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THE INTEGRATION OF WOMEN AS FARMER LEADERS IN THE CENTRAL SHABA PROJECT

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Diane Russell  
PhD Candidate, Anthropology, Boston University  
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Acknowledgements  | 3  |
| Acronyms used in the Report   | 4  |
| Scope of Work   | 5  |
| Executive Summary   | 7  |
| Introduction  | 9  |
| The Farmer Leader System  | 11 |
| Integration of Women into the Farmer Leader System  | 14 |
| Support Systems Available to Women  | 19 |
| Sociological Context, Constraints   | 23 |
| Conclusions and Recommendations   | 26 |
| Annex 1: Map of Project Area  | 27 |
| Annex 2: Itinerary of Study, Groups and Individuals Contacted,<br>Comments                          | 28 |
| Annex 3: Women Farmer Leaders and High Potential Areas  | 32 |
| Annex 4: Organized Women's Groups Working with Extension Agent                                      | 33 |
| Annex 5: Commitments Made to Women  | 34 |
| Annex 6: Technical Questions Raised by Women  | 35 |
| Annex 7: Suggested Criteria for Evaluating the Progress of the<br>Project Based on our Observations | 36 |
| Annex 8: Documents Reviewed   | 37 |
| Annex 9: Miscellaneous Notes  | 39 |
| Annex 10: Lessons from PNS Applicable to Women in Project 105                                       | 40 |

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ACRONYMS USED IN THIS REPORT

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| AFECOZA  | Association des Femmes Commerçantes Zaïroises      |
| AID      | United States Agency for International Development |
| ARD      | Agriculture and Rural Development (Section of AID) |
| CONDIFFA | Condition Féminine et Familial                     |
| CPZ      | Communauté Pentacôtiste au Zaïre                   |
| ECZ      | Eglise du Christ au Zaïre                          |
| GOZ      | Government of Zaire                                |
| NGO      | Non-Governmental Organization                      |
| PNS      | Projet Nord Shaba                                  |
| SHADO    | Shaba Area Development Office                      |
| UNILU    | University of Lumbumbashi                          |

## SCOPE OF WORK

### Study of Women's Involvement as Farmer Leaders in Project 105

This scope of work is for a four week study of the present and potential future involvement of women as farmer leaders in the Central Shaba Project (660-0105). The consultant will visit the project area and examine the procedure for selection of farmer leaders (fermiers de contact) now being used by the Central Shaba project and how this procedure affects the impact of project activities on women farmers in the project area. In addition, the consultant will examine the present cultural and institutional context within which women farmers operate in the project area. Particular attention will be paid by the consultant to organizations and ethnic structures that could be used by project personnel to expand the involvement of women in project activities. From the information gathered by the consultant, he/she will develop proposals and alternatives, if appropriate, which will assist the project to better fulfill its mandate to reach women farmers.

#### Background:

The extension system proposed in the Central Shaba (660-0105) Project Paper is based on the concept of "farmer leaders." This approach was chosen as a means of developing a locally-based farming information system that will have a possibility of continuing under its own or with very limited outside financing at the end of the project.

Experience from the forerunner North Shaba Project indicates that farmers, both male and female, are very responsive to new information that directly improves their farm output. A standard T&V extension system was put into place in the North Shaba Project. This proved to be very effective in getting information to farmers. Unfortunately, this system was too costly to be continued with funds available after the project ended. In addition, it was noted that women were the principal farm workers in much of the project area but that the extension system only had two female extension agents out of a total of 172.

To deal with these two problems, the Central Shaba Project design envisions the selection from each of the various communities, be they religious, ethnic or geographically based, a farmer leader that will represent that community to the project and serve as the focal point of the project efforts to provide information on improved farming to farmers within the project area. Although not specified, it was an underlying assumption of the project paper that a significant number of these farmer leaders would be women.

To date, almost 200 farmer leaders have been chosen to work with the project. Preliminary indications are that none of them are women. Since the project is only in its first year of actual implementation this is the appropriate time to examine the selection of farmer leaders. The goal of this examination will be to determine the validity of some of the assumptions of the project design and to determine possible changes in procedures, to assure that the project has a positive impact on women farmers.

To achieve this scope of work the consultant will:

1. Visit the project area;
2. Consult local sociological and anthropological resources concerning ethnic and other cultural structures related to women within the various ethnic groups in the project area;
3. Visit leaders of existing religious, political and cultural organizations in the area selected for project involvement. Discuss with them how women are now being and could be integrated into the farmer leader concept. Note positive and negative elements in the suggestions obtained from these discussions;
4. Visit project personnel and discuss with them the procedures for and constraint upon the selection of farmer leaders. Determine their views on integration of women into the farmer leader program;
5. Determine the impact of the present farmer leader structure on women farmers;
6. Prepare recommendations on how women can be more effectively integrated into the farmer leader program and/or how the present program can better meet women's need for new farming information. For each recommendation determine, to the extent possible, the difficulties in implementing the recommendation and possible ways of overcoming these difficulties;
7. At the end of the visit prepare an oral briefing for project personnel within the project area and the Field Project Officer in Lubumbashi. Note their comments on this briefing.
8. Prepare a written and oral briefing for comments by USAID/Kinshasa staff;
9. Prepare a final report with an executive summary.

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### Background

Project 066-0105 is an agricultural development project with three main goals: improvement of roads, multiplication and distribution of selected seeds, and diffusion of information on improved farming practices. It encompasses four Zones in Central Shaba (Bukama, Malemba-Nkulu, Kabongo and Kabalo). The project is funded for fifteen years and is in its second year of operation. The extension program has already put into place several extension agents who have begun working with farmers. Project Direction in Kinshasa was concerned about the role that women were playing and could play in the extension program and wanted to gather information on women's participation at an early stage so that interventions could be designed to better integrate women into the project.

### The Farmer Leader Concept

The extension program is based on a system of farmer leaders. The farmer leader concept is designed to promote local initiative in adopting new techniques and seeds introduced by the project. A small number of project extension agents, with the help of local authorities, choose farmers who are willing and able to put demonstration plots in their fields. As the project evolves, these farmer leaders receive further training so that they become local experts on the use of new techniques and seeds. They are not paid but benefit from seed distribution, instruction, and the prestige of being associated with the project. The Project Paper calls for many of these farmer leaders to be women.

### Study Design

Our twenty day trip into the project area was designed to a) look at the current state of integration of women as farmer leaders; b) search out support systems available to women farmers; c) determine constraints to women's participation in the project; and d) discuss the situation of women farmers with project personnel and local authorities. The goal was to suggest ways to further women's integration into the project. The team included Diane Russell, anthropologist and consultant, Cit. Bazike, in charge of cooperatives and community development for the project, and Cne. Mwema, licencié in sociology from the University of Lubumbashi and a native of Kabongo Zone. In the course of the trip, we spoke with twenty-four women's groups, men and women farmer leaders, local civil, religious and traditional authorities. In Lubumbashi, we sought out sources of information on women's roles in the project area. We discussed our findings with project personnel throughout the project area and held briefings with project officials at Niembo, Kabalo and Lubumbashi.

### Level of Participation of Women

Women's level of participation in the project area varies considerably. In some areas there are no women farmer leaders working with extension agents; in others, the percentage of women farmer leaders is as high as 57%. We targeted areas with high potential for women's integration and women's groups which are working or could work with extension agents. We found that women are best able to work with the extension agent when a) the agent has a good rapport with the community and there are demonstrable results in the experimental fields; b) a local civil or religious authority is open and willing to help the agent talk to women, and has the power to organize his community; c) the agent can work with women already organized by a church or cooperative; d) women are more involved in farming than men (in areas where men fish or work as herders); and/or e) the agent can work with single women and widows who have their own fields.

### Constraints

We uncovered the following constraints to women's participation: a) The selection criteria for farmer leaders, specifically those of literacy and mobility, eliminate virtually all women. b) Married women face problems of jealousy and husbands' worry that their wives will become too independent. c) Because he is not used to speaking to women, or does not speak Kiluba, the extension agent has to expend more time and effort communicating to women about the project. d) Women face enormous time restrictions on their participation due to their daily workload.

### Recommendations

1. Close follow-up on contacts and commitments made to women in the course of this study.
2. Training of new extension agents include information on how to reach women, how to communicate with women, and how to avoid social problems from working with women.
3. Preparation of training materials for nonliterate and onsite training visits to target women's groups and women farmer leaders.
4. Recruitment of female cadre to work in community development and as extension agents. The Regional Inspector of Agriculture gives this recommendation the highest priority.
5. Integration of women's concerns into the project; specifically, research into a) improved manioc leaves; b) potable water supplies; c) private sphere manufacture and distribution systems for hand tools, hand mills and corn huskers; d) commercialization of crops other than corn (beans, peanuts, soya); e) social constraints to women's participation, division of labor and control of revenue in the household.

