

THE AGRARIAN QUESTION AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN
AS CHIEF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCERS IN AFRICA:
THE CASE OF UGANDA

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ABSTRACT

Women's participation in agricultural production cannot be viewed outside the socio-economic, socio-cultural and political contexts of the societies in which they find themselves. Similarly, agricultural productivity must be analysed within the framework of the agrarian system in question, if a correct analysis is to be made. Furthermore, women's participation in agriculture, in particular, and in economic activities, in general, should be looked at through their role within the division of labour in a given society.

In Africa, most of the economies are agro-based. Women constitute from 60% to 85% of agricultural labour. They are chief producers of food staff. They engage in the whole process of cash crop production for export. Yet they have very little say in the decisions as to how the benefits accruing from all this is to be utilised. Agricultural activities are mainly subsistence in nature, engaged in by the peasantry, in general, and women, in particular. Consequently, much of the labour and energy expended on such activities do not necessarily result in very high productivity. Much more importantly, the agrarian question has not yet been seriously tackled by most of the African countries in which women carry out their agricultural activities.

The dependent nature of the economies of African countries, in general, and that of Uganda, in particular, conspires against efficient productivity. The fluctuations in the prices of raw materials adversely affect women's efforts as chief agricultural producers. Moreover, the division of labour along sex line does not add to efficiency. Africa must address itself seriously not only to the agrarian question, but to the larger question of viability of her economies which must utilise all her resources efficiently for her benefits.

Chief Agricultural Producers in Africa:

The Case of Uganda.

Introduction:

The role of women as chief agricultural producers in Africa or in Uganda particularly must be analysed within the context of socio-economic, socio-cultural and political system of any given society. Society assigns roles to various classes and categories of persons within those classes. Thus women's contribution to agricultural production in Uganda is but a manifestation of their role, and, indeed their status, within the society. Furthermore, agricultural production is an aspect of economic and the development of society as a whole. Meaningful development, however, must entail qualitative changes in the living conditions of the entire population of a society. It must involve availability and equitable distribution of wealth, food, shelter and other social services and amenities; provision adequate level of employment (both formal/ of and informal) (1), better and relevant education; and a freeing of the population from servitude and dependence - not only in relation to the other peoples and nations, but also to the forces of ignorance and poverty. The process of attaining meaningful development involves efficient and proper utilisation of all the available resources of the society - material and human. The former represents all the natural resources, while the latter includes both males and females. Thus the necessity of viewing women's role as agricultural producers within the said contexts.

In Uganda, however, just as is true of the whole Africa (and indeed the Third World generally. dependence has characterised the development which/ taken place thus far. Dependent development / has indicates a certain amount of development which is attained through external stimuli resulting from the external orientation of a given economy which is neither self-generating nor self-sustained. For instance, the rate of economic growth may rise as a result of external stimulus while the social infrastructure has not undergone any appreciable qualitative change. Similarly, a certain amount of industrialisation may take place only mainly as a result of substituting the formerly-imported luxury goods. Such type, of industrialisation does not benefit the masses of the society in question. It benefits a minority of people only and disguises the underlying problem of underdevelopment. Dependent development can be seen as part of the state of underdevelopment which characterises the economy of Africa and that of Uganda in particular.

Underdevelopment is taken here to mean socio-economic, socio-political situation where a society which was once viable finds itself unable to determine its economic base as well as its political structure. The non-viable status of such a society includes lack of capital, unacceptably high level of unemployment, endemic poverty, etc. Dependence, on the other hand has been said to involve an external orientation of a given economy for most of its activities. Dos Santos defines dependence as a situation in which the economy of certain countries is conditional by the development and expansion of another economy to which the former is subjugated..... The concept of dependence permits us to see the internal situation of these countries as part of world economy". (2) The basis of dependence should be analysed, in the case of Uganda which is the concrete case within which our analysis will take place. Questions such as who controls this type of development, what its objectives are, who benefits from it and how meaningful development can be achieved, should be asked.

This paper will attempt to analyse the role of women in agricultural production within the existing agrarian system. This will be done within the historical context of Uganda. The choice of the topic does not pretend in any way to isolate the woman question from its societal context. It is merely an attempt to demonstrate the complexity of the question and to highlight it. Furthermore, the role of women as agricultural producers must be rooted within the larger concern or economic development, a significant aspect of development of society as a whole.

