I. Tinker and M. Bramsen (eds.), Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council

Todaro, M. P. (1994) *Economic Development* (5th ed.) New York, London: Longman.

Todaro, M. P. and Smith, S. C. (2012) *Economic Development* (11th Edition) Boston: Addison-Wesley

Toenniessen, G., Adesina, A. and Devries, J. (2008) 'Building an Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa' *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* Vol. 1136

Townsend, J. (1993) 'Housewifisation and Colonisation in the Colombia Rainforest' in Momsen, J. H. and Kinnaird, V. (eds.) *Different Places, Different Voices: Gender and Development in Africa, Asia and Latin America*. London; Routledge

United Nations (1997), *Gender Mainstreaming*, Report of the Economic and Social Council For 1997 (A/52/3, 18 September) Chapter IV (<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/GMS.PDF>)

United Nations, (1999), *World Survey on the Role of Women in Development*, New York: United Nations

United Nations (2011) *World Economic and Social Survey 2011: Towards a truly Green Revolution for Food Security* (www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/.../2011_wess_chapter3.pdf)

UTZ/CSN (2009) *The Role of Certification and Producer Support in Reducing Gender Inequality in Cocoa Production*, (https://www.utzcertified.org/attachments/article/92/CocoaGenderUTZSolidaridad_2009.pdf)

Van Vuuren, J. Anke (2003) 'Women striving for self-reliance: The diversity of female-headed households in Tanzania and the livelihood strategies they employ' *African Studies Centre Research Report 67/2003*, Published by African Studies Centre

Varshney, A. (1993) 'Introduction: Urban Bias in Perspective' in *The Journal of Development Studies* Vol. 29, Issue 4, Special Issue: Beyond Urban Bias (http://ashutoshvarshney.net/wp-content/files_mf/urbanbiasinperspective49.pdf)

Visvanathan, N. (2002) 'Introduction to Part 1' in Visvanathan, N., Duggan, L., Nisonoff, L., and Wiegiersma, N. (eds.) *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*, London and New Jersey: ZED Books LTD

Visvanathan, N., Duggan, L., Nisonoff, L., and Wiegiersma, N. (eds.) (2002) *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*, London and New Jersey: ZED Books LTD

Von Braun, J. and Webb, P. (1989) 'The impact of new crop technology on the agricultural division of labor in a West African setting' in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 37, No.3

Walby, S. (1988) 'Introduction' in Walby, S. (ed.) *Gender Segregation at Work*, Philadelphia: Open University Press

Walby, S. (1997) *Gender Transformations*, London: Routledge

Wallace, T. and March C. (eds.) (1991) *Changing perceptions: Writings on Gender and Development*, Oxford: Oxfam

Wambui, J. (2014) *An introduction to feminist research* (awsc.uonbi.ac.ke/.../DR.%20JANE%20WAMBUI%20AN%20INTRODU)

Weiss, T.G. and Dam, S. (eds.) (2006) *Oxford handbook on the United Nations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Whitehead, A. (1991) 'Food Production and Food Crisis in Africa', in Wallace, T. and March C. (eds.) *Changing perceptions: Writings on Gender and Development*, Oxford: Oxfam

Whitehead, A. and Bloom, H. (1992) 'Agriculture' in Ostergaard, L. (ed.) *Gender and Development: A Practical Guide*, London: Routledge

Wilson, F. (1985) 'Women and agricultural change in Latin America: Some concepts guiding research', *World Development*, Vol. 13, No. 9, September

Wolfe-Phillips, L. (1987) 'Why Third World – origins, definitions and usage', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 4

Worsley, P. (1964) *The Third World*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson

World Bank, International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (2009) *Agriculture and Rural Development: Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook* (<ftp://ftp.fao.org/docrep/fao/011/aj288e/aj288e.pdf>)

World Bank, (2008) 'World Bank Report 2008: Agriculture for Development Policy Brief' *Agriculture for Development: The Gender Dimensions Documents*, Washington DC, World Bank, (worldbank.org/curated/en/000333038_20080801015831)

World Bank (2007) *World Development Report 2008: Agricultural for Development*. Washington, DC World Bank

World Bank, (1981a) *World Development Report 1981* New York: Oxford University Press 1981a

World Bank, (1981b) *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Agenda for Action* Washington, D. C.: World Bank, 1981b

Appendix 1

Areas of Concentration for Focus Group Discussion

The reason for my visit and residence in your community is to examine gender relations in commercialization of cash crops production in this village. I shall also examine gender roles in agricultural activities. I equally want to know how both women and men's rights to various farm resources are being promoted and achieved. Based on this expectation, some issues will be raised and I would appreciate honest expressions of your opinion concerning them. Being very conscious of the importance of time to you at this particular season, the meeting will be scheduled at your convenience and equally be time conscious. I also assure you that all the information received from you will be treated with utmost confidentiality, and used only for the purpose of this research.