Note: Separate, auxiliary "women's programs" are specifically not recommended (e.g., women's literacy classes, creation of foyers social) as they detract from the central goals of the project.

## INTRODUCTION

Diane Russell, Cit. Bazike and Cne. Mwema toured the project area for twenty days, often accompanied by project extension agents and officials from Niembo and Kabalo. Before and after this tour, Ms. Russell researched local resources in Lubumbashi for sociological information on the project area and on women in the Baluba culture. Discussions with project personnel, a tour of the Niembo facilities, and review of project documents brought the team up to date on project activities and future plans. At the end of our tour of the project area, we visited the (Projet Nord Shaba) PNS offices in Kongolo and talked with the Director and Cne. Musinga, a woman extension agent, about integration of women in PNS.

We held twenty-four meetings with women in the project area. Some of these meetings were arranged in advance by the extension agent, some were spontaneously organized. In some cases, the women we met were working with the extension agent; often, it was the women's first opportunity to talk with the agent. We avoided group meetings in areas where an extension agent was not yet installed (Malemba-Nkulu, Kinkondja) but did look into support systems for women in these areas.

In our discussions with women, we tried to concentrate specifically on farming problems and the goals of the project: introduction of new seeds and farming techniques, and road rehabilitation for better commercialization of crops. We learned quite a bit, however, about women's major difficulties--farming related or not--in the project area. It was impossible to delve too deeply into social problems which might constrain women's participation because many of these problems involve delicate issues such as control of revenue in the household, marital strains, and ideology about women's roles. Thus we tried to get information on these problems indirectly, through the documentation obtained, observation of behavior and interviews with informed people. In some cases our meetings caused a resistance on the part of men, but this was not the norm. The meetings tended to be difficult if our arrival was heralded well in advance. Then we had to submit to much protocol and were allowed to meet with only a small group of "handpicked" women. In a few cases, men heckled the women meeting with us if they did not respond correctly or ask for certain things such as tractors and fertilizer. But we didn't want to exclude men from our discussions--in most cases this would have been impossible anyway and would have caused suspicion. We also wanted men to see that women were important to the project.

If the meeting was held outdoors it was almost impossible to converse because of the noise of the crowd. We found that the most fruitful meetings took place with a small group of women farmers, local officials and project personnel in a closed room or closely supervised by local authorities. Cne. Mwema was invaluable in these meetings as many of the women only spoke Kiluba. Her presence gave the women confidence about speaking in public. Cit. Bazike translated conversations in Kiluba, and I conversed with the women in Swahili. As a team, we developed skills in communicating with women as the tour progressed.

This report will first discuss the farmer leader system and how it is working in the different areas we visited. Second, it will look at the integration of women to date into the project. Third, it will examine support systems available to women and existing women's groups. Fourth, it will discuss the social context and constraints to women's integration. Finally, it will present conclusions based on recommendations for overcoming these constraints. Annexes to the report include: 1. Map of project area; 2. Itinerary of mission, individuals and groups contacted; 3. Women farmer leaders and high potential areas; 4. Organized women's groups working with extension agents; 5. Commitments made to women; 6. Technical questions raised by women; 7. Some suggested criteria for evaluating the project; 8. Documents reviewed; 9. Miscellaneous notes; 10. Lessons from PNS applicable to women in Project 105.

## THE FARMER LEADER SYSTEM

The farmer leader concept is being used in the Central Shaba Project (105) to encourage local initiative and insure continuation of extension services after the departure of paid project personnel. One of the lessons learned from PNS is that a more top-heavy and rigid system is not sustainable when external funding for the project ends. In the vision of Project 105, certain farmers are chosen from the community to demonstrate new techniques and seeds. As the project evolves, the farmer gets continuing instruction from the extension agent, including, possibly, training at the project center at Niembo. The cadre of extension agents paid by the project is much reduced in number as opposed to PNS. According to the Project Paper, a farmer leader must be married, literate, respected in the community, and able to travel to receive instruction.

On our trip, we spoke with nine extension agents working in the project area. Project agents were not yet installed in all areas. We met with as many women as possible who were designated farmer leaders, and we also spoke with a few men farmer leaders. We observed that the system was very effective in spreading innovation into the community. The system's success can be attributed to the skill and knowledge of the extension agents, most of whom had worked in PNS for several years. We found these agents very effective in dealing with local officials and in talking to farmers. They were universally open to the idea of integrating women into the project, and a few had already made significant steps in that direction. The fact that they are married and respected in the community avoids some of the problems extension agents faced in PNS working with women.

The extension agents have modified the farmer leader concept to adjust to local conditions. Most striking, where the agent has been in place for several months he has organized more farmers than expected in the project paper (which calls for two or three leaders per village). For example, the agent in Kabondo-Dianda claims to have 46 farmer leaders. This number may not reflect the number of farmer leaders who emerge from the area, but only the number of demonstration plots currently under the agent's supervision. Not all those farmers who have demonstration plots will become farmer leaders. The involvement of the farmer varies a great deal. In Kabondo-Dianda, one farmer planted 14 1/2 ha of Shaba I (improved) corn under the supervision of the agent. Several women, by contrast, only put in small demonstration plots of manioc into their larger fields.

The future of the farmer leader program depends in part on how the project chooses to define farmer leaders. By the definition of the Project Paper, virtually all women, and many men, are excluded. The men who would be chosen under those definitions would not necessarily be the best farmers. As one agent in Kyalo put it, "I chose to work with women because they are very dynamic and more interested in farming than their husbands. I know it conflicts with some of the criteria for being a farmer leader."

It is important for the agent to work with people respected in the village. Also, if there are a great many farmer leaders the agent would find it difficult to supervise their work. This problem is more serious when it comes to supervising multiplication fields for improved seed. We observed this problem with the distribution of rice seed in Kabalo. Rice seed was distributed to several people who in turn distributed it to small farmers, including some women. The farmer's plots were unsupervised by the project agent.

If the concept of farmer leader is too narrowly defined, women and many men are excluded. If it is too broadly defined, the extension program could lose respectability and technical efficacy. We think the latter problems are less serious if the project intends to reach as many people as possible. Many of the farmer leaders in communities we visited seem to be self chosen, an encouraging trend. The agents may become overloaded, however; in fact, appear to be overloaded already. When they are overloaded they neglect low-priority work, or work which is problematic. In this way, they may come to neglect women and women's groups. Thus it is necessary to give support now to target women's groups and women farmer leaders so that they remain on the agent's priority list.

Project personnel working with women's groups as farmer leaders should resist getting into programs which are outside the scope of the project. The agents should especially seek out women's groups which are willing to invest their profits back into farming. If the goal of a group is to use all the income from a communal field to buy merchandise, and the group has not thought about purchasing seeds for the next season, it is not a viable group to be working with the project in the long term. The same holds true, of course, for men's groups and cooperatives.

At present there are no women extension agents in the project. We interviewed one former agent from PNS, and discussed recruitment of women with project personnel. Finding qualified women with agricultural training is very difficult. We discovered that there are four girls in fifth level at the Methodist agricultural school in Mwanza but we were not able to speak with them. One problem with the women agents in PNS is that they lacked training in agriculture hence their work with women was more in the area of developing social skills, and income generating projects (e.g. literacy and sewing classes, distribution of hand mills). These efforts failed, according to PNS personnel, because they were not directly tied into the main goals of the project.

Recruitment of women brings up several other problems. Single women may have a difficult time living in a village unless they are natives of the village. Married women may be constrained by husbands' attitudes, childbearing and childcare. The PNS agent told us that a major problem with her work was having to ride on a mobyette when she was pregnant. Thus careful screening is necessary before hiring women extension agents. Nevertheless, recruitment of women extension agents would be an enormous boost to the women farmers and an example to men that women can be serious about farming. There are precedents for single women, such as teachers, to live in a village, and these

agents could be associated with the Sisters or another women's group. The woman extension agent from PNS told us that women were successfully placed in villages. Project personnel want to hire women and are aware of the problems in hiring women but may benefit from outside assistance in searching out and interviewing qualified women since it is a time-consuming task. Some possibilities are the Institute for Rural Development in Bukavu, the Higher Institute for Agriculture in Bengamisa and the Methodist agricultural school in Niembo-Mpungu (Bukama Zone).

We did a lot of publicity for the farmer leader program among women. Men and women alike were asked to think of the extension agent as they would a doctor or a nurse. Thus there should be no shame for a woman to consult with the agent because he is a professional. Follow-up reports from extension agents will reveal if this technique was successful in opening up communication with women.

## INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN THE FARMER LEADER SYSTEM

For practical purposes, we divide the project area into locations which have high potential for women's integration and those which, for the moment, are intermediate in potential. These categories are based on our observation of existing levels of involvement of women in the farmer leader system. In some cases, for logistical reasons, we were not able to interview women farmer leaders and so cannot make a good evaluation of the area's potential. This was the case for Kitenge (women were outside the town), Niembo (did not meet with women) and Kabalo (time restrictions limited our contact with women farmers). We found that an area has high potential for women's integration if:

- a) the agent has a good rapport with the community and there are demonstrable results in the experimental fields;
- b) a local civil or religious authority is open and willing to help the agent talk to women, and has the power to organize his community;
- c) the agent can work with women already organized by a church or cooperative;
- d) women are more involved in farming than men (in areas where men fish or work as herders);
- e) the agent can work with single women and widows who have their own fields.

Areas intermediate in potential are those which possess one or two of the positive factors mentioned above but which may also have problems--for example, a rigid organizational structure in a cooperative which excludes women from participation (Lusaka), or resistance on the part of men to women's participation (Vumbi).

To facilitate women's participation we recommend that the project give support to target women's groups and areas with high potential for women to become effective farmer leaders. The areas with the highest potential for women's participation as farmer leaders are: Kambo, Budi, Kyalo (Kabalo Zone), and Katombe. Kabondo-Dianda should be included as well based on new information received after our visit. Though there are no organized women's groups in Kayeye, the Chief is very dynamic and open to women's participation. Several women there signed up to work with the agent. Thus, this location must be considered as high intermediate in potential. In these areas there is potential for women to work individually and collectively with the extension agent. Target women's groups are listed in Annex 3. Any communication and extension work with the Sisters and women's groups working with the Sisters is recommended.

### Levels of Involvement

Women's level of involvement in the project varies a great deal. In Kambo, a young widow has planted 1 1/2 ha of beans and manioc under the guidance of the agent. Five other women in Kambo have also put in demonstration fields. Many of these women are very young but were quite articulate about technical problems in farming, their needs and goals in the project. We consider Kambo to have a very high potential for integrating women into the farmer leader system.

In Kabondo-Dianda, the level of integration was more difficult to assess. The one woman who had put in a demonstration plot was the mother of the Chief. Since she is old and respected it is doubtful that she herself does much work in the field. She wasn't able to explain to us why she had decided to try new techniques. The other group of women working with the agent in Kabondo are mainly market traders, presided over by the wife of the Chief, and a group of women from the Pentacostal Church (CPZ). Both of these groups have communal fields. The CPZ group articulated specific goals for the investment of money from their communal garden, whereas the women grouped under the wife of the Chief were more unsure about their work responsibilities in the fields and how the profits from the fields would be invested. We speculated on whether the agent's choice of the Chief's mother and Chief's wife's group were more courtesy than a real attempt to choose women farmer leaders. We would have rated Kabondo-Dianda as intermediate in potential but we recently received a letter from the extension agent which demonstrates that he is making a concerted effort to work with women (see Annex 9: 1).

In Kabalo Zone, there was also a variance in women's participation. In Kyalö, 31 km from Kabalo town, the agent is working with eight women (out of a total fourteen farmer leaders) on both individual and communal plots. All of the women are married and the agent reported no difficulties from their husbands. The agent noted that in this area he was obligated to work with women because men are more involved in fishing than farming. This is an area with the highest potential for integrating women.

By contrast, in Kabalo town, the agent told us that he was working with some women rice farmers. When we went out to visit some of these women, they said that they had never seen the agent (though they did recognize Mr. Dai, the technical consultant for the Zone). We learned that the seeds these women had received came from a GOZ agronomist who had received them from a project agent. The agent noted that since he personally did not supervise the planting of the rice it could not be used for multiplication. On the way back from this visit we asked the agent to show us the names of the women farmer leaders in his notebook. He was able to find three names out of about fifty, but we noted that these women received very small amounts of seed (two kilos, two kilos and nine kilos out of 1,242 kilos total seed distributed). We did not have time here to interview the women working with the agent to get a fuller picture of their participation but this encounter made us realize that when an agent says he has a certain number of women farmer leaders it is important to ascertain the quantity of seed distributed, the field dimensions, and the type of instruction received. Many of these women farmer leaders may in fact be "tokens." Because of the way the agent has been working with women in Kabalo town, this area is intermediate in potential for women's integration. Our visit, however, encouraged project personnel to work more intensively with women so the situation may change.

Women's participation in the cooperatives working with the project also varies. We saw two distinct levels of participation. In Lusaka (Kayamba Collectifé, Kabongo Zone), where there is a highly organized cooperative, we had a hard time talking to the women because our visit was rigidly scheduled by cooperative officials. They told us that women work on the fields and are members, with their husbands, of the cooperative. There are also some widows who are members of the cooperative. There are no women in the cooperative management. When I asked why, the manager said that it was because women were not educated. I pointed out that the President and the Vice President of the Cooperative were both illiterate and did not speak French. He said that was true but that educated girls from the village wanted to leave and get married. I had noticed that there were educated women in the group of women we met. It may be that the cooperative governing board is made up of members of a patrilineal clan or clans residing in Lusaka thus women would be excluded because they marry in from other clans. In the group meeting of women, one woman gave a formal speech (in French) complete with a list of grievances which included demands for many things outside the scope of the project. It was very difficult to have a real dialogue with these women on their participation in the cooperative and this experience led us to speculate that the potential for women to be farmer leaders in this cooperative is intermediate. Other localities in Kayamba, however, seem to have a less rigid organizational structure, and thus may be higher in potential.

In Katombe the situation was quite different. Women there had formed their own cooperative in collaboration with the men's cooperative. The women had their own field which they planted with beans and manioc under the supervision of the extension agent. The founder of the men's group is a former Commissaire de Zone who returned to Katombe after early retirement. He explained to me that he wanted the women to have their own cooperative so that they could learn management skills. He spoke about the President of the Republic's wish that women play a role in development. The women themselves had a slightly different story. They said that they wanted to use the money from their collective field to buy different things from what the men buy with their revenue. Men are more interested in bicycles, they say, whereas they want to buy a mill for grinding corn. We were able to speak with this group of women very freely, laughing, joking and shouting "Bamamans Oyé!" (Hurray for Women). The day after the meeting we went to visit the fields and were impressed by the spirit of cooperation between the men and women. Unfortunately, in talks with the Presidents of both the men's and women's cooperatives, it became clear that they knew very little about coop management, had no money in their cash box and very vague ideas about how to invest their earnings. We were also concerned about their ability to market all the crops they planted, including the women's two ha of beans. Despite these problems and because the attitude of the extension agent toward working with women is very positive, we rate Katombe as high in potential for women's involvement.

Some of the Sisters we visited play a role as farmer leaders. In Kabongo, the Carmelite Sisters sought out the Niembo extension agent to ask him to plant a demonstration field with a group of young women. We witnessed and photographed his first visit to the Mission and the training session with the girls. In Lenge the Franciscan Sisters received advice on their garden and will plant soya from Niembo next season. The Franciscan Sisters in Budi are also working with the extension agent. In many cases, the Sisters agreed to

act as a communications link between women and the extension agent. Women who were interested in working with the agent could stop by the Mission and ask the Sisters, who would be informed of the availability of seeds and planting dates. Sisters and women's groups working with the Sisters have a high potential for participation in the project because they have institutional support, are respected in the community and are focused on women's needs.

#### Difficulties in Evaluating The Impact of Women's Participation

In Vumbi, we interviewed the one woman farmer leader (out of six total) who was working with the extension agent. We were very impressed by her initiative and the meticulous manner in which she kept her yard (fences around seedling trees). As we talked to her, other women came by and expressed a desire to meet with us. We set up a meeting for the the next day. We thought the meeting would be a great success but it turned into our worst failure. It was Sunday afternoon and many men had been drinking. They interrupted the meeting and questioned why we were talking to women and not to them. Thus we had very little chance to interview the woman farmer leader or speak to the other women in the village, who were so intimidated that they left as soon as possible. Where there was this type of interference it was difficult to evaluate the potential for women's participation.

Women's access to the project is often indirect. It cannot be assumed that because a man is a farmer leader, his wife will be aware of new techniques or have access to seed. One woman in Kimabwe (Kabongo Zone) remarked, "we work with our husbands but they don't give us information." In the case of the project's most ambitious farmer leader, the man in Kabondo-Dianda who planted 14 1/2 ha of Shaba I corn, his two wives did not participate at all in the work of the fields. They had their own gardens nearby where they did not use any new seeds or techniques. We investigated a bit into this situation and found that part of his problem was conflict between the wives, and part conflict over how he chose to invest his money. (See Annex 8: 1 for follow-up.)