Historical Background to the Role of Women as Chief Agricultural Producers in Africa.

In Uganda, just as is true of the whole continent of Africa, history reveals that women have been chief commodity producers, especially in subsistence agriculture. Traditionally, the division of labour has been along sex lines where women have been regarded as the cultivators of the earth and keepers of the homes. Women also have been the reproducers of the manpower required by society. This type of division of labour goes back to the time when land/abundant/was and freely available and agricultural tools were simple, for the purpose of subsistence agriculture. Women, however, received assistance periodically from/ especially for such tasks as breaking/ men new ground for cultivation. Men remained effective custodians of land- regardless of whether the society was matrilineal or patrilineal.

(3) Men engaged in mormadic animal breeding and thus hunting became men's pre-occupation. Property was communially owned and shared.

With the emergence of private property, men gained monopoly over land. This was true of all classes. Even where nobility existed the males had priority over the female counter-parts). The maintenance of land and livestock, however, demanded more human labour than was previously the case, and consequently, new relations of production arose. In certain areas of Africa, polygamy provided men with a large supply of unpaid female labour (together with that of their children). Thus the economics of polygamy enabled a man to acquire more control over land and labour since each wife was assigned a portion of land for cultivation. The responsibility of producing food crops remained that of women. Although the role of women in agricultural production and in the socio-economic development was undeniable, their status depended on that of their male relatives and connections - fathers, brothers and husbands. Thus the women's role was decided by the economic necessity while the status of their labour was governed by socio-cultural attitudes of society.

The Colonial Era and the Role of Women as Chief Agricultural Producers

With the conquest and establishment of colonial rule in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries, the pre-colonial social relations were more or less destroyed. The Africans - males and females - were subjected to the demands and requirements of imperialist capital for cheap, industrial crops required by the metropolitan industries. Where such cash crops could not be successfully - grown, subsistence commodity production was emphasised for feeding colonial administrative staff as well as the African labourers in urban areas and on the settler farms (in Southern Africa. Then, as now, the women, constituted the largest portion of agricultural labourers. Moreover, with the monetisation of the economy, commodity producers were compelled to become dependent peasant producers or wage labourers in order to buy farm implements and, or pay the compulsory taxes. Where mineral mining existed such as that in South Africa, Zambia, Zaire or elsewhere, the demand for male labour forced women to become heads of households. Women also engaged in commodity production with their menfolk, or singly if men took up wage employment in the urban areas. The colonial labour policy excluded responsibility for women so that male wage earners went to their work areas without their wives. Thus

for women continued as food producers who became responsible for the family. The wages paid to the African workers were deliberately low so that the burden of maintaining the working men also fell on the women. In cases of losses of jobs, the males returned to the solace of their homes. In Southern Africa, land was appropriated by the colonial government for public use and for European settlement. Thus African Woman's labour was intensified over unproductive land just as cash crop production was also intensified. Moreover, the system of private land tenure was perpetuated, introduced or formalised in some parts (as will be seen in the case of Uganda). Men became the effective title holders of land, for the most part. Therefore, women lost even the guarantee to traditional land allocated to them for subsistence crop cultivation. Involvement in cash crop farming used up more land than that for food crop production. In most cases, cash crops production used up choice land. Thus the colonial era can be said to have been the era of intensification of cash crop production in particular and the intensification of female labour in general. The effect of monetisation of the African economy on the African women need not be over-emphasised. Carmen De Deere argues that export economy has depended on the free labour of the women. (4) She maintains further that export sectors of the economy have been able to maintain low wages (and thus obtain high profits) because of women's contribution to the family's subsistence from agricultural production. The labour is unpaid. They feed, clothe and care for themselves and the children at no cost to the employers of the husbands or relatives. For instance in the Zambian copper mines during colonial time, husbands were allowed to bring their wives along and were deliberately paid lower wages in the understanding that the wives would supplement the wages. The wives were given small plots where to grow subsistence food crops.

Women as Chief Agricultural Producers in the Post Colonial Era

We have already shown that women have generally carried the burden of food production in Africa. We have also shown that control over land, female labour and over the product of that labour continues to be exercised by men in the immediate sense. Ultimately, the dependent nature of the post-colonial societies in Africa must place the control outside these societies. The immediate control of women's labour extends to the absolute control over the agricultural incomes. For example, a man as the head of a family will decide when or if a certain farm implement will be used for the

production of food crops. Yet the timing may be instrumental in whether or not the food crop yield will be high in any given season. The division of labour along sex lines continues to influence women's role as agricultural producers. Table I below shows this clearly.

