

C:AVA

Cassava: Adding Value for Africa



GENDER AND DIVERSITY REPORT - NIGERIA

September 2008



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List of Acronyms

ADP -	Agricultural Development Programme
C:AVA -	Cassava: Adding value for Africa.
CASAPRAN –	Cassava Processors Association of Nigeria.
CEDAW -	Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.
COWAN -	Country Women Association of Nigeria
HQCF -	High quality cassava flour
ICPD -	International conference on Population and Development.
LGA –	Local Government Area
NGO -	Non Government Organisation
NRI –	Natural Resources Institute
OGADEP –	Ogun State Agricultural Development Programme
ONADEP –	Ondo State Agricultural Development Programme
RTEP –	Roots and Tubers Extension Project
SME –	Small or Medium Enterprise
UNAAB -	University of Agriculture, Abeokuta
VPU -	Village Processing Unit.

Acknowledgement

Cassava: Adding Value for Africa (C:AVA) is supported by a grant from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation to the University of Greenwich's Natural Resources Institute. The views expressed are not necessarily those of the foundation.

Executive Summary

The Gender and Diversity Studies reported here, trace the roles and practical involvement of men and women at different stages of the cassava value chain. In addition, the factors influencing the longer term strategic improvements in status and opportunities for women and girls, and the disadvantaged, were examined.

It was found that both men and women are involved in the production, processing and marketing of cassava, although men's emphasis is more on production and women's on processing. The main income generating and food production activities of women are farming cassava and vegetables, processing cassava and marketing farm produce. Cassava is viewed as a good cash crop by many women, as demand for traditional cassava foods is high. Men put more emphasis on production and less on processing and marketing, growing a wider range of cash crops than women. Now that cassava is also perceived as a cash crop, its cultivation is increasingly taken up by men.

In terms of farm labour, men are responsible for a larger share of land preparation, while women have a more prominent role in post harvest activities. Generally, women have heavier workloads than men, including farm work, marketing, household chores and casual labouring.

Women's access to land is dependent on their husbands or fathers. Supplementary land is rented by both women and men from other families, provided they can afford the costs. There were no apparent ethnic tensions within the communities visited. Migrants from other States frequently work as hired labour, but can also hire land from the community and farm on their own account.

Many young men and women have migrated to neighbouring towns and cities in search of jobs outside agriculture. Some are still interested in the possibility of farming if it was a viable profitable enterprise.

Most households consist of extended families; polygamy is seen as the norm. Within the household, women and men have separate fields for the all crops they grow and manage them separately. Women usually cultivate smaller areas compared to men because of limited ability to pay for hired labour, the limited extent to which male family members assist with land clearance, and their own physical strength. Women also assist on their husband's fields. Women have limited access to inputs for cassava production (stems, fertilizer, herbicides etc). Access to machinery for agricultural production is low for both men and women.

Provision for the household needs is seen as man's responsibility while women may complement from their own funds. Women said they control their own incomes from cropping and cassava processing, but also said that the husband had the final say in decision making and investment. Women are concerned that their husbands will take advantage of any increase in income (his or hers) in acquiring a second (or third wife), and reduce his financial support to the existing domestic unit.

Women have the major responsibility for cassava processing, carried out on an individual basis, as a group activity, or through employment in an enterprise. Women have limited control of appropriate technology to ease their processing workload. They pay for mechanised cassava grating services which are generally male-owned enterprises. Hygienic and environmentally friendly waste disposal was often lacking at village processing units and environmental pollution was also observed.

Membership of processors associations is predominantly female, but also includes some men. Groups have established leadership structures and rules of operation. Processors associations are often characterized by strong social networks.

Women processors are interested in expanding the range of cassava products they can make and market, including producing wet cake for HQCF processing. An important risk perceived in relation to production of wet cake, is rejection by the buyers for not meeting the required quality.

A large number of women are employed in medium scale intermediary processing enterprises to peel cassava used for producing HQCF. They work long hours and as casual workers, are not entitled to employment benefits which are for permanent staff only. There is a clear link between mechanised operations and permanent positions (mostly held by men), and manual jobs and casual positions (held by women).

Some intermediary processors of HQCF are ensuring the security of supply of their cassava roots supply by investing in their own farms in addition to buying from neighbouring farmers.

Smallholder producers, large and small-scale village processors and intermediaries all highlighted investment finance as constraining their businesses. To overcome credit constraints, producers, VPU and intermediaries used their own savings, joined group savings clubs, used finances diverted from other businesses, or funds sourced from friends and family.

End users of HQCF (flour millers, food producers) employ many people, men and women, generally providing better terms and conditions than smaller enterprises. Women are also employed in the distribution chain of food products to the market.

The Ministry of Agriculture, the Country Women Association of Nigeria, the Justice, Development and Peace Commission, the Rural Farmers Association of Women Farmers, and Nigeria Cassava Processing and Marketing Association were some of the institutions identified as potential service providers/partners.

The main constraints to participation of women and the poor in cassava value adding activities are social, economic and financial, associated with the limited time availability especially for women with small children, technologies which are uncomfortable to use, limited capital to purchase raw materials and lack of credit to invest in improved equipment. Promotion of cassava production and processing may increase demands on women's labour time, with the risk of causing household conflicts as well as negative effects on women's health. However, the production of wet mash for HQCF production is less labour intensive than the production of gari and offers an important alternative which could widen participation in processing activities.

For women wishing to increase their area of cassava production, there may be limitations on land availability. However, the emphasis of C:AVA is to support producers and processors to increase their productivity and efficiency rather than increase their area or scale.

Most women in the study had very low levels of formal education. The provision of training and technical support will be necessary to facilitate their participation.

The potential for adding value at household and village level through production and delivery of wet cake for HQCF, depends on establishing effective linkages between village level cassava producers, processing groups and HQCF factories. If expansion in HQCF production is achieved through processing companies investing in their own production, then opportunities for poor people to benefit will be limited to their engagement as wage labourers.

A further constraint likely to affect village processing groups and intermediary processors interested in HQCF production, is the uncertain demand for HQCF resulting from inconsistencies in implementing the policy of 10% HQCF inclusion in bread flour. Other cassava products may be more profitable options for processors. Actions are needed to promote the use of HQCF among end users such as bakers, noodle producers etc. and to build an information network that links processors and producers.

There needs to be a special emphasis on their position of women within the context of C:AVA priorities, taking into their circumstances and needs. Potential interventions will be carefully examined in the light of gender inclusiveness and benefits and risks for different social groups. Advocacy is needed in order to change the mindsets of men towards women.

1. Introduction

1.1. Gender and diversity in the C:AVA project

Cassava: adding Value to Africa (C:AVA) is a four year project funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, implemented by Natural Resources Institute (NRI) together with partners in five countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, namely; Nigeria, Ghana, Tanzania, Uganda and Malawi. In Nigeria, the project is implemented by NRI together with the University of Agriculture, Abeokuta.

The project's purpose is to support sustainable and equitable high quality cassava flour (HQCF) value chains and thereby improve the livelihoods and incomes of smallholder households and stakeholders in micro, small and medium scale enterprises (NRI, 2008). The project is committed to mainstreaming gender issues and social inclusion throughout its activities, emphasizing the equitable distribution of benefits and the empowerment of women and disadvantaged groups.

It is important to address gender issues for two main reasons; firstly, to ensure that project interventions meet the practical needs of men and women, thereby helping them to escape poverty, and improve their standard of living. The introduction of technology should not disadvantage women, for example, by increasing labour demands or reducing their ability to generate and control their income. Secondly, it is important that strategies are designed which aim for longer term strategic improvements in status and opportunities for women and girls, and the disadvantaged, including the programming of support to gender equitable approaches among service providers.

The foundation for gender awareness and gender targeted programs is a thorough gender situation analysis and gender audit¹ as an early project activity. The studies are also intended to contribute to the specification of target values for gender within the key project milestones and are a starting point for the broader research question on how staple crop development can bring benefits to women and men.

1.2. Gender, diversity and the Value Chains Analysis and Scoping Study

The gender and diversity studies were integrated with the value chains analysis to consider social and gender relations at each stage of the value chain, and were also integrated into the scoping studies with a view to informing the project's intervention strategy. The findings will contribute to the design of programme plans and ensure the "Optimum level of participation of women to produce the greatest impact on reduction of hunger and poverty" (Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation 2008). The studies were intended to describe the current situation regarding gender roles in cassava production and processing, and to indicate specifically the opportunities for women to participate in improvements in cassava production and processing, enhancing incomes, reducing drudgery, increasing their role in decision making processes and their ability to control the proceeds of their labour. The particular emphasis was on such opportunities at village level, but gender participation within intermediary and end user enterprises within the cassava value chain was also given close consideration. The main objectives were:

1. To analyze gender participation, roles and responsibilities in different parts of the cassava value chain (at household level, among village processing groups, traders, intermediary processors and end user industries), identifying daily,

¹ The gender audit will also be conducted with key partner organizations (technical and financial service providers, employers and market actors) once these are identified.

- seasonal and spatial patterns of work and allocation of labour time in domestic, agricultural and livelihood activities.
2. To identify patterns of access to and control of assets and of decision making on distribution of benefits from cassava production and processing. This includes consideration of power, social differentiation and gender relations among actors in the supply chain, attitudes to gender and benefit sharing. And labour terms and conditions in cassava enterprises.
 3. To analyse factors which promote or discourage participation of women and poorer groups in the cassava value chain, including analysis of needs in the areas of training, skills, policy and legal rights. Examination of the gender and diversity orientation and policies of local service providers and ways in which their capacity to support processors' groups could be enhanced.
 4. To outline strategies to create greater gender equality of influence, opportunity and benefit from cassava processing.

The Value Chain Analysis: Gender and Diversity Study was undertaken in the period between June 19 and July 4th, 2008 in two states of Ogun and Ondo in Nigeria. These are the two focal states selected for the C:AVA programme in Nigeria. The gender researchers were Ruth Butterworth (NRI), Mrs Abigail Iyilade, from a local NGO called Society for Initiative in Gender and Development Programme (SIGADEP) and Mrs Petra Abdulsalam-Saghir from the University of Agriculture, Abeokuta (UNAAB). Other supporting personnel were from state Agricultural Development Programme (ADP), specifically the Village Extension Agents working with women (Mrs F. Ayinde, Ogun State) and a team led by Mr Adeniyo O.B, Deputy Director of Crop Extension and Mrs Akiuro T.E. Director of Extension in Ondo State.