On the other hand, one woman in Niembo became a farmer leader because her husband left just after planting a field of Shaba I corn. She has been responsible for the field and working with the extension agent ever since. When an extension agent is working with an individual woman it is often the case that she is a widow or single woman or her husband is not interested in agriculture. Often, but certainly not always, men maintain the cash crop field (corn) while the woman maintain the subsistence field (manioc). Most of the women working with extension agents are cultivating manioc or manioc/beans, while the men are cultivating corn. Women and men do collaborate on farming projects, however, so it can be difficult to measure the extent of the wife's contribution and to evaluate how much she will gain if her husband is a farmer leader.

### The Future of Women Farmer Leaders

A difficult question when dealing with the integration of women is whether to work with separate groups of women or men and women together. A problem arising from mixed groups, as in a cooperative, is that women seldom have leadership positions. The women's groups in the religious communities, on the other hand, often set goals for investment from their communal field: the purchase of a mill, or the outfitting of a dispensary. Thus separate women's groups can often better meet women's needs. The challenge is to see that these groups grow and continue to work with the extension agents.

The project should continue, however, to look for individual women to become farmer leaders. We took down the names of several women who were eager to try new seeds and farming techniques. With support from the project, these women could be trained to be farmer leaders, at least within the women's community. Men in the project area may not readily accept their wives having access to resources and knowledge that they don't have. We encountered this type of resistance in Vumbi. The presence of women in the project personnel, however, would help men to adjust to the idea that women can also have leadership positions in farming. Further research on social roles is needed to determine the extent of men's resistance to women having independent access to resources. This research, if conducted by a woman native to the project area, could yield results in a short period of time. For example, women community leaders could be interviewed concerning problems of acceptance. Men's attitudes were an obstacle to women's integration in PNS. PNS personnel circumvented these problems by creating separate "women's programs," but these programs were not very successful because they were not fully linked to project goals. Thus we recommend that women be integrated into the project as farmer leaders. It is not an easy task in all cases but it is the most effective way to assure that women receive benefits from the project.

## SUPPORT SYSTEMS AVAILABLE TO WOMEN

### The Role of the Sisters

The strongest support system for women farmers in the project area are the various orders of nuns (Sisters). Some of them, like the Franciscans, do not command a great deal of material resources, but they are committed to the women's community and they do have resources for meetings and communicating information. The Franciscan Sisters, in fact, are very involved in farming because their goal is to live simply on the land like the villagers. They make their own wine and cultivate garden crops. They are a good source of information for women on how to grow and prepare new crops such as soya.

Sisters are respected in the community but they have much less visibility than the Fathers. In the past project personnel have contacted the Fathers and the Sisters have not been informed about the project. The Sisters are normally involved in running a hospital or dispensary, a school and a women's foyer social. One Carmelite Sister in Kabongo told us, however, that the foyer social, where women learn how to sew and other skills, is outmoded and does not succeed in generating income for women. Part of the problem is high drop out rates due to women's other preoccupations. Women are often eager to form a foyer social but they don't realize what time it will take. PNS personnel reported the same difficulties. We met with nine different Missions, including the Franciscans (Katompe, Kabalo, Lenge, Budi), Servantes de St. Joseph (Kayeye and Kabondo-Dianda), Croix de Liege (Kinkondja and Malemba) and Carmelites (Kabongo).

### The Protestant Community

The major Protestant groups installed in the project area are the Methodists and the CPZ (Communauté Pentacôtiste au Zaïre).

The Methodist community organizes women in groups called Mamans Kipendano. These groups usually have communal fields which generate income for the church. We met with two of these groups, in Kabongo and in Kitenge. There is another group in Kabondo-Dianda which we did not see. Both of the groups we met with will be working with the extension agent next season. The group in Kitenge wanted to arrange a meeting with the extension agent even before the harvest season to hear about the project and get some new ideas. In Kabongo, the Mamans asked for seeds for soya. Mr. Minh, present at the meeting, promised to come the next week and bring seeds. The women were also anxious to see the experimental fields in Niembo. There are no demonstration fields yet in Kabongo, due to poor soils, but we talked about the possibility of putting in a small plot so that people in the town could get an idea of how the project works. There is, of course, the everpresent problem of animals foraging in the villages. The Mamans do have a large field outside the town where they will put in a demonstration plot. The Mamans Kipendano seem highly motivated and well organized. Since the women involved are respected members of the community and have the support of the church they make excellent farmer leaders.

We also visited the Methodist agricultural school at Mwanza. Our impression was that it has deteriorated since the former headmaster went to work for the project at Niembo. The new headmaster seems competent but his degree is in French and he is just getting started. This deterioration may be an example of "institution robbing" on the part of the project. The best people in the project area prefer to work for the project than for a government or religious organization. There are a few girls in the school, but we did not get to meet them as the school was not in session. When the former headmaster was there all of the finalists passed their state examinations. We don't know if the quality has been maintained, but the project should certainly investigate the progress of the students. There is also a women's group based at the mission and they have a communal field.

The Pentacostal Church (CPZ) is gaining in strength and momentum throughout the project area. The churches are poorer in resources than the Catholics or Methodists but they have strong community support and high motivation to develop their villages. The church is charismatic, stressing direct communication with Jesus, thus is less hierarchical than other churches. High moral values are promoted. Though men are seen to be the undisputed heads of the household, they are discouraged from drinking and from taking more than one wife. These values give women security.

The CPZ women's group in Kabondo-Dianda, which works with the extension agent, raised 24,000Z last year from their community field. Revenue goes toward outfitting a maternity ward. They have money saved for a water pump and are looking for a supplier and transportation to bring it to Kabondo. Transportation is a difficult problem, they note, as all the trucks are owned by traders. We also met with the pastor of the CPZ in Kayeye. He and his wife came to the group meeting we had for women. This meeting was very lively and informative thanks to his encouragement and the Chief's effective "crowd control." They allowed women to speak freely and to volunteer to become farmer leaders. Women complained here about the dominance of the Catholic mission. They say that Pere Phillipe restricts access to the mill and refuses to grind corn. He discourages traders and sets the price for corn. Pere Phillipe, on the other hand, says that people need a guaranteed outlet for their corn.

The collectivity we visited in Lusaka, Kayamba Collectivé, Kabongo Zone, was created by a CPZ pastor with reputed prophetic powers. Due to excessive protocol we were not able to talk freely with the women there, but we were impressed by the functioning of the cooperative. They have suffered some setbacks since the death of the founder, however, and are currently looking for a new leader. The whole collectivity of Kayamba is dominated by the CPZ. We visited two other parishes and had fruitful meetings with women, supported by the local pastor. In one case (Kasulu), the pastor even sat in the back of the church and encouraged the women to talk. These other parishes are eager to work with extension agents and there is a feeling that the largest cooperative, SOLECA in Lusaka, has received all the benefits. Though some of the smaller parishes are poorer in resources, they shouldn't be neglected by the project. Our impression was that women have more of a chance to work as farmer leaders in the smaller, less highly organized parishes.

In Lubumbashi, we met with the Director of Development for Eglise du Christ au Zaïre (ECZ), encompassing all the Protestant churches in Shaba, Cit. Shimba Kasongo. He gave us a document prepared for a conference on women in development in the Protestant community in 1984. The stance of the leadership of the church is certainly progressive, advocating family planning and the leadership of women. He would like to discuss linking his offices' development efforts with those of the project but has not had much contact with project personnel. Recently an office of development has been created in every parish. The ECZ in general and each church represented in the ECZ, including the Methodists and the CPZ, have their own women's organizations.

#### Civil and Traditional Authorities

Many Zone authorities were in Lubumbashi for a special session of Parliament during our visit. This included the Commissaires de Zone of Malemba, Kabondo and Kabalo (we met the Assistants), and the Grand Chefs of Kinkondja and Kabongo. The Grand Chef in Kabondo-Dianda was very helpful. He has been married for three years and his wife is intelligent, attractive and active in the community. She sponsored two group meetings for us and also invited us to dinner. The newly elected Chief in Kayeye was also extremely helpful. He is a teacher and is not yet married. He was recently elected Chief though there is still some dispute between him and an older leader. He sponsored two meetings for us, helped to keep the peace and encouraged women to talk. We got the feeling that he is eager to advance progressive projects in his village. The Chef de Groupement in Vumbi, by contrast, was more interested in asking the project for a tractor. The CONDIFFA representative for the locality was present at our meeting in Vumbi but she does not seem to be an effective leader as she did not garner much respect from the men. We took down the names of the CONDIFFA and ABECOZA representatives in Kinkondja but did not want to meet with them in the absence of the Grand Chef. In Malemba, the CONDIFFA representative had just died and no replacement had been found. In Kabalo, the CONDIFFA is represented by the MOPAP, a man. In Kongolo, we met briefly with the CONDIFFA Representative at the airport. In Lubumbashi I met the Regional CONDIFFA Representative, again at the airport, and she expressed disappointment that her office had not been involved in our mission. Our limited experience with Zone officials, due to their absence during our trip, does not permit us to speculate on their possible support to women's groups in the area.