Table 1 . Division of labour between Men and Women, Rural Areas of Africa (% of total labour)

Task	Men*	Women*
Land cleansing	95	5
Turning the Soil	70	30
Planting	50	50
Hoeing and weeding	30	70
Harvesting	40	60
Transporting cop/from farms home	20	80
Storing Crops	20	80
Processing food crops	10	90
Marketing excess crops	40	60
Trimming tree crops	90	10
Carrying water and fuel	10	90
Caring for domestic Animals	50	50
Hunting	90	10
Feeding & caring for/children, men & the aged	5	90

* With or without help from children

Source: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.

African Training & Research Centre for Women:

Women of Africa: Today & Tomorrow (Addis Ababa, 1975)pg.6.

It can clearly be seen from above that the division of labour along sex line continues to place a heavy burden on the shoulders of the women. Her labour within the total labour of society has higher per centage than that of the man. In ten out of fourteen different economic and domestic activities, the per centage of her labour is over 50% compared to the man's six activities. Although African countries have been politically - independent for over twenty years, they have remained economically dependent. This has meant, in some cases, dependence on single commodity. It has also meant that African economies has remained vulnerable to the fluctuations in the prices of the raw materials on which they depend. Uganda's economy is agriculturally - based. It depends on the export of coffee, tea, cotton and tobacco for foreign exchange. Agricultural sector dominates Uganda's economy. In terms of production, agriculture contributes over 50% of the Gross National Product (GNP). In fact, 80% of rural population depends on agricultural

activities for its livelihood. Women constitute the majority of agricultural workforce. Women have always participated in socio-economic activities which contribute to the development of society as a whole. They have produced and continue to produce wealth for the society. It is actually the rural women who help produce the bulk of wealth for this country. Yet the rural women have not benefitted from the new agricultural techniques methods which are introduced in order to improve agricultural productivity and to lighten the burden of farm work. This creates unequal division of the burden of daily work when rural women have to work for long laborious hours. Technology, if appropriately-introduced, should be able to alleviate the excess work load of the rural women and improve the quality of their lives.

How then, does the improved agricultural technique reach the rural woman? Normally, in Uganda, in particular, it is the "progressive farmers" who are availed not only new agricultural techniques, but certain farm implements and inputs as well. It is the same "progressive farmers" who benefit from the agricultural extension services. The rural woman continue to be primarily responsible for food crop production with the help of traditional implements. Commercialisation of agriculture which is the hall mark of the "progressive farmer" leads to an increase in the acreage under cash crop. Moreover, the use of mechanised clearing of new land by men may also increase the arduousness of women's work of planting, weeding, harvesting. When such new techniques are introduced through extension services, invitation are sent to men as heads of families, and not to the women who are directly - engaged in agricultural activities as well. This comes out of treating the household as basic units for data collection and policy - making. The effect of technological change on agricultural production is thus not analysed or shown by each sex engaged in the production. This omission gives some what inaccurate picture of the effect of new techniques on agriculture. Secondly, subsidised inputs - tractors, seeds and government extension services are channeled to the male head of the households - especially those of the "progressive farmers". Yet we have already shown that women are the chief agricultural producers both of food and cash crops.

Women do not benefit directly from the new agricultural techniques and services partly because of the woman's traditional role of being a home keeper which tends to overshadow her agricultural activities. Yet, she is very much engaged in both.

Another possible reason for a rural woman's lack of benefit from technology which eases the burden of farm labour is because more men than women have had some amount of education and are, therefore, assumed to be able to understand the techniques and methods more readily. The most obvious reason is that very few women in the rural areas have control over land and therefore cannot afford the large commercial estates which could qualify them as "progressive farmers". Whatever the combination of reasons, this contradiction has been aptly expressed by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa:

- "There is a profound contradiction between the women's condition as the chief agricultural producers and rudimentary nature, sometimes the non-existence, of technical and co-operative means designated more specifically for them. Rural activity programmes for women are oriented more towards their function as mothers and wives than as agricultural producers. In these conditions, it is perfectly obvious why there are growing frustration on the part of women about their status and participation."(5)

In some cases, when certain new techniques are introduced to lighten either the domestic or the farm burden, men take over the tasks which were formerly undertaken by women. An example is the milling machine for grains such as millet, sorghum and maize. Instead of the back-breaking grinding stones that rural and even poor urban women have used, it is the men who operate the machines (and ofcourse collect the money). This new technique can only be used by the fairly wealthy peasants and urban dwellers. The poor peasants and poor urban workers' wives still use the age-old grinding stones.