1. What is the historical background of agriculture in this village?
2. In what ways does each member (women, men and youth) of the village participate in cash crop production?
3. Who are the farmers of cash crop production in this village? And why?
4. In what ways have women contributed to farming in this village?
5. Do we have women cash crop farmers in this village, to what extent do women participate in the farming activities in this village and what is your view concerning women in subsistence and commercial agriculture?
6. In Yoruba communities women are known to be petty traders. Are they just trader of farm produce (food crops)? If not, what are the motivating factors for women participation in cash crops production? Is women level of participation different from men?

7. Culturally and traditionally, are women allowed to go into cash crop farming in Yoruba land? Or are their activities limited to subsistence farming?
8. What are the benefits associated with women farming for themselves, to the family and community at large?
9. Are women in cash crop farming into it because of their husbands?
10. What type of land ownership system do you have in this village?
11. Is there any other business/ work apart from farm work in this village?
12. How do you market your products?
13. Is there any government representative in your midst, who assists in this regard?
14. To what extent does the government (local, state or federal) target the needs of the community, and what are the government contributions to Yekemi's social and farming activities? How would you measure the impact so far?
15. What expenses do you incur in the cause of production?
16. How do you determine price for your products? Who are the buyers?
17. What strategies do you adopt in selling your farm produce? How effective are these strategies? How do you measure your gain/profits in this business of farming?
18. What changes have you noticed/ would you expect in relation to women participation in cash crop farming?
19. What are your achievements? What are your constraints?
20. Is there any farming group/association for both men and women?
21. In what ways can women's groups be strengthened to achieve better results and promote women's voice in agriculture in Yoruba land?

22. Do you think all is well with commercialisation of agricultural products in Yekemi? If No, express your observation.

23. What are the control measures in place in Yekemi to ensure peace and conducive atmosphere for production?

24. Market structure

- What type of markets do you have in this community?
- What types of products are brought to these markets?
- Are the farm products of this community sold in this market, or are they taken to other markets?
- Are there middle men for the agricultural products? If yes, how do you see their intervention?
- Is there a government intervention in the purchase of the market products in Yekemi?
- Are there cooperative unions for the commercialisation of farm products?

Appendix 2

To be completed for all FGD participants

Section A

1. Sex: Female ----- Male -----
2. Age: ----- yrs.
3. Are you an indigene of Yekemi? Yes ----- No ----- if No,
 - a. State your place of origin -----
 - b. For how long have you stayed in Yekemi -----
 - c. How do you first get to know about Yekemi village?
4. Marital Status:
 - a. Single -----
 - b. married -----
 - c. separated-----
 - d. divorced -----
 - e. widow -----
 - f. widower ----
5. Which religion do you practise?
 - a. Christianity -----
 - b. Islam -----
 - c. Traditional -----
6. What is your educational attainment:
 - a. No formal education -----
 - b. Primary School -----
 - c. Secondary School -----

- d. Vocational/Technical School -----
 - e. University -----
7. a. What type of work do you do? -----
 - b. For how long have you been in this occupation? -----
 - c. List other occupations in which you are involved: -----
8. Like how much do you make as earning every month?

Section B Farm activities:

(Farm size is location specific for southern part of Nigeria)

1. Nature/level of farming:
 - a. Small ----- below 5acres (below2 hectares)
 - b. Medium ----- 5to 12.5acres (2 to 5 hectares)
 - c. Large scale ----- above 12.5 acres (above 5 hectares)
2. What type of farming do you practice?: Subsistence ----- Commercial -----
3. What type of crops do you grow for commercialization?
 - a. Food crops ---
 - b. Cash crops ---
4. Name of crop(s) grown -----
5. Do you also grow crops for subsistence? Yes / No. If yes list the crops -----
6. Do you use farm assistants? If yes, how many, what assignments do they Perform, and how do you remunerate them?
7. For how long have you been involved in farming in Yekemi? -----
8. Size of your family:
 - a. wife/wives -----
 - b. children -----

c. dependent relatives -----

9. Your earnings from farming -----

10. Does this community enjoy government intervention / assistance in farm
inputs?

Appendix 3

Areas of concentration for interviews with different groups

The reason for my visit and residence in your community is to examine gender relations in commercialization of cash crops production in this village. I intend to do this for a proper understanding of the community and its agricultural activities. Based on this expectation, I intend to interview you on some issues relating to these, and I would appreciate very honest expressions of your opinion concerning them. I hereby assure you that all the information received from you will be treated with utmost confidentiality, and used only for the purpose of this research.

The Interview section of the fieldwork focused on different areas of the study. The following set of people were interviewed during the fieldwork study: the leaders of the community, the farmers - both male and female cash crop farmers, cocoa buyers, machine operators, local government chairperson, state commissioner for agriculture, agricultural officer . All these were done for different reasons.