Ms. Russell met with the Commissaires du Peuple at the Palais de la Nation before leaving for Lubumbashi. Several of them are young and dynamic. We held a group discussion about the problems of women in the Region. In response to our meeting, the Commissaire from Kabalo, Cit. Ngoy-Munoko, sent a proposal for installing water pumps in his zone. He claims to have already installed ten pumps. He also feels that the greatest problem facing women in the Region is lack of education. He and the other Commissaires also stressed that the project help to ease the burden of daily work which falls on women. They mentioned that women make money from brewing corn whiskey but since this is very detrimental to the population they would like to see other income generating activities for women.

Finally, we would like to mention the support that project personnel give to women. As mentioned above, several extension agents have already started working with women and have a very positive attitude about women's participation, notably the agents from Katombe, Budi, Kabalo, Kambo and Kabondo-Dianda. Project personnel at Niembo and Kabalo went out of their way to help us reach women and to learn new ways to work with women. They quickly saw that women want to participate in the project and have a lot to offer. When asked about placing a woman to work in community development at Niembo, the staff was very enthusiastic.

## SOCIOLOGICAL CONTEXT, CONSTRAINTS

The sociological information presented below is culled from materials found at the University of Lubumbashi, talks with professors, journalists, and others familiar with the project area. It is not based on any in-depth study and is only meant to sketch out some background on women's roles in the areas visited to illustrate social constraints that women face.

The project area is peopled almost exclusively by the Baluba. Shaba is the ancestral homeland of the Baluba people and in several areas traditional authority is still very strong (notably Kinkondja, Kabondo-Dianda and Kabongo). Village social structure is based on patrilineal exogamic clans. Thus women in a village have married in from other clans, while men remain among their kinsfolk. This has implications for women's lack of organizational structure in the villages, underlining the importance of church groups which cut across clan lines.

A man's authority over his wife and children is based on payment of bridewealth, a substantial payment in goods and cash to the wife's family. A woman's financial contribution to the household is, traditionally, considered to be of no worth. ("dans la tradition Luba la femme n'amène rien comme source de richesse de sa famille." Musegenga 1932: 24) Thus increasing women's access to revenue may cause problems in a traditionally oriented household.

Widows may remarry in their husband's clan, return to their home villages or choose not to remarry. Many widows with children prefer not to remarry because their children's status could be jeopardized if they are incorporated into a new family. Even if she does not marry, a widow will still be under the protection of men from her husband's clan. For example, if the husband was a member of a cooperative, the cooperative may retain the widow as a member and help her to sell her crops. Prof. Verhust's study of households in Kabondo-Dianda noted a substantial percentage of single women, in part because the husbands desert their wives and stay in Lubumbashi. The Social Soundness analysis for the project noted that the proportion of single women was very low in the project area. We think this may be in error because of the number of abandoned women and widows who do not remarry. We met with two widows' groups in Kabondo-Dianda and learned that these women are very serious farmers as they are the sole support for their families. The Sisters remarked that widows' children are better nourished than married women's children, as family income is spent on the children.

Nonetheless, throughout Zaire, any woman who remains single or without the protection of a man for too long risks earning the status of "ndumba," prostitute or free woman. Widows without children and "independent" women are suspect in the village and may be targeted as witches. Thus it is important to choose carefully the single women who might be farmer leaders. The women we met, for example, were recommended to us by the Chief's wife and by the Sisters.

Polygyny is not uncommon, especially among elites. It is less common where there is a strong influence of the Protestant church. In the past, polygyny was a means to increase household production, and facilitated the spacing of births. Now it is most often a status symbol for the man, a means to control his wives (by playing one off against another), or a way for the man to avoid the demands of the state by having his wives perform obligatory tasks. There are signs that polygyny increases with wealth (PNS evaluation), thus diminishing the benefits of this wealth for individual women, because each woman receives then only a share of her husband's wealth.

Extreme protectiveness and jealousy are not as common in the Central Shaba area as in the North. Project personnel who had worked in North Shaba recounted some horror stories about men's jealousy and revenge. Nevertheless, men are very protective of their wives. Educated men are not necessarily more "liberated" than illiterate farmers. On the contrary, they often feel more threatened by their wives' potential independence. Some of the boldest, most dynamic women we spoke to were uneducated, while some of the most reticent were the wives of local authorities. Some men, however, back their wives financially and encourage them to get ahead. In some households, income is pooled, in others it is separate. In most cases, men make the final decisions about spending money; in some cases it is mutual, and in a few cases the wife is in charge of the family money box.

There are divisions in village life, sometimes deeply etched, along religious, clan and "class" lines. Local officials, traders, and wage earners such as teachers and nurses, have access to certain resources which are beyond the reach of the average villager. Jealousy of one's neighbor is common in the project area but it is not as virulent as in the north, due to the strength of church and traditional authority. Cooperatives are most often organized by elites and benefit from the unpaid work of other villagers. These cooperatives may buy corn from non-members at very low prices when the non-members are in need of cash for medical or funeral expenses. When an area opens up to development, tax collectors and other government officials are soon to follow.

Zaire suffers from what Michael-Lipton calls "urban bias." Rural people have virtually no power in the government hence they are suspicious of government interventions designed to "develop" them. Since the people in the project area are warm and hospitable it is hard at first to spot underlying resistance. In Budi, we discovered that despite outward acceptance of the extension agent, many women made fun of the Sister's field which was planted in rows. Women also presented solid reasons to continue mounding, a practice the agent counseled against. Other women in Kayeye pointed out that the Belgians had tried row planting with cotton and beans and had given up after two years. We noticed that in some cases the agents had a tendency to preach to the women and we cautioned them to take time to listen to what the women had to say. When they did take time they were very impressed by some of the difficult questions and the challenges posed by the women.

Women and men both work in the fields in most areas of central Shaba. Men are less involved in farming in areas where fishing is predominant (Malemba-Nkulu, Kinkondja, Kyalo ) or where they work as herders (Budi) and can be gone from the village for up to a month. In the villages near the river and by train depots, women can earn income as market traders, but for the most part they have fields as well. These fields can be very far from the village, especially in areas where the soil is infertile (Kinkondja) or there are a lot of animals which eat the crops. Women complain that there are few traders to buy crops like beans and peanuts which they cultivate. The project could research commercial outlets for these crops. We noted that beans and rice commanded very high prices in Lubumbashi (14,000Z for a 50K sack of rice, 600Z for 2K beans).

Women are responsible for manioc cultivation (especially daily harvesting of manioc leaves), much of the sowing, weeding and harvesting of other crops. Married women may have their own subsistence fields while the men maintain a field of corn for sale. Women prepare food, fetch water, gather firewood, care for the children, keep poultry, collect mushrooms and other plants, wash clothes, clean the house, brew corn whiskey for sale, sell in the market or barter for food. (The barter system is still very strong between fishing and farming areas but since it is officially prohibited people are reluctant to discuss it.) Manioc, the staple food, is incredibly labor intensive to prepare. The tubers must be harvested, soaked in water for two to three days, dried, peeled, cut up and pounded into flour, then made into porridge (bugali). Manioc leaves are picked, stems removed, steamed over a fire, washed and rinsed, pounded, then boiled for up to one hour to make "sombe." People in the project area eat very little corn as pounding corn is even more time consuming than pounding manioc. Even when mills are available milling costs are often too expensive for most villagers.

We discussed the issue of hand mills for grinding corn with many women and with project personnel who had worked in PNS, where hand mills had been introduced by the project. PNS personnel claimed that the mills were ineffective because the women could not buy spare parts for them when they broke down. The women we spoke to were very eager to buy hand mills. We tried to contact local artisans in Lubumbashi to price these items (which are available now) but, for logistical reasons, were unable to see them. We think research into hand mills and other tools should continue because of the very strong desire on the part of women to buy them. The idea would be to get local traders to carry them in the boutiques which are scattered around the area. Everyone, virtually without exception, claimed that they would eat more corn if there were mills available and they say that malnutrition is caused by the diet which is composed almost entirely of manioc. It does seem to be true that kwashiorkor rates are lower in Malemba where there is a steady supply of fish protein and reportedly high in other areas.

We propose research on manioc leaves because women brought up several technical problems which the project could help them solve. There are red ants infesting the manioc in some areas, in others a blight wilts the manioc leaves. Women would also benefit from research on harvesting schedules for manioc leaves. The difficulty lies in the fact that manioc leaves are harvested randomly by women in any field that they happen to pass. This harvesting mode is not optimal for the plant, but it is difficult to change. We discussed the problem of manioc harvesting with several women and extension agents who would like the project to test manioc harvesting at Niembo.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We will examine each recommendation in light of the above material:

1. Follow-up on contacts and commitments made to women.

We saw from the sociological analysis that women's organizational support in the village comes mainly from religious groups. In the chapter on integration of women we saw that there are locations where there is high potential for women's integration. Our visit also generated a certain momentum, as witnessed by the letter in Annex 8 from the agent in Kabondo-Dianda. To keep this momentum going, it is necessary for Project personnel to contact the groups our study mentions, to follow up on commitments made to women, and to give support to agents working with women in high potential locations. This support could take the form of providing training materials for nonliterates, or onsite training by project personnel.