We have mentioned that education and training are contributory factors to lack of women's benefitting from new agricultural technology. Other factors such as the choice of recipients of such technology have been discussed above. Uganda has no law that bars girls/women from education. Infact, enrolment at the beginning of primary school is almost at par. Educational statistics shows that the percentage is 55% and 45% for boys and girls, respectively. However, by the time they reach post-secondary level, the figure would have dropped till it becomes only 17% at the University level. Enrolment in school itself is thus not enough to guarantee equal opportunities in education and training. This is particularly true of Uganda where education, while open to all, is neither universal nor free. School fees are high and among poorer rural families, only boys can obtain school fees which is quite a burden

on such families. For in the rural areas, girls have to drop out of school, in many cases, in order to help their tired mothers with food production and other household chores. Yet, secondary education is decisive for the future of the young in that boys and girls may start vocational training or may decide to go on for higher education. We have already shown that very few girls can make it to higher levels, educationally. Exposure to relevant and functional education, however, may help politicise not only the girls but the society as a whole. Relevant education should be able to create awareness to societal requirements. Regardless of what type of education Uganda has, once can see that our institutions of learning reflects the lopsided concern for more than a half of the Uganda's human resources - the women. A good example is that of Makerere University, the only national University for this country. The data are from the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry which concerns itself with the training of future agricultural officers who are intimately connected with agricultural activities.

Tables 11 and 111

Student Registration for Bachelor of Science
(B.Sc.) in agriculture and Bachelor of Science
(B.Sc.) in Forestry, in the Faculty of Agriculture
and Forestry

Table 11

Academic Session 1981 - 82

<u>B.Sc. Agriculture</u>	<u>Year 1</u>	<u>Year 11</u>	<u>Year 111</u>
Male	66	61	47
Female	23	13	26

B.Sc. Forestry

Male	27	17	23
Female	2	0	3

Table 111

Academic Session 1982-83

<u>B.Sc. Agriculture</u>	<u>Year 1</u>	<u>Year 11</u>	<u>Year 111</u>
Male	56(+8 repeaters)	57	57
Female	30(+6 repeaters)	18	14(+ repeaters)

B.Sc. Forestry

Male	18	25(include repeaters)	17
Female	1	1	0

If these students are to be the future decision-makers in agriculture which is still the mainstay of Uganda's economy, it can be clearly seen that there will be very few women with the training necessary in this field. Note, however, that women constitute large number of agricultural workers in the rural areas.

The division of labour along sex lines and the vesting of the control over land in men spill into institutional biases against women. Take for instance financial institutions and their lending practices. Women find it very difficult to obtain institutional credit for agricultural activities. Because most women have no land titles or properties in their own names. they normally fail to produce "security" in the form of land title or buildings. This therefore means that women agricultural workers can not easily improve their productivity. It has been shown that even when women form themselves into farming co-operatives, they cannot obtain institutional help. Examples of this are to be found among the Women's co-operative farmers of Gulu, Apac, Lira and some other cotton-growing areas who have not yet been

able to get the necessary institutional credits to improve their productivity in both cash and food crops. Yet, the tragic events of the era of 1970's have left many women widowed and as sole heads of households. Furthermore there is a small but definite number of women who remain single for a number of personal reasons. All these will remain disadvantaged if financial institutions do not change their lending practice to a developmental approach where capacity to repay should be their guide. Women's agricultural activities is also made complex by the fact that they are also the reproducers of manpower and the providers of comfort and refuge for the work force through their daily care of the homes. They care for and socialise the young, nurse the sick and care for the old. They act as hostesses to all the visitors to, and relatives in the homes. All this must take ^{pl}_{ac} simultaneously with their other role as the Chief agricultural producers. Their involvement in agricultural activities are of a subsistence nature as well as being labour intensive. Therefore, much of the labour and energy so expended do not necessarily result in higher productivity.