The gender and diversity analysis within the Scoping study conducted in the same two States, was undertaken from 17 August to 31 August 2008, by Adrienne Martin (NRI) and Petra Abdulsalam-Saghir (UNAAB). The approach taken was to integrate the gender analysis into the scoping study; and all members of the scoping studies team² included gender and diversity issues in their discussions with different stakeholders and hence contributed to the findings of this report.

1.3. Methods

Initial semi-structured interview checklists for the gender/diversity component of the value chains analysis and the scoping studies were developed at NRI and refined in the field. The gender questions for the scoping study were fully integrated into the checklists for different stakeholder groups, ensuring mainstreaming of the issues across the study team. The main methods used were interviews with key informants in the cassava sub-sector, focus group discussions with men and women farmers and processors (see list of people and groups met in annex 1) and use of secondary data and existing surveys. The checklist for the gender and diversity value chain analysis and the full checklist from the scoping study are in Annex 3.

1.4. Structure of the report

This report presents an initial analysis of gender and diversity issues in the cassava sub-sector in Nigeria. Specifically the report focuses on the two states - Ogun and Ondo. The analysis covers the value chain from cassava production, including access to factors of production, through processing, marketing, and employment in small and medium enterprises SMEs, (Village Processing Units), Intermediaries (larger processors) and end users (flour millers, bakers and cassava starch producers).

² See the C:AVA Nigeria, Scoping Study report

After outlining the context of gender and diversity in country policy (section 2), the report address the issues in relation to four main areas of the cassava value chain – farmer, household and community (section 3); village level processing enterprises (section 4); intermediary processors (section 5), to end users (section 6). Each section considers the current situation and trends regarding gender roles, participation and practical needs; decision making and control of assets and incomes; power, social differentiation and gender relations; factors promoting or discouraging participation of women and the poor and perceptions of benefits, risks and constraints of investment in cassava processing. The report also briefly considers the gender and diversity orientation of organizations providing support to the sector (section 7), concluding with a summary and conclusions (section 8) and recommendations (section 9).

2. Country and State context of the Gender and Diversity Analysis

2.1. Gender, poverty and diversity at national level

Nigeria is a country of great contrasts. Oil wealth and other natural resources and urban employment generate wealth for certain groups; however, poverty is severe in rural areas, particularly among the small scale farming population who largely depend on rainfed agriculture. Women and households headed by women, constitute a large proportion of this group and are frequently the most chronically poor within rural communities³. Other vulnerable groups in rural communities are young couples with children, the disabled and old people without relatives to support them. Limited access to education and health services, poor rural infrastructure, limited access to agricultural inputs and information, and climate variability contribute to the perpetuation of poverty.

The map in figure 1 shows the relative poverty levels in different parts of the country⁴. This was compiled for each Local Government Area (LGA), using mean daily household income, calculated from farm income and production, off-farm and other incomes derived from a household survey. It shows substantial areas of the country which are classified as poor or very poor on the basis of income.

There are nutritional challenges also. Low income rural and semi-urban adult dwellers in Nigeria consume less than 60% of their energy needs and less than 40% of their protein needs. The Nigerian average daily calorie consumption per capita was estimated at 2250Kcal. An average of 2550Kcal is the recommended minimum requirement for moderate activity.

The total population of Nigeria in 2003 was 136.5 million. At least half of this number are women, but in terms of gender equality and equity, Nigeria has performed poorly. The United Nations World's Women Report 2000 ranked Nigeria 151 out of 174 countries because of women's limited access to education and other vital resources. The lower literacy level of women in Nigeria compared to men is a major contributory factor to their low participation in the nation's socio-economic development⁵.

³ www.ruralpovertyportal.org/English/regions/Africa/nga/index.htm

⁴ http://gisweb.ciat.cgiar.org/povertymapping/images/Nigeria_poverty.jpg

⁵ Data sources on literacy rates vary widely; 62.8% for women and 79.4% for men, 2005 (UNESCO website). But other surveys e.g. Demographic and Health Survey 200, have given lower estimates e.g. 48.2% women and 72.5% men (NPC and ORC Macro, 2004).

Figure 1 Map of Relative Poverty Levels, based on Household Incomes



There is a sharp contrast between the income generating and livelihood opportunities of women and men across different sectors in Nigeria. For instance, women’s participation in the industrial sector is 11% as compared with 30% for men. Women represent 87% of those employed in the service sector, which involves predominantly informal and unregulated forms of employment (National Bureau of Statistics, 2004). In the Federal Civil Service, which is the largest single-entity employer in Nigeria, 76% of civil servants are men whereas 24% are women and women hold less than 14% of total management level positions. Women represent 17.5% and men 82.5% of those employed within the medical field, which generally involves highly skilled and relatively well-remunerated work.

Women play an important role in the agricultural sector, responsible for carrying out an estimated 70% of agricultural labour, 50% of animal husbandry related activities and 60% of food processing activities. Yet the agricultural sector is characterized by high levels of poverty. Nationally, 57% of the farming population fall below the poverty line of roughly one dollar a day and 92% fall under \$2 per day.

Despite the contributions of women in the agricultural sector, their roles in promoting economic growth and social stability continue to be inadequately recognised. This is due to a number of factors - the gender division of labour and cultural traditions which keep women subordinate to men, customs that forbid women from owning land and the extent of unpaid productive activities performed by women at the domestic level. The low status of women in Nigeria is mainly a result of traditional gender roles, which have largely confined women to the domestic sphere. Men and boys on the other hand, are accorded greater authority and opportunities and exert control both with the family and the larger society, most especially in decision making. Women’s low literacy levels, poverty, and inadequate access to opportunities and vital resources, combine to put Nigerian women at great disadvantage economically and with respect to participation in the development of the country.

2.2. Gender policies

The social and cultural factors outlined above partly explain why Nigerian women continue to occupy a subordinate position in the society despite the fact that Nigeria is signatory to key United Nations agreements on the rights of women, including the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the plans of action from the International Conference on Population and Development, United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, Platform for Action, etc.⁶

Currently (2008), women occupy 7% of seats in the National Parliament. The under-representation of women in decision making bodies and policy formulation processes has a significant impact on sectoral policies and performance. With the exception of reproductive health policies, the vast majority of sectoral policies and service delivery systems frequently fail to adopt gender-sensitive approaches and address gender inequalities.

Despite the integral role that women play in the agricultural sector, their contributions are not valued or recognized, nor are they reflected in the National Accounting Systems or given prime consideration in agricultural policy processes. Consequently, the issues and concerns of women employed in the agricultural sector have been largely overlooked in programs dedicated to improving agricultural productivity. Women have access to less than 20% of available agricultural resources - a serious impediment to their maximising agricultural production. Men are generally presumed to be the chief actors in agricultural production and, as such, are often the main participants in and/or recipients of program-related support (FMWASD, 2007).

According to the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs (2007), Nigeria, like many other nations in the world, is responding to the calls made by the United Nations to rid societies of all forms of discrimination, especially gender-based discrimination and violence against women. Following years of uncoordinated national response to the woman's question, Nigeria took a bold step in the year 2000 when it adopted and passed into law the National Policy on Women, guided by the global instrument on the Convention of all the Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and its optional protocols, and the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

2.3. Gender and diversity at State level

This study was carried out in the South Western zone of the country. Out of the eight states that make up the South Western zone, two states namely Ogun and Ondo were purposively selected for the study. These are the focal states for the C:AVA programme being the two most important cassava producing areas in Nigeria and the location of previous pilot testing of cassava processing technologies and models.

Poverty levels in both states appear quite high according to the map (figure 1 above). Ogun state has LGAs in the west and centre which are very poor and LGAs which are poor in the eastern part. Ondo state is classified as poor in the west and lower-middle in the north east.

Inhabitants of Ogun and Ondo States are mostly Christian of a variety of denominations; some are Muslims and some still practice traditional religion. Religious beliefs have strong influence on the position of women.

⁶ <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/plat1.htm>
<http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>
<http://www.unfpa.org/icpd/icpd.cfm>

Literacy levels in the south western region are comparatively high in relation to the rest of the country. According to a recent survey (NPC and ORC Macro, 2004), the region has the highest literacy rate in the country for men and second highest for women. It also performs well on a range of other educational statistics such as school attendance and female/male ratios in primary and secondary education.

The total population of Ogun state was 3,728,098 in 2007 (NPC, 2007). Females account for 50.5% of the population. The administrative centre is in Abeokuta and there are twenty Local Government Areas (LGA). The state is occupied mainly by Yoruba speaking people, but with sub groups of dialects such as Egba, Yewa, Remo, Awori, Ijebu and Egun. People who have migrated from other parts of Nigeria also inhabit the area. Ogun State falls within the rainforest zone and partly within the Southern Guinea Savannah zone. It experiences bimodal rainfall distribution, a mean annual rainfall of about 1300mm and relatively uniform temperatures.

The total population in Ondo state is over 3 million. In 2002, it was 2,555,728 people and the percentage of females was 49.7%. The administrative centre is at Akure and there are 19 LGAs. Like Ogun State, its inhabitants are Yorubas, made up of Owo, Akoko, Ondo, Akure and Okitipupa people. They have similar customs traditions and language although there are some variations. Others are Ilajes, Opoi and Arogbo who occupy the coastal areas. Ondo State lies in the forest belt, enjoying the country's maximum rainfall. Its soils are good for cassava production.

3. Gender and diversity at farmer, household and community level

3.1 *Roles and Participation of women, girls, boys and men*

The term 'gender' is different from 'sex' which is the biological difference between male and female. Gender refers to the social relationships between men and women and the factors which shape gender-linked behaviours of men and women. A gender analysis considers both men and women and their interaction. However, because in many societies power relations between men and women are such that women are disadvantaged, their situation and needs are given particular emphasis.

Men and women, boys and girls have different roles and status in society. Gender roles refers to the social relationships that have developed between men and women which determine what resources men and women will access jointly or separately, what work men and women perform and for what rewards, what type of knowledge is appropriate for men and women and how and where this knowledge is acquired. These gender relationships are dynamic and change over time and space. They also interact with other forms of social differentiation and social exclusion; particularly those based on poverty, spatial location, age, ethnicity etc., and are characterized by relationships of unequal power, with those in the more powerful positions having access to more resources, more opportunities, and wider networks, which they can use to their advantage. The socially and culturally defined gender roles influence understanding of what is appropriate behaviour, responsibilities and entitlements for different gender and age groups. They often involve implicit attribution of certain physical and psychological characteristics, for example, physical strength, courage, sociability etc. In many societies, male roles are associated with physical aggressiveness and providing food shelter and clothing for wife and children. These attributions or stereotypes influence the opportunities offered and the assignment of men and women to different areas of work. One of the main locations in which gender roles are played out is the household.