2. Training of new extension agents.

Before a new agent is sent out he/she should receive training on how best to contact women, how to work with women, and how to avoid social problems. This training could use our report as a basis. The agent should also be instructed about women's groups in his/her area which can be contacted.

3. Recruitment of women.

Recruitment efforts should be intensified, possibly employing outside help to search out and interview qualified women. The first priority is a woman to work in community development with Cit. Bazike at Niembo. This woman would help train new agents, support women's groups, also work with men's groups and on training materials. One. Mwema, who assisted us in this study could help in the recruitment drive as she is familiar with the project. Cit. Bazike should also be consulted.

4. Integration of women's concerns.

In the section on sociological context and constraints we demonstrated the need for research into improved manioc leaves, distribution systems for tools and mills, and sources for potable water as these involve lightening the burden of women's labor. We recommend looking into commercialization of crops other than corn because women are more involved in the production and sale of these crops and the project will be sounder with a more diversified repertoire of crops (see Annex 10: Lessons from PNS). Research into social constraints to women's participation can be incorporated into the information component of the project (see Annex 7).

We have demonstrated that women have already been participating in the farmer leader program. Early intervention and support of target locations and women's groups will assure continuation of this participation. Training of agents and recruitment of women will broaden this participation, while further research will give us a better understanding of constraints that women face. Therefore we feel very optimistic about the future participation of women in the project, despite the many obstacles they have to face. We feel that supporting women as farmers in the project is preferable than trying to set up other income-generating activities. Women are, in fact, already farmers, as we plainly saw in our trip to the project area.



**ANNEX 2**

**ITINERARY OF STUDY, GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS CONTACTED, COMMENTS**

**Date:** 14-16 January

**Location:** Kinshasa

**Contacts:** Commissaires du Peuple: Cit. Kimpesa, Kabongo; Cit. Ngoy Monoko, Kabalo; Cit. Kabimbi Ngoy, Malemba (also present were C.P.s from other parts of Shaba). Cit. Sendwe, former C.P., Kabongo; Cne Shimba Bulaya, Methodist community, former C.P.; Cne. Nkulu, AID staff; R. Griego, Project Director and D. Brown, ARD director; P. Mueller, AID consultant.

**Comments:** Read project documents, set up contacts in the project area.

**Date:** 17-19 January

**Location:** Lubumbashi

**Contacts:** B. Spake, SHADO director; Prof. Radja, University of Lubumbashi; Professors, sociology department, UNILU; Cits. Banza and Mukania, journalists working in the area; Prof. Guido Verhust; Staff at ISROS; sociologists Cit. Shimba-Ngoy and Cne Mwema Mwadi.

**Comments:** Briefed by project personnel, located documents on project area and on women, hired Cne Mwema to accompany the mission as translator and sociologist, compiled background information on the area and the situation of women.

**Date:** 20 January

**Location:** en route to project area, stopped for the night in Fungurume.

**Date:** 21-22 January

**Location:** Kabondo-Dianda

**Contacts:** Extension agent Cit Kitambala; Grand Chef and his wife; CPZ pastor and Mamans CPZ; Sisters Servantes de St. Joseph; Group Mamans organized by wife of Grand chef; Mother of Chief who is a farmer leader; Widows group organized by wife of Chef; Widows group organized by Sisters; Tour of demonstration fields; Farmer leader Cit. Kila (14 1/2 ha) and his wife.

**Comments:** The Sisters agreed to act as contacts for the extension agent in reaching women in the mission community. They live across the street from the Agent but had never met him. We also clarified the difference between the project extension agent and GOZ agronomes. In Kabondo-Dianda, we tried to resolve the confusion between the project and CEATA's seed distribution program. CEATA is a Lubumbashi-based NGO which is involved in many agricultural and artisanal activities. In Kabondo-Dianda, they claim to be working with Project 105, but their distribution system is different in that they distribute seeds on credit to be paid back in cash at harvest. They require that the corn be sold to CEATA. Agent speaks Swahili but understands Kiluba. Delicate issue of discussing Cit. Kila's wives' reluctance to work on his field (see Annex 8, Miscellaneous Notes for follow-up).

**Date:** 23-24 January

**Location:** Kayeye/Vumbi

**Contacts:** Extension agent Nkulu Kinznkinda; Chef Localite, Kayeye; Chef, Localite, Vumbi; Chef Groupement, Vumbi; Pere Phillipe, Catholic Mission; Sisters Servantes de St. Joseph; CONDIFFA Rep. Vumbi; Woman farmer leader, Vumbi; Pastor, CPZ, Kayeye; three meetings with groups of women spontaneously organized: Catholic Mission, Kayeye; Chef's, Kayeye; Farmer leader's, Vumbi.

**Comments:** The agent had recently arrived here but had good relations with the local authorities. Speaks Kiluba and is an effective speaker. Pere Phillipe would like to see the agent installed at Kayeye. More confusion with CEATA.

Date: 25 January

Location: Kinkondja

Contacts: Wife of the Grand Chef and other notables; Sisters Croix de Liege; Dr. Ilunga and his wife; Abbe at Catholic Mission; Meeting with women at hospital.

Comments: Since there was no extension agent and the Grand Chef was not there we kept a low profile. The Sisters are old but still very active. Met very informally with a group of women at the hospital. Soil quality and water are major problems (Soil is very salty). Traders have deserted Kinkondja. Young men have become interested in farming in the off-season for fishing but fields can be up to 10-15 km away. Officials to contact: Cnes Ilunga Mwadi, CONDIFFA, Mtongole Kituwa, AFECOZA.

Date: 26 January

Location: Malemba-Nkulu

Contacts: Commissaire de Zone Assistant; Pere Hubert; Sisters Croix de Liege.

Comments: There was no agent here so we went on to spend the night at Mwanza. Pere Hubert harvested maize last year for some of the farmers but much of it was lost because the boat never came to pick it up and the shore was flooded. Sisters said that an extension agent should not bother to come after March because the season will be over. Can contact women at the foyer on Fridays.

Date: 27 January

Location: Mwanza, Zone Malemba-Nkulu

Contacts: Prefet Ntumba and Surintendant Mayombo of Agricultural school; wife of Surintendant; wife of extension agent in Musao.

Comments: There is a group field for the Mamans Kipendano here; Their mill is broken; tried to see extension agent from Musao but he did not stop in Niembo as promised. His wife has a diplome d'etat and is very bored in Musao. Maybe she could be enlisted to help women, as she claims no women have yet been contacted.

Date: 28 January

Location: Niembo, Lenge

Contacts: Mr. Minh; Director Mubwa; Chef de Personnel; Extension agents for Kabongo, Niembo and Kayamba Collectivity; Franciscan Sisters, Lenge; spontaneous meeting of women at the Sisters.

Comments: Toured the fields with the Director: very impressive; somehow missed meeting with women at Niembo although they had already been contacted.

Date: 29 January

Location: Kabongo

Contacts: Papa Kasongo, at office of Grand Chef; Comm. de Zone Assistant; Carmelite Sisters and young women's group; Group of women at Mission; Mamans Kipendano, Methodists;

Comments: Grand Chef and Comm. de Zone in Lubumbashi; There were communications problems with the extension agent: he scheduled meeting with young women at the Carmelites' and did not tell us, also meeting scheduled by agent for us at Mamans Kipendano was postponed. Extension agent not working in the town proper. Women we met with at the Mission were mostly wives of officials and not very interested in farming. The Carmelites only receive visitors in the afternoon.

**Date:** 30 January

**Location:** Lusaka, Kimabwe, Kasulu (Kayamba Collectivity, Kabongo Zone)

**Contacts:** Extension Agent Kilonge; Lusaka Cooperative Officials, CPZ Pastors at Kimabwe and Kasulu; Group meetings of women in each location; Prefet, Institute at Kimabwe.

**Comments:** The agent was late in Kimabwe and thus there were technical problems with the planting that the women brought up. Problem of traders from Kasai being forbidden here. Hospitality in Lusaka is impressive. Transportation is very difficult because of swamps in rainy season. 23% of infants are malnourished.

**Date:** 31 January

**Location:** Kambo

**Contacts:** Extension agent; Prefet; Group of women farmer leaders

**Comments:** We only stayed in Kambo for two hours but were very impressed by the work of the extension agent with women. Women farmer leaders are very young but ambitious. Men present at meeting seemed proud of women farmer leaders.