Guided question for historical overview with the elders were conducted focusing on

Historical background

- Can you briefly narrate the historical background of the village?
- What are the socio- economic activities of the inhabitants,
- Of what significance is the village's name?
- When was the village established?
- Where did the people originate from?

- Which are the main cultural events or special festivals in this community?
- What can you recount as the changes that have taken place in the community?
- What caused the changes?

Power structures of the household and community

- Is there any existing traditional political structure in place? If yes, how do you appoint your leader?
- What is the composition of the community elders?
- What is the place of women in the political structure in this community?
- What are the functions of women and men in the household and/ or community?
- Who is traditionally responsible for the up – keep of the family members?
- To what extent has this changed over the years?

Means of accessing farmland

- Who are the original owners of the land? How does a person have access to farmlands?
- Who are those that must be carried along and/or consulted in order to have access to farmland in the community?
- Is farmland readily available for sale in the community?

if yes

- Who are in charge of or has the overall control over land resources in this community?

- Who are those who buy land in this community?
- What is land mainly used for in this community?

If no

- In what way can one access the farmland?
- Is there any problem with land ownership system in this community? or farmland dispute?
- What types of farming problems exist in your community: (e.g. soil infertility; pest attack/invasion; erosion; flood etc.)

Family/economic activities

- What do people do for a living in this village? Is occupation of women different from men? To what extent has this changed over the years?
- What type of crops is the community known for? Do the people practise monocropping?
- What types of techniques are in use for farming major crop?
- Are women's crops different from men's crops? If yes
 - What are the crops planted by the women?
 - What are the crops planted by men?
- Is there unemployment in the village?
- Is there any social problem associated with the village
- What are the roles of children and youth in the economic activities of their household?
- What is the Market structure like?

Interview session with the farmers (both male and female cash crop farmers),

- Are you an indigene of Yekemi? If not
 - From which town did you come to this village?
 - For how long have you been farming in this community?
- Can you tell me which aspect(s) of agriculture or farming you are into, and your role in the farming?
- What are the types of crops you have in your farm?
- What are types of equipment you use for the farms?
- Are men the only owners of cocoa and palm tree farms?
- Is there any woman who has her own personal cocoa and palm tree farm?
- Could farmers of cocoa be farmers of palm trees?
- Are you working on your personal or family cocoa / palm tree farm or are you working for other people?
- What of kolanuts? Who are the farmers of kolanut?
- How long have you been in these farming activities?
- Are you the owner of your farmland?
- Did you inherit the farms or have you bought them?
- Is it a rented farm or are you just managing it for the family?
- If it is for the family,
 - do you receive remuneration for your work in the farm?
 - How are you rewarded for your service on the family farm?
- If it is a rented farm
 - How do you determine or measure your rent payment for cocoa and palm trees?

- How do you pay the farmland owners for cocoa and palm trees? Do you pay rent with palm oil / cocoa or cash?
 - Do you pay annually or seasonally?
 - How much do you pay annually?
 - How do you quantify the amount you pay for your rent? Is it in terms of farmland size or what?
- What type of rental system do you practise –
 - share rented farms with other farmers
 - share rented farms with farm owners
 - unshared rented farms/ individual rented farms
- For males - How many wives do you have? How about your children? Do they all follow you to the farm?
- Is your spouse also into farming?
- Does she/he have her/his own separate farm or do you both work together?
- Do you employ other people to work for / with you?
- Do women work with you in your cocoa and palm tree farms?
- Do men work with you in your cocoa and palm tree farms?
 - Do you pay money to the labourers or do you give them something else?
 - Do you pay both women and men the same amount for services rendered?
 - How much do you pay men and how much do you pay women?
 - What do men do that makes their money different from women's?
- What is the other produce you get from palm trees to sell?
- How do you sell the kernels?

- Who are the buyers of kernels?
- How do you sell your main produce?
- Who are the people buying the produce?
- How do you get the price for your produce?
 - Is it the government that is fixing the price for cocoa? Or are you the one fixing the price yourselves?
- About how much profit do you get from your farm in a year?

Government involvement

- There are many things which the government said they are doing to assist farmers. Which types of assistance do you get from the government in this area?
- Is the government assisting you? Have you received any form of assistance from the government concerning this palm oil production business?
- In what area would you like government to assist, concerning your work?
- What type of credit facilities do you have access to in this community?
- Do you work on your spouse's farm, or is it on your own farms?
- Do you engage in both palm trees and cocoa farming?
- What sort of maintenance do you carry out on palm trees?
- What are the problems you encounter?
- Do you cocoa farmers have a cooperative society or union in the community, like the buyers?
- Are there females in your association?
- As female farmers, in what ways do you think the problems you are encountering are different from that of men? Or there is no difference?