3.1.1 Family structure and household composition and size

Definitions of 'household' are often complex; the term spans a range of meanings including the notion of household as a reproductive unit and a focus for child rearing; the sharing of accommodation and the sharing of at least some elements of the household economy, for example, food. In the two study areas most households consist of extended families. Some households based on the nuclear family exist, for example a husband and his wife and their children, but are not common. A household as defined by the women met during the study, consists of a husband, wife or wives, their sons and the sons' wives (if married), unmarried daughters, grand parents (both paternal and maternal) and any other relations staying in the same house, living under the same roof and 'eating from the same pot'. This may not literally be the case, since in larger polygamous households each wife cooks for her husband and children, but they do eat together. Average household size was said to be about ten people. Polygamy is seen as the norm and is socially acceptable. This was the case in the all the places visited irrespective of religion. Women in Owe village, Ogun State, described the tensions which arise in situations where wives share limited accommodation in the extended family household. Furthermore they commented: "*Polygamy has always been there and it will still continue. It is more frequent now because of promiscuity and greediness*".

In an interview with the Association of Women Farmers in Nigeria in Ondo State, the women quoted three wives to be the average number for each man, and that between 85% and 90% of women were in polygamous marriages. Traditionally children were viewed as wealth (through support provided by their labour contribution, as a source of support in old age, and for strengthening social relationships by giving daughters in marriage to friends or influential people), thereby encouraging men to have many wives. In some villages visited, it was reported that the average number of children fathered by each man was around twenty.

In contrast, aside from the biological limits to the numbers of children born by an individual woman, most women carry the duty and responsibility of bringing up their children and want to have smaller families. Although a woman can have power over birth control issues, and family planning is often done in secret, the absolute power lies with the husband. As one woman put it "*...if I cannot continue to bear children, my husband can marry someone else*".

3.1.2 Gender roles, responsibilities and the division of labour

The job of raising children is largely the responsibility of the mother, especially in polygamous families, even though, by tradition, children belong to the husband and not the wife. Women's domestic or reproductive roles include childcare, cooking, fetching water, sweeping the house and washing. These tasks are seen as women's responsibilities and daughters may assist. In terms of negotiating these gender roles, there seems to be little movement; when asked whether their husbands help with domestic chores, the older women responded by saying, "*It is the duty of a responsible woman to carry out her domestic chores without seeking assistance from her husband*".

Women's social roles include helping one another during the farming season on the basis of reciprocity, for example in farming activities, peeling cassava and helping the less well off by contributing money. Women are also highly organised and participate in a variety of social gatherings, such as naming ceremonies and children's weddings.

The main income generating and food production activities of women are farming cassava, pepper and vegetables, and processing and marketing farm produce. Women

are also engaged in petty trading of charcoal, vegetables and other food crops, herbs and spices and livestock rearing. Men have similar productive activities, although with more emphasis on farming and less on processing and marketing. Men also participate in hunting. More of their time is spent on social events and meetings. Table 1 shows the approximate allocation of time for different activities in a woman's day.

Table 1 Daily activities (Women from Owe village)

6 am	Wake up, sweep up, fetch water, get children moving, cook breakfast and prepare children for school.
7 am	Start processing cassava, peeling, frying etc. Prepare lunch – sometimes buy ready cooked food
2pm	Children return from school and have lunch Continue cassava processing.
4 pm	End processing work. Bath, rest, meet friends
6 -7 pm	Make evening meal. Sweep rooms, prepare themselves for their husbands.
9 pm	Bedtime

There are variations to this pattern - on market days they get up at 4am and return home by 2pm. During the cropping season, at 8am they prepare meals for the labourers and carry them to the field. They stay at the field until 11am then return home for gari processing.

An important set of differences in activities is associated with age as well as gender. Many young men and women have migrated to neighbouring towns and cities in search of jobs that are not as physically demanding as agriculture and which are more reliable, produce money faster and give them enough time to socialize. As described by youth in the Youth Progressive Association, Elegbeka, Ondo State:

“It is not easy for any youth to ‘make it’ in the village, we need to make ends meet in order to cater for ourselves and even for our family and this cannot be achieved by staying in the village to continue farming. This is the same occupation that our parents have been doing for decades that has not fetched them any major gain; they cannot even send us to school and some of us who attended school could not even finish it for lack of funds, so what are we going to stay in this village for? Even the drudgery of farming is another problem, you can see our parents are looking haggard and worn out, we surely don’t want to be like that. If you stay in the village you’ll just wallow in poverty”.

Some middle aged men also work outside the village in urban areas. The range of jobs for men includes car mechanics, electricians, meat sellers, video sellers, motor cycle taxis, TV repair, etc. Depending on distance they visit their families on a regular basis bringing items such as bread and milk. They return with gari.

3.1.3 Gender roles in agriculture and in cassava production and processing

The allocation of agricultural tasks is quite gender specific, with men being responsible for a larger share of land preparation, while women have a more prominent role in post harvest activities such as storage, processing and marketing. The most gender specific roles are land clearance (over 85% done by men) and processing (over 90% done by women). With respect to other tasks, the proportion of labour invested by men and women varies according to production arrangement (group or individual), scale, physical capability and economic status. According to Nweke (2002) women typically carry out 70% of the work; planting, weeding, harvesting, transporting cassava, peeling, soaking, bagging and selling. The men carry out approximately 30% of the work; land preparation, harvesting, transporting and grating.

Examples of this were given by village based farming groups⁷, supported by the Agriculture Development Programme in Ogun State (OGADEP). Two groups owned farmland (10 acres for Oju Ogun, and 5 hectares for Onalu village) where production was performed jointly. One group was comprised of 38 members (30 women and 8 men) and the other 35 members, (15 women and 20 men). The gender division of labour among these groups is shown in Table 2, including the activities for which hired labour is generally used. Production activities were prearranged and members worked together in the field, although labour roles were still divided.

Table 2: Gender Roles in Agricultural Group Activities (reported by two farmers' groups in Ogun State)

	Responsibility		Hired labour
	Men	Women	Men
Clearing			x
Mounds			x
Planting	x	x	
Weeding	x		
Harvesting		x	
Packing		x	
Carrying /Transport		x	
Selling in market		x	

Group production as in the example above, is less common than individual production. An important aspect of gender roles in agricultural management is that within the household, women and men have *separate* fields for all the crops they grow and manage them separately. Boys and girls from about the age of fifteen may also have their own plots.

Gendered patterns of labour on individual plots are similar to that shown in table 2, except that women are usually engaged in weeding and that the distribution of tasks is modified by the extent to which plot owners can afford to engage hired labour or are helped by family members. When labour is hired by smallholder farmers, it is usually to replace the heaviest tasks, particularly land clearance. Women usually cultivate smaller areas compared to men. Reasons for this include their limited ability to pay for hired labour for land preparation, the limited extent to which male family members assist with land clearance, and their own physical strength. They may carry out most of the field operations themselves, especially from planting onwards. Similarly, poorer men may undertake most operations on their individual plots up to and including harvesting and possibly beyond.

Hired labour is commonly used for land clearing and making mounds, particularly for yams and cassava. The majority of these labourers (always men) come as seasonal migrants from the Northern parts of Nigeria, Egede and Benue States and also Benin Republic. However, there are also some people, within the villages who work as hired labourers. This was regarded as an indication of poverty. Owe village women commented;

“Any woman who comes for hired labour is doing it to alleviate poverty. Women can make money by peeling and frying cassava. They are paid in cash and given gari. They can also work carrying roots from the farm to the village.”

⁷ Apakila Village, Onalu Village, Oju Ogun Village

Apart from working on her own land, it is a women's duty to assist on her husband's fields. Men may assist with land clearing, but otherwise husbands rarely work on the wife's field. Children provide production labour to both parents, however priority is given to the father.

Men grow a wider range of cash crops than women, who prioritise food crops such as cassava, which are also an important source of cash. Until recently, cassava was considered as a women's crop, to meet household demand or as food security for poorer households, but this is no longer the case. Now that cassava is also perceived as a cash crop, its cultivation is increasingly taken up by men.

Table 3 Crop Importance ranking (Owe village, Ogun State)

Women - food	Women - cash	Men- food	Men- cash
1. Cassava	1. Cassava	1. Cassava	1. Cocoa
2. Vegetables	2. Vegetables	2. Yam	2. Cassava
3. Maize	3. Pepper	3. Maize	3. Vegetables, oranges, pineapple, plantain
4. Yam, pepper, okra, tomatoes			

Women's cassava production is first processed for use for household consumption, and then any surpluses are sold in the local markets. Men's cassava produce is primarily for sale then for household consumption. Men almost always sell cassava in its root form, while women sell both cassava roots and processed cassava products, most often in the form of gari.

Women are recognized as having the major responsibility for cassava processing. Processing is generally carried out by women on an individual basis, but they may also participate in a processing group or enterprise. In addition to their own production, women often buy cassava for processing from men's plots immediately after harvesting. They are then responsible for carrying the baskets of cassava back to the village. Some women hire other women (particularly poorer women) to make gari for their individual households. The roots are peeled and then taken to the village processor who grates it, puts it in bags and presses it into wet cake. Cassava is processed in a number of ways to make different products, such as fufu, lafun or gari. Processing occurs all year round and produce is sold to local markets, neighbouring cities and towns.

An important change in gender roles in cassava processing has come about with the introduction of new technology. Formerly, women would grate cassava manually which is highly labour intensive. However, grating machines have mechanized this task, and are mostly owned by men. Now women pay for grating at a cost of N40 for the volume of roots that fill a four gallon plastic groundnut oil container.

3.2 Access to Assets

3.2.1 Access to land and natural resources

Land access in the two states of Nigeria is inherited patrilineally, having been originally given to the family by the local chiefs/leaders. In the study areas, the ability of men to access land is therefore higher than that of women whose access to land is dependent on their husbands or their fathers who inherit the land. The husband will distribute land to their wife or wives for farming purposes, but formal ownership remains with men and women receive little security. Alternatively, or in addition, women may hire land from

men if they are able to afford it. Men who are not from the patrilineage, such as migrants from other areas, are not entitled to land – but they can hire from landowners in the community. Men decide where to allocate land for women.