**Date:** 1 February

**Location:** Kitenge, Budi

**Contacts:** Pere Joseph, Kitenge; Franciscan Sisters, Kitenge and Budi; Fathers at Budi Mission; Mamans Kipendano, Kitenge; Group Mamans at Catholic Mission, Kitenge and Budi; Extension agents, Kitenge and Budi

**Comments:** Eating some bad meat put DR out of action in Kitenge. Agent worked in PNS claims that husbands do not object to wives working here whereas in Kongolo it was impossible; Agents in Kitenge and Budi speak Swahili; CANOBA is a cooperative in Budi which will buy other farmers' corn at a cheap price.

**Date:** 2-3 February

**Location:** Kabalo, Katutu, Kyalo, Kadima

**Contacts:** Commissaire de Zone Assistant; Mr. Dai, technical consultant; Chef de Zone, Kabalo; two extension agents working in the Zone; Women's groups in each area, Franciscan Sisters; Father at Mission; Women rice farmers

**Comments:** Women in Katutu prefer to go to fields than go to meetings; Kyalo protocol similar to Lusaka, village highly organized, very hospitable but difficult to talk to women, some heckling from men, nevertheless there are eight women farmer leaders here out of fourteen total; there is no corn; men are very involved in fishing here; in Kadima the MOPAP helped to organize meeting restricted to women--much better dialogue than in Kyalo but we sweated inside a small room; problem of rice in Kabalo: rice is upland R66 but is being planted in irrigated fields by women unsupervised by project.

**Date:** 4 February

**Location:** Katombe

**Contacts:** Extension agent; Chef de Locality; Mamans AMACO; Officials of Men's Cooperative

**Comments:** Extension agent is a local hire and is known in the village; there are educated women in the women's cooperative (AMACO); there is no market in Katombe; Women claim that they will be able to travel to receive instruction; want to see another woman in three months; dispensary is closed and they have no maternity; the men's and women's cooperatives have maintained the road going to their fields for traders; need help in coop management.

Date: 5-7 February

Location: Kongolo

Contacts: PNS Director and Assistant Director; Mr. Tuoi; Cne. Musinga;  
CONDIFFA representative

Comments: We arrived Friday evening. Zone offices were closed on Saturday due to Salongo; Director PNS feels that women should always be approached through men; men must be convinced; fear women's economic independence. Situation is worse in Kongolo: women can even be killed for money; Programs with women such as gardens, pre-cooperatives, literacy classes, distribution of hand mills were not sustainable because they were not part of the Project Paper. Evaluation team noted failure of women's programs; women extension agents agreed to live in villages but not trained for agriculture; visited active market in Kongolo, prices cheaper than Kabalo; reviewed findings with Bazike and Mwema on Sunday.

Date: 8-12 February

Location: Lubumbashi

Contacts: Prof. Kitenge ya, specialist on women in project area; director of CEATA; Visit to CEATA office, Briefed B. Spake, R. Griego, Director Project 105 Office; Director for Development, ECZ, Cit. Shimba-Ngoy; Regional Inspector General of Agriculture Cit. Kasongo

Comments: CEATA offices seem very disorganized, spent the better part of one day trying to organize trip with them to see artisans who manufacture pumps and mills--did not succeed; Inspector Kasongo stressed importance of hiring women, noted in subsistence agriculture people are too poor to take risks; clan is still the central organizing principle of village life; worked with Cne. Mwema on her report.

Date: 13 February

Location: Return to Kinshasa.

**ANNEX 3  
WOMEN FARMER LEADERS AND HIGH POTENTIAL AREAS**

| <u>Location</u>                                   | <u>No. of Farmer Leaders</u> | <u>No. of Women</u>             |
|---|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Kabondo-Dianda                                    | 46                           | 1 individual<br>3 groups        |
| Kayeye, Vumbi                                     | 6                            | 1 individual                    |
| Musao (Malemba-Nkulu)                             | 50                           | 0                               |
| Niembo  | (waiting for figures)        | 1 individual (corn)<br>6 manioc |
| Kabongo town                                      | 0                            | 1 group                         |
| Kayamba collectivity (Lusaka, SOLECA Cooperative) | 213 members                  | 12 women in cooperative         |
| Kambo   | 25                           | 6                               |
| Kitenge   | 40                           | 5 at 15 km from town            |
| Budi  | (waiting for figures)        | 1 group                         |
| Kabalo  | 125 total                    | 3 rice farmers                  |
| Kyalo   | 14                           | 8                               |
| Kadima  | 6                            | 2                               |
| Katompe   | 27 plus coop. members        | 1 group (23 members)            |

**Areas with High Potential for Women's Integration:**

| <u>Location</u>     | <u>Comments</u>   |
|---------------------|---|
| Kabondo-Dianda      | Extension Agent is actively moving to work with women                         |
| Kambo               | Agent has already begun working with several women who are very dynamic       |
| Budi                | Women are more involved in farming than men                                   |
| Kyalo (Kabalo Zone) | Women are more involved in farming than men; Agent already working with women |
| Katompe             | Women's cooperative provides good institutional support; agent is local hire  |

ANNEX 4  
ORGANIZED WOMENS GROUPS WORKING WITH EXTENSION AGENT

| <u>Location</u> | <u>Name of Group</u>      | <u>No. of Women</u> | <u>Comments</u>   |
|-----------------|---------------------------|---------------------|---|
| Kabondo-Dianda  | Mamans Grand Chef         | 19                  | 1/2 ha communal plot in Shaba I corn; dues of 100Z/month                        |
| Kabondo-Dianda  | Mamans CPZ                | 14                  | 1/2 ha; raising money for maternity   |
| Kabondo-Dianda  | Widows Group, Mission     | ?                   | formed after our visit  |
| Lenge, Kabongo  | Franciscan Sisters        | 4                   | given seeds by agent; will put in demonstration field                           |
| Kabongo         | Carmelite Mission         | 15                  | young women's group put in field with agent                                     |
| Kabongo         | Mamans Kipendano          | 60*                 | will bring seeds and put in demonstration field                                 |
| Kitenge         | Mamans Kipendano          | 15*                 | agent to consult on soya, pineapples; will put in demonstration field           |
| Budi            | Mamans Mission            | 6*                  | demonstration field; prepared another field with widows but there were no seeds |
| Katompe         | Mamans AMACO              | 23                  | cooperative, 2 ha   |
| Kyalo (Kabalo)  | Women farmer leader group | 8                   | formed by agent   |

\* Based on number of women present at meeting.

**ANNEX 5  
COMMITMENTS MADE TO WOMEN**

**Kabondo-Dianda:** Agent fixed date to see fields of widows' group working with wife of Chief. Agent reported in a letter that this group wants to work next season but has not met with him yet since our visit.

**Kayeye:** Seven women signed up to put in demonstration plots of manioc.

**Kinkondja:** Sisters would like to be informed of agent's arrival. Will contact women.

**Lenge:** Six women volunteered to put in demonstration fields.

**Kabongo:** Mr. Minh to bring seeds to Mamans Kipendano.

**Kitenge:** Agent to take Mamans to visit experimental fields; will give advice on their pineapple field.

**Budi:** Agent will work in mission collective field when he has seeds.

**Kabalo:** Mr. Dai will assist women rice farmers in leveling their fields and cutting vegetation to adjust water level. Will look for irrigated rice seeds.

**Katutu (Kabalo):** Women's group agreed to meet with extension agent on Saturday 13 February to look at fields.

**Katompe:** Agent promised to look into seeds for vegetables for women's cooperative and will try to organize a group of widows.

ANNEX 6  
TECHNICAL QUESTIONS RAISED BY WOMEN

Kambo: The agent's system loses a lot of the plant at harvesting because the soil is clayey. Why should we give up mounding?

Kayeye: Doesn't planting in a line cause erosion if the terrain is not level?

Kabongo: Does the new variety of manioc which yields in one year rot in the soil? You know we use the ground for storage of manioc.

Kinkondja: Red ants are infesting the manioc, especially near the village. How can we combat them?

Kayeye: Can women harvest manioc leaves in the experimental fields?

Kayeye: The Belgians tried planting in rows here, interplanting cotton and beans. After two or three years they gave up. Why should we try again?

Vumbi: When I harvest manioc what should I do with the stalks and stems?

Kayamba: We are used to the two year variety of manioc as it fits into our harvesting schedule. Will the new (one year) variety degrade the soil even more?

Katompe: Women asked about how to deal with marauding animals and birds. The agent suggested that fields be grouped together to cut losses and facilitate surveillance. One woman pointed out that this is very difficult due to differences in soil fertility. Some people would lose out. (My own research in Haut Zaire suggests that this was a reason why the system of cultivating fields together introduced by the Belgians did not survive after Independence.)