The role of women as chief agricultural producers must be viewed within the context of the prevailing agrarian system that entails availability, use and management of land. Land is the most valuable resource and asset in the economic development of any society. Thus how land is held and used will determine the type of development a society attains and will also determine the quality of life a society enjoys. Mention has already been made that Africa in general and Uganda particularly have attained political independence but have remained economically dependent. It is also true to state that Uganda has not tackled the agrarian question seriously and systematically. Before the establishment of colonial rule at the turn of the Century, Uganda as a whole enjoyed customary tenure of land with slight variations. Customary tenure of land may be on a communal or ethnic basis with the clan or family holding it in trust on behalf of the community involved. The communal tenure entrusts the land which is occupied and used by the community to the ethnic ruler to hold the land in trust for the whole community. For the clan or family tenure, the authority is invest^{ed} in the head of the clan or family as trustee for the entire group. In short, Uganda societies enjoyed free use of land without resorting to private ownership of the land. The British colonial rulers changed this - in keeping with their administrative and economic requirement.

With the establishment of colonial rule, the colonial rulers introduced private ownership of land in Buganda and two other then Kingdoms - Ankole, and Toro. For the rest of Uganda all land was declared

public (Crown) land. Four general types of land tenure system emerged in Uganda - Customary, Freehold, Mailo, and leasehold. Customary tenure, Before the Land Reform Decree of 1975, this system of land tenure constituted 70% of all land in Uganda. It must be remembered that Uganda has about 80,000 square miles of land out of which 66,000 square miles can be used for agricultural purposes. Customary tenure does not recognise individual (private) ownership of land. Up to 1975, customary tenure enjoyed legal protection. In section 24 of the Public Land Act, ⁽¹⁹⁶⁹⁾ provision is made for the right of an individual to occupy and use land through customary tenure. No authority could lease or freehold land which was so occupied and used without the consent of the occupier. Thus the ordinary peasant enjoyed this protection in his use of land. The Freehold system originated in the Ankole and Toro Agreements of 1901 and 1900 which committed the then two Kingdoms to the British protectorate. It was agreement which involved land settlement - which gave land to the chiefs who signed the Agreement. This was of course, a reward for accepting British colonial rule which did not relate the importance of land to the ordinary people of the area. The origin of Freehold was to be found in the Crown Lands Ordinance (1903) which gave the Crown the right to alienate land in Freehold. The Mailo tenure was introduced to Buganda as part of the Buganda Agreement dealt with land settlement ^{as well,} The Kabaka, members of the royal family and senior chiefs received a total of 958 square miles either as private or official estates. Various other details were spelt out for other chiefs, and Crown Land. The important aspect of this system for our purpose is that it created a new type of social relations in land - that of the landlord and the tenant. While the Landlord did not pay regularly for his land the tenant had to pay regular rents and work the land. The Buganda Busulu and Envujjo Law (1927) spelt out the rights and duties of the landlord and the tenant. However, no amount of law can change the exploitative nature of this type of relationship. Neither can the law refute the fact that a landed class was created. The leasehold in land comes from an agreement between the lessor and lessee where the latter enjoys exclusive possession of land for a specified duration on payment. The holder gets the right to exclusive possession, use and occupation of land. In Uganda a lease can be private or public (statutory). The private lease comes from private land owners to an individual or organisation. The parties involved negotiate and agree on the terms. Sections 22 and 23 of the Public Land Act (1969) spells out the Public leases.

This system creates landed class, as well, since one has to have resources to be able to lease and develop land. The 1975 Land Reform Decree declared all land public and thus provided for the vesting of all land in Uganda in trust for the people of Uganda. This Decree was supposed to facilitate the use of land for economic and social development. It abolished free-hold interest in land / absolute ownership including mailo system and /and converted/ to leasehold. By the same token, the Decree removed the /mailo legal protection which had been enjoyed by customary tenure on public land. Nonetheless, the customary tenure was allowed to continue. Now the Land controlling authority, the Land Commission may freely alienate land without the consent of the Tenant, Under conditions imposed by the commission

and approved by the Minister of Land.

This then is the land tenure system within which agricultural production, in particular, and economic development generally take place in Uganda. It is abundantly clear that the system is not democratic nor has /been clearly worked out for the benefit of /it society as a whole. There is a creeping tendency to private ownership, despite the declaration of all land being public. The majority of Ugandans live in the rural areas and their livelihood depends on agriculture. Uganda's economy is agro-based. Therefore the agrarian question should be taken very seriously. Where, then, do the women fit in as the chief agricultural producers ?