During focus group meetings held with women in Apakila Village, Onalu Village, Oju Ogun Village and with the Association of Women Farmers of Nigeria, women generally reported that the size of their lands was smaller than that of their husbands. The ratios were between 1:4 and 1:3. The main reason was that “*men have money to farm bigger areas*”. Supplementary lands were accessed by both women and men through renting from other families, provided they could afford the costs. Women’s farm sizes were between ½ -5 acres and those of men fell within the range of 1 – 20 acres. Similar comments were made by women in Owe village (Ogun State), where women’s total cultivated area was between 1-4 acres depending on capacity. Around half of the area is planted with cassava. They do not leave land fallow unless they are sick. If a woman wants additional land they could go to a neighbour and ask to rent land.

Both men and women are growing improved varieties of cassava and also some local varieties, although these are beginning to disappear as yield is low. Women often experience a shortage of stems due to the fact that their fields are small and provide insufficient stems for the following season’s planting. In such cases women’s main strategy to source stems is to ask for assistance from their husband, (as they own bigger fields). Failing this, women purchase stems in the local markets. In some periods government extension services provide varieties. Women usually intercrop cassava with other crops, due to their limited land area.

In all the villages visited women said they rarely used fertilizer; only when the plot is no longer fertile will they apply fertilizer. No herbicides are used, and no other chemicals.

In principle, women have unrestricted access to sources of water such as streams, wells and bore holes just as men; however, there may be differences in actual access related to distances and availability of transport.

3.2.2 Access to finance

Men have more access to formal capital because they have collateral in the form of land and houses. Women, who lack ownership of these assets, rarely take formal loans. Further reasons expressed by women for not taking bank loans related to the low level and inconsistency of their income stream; “*most times, we buy things like palm oil, pepper and other daily needs on credit; hence, we don’t have enough to feed our family and none to save in the bank, so how do we obtain loan from the bank*”.

Both women and men have access to small amounts of informal credit if they belong to a savings group or association. These groups of 10-15 people require their members to make individual financial contributions to the group funds on a weekly, monthly or market day basis. The amount an individual contributes is influenced by their sales and profit, and is usually between N20/week to N10, 000/month. The group members share the money based on how much an individual has contributed or allocate it to the next person in a rotation scheme. If the group decided to build up their savings, the money is kept by the treasurer, but not saved in a bank account.

There are also issues of trust associated with credit provision even when women are organized in groups. Owe village women reported:

“Once last year, people came and suggested we join a cooperative society. They took our money, but nothing came of it. They recently came back, but we refused. We did not get our money back”.

A similar lack of trust affects the relationship of women's groups with banks. In one village (Apakila) it seemed that a women's group, even though they had a bank account (with N500 in total) did not really understand the bank and feared going there. When asked why they had not asked for a bank loan (as they listed credit as one of their constraints), they said that the bank people had said that the group needed to add more money to its account to qualify for a loan. A group in Oju-Ogun village managed to secure a loan, but this was with heavy support from the extensionist especially in lining up three guarantors for the group, which the group alone could not do.

Other ways of accessing funds for men and women are through more informal local lending from relatives and community members. Savings from the proceeds from the previous year's cultivation are also used to finance the following year's operations.

3.2.3 Human capital

Both men and women hire labour for agricultural production, but men have preferential access to unremunerated household labour. Generally, women have heavier workloads than men, including farm work, marketing, household chores and casual labouring, mostly without remuneration. Little time is available for other activities such as attending health clinics, literacy programmes and other empowerment activities. Rural women often have limited access to services and resources, including health, literacy, training and credit unless these are provided at the village level. As well as higher rates of literacy, men have greater access to information. They are more likely to own a mobile phone, and have access to media. They have more free time to travel to neighbouring towns and cities to gather information. The economic responsibilities of women have increased, with more men migrating for employment outside the villages.

3.2.4 Physical capital

Access to machinery for agricultural production is low for both men and women. Cropping depends on manual labour rather than mechanized operations. Formerly, women would grate cassava manually; however, processing machinery and equipment is increasingly available, but are almost entirely owned and operated by men. The reasons given relate to cost, but also the perception that the machines are too heavy for women to operate. Women therefore have limited control of appropriate technology to ease their processing workload. They either pay for grating services or spend more time asserting physical effort.

3.2.5 Social capital

Women put great emphasis on mutual support and involvement in groups. These can be primarily to meet social needs; for example, the Tepamose ('hard working') group in Owe village, which meets on a weekly basis and makes voluntary contributions of money which can be used to support social events such as births and marriages. However, their productive work is on an individual basis – they do not process cassava as a group.

Other groups are involved in production and may have mixed membership of both men and women such as the agriculture producer groups supported by the Ogun State Agriculture Development Programme, discussed above.

In several villages visited, some informal mutual assistance in agricultural operations is given between friends.

Community meetings, including those of Community Development Associations are held on weekends, to discuss and implement local area development activities.

However, some groups reported that many women do not join the associations because they don't have enough money to contribute to projects such as school building projects and village development.

3.3 Gender and decision making

It is important to distinguish between the accepted social norms of gender responsibilities and decision making and actual operational decision making in households, especially in times of change.

The social norm is that provision for the household needs is man's responsibility while women may complement from their own funds. However, how these norms play out in practice depends on the relationship between husband and wife and the way in which their relative contributions are negotiated. Hence, the various descriptions of decision making and financial contributions are quite variable.

In the villages visited in Ogun and Ondo States, women said that they were in control of their own incomes from cropping and cassava processing: *"My husband has his own money and I have my own money"* (woman in Owe village). However, while most women said they had control over their own money, they also said that the husband was the head of the household and had the final say in decision making and investment.

Discussions with women indicated that their incomes are used for daily household expenses and children's education. Men's incomes were also spent on children's education, supporting the household and for larger items of investment, e.g. building, as well as for their own expenditure and for the family during festive periods. However, not all men were reported to support their families sufficiently, but women said that they *"...did not query their husband's finances"*.

There are indications of changes in these norms, especially as regards the support of children's education. In relation to household expenditures, the same group in Owe said:

"We share roles, but now some [women] say they take more on responsibilities than their husbands".

The relative contribution depends both on having the means and on how the decision is negotiated. In some cases women are richer than men and at times it is the opposite. Women strongly articulate their commitment to supporting their children financially.

"No woman would see her children in need". She would even borrow to meet responsibilities. Women are more committed to children's needs".

This is consistent with findings from studies in other countries. When women control assets and the benefits from increased productivity they are more likely to invest their assets in children's food, clothing and in particular, education (Quisumbing and Maluccio, 1999).

The decision of what to do with cassava crop depends on individual men and women farmers. In most cases, the men sell their crop to village women or to community processors on credit who make payments after sale of the processed cassava. The women farmers mostly process their crop.

The Nigeria 2003 Demographic and Health Survey provides some interesting data on decision making on use of earnings and contribution to household expenditures (NPC and ORC Macro, 2004). The study asked women earners, 'who decides how earnings are to be used and what proportion of household expenditures is met by the earnings?' The South West region recorded the highest percentage of women saying they themselves decided how to spend their money; 80.2%, compared with the national average of 73.4%. The south west region also had a higher than average percentage of women (43.4% compared with 33.7%) contributing half or more of the household expenditure. Older women were more likely to meet all household expenditures.

3.4 Power, gender relations and poverty within the household and community

The opportunities and financial benefits from cassava production and processing, are contributing to changes in gender roles and responsibilities. Women are more empowered financially and are doing many things that were traditionally seen to be men's responsibilities, e.g. they have more money available for household needs and they even lend money to their husbands (although this might not be returned). More negotiation takes place around allocation of responsibility for household activities like looking after the children when women are engaged in processing (although this is not frequent).

However, there remain asymmetrical power relations within the household. A great concern among women is that their husbands will spend any increase in their income in acquiring a second (or third wife), with the consequence that his financial support to the established unit will be reduced, or that the first wife will be abandoned. The increase in men's real income could come about through their own production or employment, or through accessing women's income, or more commonly, the substitution of women's earnings from cassava processing for men's expenditure on household needs and children's education.

Women in Owe village commented that the husband marrying a new wife,

"...brings about a reversal in the roles of the older wife; the new wife is the favourite and will get money. The older wife will get less and this affects her health and wellbeing. She will become thinner. The older wife is neglected. [...what about her children?] There is not so much effect on the children, but in some cases, there are also effects on the children of the older wife. It is the children of someone you love that are the favourites".

These circumstances discourage cooperation between co-wives (for example in cassava processing work, food preparation, childcare etc.) which could lighten the labour demands on women.

Married women are vulnerable to divorce:

"If the older woman is not gainfully employed and not making a contribution, her husband will lay her off. If the divorced woman is from the village, she will stay; otherwise she will go back to her own village, or get married to someone else. The children will stay in the [father's] village. She cannot stay if she is not from the village."

Divorce also has implications for women's access to land, which is acquired through her husband. *"If the first wife is from the village she can continue to use the land. If she has to leave the village, the husband will take over her plot, or give it to the new wife".*

The dimensions of vulnerability include gender and age related factors as described above, but also poverty and disability or poor health for both women and men. Elderly

men are also vulnerable when they can no longer work. Differentiation in relation to poverty was not immediately apparent within the villages visited. When asked what characterises the poorest members of the village, women replied that *“someone who is poor usually cannot come out and say they are poor; you can tell by their clothing and health. They are also socially withdrawn - if there is no money you cannot meet up with your friends socially”*

However, they attributed the causes of poverty to unwillingness or inability to work, or to wasting money.

“There’s no other way out of poverty aside from working. As your husband works you also must match that and meet society. With that you will be respected.”

There were no apparent ethnic tensions within the communities visited. Migrants frequently work as hired labour, but can also hire land from the community and farm on their own account.

3.5 Women and men’s perceptions of benefits, risks and constraints of investment in cassava production and processing

There are good possibilities for increasing cassava production; the main limiting factor is money for planting, harvesting and processing. Because of women’s specialization in processing they are more interested in expanding cassava production than men who consider alternative crops in relation to market prices.

Women are concerned to make enough money to sustain their family, particularly providing for children’s needs, including their school fees. These are the criteria by which they judge the viability of their activities, rather than calculation of profit and loss. Yields per acre are difficult to measure, as cassava is not harvested in one day. When asked how they would judge whether it has been a good year, Owe village women replied, *“You as learned people know how to keep records; we know in our own tummy whether there has been an increase.”* They judge by whether the yield meets major needs or not and leaves a surplus. *“We cannot put a value on the total, but when we sell fufu, gari, lafun, these things meet our needs and you can never be poor”.* They perceive that men are more likely to spend their money outside the household, including marrying additional wives.

Women household level processors are interested in expanding the range of cassava products they can make and market, and particularly in producing wet cake for HQCF processing. Some groups met had heard about HQCF, and had been promised that they would receive training, but this had not yet happened.