Budi: We had an extensive conversation with three older women about agricultural practices in the past. We asked why they planted in mounds. They said mounds are used in less fertile soil or rocky soil to make the soil more workable. They said that when the Belgians left they gave up the row system, especially in the less fertile areas.

Kadima: After harvesting soya, what should we do with the plant stalks?

Kabalo: Women were given R66 (upland rice seed) to plant in irrigated plots. The plants turned yellow and they wondered about the effect on yields.

Vumbi: Can beans and peanuts be planted in association?

Budi: How large a field can a woman in good health cultivate in one year?

**ANNEX 7**

**SUGGESTED CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING THE PROGRESS OF THE PROJECT BASED ON OUR OBSERVATIONS**

1. To evaluate the level of nutrition, the number of cases of kwashiorkor could be determined by collecting statistics at various dispensaries and hospitals. This level could be measured periodically throughout the life of the project.
2. Farmgate prices for corn and other crops (including manioc, beans and peanuts) should be correlated with prices of certain market items of necessity (salt, soap, cloth, basic utensils) to determine level of real income and shifts in terms of trade. We collected some of these data already. It is also important to collect prices for corn in major cities and estimate transport costs to determine profit levels of traders.
3. Keep track of the price for milling corn and introduction of mills into the area.
4. Periodically survey stores and boutiques on sales of conspicuous consumption items such as bicycles, tin roofing, radios. Many of these items are now obtained by barter where the terms of the exchange are unfavorable to the producers.
5. Periodic survey of women's groups and women farmer leaders in the project area, noting amount of seed distributed, instruction received, investment of funds from communal fields, purchase of items such as mills, decorticators and hand tools.
6. Labor constraints may be a key factor in retaining new techniques (e.g. mounding saves time at harvest). If nothing is done to ease the burden of women's workload, their participation in and benefit from the project will be only marginal. A study could be made at the outset on use of women's time and this could be followed up after several years of project activity. The PNS evaluation noted that they could not evaluate this important part of the impact on women.
7. It is not really known whether people in the project area eat corn, or to what extent they eat corn and if eating corn is seasonal or depends on the availability of mills. People claim that they do not eat corn and that this affects their level of nutrition. Will they eat more corn if they produce more corn, or only if milling facilities are available?
8. Has anyone done a study of production costs to the farmer? (PNS Director suggested this). Such a study would have to include taxes, fees and fines imposed by the state, cost of implements, health care costs related to production. Do production costs go up with the introduction of the project?
9. Use of students from the University of Lubumbashi to carry our basic research: Students must be trained by the project in data collecting and writing up results. The Belgo-Zairois academic system is very different than the American system, especially in the social sciences. Students are members of the elite and even if they are from the project area may have a patronizing attitude toward rural people. They must be trained to listen and observe.

**ANNEX 8  
DOCUMENTS REVIEWED**

**Memoires from UNILU Library in sociology:**

**Banze wa Kayumba K 1985 Juillet**

La contribution de l'état et des commerçants au sous-développement de la Zone de Malemba-Nkulu.

**Kitwanga Ma-Gogo Masengo 1980 Octobre**

La contribution économique de la femme au foyer: étude sociologique de la participation des menagères de Kongolo.

**Kyombo Kafinya 1977 Octobre**

Parenté et alliance chez les Luba du Shaba.

**Banza Bwanga Bwa Kazadi 1966 Octobre**

De la relance agricole à l'exploitation paysanne a Kabongo.

**Mwema Mwadi Kihumba 1986 Juillet**

La doctrine coopérative à l'épreuve: une analyse praxéologique des coopératives de la Zone de Kabongo.

**Musenga Mbuyi 1982 Juillet**

La sorcellerie féminine et ses implications sur la famille Luba-Lubilandji.

**Kunkuzya Mwana Chilongwe 1981 Juillet**

La modernisation des sociétés rurales et le sous-développement dans le cadre du projet de développement rural intégré du Nord Shaba/Zone de Kongolo.

**Ngoi Kimba 1983 Juillet**

Le diocèse de Kamina et le développement rural.

**Received from the Director of Development for BCZ/Shaba:**

Collection of documents on conference on cooperatives including information on SOLECA (Lusaka) and CECAM; 25 June 1985

Collection of documents on conference on women in development; 1 June 1984

**Rapport sur la mission d'évaluation dans la Zone de Kasenga. EPER-Lausanne (sociological study of the Bemba including information on households)**

**Kyungu Mutchina 1984-85**

Recherche des possibilités pour la réalisation d'un projet de distribution d'eau dans la localité de Mukanga collectivité de Kayumba, Zone de Malemba-Nkulu. Travail fin d'études; Institute de Développement Rural, Bukavu.

**Okitayela Onawoma 1985-86**

Etude des possibilités d'intégration de la pisciculture au sein de la SOLECA, dans la localité de Lusaka; travail fin d'études, Institut de Développement Rural, Bukavu.

**Other documents:**

**Kazadi Mwika K. April 1986. Historique de la coopérative SOLECA.**

**Verhust, Prof. Guido. Statistical study of households in Kabondo-Dianda.**

**Rapport de Mission Effectuée à Kabondo-Dianda par le conseiller technique du  
Projet 105, 31Oct-3Nov 1987.**

**Tshungu Bamesa 1987. Femme et société au Zaïre: éléments bibliographiques.**

**Project Paper, Project 105**

**Poulin, R., Appleby, G. and C. Quan 1987. Impact Evaluation of Project Nord  
Shaba.**

ANNEX 9  
MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

1. Received a letter from Extension agent Kitambala in Kabondo-Dianda.

Translation by Ms. Russell:

Consultant Diane,

The situation after your visit:

For many years the women of the Collectivity of Kabondo-Dianda were never organized to work in communal fields until just after your very encouraging visit.

Thus, I really wanted to make an effort to bring you up to date on the situation: 1) With the group of women from the Catholic mission (widows) we have already put in a demonstration field of manioc, we plan also to form a group with the young single mothers (There are many pregnant women without husbands or any means of support). 2) We will also instruct the group of widows working with the Chief's wife on modern techniques next year. It could be very helpful for this year except they didn't show up as promised so nothing happened. 3) For the two other groups, CPZ and the wife of the Chief, they have harvested their fields and they are still donating 100Z each month for the cash box. 4) For the wives of the farmer with 14 1/2 ha of corn planted with modern techniques we have put in a small demonstration field of manioc. As for the social problem that we looked into in their household, the husband now lives together with his wives in the field because your visit made him think about things.

In any case, since July-January, we have worked with many kinds of farmers who can show visible results in the future from the standpoint of modern techniques, affecting the social and economic life of the community.

In Kinshasa, could you look into the possibility of sending a well for potable water which we will pay for on arrival, and helping us with medicines?

The extension agent of Kabondo-Dianda,  
Vyenido Kitambala.

2. Has there been a good survey of traders in the project area, especially for crops other than corn (Gecamines Development?).

3. We talked with project personnel about the possibility of getting children involved in the project, for they represent the future farmers of the project area. We talked to some school prefects about the possibility of dispensing information about the project to boys and girls in secondary school. This would be especially important, of course, for the agricultural schools.

4. We read in a newspaper about a woman in Kivu, Cne Birindwa, who has organized 65 women's groups (35,000 rural women). It might be interesting to track her down and discuss organizing techniques and problems she encountered.

5. A few people expressed concern about stealing crops in the fields. They note that there are people who don't cultivate but who steal from others. I wonder if this problem would increase with higher value crops?

6. All the missions will take in visitors but are not use' to preparing receipts for lodging. It is appropriate to donate somethi for this mission work and bring gifts such as food. (We bought a sack of onions in Lubumbashi and distributed them during the trip.)

**ANNEX 10  
LESSONS FROM PNS APPLICABLE TO WOMEN IN PROJECT 105**

1. A diversity of crops helps promote economic growth because corn is seasonal. Crop mix also helps in fertilizing the soil. Women are likely to benefit from extension efforts in manioc, beans and soya.
2. Women extension agents should have agricultural training.
3. Women's needs should be integrated into the project, not auxiliary to the project.
4. Income-generating activities that are time-consuming and outside women's daily activities will suffer a high drop out rate.
5. Selection of criteria for evaluating the project can include collecting information on participation of women and women's gains from the project.
6. The extension program needs to be flexible and community based.
7. Married extension agents encounter fewer problems of jealousy and acceptance on the part of men.
8. "Organizing for organizing's sake will prove, as it did in PNS, to be ultimately futile" (PNS evaluation, page 32). Thus the project should limit itself to working with groups which are already organized, providing them some logistical and management support. People may be eager for outsiders, including the Peace Corps, to form groups in their communities but we see a number of problems in this, including the very limited life-span of many of these groups. Organizing groups can lead to disappointment with the Project as well when these groups don't work out.