- What are the effects of any differences?
- How do you fix the price for your cocoa produce?
- Do you use labourers to work for you? If yes, is it partially or fully?
- Is there any time for socialization or recreational activities in the community?
- How many years does it take a kolanut tree / palm tree / cocoa tree to mature and start bearing fruits? How many years can those trees last before one starts thinking of replacing them with other ones?
- At what age do you think it is right for a farmer to retire from farming?
- Who does what in the family?
- Which type of assistance does your husband / wives render to your farm?
- With your engagement in cocoa farming and palm oil production, how do you handle domestic work?
- What are those things which serve as a source of inspiration for you to participate in farming?
- What time do you normally wake up?
- What are the responsibilities which you are bearing?
- How much do you spend on input/ chemical/ pesticides etc. in a year?

Interview session with Machine Operators

- Is this the machine which you use for blending palm fruit?
- Why is it that only men are the ones operating the machines? Do you not have women operators in this community?
- Why can't women operate the machines?
- Who are the owners of the machines, - government, cooperative, community or individuals?

- Is there any woman here who owns a machine?
- Why do women employ men to operate machines for them?
- How many of these machines do you have in this village?

- What do you use as a measurement scale when blending the palm fruits?
- How much do you charge for one full container?
- How many containers do you blend in a day?
- How expensive is this machine which you are using?
- [It's up to how much?] Is it its expensiveness that hinders the government from providing it for you, and is that why it is privately owned?

Interview session with the auxiliary workers

- Is there any important position you hold in Yekemi?
- How did you get to know about this place, before coming here to work?
- Is there any farming activity in your place? If yes
 - Why did you choose Yekemi as your place of work?
- Do you require any learning to climb?
- What is your educational qualification?
- How old are you? At what age can this work be learnt?
- What does your spouse do for a living? Are you here with your family?
- What role do you play in the farming activities of Yekemi?
- Do you intend to keep doing farm work or do you have another work in mind to do?
- Are you involved in only palm tree business, or do you combine it with other agricultural work?

- How much do you make in a day?
- What sort of maintenance do you carry out on palm trees?
- Do you harvest palm fruits for both male and female farmers?
- For how many years have you been doing this job?
- Do you have your own private farm where you work? If yes, is it for commercial or subsistence?
- Are climbers here with their family? If yes, what do their wives do for a living?
- You are into palm production job, do you live in Yekemi throughout the year or do you work for some time and go away after working? What are your yearly activities?
- Apart from harvesting palm-fruits, which other work do your people do?
- Do your people have any role in cocoa farming?
- Are there any female climbers? If not why?
- Are there women and men who fumigate their cocoa farms themselves?
- Is your tribe the only one doing this job or do you have other peoples/tribes among you?
- Is there any problem which you do encounter in your job?
- Is there any age limit in the tree-climbing occupation? And is there any particular age at which one can start climbing palm trees?
- How do you fix the price for your services?
- How often do you go to your home town?
- Those palm trees and cocoa would be up to how old now? What is their lifespan?

- If you are to form an association what type of association would you prefer – joint one (male and female) or separate one? And why?
- What will be the function of this association?

Interview session with the Cocoa buyers

- How many years have you been in this produce (buying) business?
- How do you acquire/get cocoa for sale?
- How is the price fixed?
- What form of network is in place to circulate information about price to both buyers and sellers?
- Are buyers the ones that inform them of the prevailing price, or how will farms in rural area know about the changes that are taking place?
- You cocoa dealers in town, who are your buyers? Is it government or private individuals? How do you dealers in town sell your cocoa?
- What do you use for measure? Do rural farmers understand how it is measured?
- Is the price nationally fixed?
- Is there any difference in the fruit of high-yielding variety cocoa and local cocoa?
- Do you give money to farmers in advance or do you give them money when the cocoa is ready?
- Do you have a particular farm for your collection or do you move from one farm to the other?
- Is it the Government that fixes the price?

- Is there any way that we can know if the Government knows the amount of cocoa produced at Yekemi Village?
- How do you get to know the price at which you buy the produce from farmers?
- Do you have a group or an association?
- Who are the major dealers that buy from you?
- Is they indigenous or foreign companies?
-

Interview session with Local government chairperson / Commissioner for agriculture and food security/ Agricultural officer

- What are your agricultural activities in your local government?
- Is there any effort that the government have made so far in assisting farmers in his cash crop production?
- Is there any record of their input in the local government and in the state?
- In what area are you coming into assist people, in terms of production, or in terms of marketing their product? Is there any representative of the Yekemi people in any committee for rural development in your local government?
- Is there a way that the local government is measuring the output of rural areas that are producing cash crops? In terms of the quantity they are producing? Is there a marketing board in charge of this produce?