One of the attractions of producing wet cake rather than gari, is the avoidance of exposure to the heat required for gari roasting using existing technology.

“Gari is not an easy thing to make; we would prefer to make wet cake rather than enduring the temperature of the gari. If there was a way of getting to make wet cake, we would not have to be exposed to intense heat.”

Young people, despite the lure of the cities, are still interested in the possibility of farming if it was a viable profitable enterprise.

“Some of us are still farmers and some would like to go into farming if farming is profitable. If we get enough monetary support to meet our needs, we’ll stay. It is not difficult to stay if there is assistance in training, provision of basic social amenities, factories to create job opportunities and other infrastructural facilities we crave for in the city”.

(members of the Youth Progressive Association, Elegbeka, Ondo State).

3.6 Factors promoting/discouraging participation of women and the poor

Generally there are few cultural or social barriers to participation of women and the poor in cassava value adding activities. The main constraints are economic, financial and associated with the limited time availability especially for women with small children, technologies which are uncomfortable to use (e.g. gari roasters), limited capital to purchase raw materials and lack of credit to invest in improved equipment.

Financial constraints and time demands have limited women to selling to their produce to local markets rather than marketing in the larger urban centres.

Most women in the study had very low levels of formal education. The provision of training and technical support could facilitate their participation.

A further factor is that innovations with the potential to generate a significant cash flow attract local elites and often become dominated by men. However, the strength of the current system is that women village level processors are relatively autonomous (especially those working individually and in processing groups), they can integrate production and processing, work at their own pace and retain the income from the sale of their products.

4. Gender and diversity analysis of Village Processing Enterprises/Associations

4.1 Roles, responsibilities and division of labour and participation of women, girls, boys and men in village processing enterprises

In and around the towns in both Ogun and Ondo states, there are many small-scale producers of traditional foods, mostly making gari and fufu. In most villages, machines for grating, pressing and milling were available, and in all cases observed, they were owned by men (e.g. Owe, Apakila and Araromi Villages). At this level, the men were not producing their own cassava processed products, but solely providing a service to women farmers/traders. The availability of mechanised tools for grating, pressing and milling reduces the time it takes to do the same work manually. For women, this is a positive development provided their household budgets are adequate to afford this service, as they have the sole responsibility for processing cassava. At the time of this study, the cost for grating and pressing together averaged N130/50kg. However, the mechanization of pressers, fryers and graters has tended to target men rather than women as the owners and controllers of the technology. This relates partly to the level of financial resources required which women can rarely afford, but also to gender stereotyping of machine operation as a male activity.

In some villages, in addition to the grating and pressing machines, the general processing area included a frying (roasting) area, where women could fry their pressed cassava, if desired. One of the most repeated complaints by women using these frying facilities was overheating and smoke – both of which are hazardous to health. In one case, the entrepreneur provided the firewood as well as the frying pans, the cost of which was paid in kind, observed to be 1.5kg of gari per 50kg roasted cassava. In other cases, the *gari*, *fufu* and *pupuru* processing units/ sections were mostly owned by women. The men control the grating machine and the pressers while the women control the product processing unit. In general, the men handle the root processing after the initial peeling, which is usually done by women and children, while the women

handle the processing into the final products. It was only on three occasions that we encountered men handling the product processing section.

Village based, small-scale processors (VPU) such as Big Heart International Ltd in Ogun State, were diversifying production to include HQCF wet cake, as well as traditional cassava foods such as gari and fufu. These small-scale processors typically employ a small number of staff, at most five in total. In this case, these were the owner (also responsible for procurement/driver), his wife - assisting in peeling, washing and frying, one or two other women to peel, wash and fry, and one man to carry bags, grate and press. Grating and pressing was said to be a man's job, because "*women do not possess the kind of strength required for such work*". The staff were mainly family members and other relations of the owner of the business. There are 9 male-owned micro-processors producing wet cake in Ogun state. Currently there are no women-owned micro-processing enterprises producing wet cake.

A further category of village based processing unit is that of processors associations. Membership of these groups is predominantly women, but also includes some men. Cassava processing groups come together for a number of reasons. Sometimes agricultural Officers encourage them to form the groups to be able to benefit from certain Government programmes such as RTEP, in other cases it was an individual group members' initiative.

For processing groups such as Apakila village association, most of the activities involved in gari production, such as harvesting the roots, collecting and carrying them from the farm, peeling the roots, washing, pressing and frying, are carried out by the women. Initially, the women used to grate their cassava manually, but now with the advent of grating machine which is owned by men, they pay for grating. After processing the gari, they sell a kongo (government approved measurement of 1.2 Kg) at the rate of N100 and a plastic bowl of gari (8 – 9 Kongo) at the rate of N600. The women also give out gari to relations in urban areas for free.

Some processing groups also employ labour, mainly women, but also some men, and some employ youth to help fetch water. The wages for the activities range from N300 to N600 per day excluding meals.

4.2 Decision making and access to and control of assets and incomes in processing enterprises

In small scale, family run private processing units, there is little differentiation of tasks and responsibilities. In village based processing associations however, there is usually an Executive Committee chosen from amongst members, comprising a Chairman, a Secretary and Treasurer. In some of the groups, there are other officers such as Vice Chairman, and Provost (e.g. the Cassava processing Group Onipepeye, Oyo state). Understanding how internal governance of these associations actually operates would require a more detailed study, however, groups reported that they have rules of operation and attendance for group members with fines if they are not observed, and the practice of discussing main decisions among members.

For bank loans of the size required by VPUs, the applicant(s) is required to provide collateral in the form of a Certificate of Occupancy, showing ownership of a house. Banks and micro-finance institutions (MFIs) also require 3 to 6 signatories who must be civil servants. For most women both requests are particularly prohibitive because, firstly, land and house are the properties of the husband and so registered in his name. Secondly, finding a group of civil servants willing to act as signatories is also prohibitive for women, as their social networks are more limited than those of men.

For processors groups and associations, access to start up capital for equipment purchase is through group members' financial contributions which they use as down payment. For the Agbajowo processor group in Ondo, they contribute N500 per person. In the case of the Iludayo group in Elegbeka, the initial contributions enabled them to purchase an engine at the cost of N40,000; a grater at N15,000 and a press at N22,000. According to the Extension Officer – the group must contribute 20% of the cost of equipment for an expanded processing centre. This amounted to N400,000, so the State will contribute N1.6 million. The groups have grating equipment, diesel engines and pressers if they specialize only in grating and pressing. If they are involved in gari making, they will own traditional or improved frying facilities.

Similarly the group can pool its resources to allow members to access loans for personal requirements and investment. Loans are sometimes given on a revolving basis to individuals who make regular weekly or monthly contributions. In general, women's perceptions on potential loans from banks were not very positive. In addition to the issue of trust, unwillingness to take the risk associated with a loan was significant as well as the inability to generate savings. ;

“we do not want to take money from bank because we have inconsistent income”.

“Most times, we buy things like palm oil, pepper and other daily needs on credit; hence, we don't have enough to feed our family and none to save in the bank, so how do we obtain loan from the bank?”

Processors associations are often characterized by strong social capital. They have regular meetings and in order to maintain unity and interest, they agree on rules to avoid conflict among members. There is cooperative ownership of resources; a spirit of togetherness and sharing within many groups. Peer support makes members more relaxed in the business. Some, like Apakila village association help the less privileged by contributing money to help them solve their financial problems or in other ways. An area for further investigation is whether such groups actually create and extend social capital through joint activities, or reinforce existing social capital by screening new members and selecting only those who belong to particular social groups and networks. Some groups require a known member of the association to stand as a mentor/sponsor of a new member. A further question is the extent to which membership fees and contributions create significant barriers to entry of the poor.

Hygienic and environmentally friendly waste disposal was often lacking at village processing units. In some cases there was no running water or deep wells, leaving some processing enterprises to use stream water for processing cassava. Waste-water from cassava processing was left to soak away, or channelled to the nearest wasteland. In some factories, there were no toilet facilities for workers. To access toilets, workers or market traders would return to their houses or make use of the nearest concealed areas. Solid waste and Environmental Officers sometimes come around to inspect the sites.

Access to raw materials for processing was often from farms owned by the enterprise in the case of private processing units, supplemented by roots bought from neighbouring farmers, mainly at farm-gate level. During the course of the study, prices for cassava roots ranged between N4,000 and N8,000 per tonne at factory gate, and a thousand Naira less at farm-gate level. For women in processing associations, they use roots from their own farms and when these are insufficient they usually buy from their husbands, who sell to them on farm at the same market price as obtained by outsiders i.e. a big basket is sold to them at N800. The women bear the cost of transporting it, or carry it in baskets on their heads.

Processing facilities were located in the villages rather than in proximity to sources of roots. Despite the distance over which roots had to be transported (e.g. Big Heart Foundation's farm was over 41km away), processing in the village was advantageous as (at least in some cases) it gave access to clean water for washing and electricity for processing.

The main buyers of wet cake from village processing facilities during this study were large scale processors of HQCF, including Fertile Gideon Ltd and Peak Products. The wet cake was generally collected and delivered to the factory by middlemen. The other traditional products were sold in the local markets, limited in some cases by lack of quality product certification, NAFDAC, which was reported to be costly to obtain.

4.3 Women and men's perceptions of benefits, risks and constraints of investment in cassava production and processing

An important risk perceived in relation to production of wet cake, is rejection by the buyers for not meeting the required quality (it must be very white, processed within 24 hours of harvest and odourless). In addition to the risk of fermentation of the product because of delayed delivery, water quality sometimes does not meet HQCF and other product standards. Prices paid for wet cake were around N20,500/ tonne.

Members of Apakila village association were taught how to produce wet cake by block extension agents from OGADEP. However, they are presently not producing it because their leader had left the village, and HQCF processors had been rejecting their wet cake because it did not meet the desired quality. Moreover, they reported that there was no profitable market for wet cake at present; hence, they resorted to the production of gari.

5. Larger scale, processors/intermediaries

5.1. The roles and participation of women and men in intermediary processing

Partly as a result of the Federal Government's policy that 10% of high quality cassava flour (HQCF) must be compulsorily added to wheat flour in 2005, many entrepreneurs set-up businesses tailored for this market. In Ogun State 30 Flash Dryers were installed (see list of CASAPRAN Members only in Annex 2) and three in Ondo State. Many of the businesses were set-up with substantial loans (See Value Chain Analysis Report for cost details). As a result of the Policy not functioning effectively, many intermediaries have down-scaled their production of HQCF, diversified to other cassava products such as cassava starch, gari fufu and livestock feed, or in more serious cases, ceased all operations. Price of HQCF, caused by low HQCF demand, was N65,000, down from the N75,000 price of 2007. This lack of demand for HQCF has left most intermediaries, who had invested heavily in the HQCF market, with high debts.