Women as Chief Agricultural Producers.

Although we have been discussing women as a general group, we cannot take them all to be homogeneous, just as we cannot take all Ugandan men to be homogeneous. However, as we pointed out earlier our intention is to highlight the role of women as chief agricultural producers. We are aware of the fact that the agrarian question must tackle the class question. Thus discussion of women in their economic activities, and in agricultural activities must take into account the class component of the agrarian question. We contend that for our analytical purpose, the class question must be viewed as the primary contradiction and the woman question as the secondary contradiction. When we discuss the socio-economic determinants of the status of female labour, particularly in agriculture, the question of class comes in. For instance, a poor peasant family who may be a customary tenant on public land will make intensive use of unpaid female family labour. Similarly, a poor tenant on what was up to 1975 mailo land will also make use of female labour. On the other hand, women from the large landowning class are likely to play a supervisory

role in agricultural production because such households can afford cheap labour of others who are landless. In the case of the former mailo land tenure, cheap labour was provided by the tenants who also paid a certain amount of fixed rent. The women from tenant household would also contribute their labour. Among the peasantry there are categories - of the rich and the poor ones. The degree of the Women's involvement in agricultural production would depend on their economic position. For instance, the female headed households in the rural areas are the most disadvantaged especially if they belong to the category of the poor peasants. This category has the biased cultural attitudes as well as other institutional biases against it. Despite these categories, women generally perform common function of reproduction of manpower, child bearing, domestic or household maintenance, and agricultural production. The latter role which is played simultaneously within the context of Uganda Women's role as chief agricultural producers is influenced and indeed determined by the prevailing agrarian system.

CONCLUSION:

This paper has attempted to review the role of women as chief agricultural producers within the prevailing agrarian system. It has shown that the traditional division of labour along sex lines confined women to agriculture (economically) and to the home (domestically). The paper has traced the politico-historical changes in Uganda to show that the role of women has extended to include other economic activities. The paper has also shown that women undertake most of agricultural work - food production, processing, preservation and storage. They undertake cash crop production. They care for the home and family, all unwaged. Yet they lag behind in training and in making use of improved agricultural technology to lighten the farm labour. The paper has also viewed briefly the agrarian system in Uganda and has come to the conclusion that it has not been tackled seriously. Unless this is done, agricultural productivity in general will not improve. For if the agrarian question is considered and planned, then the question of the efficient utilisation of all the resources of Uganda - natural and human - will take place. This will also tackle the question of viability of the economy.

A FEW SUGGESTIONS:

1. The agrarian question should be tackled seriously for the benefit of all Ugandans.
2. Statistics or researches should show data by sex in order to get accurate picture of the contributions made by women in agricultural production and other areas of economic development, to allow meaningful economic planning.

3. The majority of rural women spend so much of their time in laborious activities (cultivation with simple implements; collecting waster and firewood from long distances; etc.) that the time so expended could be more productively spent. For instance, clean, safe drinking water, could be brought nearer homes, alternative sources of energy found and agricultural implements improved.
4. Relevant and functional educational and training opportunities should be made available to both sexes, in both rural and urban areas.
5. The economy should be diversified so as to move away from dependence on a few raw commodities whose prices are decided outside places of production.

FOOTNOTE:

1. In the special issue of WOMEN AT WORK, an International Labour Organisation (ILO) Newsletter, published after the 1980 Copenhagen World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, work was defined in such a way that it encompasses the broad range of productive activities performed after without wage remuneration, especially in any developing society where work is especially numerous in the rural areas.
2. Theotonio Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence" in American Economic Review, Vol, LX, No. 2 (May, 1970). pgs 231 - 236.
3. K. Marx, F. Engels, V.L. Lenin & J. Stalin, The Woman Question, (International Publishers) New York, 1975).
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4. Carmen Diana Deere, "Subsistence Production in the Capitalist Periphery" in R. Cohen et al.(eds) Peasants and Proletariats, (Monthly Review Press New York, 1979. Deere discusses this point very convincingly.
5. The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, 1970:34.
6. Land Reform Decree, 1975, Government Printers, Entebbe.
7. The Uganda Census of 1980, shows that over 80% of Ugandans live in the rural areas.

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