However, from the data obtained from the interviews with intermediaries, it was observed that the bulk of employment is created at this level. Firstly, a direct link is created in provision of jobs to the local population, both men and women. A large number of women are employed to peel cassava used for producing HQCF. Although peeling machines exist at some factories, (e.g. Obasanjo Farms; Dakota Processors Ltd), manual peeling is preferred as it produces cleaner roots to achieve white flour (one of the required criteria for HQCF).

"there is no peeling machine as efficient as women peeling cassava taking the job of peeling from them would be like taking away their source (s) of livelihood".

Hence women peelers are used to ‘finish’ the peeling after mechanical peeling; a less arduous task than doing the whole job, although paid at a lower rate (N20 per basket of half peeled roots compared with N30/basket for unpeeled roots).

Most intermediaries (Peak Products, Obasanjo Farms, MicMakin) reported having an average peeling staff of 20 women during the current low production period. Women were of all ages up to 70 years.

Men, mostly young, were employed in the roles where machine operations are involved i.e. grating, pressing, drying and milling, bagging, sealing, weighing and heavy carrying. Interestingly, young men sought jobs in these factories as they were paid comparatively well, but were not keen on working at VPU level as they considered the work hard.

The allocation of work is heavily influenced by gender stereotypes – that mechanized processing work is for men and that peeling work (akin to women’s domestic food preparation role) is for women. As the secretary (female) of one company expressed it, *“women do not know how to operate these machines; also much carrying of heavy HQCF is done in this section – it is a man’s job because it is strenuous”*.

Exceptionally, one company, Dakota, had trained young women employees to operate the processing machines.

5.2. Decision making and access to and control of assets and incomes in intermediary enterprises

The intermediary processing level is dominated by men and very few women (2 in Ogun state currently). There are significant barriers to women investing in processing enterprises at this level, as this requires a high level of investment. Currently the main way in which women benefit from intermediary enterprises is through employment as wage labourers.

There is a clear link between mechanised operations and permanent positions, and manual jobs and casual positions. Women, being mainly employed as cassava peelers, unless they were employed in administrative positions, were under casual employment terms, while their male colleagues were in permanent positions.

Table 4 Average salaries (and converted wages) are given in the table below.

Type of job	Average wage/salary (Naira) per month
Peeling/washing	5,000
Carrying and general permanent jobs	7,000
Grating and pressing	7-10,000
Supervisor	11-15,000
Senior staff	20,000

The average wage for peeling a tonne of cassava was N1,000 – N1,200 (N1/kg). A fast peeling woman can peel up to 100kg/hour, i.e. N100/hr. For four hours work, therefore she would take home N400/day. While it seems possible at this peeling rate to earn a five day weekly wage of N2,000, there are other factors which determine her wage, including – the number of other women who come for peeling, the speed at which she peels, and most importantly the availability of cassava for peeling per week. Another factory indicated an average of 300kg peeled within four hours. The average estimated earnings ranged between N5,000 to N7,000 per month.

In processing factories women peelers work long hours. A group of eight women described how they wake up as early as 5am in the morning, do their household chores, prepare their children for school and also taking care of their husband before leaving for work at 8am. They return to their various homes at 6pm.

Women, as casual workers, were not entitled to employment benefits as those are only given to permanent staff. One of the questions asked was the reason why peelers were not paid daily rates or given permanent positions. Factory owners consider that the women would work more slowly if paid wages than they do under piece-work conditions.

Asked about the advantages of a job as a peeler, most women stated that they liked the fact that they were in control of their own time i.e. they could choose to go to peel cassava or not, and that the working hours were flexible therefore they could perform their other household chores as well. However, as some of the women did not have farms of their own, having less work was a disadvantage. During this time they said they would undertake petty trading activities to earn money.

Apart from creating employment, intermediaries create a market for cassava roots in which both men and women play a role, although some intermediary companies own land from which they produce their own cassava (e.g. Obasanjo farm). Prices for a tonne of cassava roots range between N5,000 and N8,000, depending on whether the cassava was purchased at farm or factory gate. The trend seems to be that in times when there is high cassava production, producers deliver to the factory gate and vice-versa. Some producers complained that sometimes their cassava is rejected at the factory-gate due, not to a lack of quality, but due to lack of demand. At the same time, some of the factory managers complained of not being able to access sufficient cassava roots. There is clearly a missing link between demand and supply information, especially at the producer level. The lack of market, in turn, forces producers to reduce production in the following season, perpetuating the alternating over- supply and low supply of cassava in subsequent years.

In general, intermediary factories had toilet facilities, as well as soak-away pits where water from cassava processing was channelled. The cassava peel is given away free to people who need it to feed livestock. Only a few factories visited had First Aid kits or trained staff even though there were people constantly using knives and fire for roasting gari.

Another characteristic of peeling work is its irregularity. In some cases, peelers come to the factory only to find there are no roots to be peeled. Usually they would have to return home, although in these circumstances, some employers might find them odd jobs to do around the factory for very small amounts of money. Women peelers may tolerate low wages because of flexibility in working conditions and more job security; *“we don’t clamour for an increment in wages because at least we are getting something even if it is small and that is better than not getting or having any money at all”*.

5.3. Opportunities, risks and constraints of investment in cassava processing

Some intermediary processors of HQCF are ensuring the security of their cassava roots supply by investing in their own farms in addition to buying from neighbouring farmers. This cushions them against the high elasticity of cassava supply and limits the problem of unused capacity. This has implications for the extent to which these industries can generate incomes for poorer people along the value chain. Aside from improvements in cassava root production and opportunities for wage labour as cassava peelers, the potential for adding value at household and village level through

production and delivery of wet cake for HQCF, depends on establishing effective linkages between village level processing groups and HQCF factories.

6. Gender Analysis of End Users

During an interview with Nigerian Flour Mills, it was reported that its main suppliers for cassava flour were from the north. This flour is made from sun dried cassava chips and costs between N40,000 and N50,000. The quality assurance manager reported inconsistency in the quality of the flour, and in some cases the flour was mixed with other cassava products such as gari. This northern market is a major competitor of Ondo and Ogun states which produce HQCF from grated and pressed cassava and dry it using flash dryers thus achieving a higher quality.

End users of the HQCF (flour millers, food producers) employ many people. Depending on the size of operation, staff numbers could reach into the thousands, e.g. Indo-Mie DE United Foods Industries Ltd employs 2,000 staff, of which 15%-20% are women. Women mainly work in administrative positions rather than on the production lines. In companies where a 24 hr work-day was in operation, such as UAC, female workers did not work on the night shift.

In UAC every member of staff is entitled to one month annual leave and women are entitled to 3 months maternity leave. Salaries are based on experience and length of service. Promotion was left to the line manager's discretion. Staff were trained at induction level and whenever necessary. The staff interviewed were not sure about the internal rule on joining trade unions. Some employers provided social benefits such as work clinics, access to local hospitals and/or housing allowances.

Another segment of the end user business is the distribution sector. Women are employed in the distribution chain of food products to the market, such as snacks from UAC Foods. Out of the 50,000-60,000 distributors of its products, Indo-Mie reported that over 95% in south were women and vice-versa in the north mainly due to religious and cultural differences.

7. Local Service Providers, National Partner Organizations and NGOs

The main service provider organisations are those connected with the Ministry of Agriculture (DAP, OGADEP, RTEP Village Extension Officers), NGOs and civil society organizations, such as The Country Women Association of Nigeria, the Justice, Development and Peace Commission, Rural Farmers Association of Women Farmers and the Nigeria Cassava Processing and Marketing Association. The majority of these organizations have women members of staff, such as women extension officers,

The Ministry of Agriculture's programme on Women in Agriculture (WIA) started in the early 1990s. Attention was given to gender issues, women and youth in farming. It also set minimum participation levels for women.

The **Ogun State Agricultural Development Programme** (OGADEP) has 20 supervisors and 96 extension agents. OGADEP uses group approaches to working with farmers and also work with schools in collaboration with the Ministry of Education. There are 15 female extension workers under the Women in Agriculture division (WIA). This began in 1991 after it was observed there had been some neglect of women farmers. Activities include post harvest handling, utilisation, marketing and storage.

Ondo state Agricultural Development Programme (ONADEP) operates in two zones each with a zonal director. The zones are divided into 18 blocks each with a block extension agent, many of whom are women. Within each block there are 8

extension cells making a total of 144 extension agents. With recent recruitment, the number of extension agents in the state is close to 200. Generally farmers and processors are encouraged by ONADEP to function in registered groups of 10 – 25 members to qualify for inputs or financial support. Each group is expected to include men and women at least in the ratio of 7:3 respectively. The group provides land either for farming or processing, or for any project supported by ONADEP.

Most NGOs have a stated commitment to consider gender and equity in their activities. The **Country Women Association of Nigeria (COWAN)** established in 1982 in Akure, Ondo State, is now a national association working in 32 States of the federation. COWAN is strong in its outreach to communities, particularly to women, and in its participatory and local approach. It works with community level groups to build human dignity by creating wealth and development. It also engages in advocacy for women in order to change the mind set of men towards women's empowerment, for example in supporting equal pay for women. They support women and men groups in an inclusive way, consciously involving men in order to change mind sets and secure their support.

The association is well positioned to reach out to target groups. It has developed village level economic solutions in the form of a 'Traditional Banking System' and 'Food Banking system' and it supports group formation and the development of business skills. It has a high capacity for gender and diversity assessment and response.

In terms of increasing cassava production, COWAN believes that women face a number of challenges, including poor access to land, limited access to new varieties of cassava or to credit facilities, inadequate storage facilities, lack of opportunities for mechanized farming, lack of technological know how and skills in operating processing machines and lack of training and retraining in farm practices.

COWAN emphasises the importance of women in cassava production and processing and that their inclusion and participation is fundamental to the success of any programme to develop cassava.

The **Justice, Development and Peace Commission (JDPC)** is a faith-based, non-governmental Organisation of the Catholic Church. It is a part of a national network of JDPCs in all the Catholic Dioceses in Nigeria. In Abeokuta Diocese, the organisation is called Justice, Development and Peace Movement (JDPM). Its Human Rights Department has programmes on Peace promotion, budget monitoring, civic education, political awareness, women empowerment. The JDPC Food Security and Poverty Reduction project works through village groups, with an average 6 men to 4 four women. JDPC is intending to expand their support to village processing activities. *"Instead of providing services for very few, we intend to cover more farmers and to go into processing"*. This includes establishing cassava processing centres in 2 communities. Once groups are registered they can access loans. JDPC acknowledges the centrality of women's empowerment; however, further capacity can be developed in mainstreaming gender objectives throughout its activities and organizational culture.

Detailed exploration of the operation of gender policy and implementation of the above organizations will be undertaken as part of the gender audits to be carried out by the C:AVA project.

8. Conclusions

The previous sections of this report have presented the results from the gender and diversity analysis according to the different parts of the cassava value chain. Table 5 below presents a summary of gender roles along the cassava value chain and the relative wealth or poverty of key actors.

As discussed in section 3, both men and women are involved in the production, processing and marketing of cassava, although men's emphasis is more on production and women's on processing. Cassava is viewed as a good cash crop by many women, as demand for traditional cassava foods is high. Men generally grow a wider range of cash crops than women. However, now that cassava is also perceived as a cash crop, its cultivation is increasingly taken up by men.

Table 5: Roles of Women and Men in the Cassava Value Chain

Key actor	Role	Gender	Relative wealth/poverty
Household processors	Convert cassava roots to traditional products such as gari, fufu and lafun.	Men, women, youth at different stage of processing. Dominated by Women.	Relatively poor
Farmer-Women processor	Covert cassava to lafun, pupuru, gari along with farming	Female	Relatively poor
Community Processing Units	Engage in relatively small scale processing of cassava into various products especially gari	Groups owned by women and men	Poor
Village processing units	Provides space for women peelers, graters, fryers and sieves to process	Mainly men own equipment; women use services	Relatively rich
Porters/Loader	Assists in packing, loading and offloading cassava roots for a fee	Men, youth. Women are involved in packaging	Poor
Bulk purchasers (wholesalers)	Buys larger quantities usually for many processors or other forms of arrangements	Men Women	Relatively poor, very low ability to absorb risks
Peelers	Individuals who peel cassava roots for farmers, processors and SMEs	Mostly women	Poor and are unable to negotiate better wage
Drivers	Transfer roots from assembly markets and farms to urban markets or desired points	Mainly men for motorised transport	Poor for non-motorised, increasing order of wealth with level of motorised transport
Trader Associations	Dictate and negotiate prices and rates, represents their respective groups	Men Women	Poor to Rich
SMEs	Produce cassava roots or wet cake to HQCF	Mostly owned by men. Only 1-2 women SME identified.	Rich Access to credit facilities
End Users	Uses HQCF with wheat to form composite flour e.g. flour mills of Nigeria, Dangote Flour Mills etc	Owned by men	Very rich and can dictate percentage usage and market price of HQCF
Retailers	Buys small quantities -	Men	Relatively poor

	sometimes in a deferred payment arrangement with a wholesaler or processor	Women	
Service providers	University, ADPs, NGOs, COWAN	Men Women	Rich

The poorest in the value chain are those undertaking waged roles – such as cassava peelers hired by individuals or enterprises, and porters and loaders of cassava. Small-scale processors at community level, one of the most important target groups for the project, are also among the poorest.

The main constraints to participation of women and the poor in cassava value adding activities are social, economic and financial, associated with the limited time availability especially for women with small children, technologies which are uncomfortable to use, limited capital to purchase raw materials and lack of credit to invest in improved equipment. Promotion of cassava production and processing may increase demands on women's labour time, with the risk of causing household conflicts as well as negative effects on women's health. However, the production of wet mash for HQCF production is less labour intensive than the production of gari and offers an important alternative which could widen participation in processing activities.

For women wishing to increase their area of cassava production, there may be limitations on land availability. However, the emphasis of C:AVA is to support producers and processors to increase their productivity and efficiency rather than increase their area or scale.

Most women in the study had very low levels of formal education. The provision of training and technical support will be necessary to facilitate their participation. The Ministry of Agriculture, the Country Women Association of Nigeria, the Justice, Development and Peace Commission, the Rural Farmers Association of Women Farmers, and Nigeria Cassava Processing and Marketing Association were some of the institutions identified as potential service providers/partners. The planned gender audit of organisations associated with C:AVA will enable them to identify their capacity strengthening requirements needed to support the gender and diversity inclusiveness of their work with the C:AVA project.

Smallholder producers, large and small-scale village processors and intermediaries all highlighted investment finance as constraining their businesses. Both women and men have access to small amounts of informal credit if they belong to a savings group or association. Producer groups reported that they did not trust banks in general and were not able to secure guarantors without assistance. Conditions of access to larger loans necessary for VPUs are particularly prohibitive to women as they require collateral and signatories. Intermediary processing companies face high demands for collateral (200% of the sought loan), the banking systems are subject to long delays and loan periods are not always appropriate. To overcome credit constraints, producers, VPU and intermediaries used their own savings, joined group savings clubs, used finances diverted from other businesses, or funds sourced from friends and family. Facilitation of access to credit, with conditions which do not disadvantage women, will therefore be an important area for C:AVA.

The potential for adding value at household and village level through production and delivery of wet cake for HQCF, depends on establishing effective linkages between village level cassava producers, processing groups and HQCF factories. If expansion in HQCF production is achieved through processing companies investing in their own

production, then opportunities for poor people to benefit will be limited to their engagement as wage labourers.

A further constraint likely to affect village processing groups and intermediary processors interested in HQCF production, is the uncertain demand for HQCF resulting from inconsistencies in implementing the policy of 10% HQCF inclusion in bread flour. At the same time, cassava products such as gari, lafun and fufu have become staple foods consumed in both local and urban areas and these products may be more profitable options for processors.

9. Recommendations

This section considers the findings above and highlights the main gender and social differentiation issues that should be taken into account when designing a strategy for C:AVA implementation in order that cassava production and processing can provide opportunities for extending women's participation and empower them and the poor financially and socially. The analysis is the starting point for developing specific targets for women's participation and benefit levels.

9.1 Suggestions to create greater gender equality of influence, opportunity and benefit

There needs to be a special emphasis on their position of women within the context of C:AVA priorities, taking into their circumstances and needs. Potential interventions will need to be carefully examined in the light of gender inclusiveness and benefits and risks for different social groups. Advocacy is needed in order to change the mindsets of men towards women.

Some general recommendations for the development of cassava value chains are; actions to promote the use of HQCF among end users in addition to millers, such as bakers, noodle producers etc. and to build an information network that links processors and producers.

9.1.1. For cassava farmer/processors

1. Recognise the importance of women farmers in their own right and extend opportunities for increasing their productivity through varietal improvement and training in improved cultivation methods, weed control and soil fertility management. Actively encourage the participation of women in farmers' group activities.
2. Recognise the multiple demands on women's income and develop affordable rather than capital intensive approaches to cassava crop improvement.
3. Create a particular drive to involve young people in profitable cassava farming and processing activities that will yield enough income to meet their basic needs without the attendant drudgery. Attract them by providing training in modern methods which respect the environment.

9.1.2. For cassava processing groups and micro enterprises

4. Take account of the importance of women's labour in cassava processing industries and its contribution to poverty alleviation and family well being. Encourage more equitable involvement in cassava value chains through development and dissemination of labour saving tools (for peeling) and machinery

(for grating and pressing) that ease drudgery, which do not require a high degree of physical strength and which increase the volume of cassava processed per unit of time. Ensure that technology development does not result in reduced employment for women in peeling and processing by training women in the use of tools and machinery. This would allow them greater access to permanent employment status and avoid replacing female manual labour with male operated machines.

5. Facilitate linkages between flash drying centres and community groups for wet cake supply. Encourage intermediaries to install graters and pressers at village level for use by village processor groups to produce wet cake, especially by existing women groups (with the option for the groups to buy equipment from the intermediary).
6. Provide training in wet cake production, quality assurance and environmental issues for processing groups and microenterprises. With training in production of wet cake and development of linkages to intermediaries, women will be able to capture higher benefits than available through the supply of cassava roots or through generally insecure employment as peelers.
7. Group Savings Clubs should be encouraged to save their members contributions in an account, thereby building a relationship with a bank for future borrowing and safeguarding women's income. Explore the potential for improved credit access and conditions for women and link women to the credit sources.
8. Assess cassava marketing processes to identify where women are heavily involved and identify and address marketing constraints. Encourage the involvement of women bulkers of wet cake in appropriate locations to contribute to HQCF value chain
9. C:AVA should encourage good sanitary practices and provision of toilet and washing facilities and potable water through advocacy or linkages with the relevant bodies.

9.1.3. Empowerment

10. A bottom-up approach to decision making needs to be developed along the cassava value chain, giving women a voice in planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation phases.
11. C:AVA should assist in facilitating group formation (producers, processors and peelers) to benefit from access to training, economies of scale, project equipment and to be able to contribute to and benefit from the HQCF value chain
12. There should be a conscious link between poverty and gender priorities by ensuring that the project activities do not favour the wealthy or elite groups of women and men at the expense of the poor or marginalised. However, it is important to avoid the alienation of any one group, men or women, rich or poor, powerful or vulnerable. This can be avoided through inclusive information and discussion processes, although some activities and support will be specifically targeted and recognise differences of interest and responsibility.
13. Recognise that there is not necessarily symmetry of interests at household level. Vulnerable groups which should be prioritised in terms of project opportunities, include older women in polygamous marriages as well as women headed households and widows and youth.
14. The project should encourage factory owners to adjust the working hours to suit family commitments and provide crèches.

9.2 Capacity strengthening needs e.g. education, skills and management training.

15. Recognise and make use of women's and the community's knowledge, experience and traditional skills in agricultural production and processing activities. Enhance women's access to information and communication technology.
16. Strengthen women's capacity in business management, financial skills and marketing for village processing groups and enterprises to enable women to play a greater leadership role. Integrate support to functional literacy where needed. Build capacity for women in business development and access to finance, especially for women investing in VPU's or intermediary enterprises.
17. Strengthen capacity of service providers to support technical, organisational and business development of women and vulnerable groups involved in cassava production and processing.
18. Young people should be empowered by technical and business training or retraining them along the value chain to enable them to add more value to cassava as a money making opportunity and to contribute to their socio-economic development. A communication strategy should be tailored and packaged specifically for youth in order to create an understanding and expose them to opportunities to improve their livelihood.

9.3 Gender Sensitivity and Mainstreaming by National Partner Organisations

19. Conduct gender audits among partner organisations, service providers and selected processing intermediaries and develop plans for mainstreaming gender and diversity issues in their organisations so they can play an effective role in contributing to their own and to C:AVA objectives. The audits will examine areas such as capacity, organizational culture, participation, advocacy and negotiation skills, outreach and market information and micro finance etc.

9.4 Indicators for change and their Monitoring

20. Develop the potential for a co-learning approach on M&E, gender, economic analysis, post harvest and value chains and extension methodology. C: AVA should have good communication with other cassava projects, share ideas and identify opportunities for complementary activities.
21. Develop gender and diversity related indicators and milestones in relation to each project output and the intended impacts, together with different beneficiary groups - men and women smallholders and processors and employees of processing enterprises. Impacts are likely to relate to the changes brought about by investments with income from cassava processing and delivery into HQCF value chain as well as the indirect benefits from training and empowerment activities, e.g. e.g. food security, health and nutritional improvement, education, women's empowerment and participation, organizational development and sustainability, improvements in housing, transport, trade, equipment, marketing of other products, and reduced environmental impacts.
22. The overall target is that by the end of 2011, 24,000 smallholders are earning an additional \$0.52 per day (\$190 per annum) and *at least 50% of these are women*. This is comprised of members of farmers groups, individual processors, community processing groups and workers in micro- and intermediary enterprises.

In summary, the project will seek to address the gender related constraints on women's participation in the cassava value chain in order to expand opportunities for their participation and overall benefit to their households. Benefits will accrue to women and men through increased incomes arising from improved productivity of cassava cultivation and sales of processed cassava for the HQCF value chain. Support to

cassava value chain development will also benefit women and youth through the creation of employment and training opportunities. A priority in women's employment is to reduce the drudgery of work and improve the productivity of labour in the light of the constraints on the labour time of women and girls; for example, by identifying appropriate manufacturers of women-friendly equipment. Impacts associated with increased incomes include improved levels of nutrition, health and education especially for children. Support to processing groups and strengthening their capacity will help to create awareness of gender issues at community level and support women's empowerment. Opportunities for support to women entrepreneurs will be pursued, particularly the encouragement of more equitable conditions for access to credit and technical information for the introduction of HQCF processing. This will require identification of suitable partners for business training and credit access arrangements appropriate for women and other vulnerable groups. The gender audits and the resulting training programmes, will increase awareness of gender issues among project partners, both within their own institutions and in terms of their capacity to understand gender dynamics at all levels in the cassava value chain and will enhance their ability to contribute to its efficient and equitable development.

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Annex 1: List of People Met

Value Chains Gender analysis.

Ogun State

NICAPMA-(Nigerian Cassava Processors and Marketers), Ogun State
Obasanjo Farm (High Quality Cassava Processor), Ogun State
Peak Products (High Quality Cassava Processor), Ogun State
Big Heart International (Wet Cake Producer), Ogun State
Eltees Farms (High Quality Cassava Processor), Ogun State
Apakila Village (Village Processors of Local Cassava Products), Ogun State
Ojuogun Village, Ogun State
Onalu Village, Ogun State
Ogadep Ogun State
Wet Paste Sellers at Ifo, Ogun State

Ondo State

Micmakin Nigeria Ltd (High Quality Cassava Processor), Akure, Ondo
Garri Processing Unit, Akure, Ondo State {Akinsoji Isijola}
Garri Processing Unit, Akure, Ondo State {Popoola Samuel}
Garri Processing Unit, Araromi Village Ondo State,
Martna Food Company, Araromi Village, Owo Road, Ondo State
Garri Processing Unit Ehinogbe, Owo, Ondo State
Local Fufu Producer (Mafu Group), Ondo State
Sunshine Cassava & Food Processing Ltd, Ondo State
Araromi Lisa Okiti-Pupa, Ondo State

Olumo Agro Allied Farm (Wet Cake Supplier)
Elegance (High Quality Cassava Processor)
Nigerian Cassava Processors and Marketers (Nicapma)
De- United Foods (Makers of Indomie)
UAC Foods (Makers of Gala Sausage Rolls)
Flour Mills of Nigeria Plc
Dangote Flour Mills Plc
Honeywell Flour Mills Plc
Leventis Foods Plc
Multichem Plc
Wempco Nig.Ltd
UNAAB Microfinance Bank

Scoping study

Ogun state

Village level

Owe village, Odeda LGA - focus group discussion with men farmers (separately) and women farmers/micro processors and VPU owner.

Abulelesin, Omoyeke, Shopade, Papa Ogunlade, Oba imale, Kuti villages in Obafemi Owode LGA - focus group discussion with women and men farmers (separately)

Igbo Olorin, Abeokuta North LGA – Discussion with men and women farmers/ household processors (jointly)

Elere-Adubi, Ifo LGA - Discussion with men and women farmers (jointly)

Abule baale – Medium scale farmer who adopted cassava revolution package/ Former local LGA chairman.

Obafemi-Owode LGA - Men farmers from Wasimi, Abulelesin, Omoyele, Shopade.villages. Women farmers/household processors from Papa Ogunlade, Wasimi Kuti, Obaimale, Abulelesin, Shopade.

Ishaga-Orile - Onishaga of Ishaga – HRH Oba Joseph Olaolu Tella (traditional ruler), Men farmers and former LGA chairman (Chief Duro Salami - Bashorun of Ishaga)

Processing units

CEO Peak Products – Lala village. Abeokuta North LGA. HQCF Processor

UNAAB SME factory, Alabata Odeda LGA

CICS Ltd. Onipepeye, Ibadan Women and men of the Cassava Processing Association

Service providers

OGADEP HQ, Abeokuta South LGA – project manager, Directors - Ag extension unit, Ag enterprise unit. Acting head of agricultural communication unit.

UNAAB AMREC – Agricultural Media Resources and Extension Centre. Director – Prof Salako

Justice Peace and Development Movement (JDPM), Abeokuta

Cassava Revolution, Abeokuta

Ondo State

Village level

Aba Alade / Akure, Akure South LGA Male farmer providing fresh roots to Micmakin

Iju town, Akure North LGA - Odudu, Ita Ogbolu, & Iju - Male farmers

Federal Housing Estate (Shagari village) VPU Grater, Presser, Gari roasting service; Male farmer processor (grater and presser); women farmers (including Secretary of Association of Women Farmers). Their farms are at Oda, Akure North LGA, Emure, Emure LGA.

Silo area, Oda Road, Akure town - Men farmers from: Ilado, Igunsin, Bamibomo, Ileyo, Ejiba silo, Ala within 3-5 kms.

Elegbeka, Ifon LGA - Individual men and women farmers; Male and female youth; Iludayo group (men and women processing group).

Processing units

Micmakin Nigeria Ltd, Akure town, SME processor

God's Gift Processing and Multi-purpose Coop Society (VPU)

Service providers

ADP Extension Agent

ADP Director Technical Services/ Deputy Director Technical Services (representing PM), Akure town, State capital

ADP - Director of Extension, Akure

COWAN (Country Women's Association of Nigeria), Akure.

Justice, Development and Peace Commission (JDPC), Akure

Federal College of Agriculture, Akure

Oyo State

All Saints Church Group, Jericho, Ibadan

Cassava Growers Association of Nigeria, Iddo Chapter. Akufo farm settlement. Men and woman.

Dakota Factory, Apata, Ibadan. SME Processor. Women and man workers

Onipepeye, Ibadan Women and men of the Cassava Processing Association – CICS Ltd. Onipepeye

Annex 2 CASAPRAN Members – equipment ownership in Ogun State

Name	Location	Status of processor	Equipment owned	Farm size
Fertile Gideon Ventures & Co	26 Salewu Lebode, Sam Ewang Road, Abeokuta Ogun Central	full processor (FP)	Flash dryer and accessories	100 acres
Adeoti Farms -Kilo	5 Aiyetoro Road, Ab, ogun central	Farmer/ semi processor (SP)	Wet mash (WM) machinery	10 ha
Glory Farms Ltd	Idiya Village, ab, Ogun Central	Farmer / FP	Flash dryer + accessories	50 ha
Akinlolu Investment	Konkon Mkt, Ibarapa North, Aiyete Fapa, Oyo state	Semi Processor	Wet mash machinery	765 acres
Baharas Trading Co	Balogun Village, Ifo LG, Ogun Central	Farmer / SP	Wet mash machinery	50 acres
Ilugun North Cassava Processing Co	Odo Simadegun Ilugun, Ijebu North east, Ogun East	FP	Flash dryer	25 ha
Waan Taab Ventures Ltd	Ogun Central	Farmer / sp	Wet mash machinery	800 acres
Deban Faith Ventures Ltd	Ogun Central	FP	Flash dryer/fabricator	50 acres
Elroi Farm & consultancy	Abeokuta-Ibadan road, Agbeje Village, Eweje, Odeda local gvt	Farmer/ sp	wm	10 acres
MMY Farms Ltd	Odo ladenusi Isiwo, Ogun state	Farmer/sp	Wm/cabinet dryer	100 acres
Big Heart Farms	Owede, L.G. Oke, Igbala, OC	Farmer /sp	wm	35 acres
Instad Nig Ltd	Cele Rd Itako, Ijebu, Ife rd, ogun state, OE	Full Processor	Flash dryer	-
Bloopamed Ltd	Ijebu Imuwen, LTB/Mushi, O5	FP	Flash dryer	-
Lekbus Ltd	Odo Gbolu Ehinwa, Oe	FP	Flash dryer	100 acres
Al-Janol Ltd	Ore-Oday Yewa, L.G Ogun West	FP	Flash dryer	250 acres
Kushimo Farms	Obele Abeokuta States, OC	Farmer/Sp	Wet mash	100 acres
Morafel Commodities	Ogere, Ogun state, OE	Full Processor	Flash Dryer	
Akija Farms	Ikija Ibeja	FP	Flash Dryer	750 acres
Mayops Farm	Oba Ogun States			
Mastol Farms		FP	Flash dryer	
Azen Ventures	Odo Agbuzu /Isiwo-Ijebu	Farmers		
Rehoboth Cassava Processors	Ijeun-Lukosi, Idi-Aba Abeokuta	Sp	Wet mash	50 acres
Obasanjo farms	Ota Owiwi, Abeokuta	FP	Flash dryer, tunnel dryer	1,000 acres

Annex 3 Gender and Diversity Checklists

Checklist for Value Chain Analysis

GENERAL

EXPLORE STRATEGIC gender needs, e.g. training, skills, legal rights and empowerment as well as **PRACTICAL gender needs** e.g. time allocation and reduction of work load.

Analyse gender roles according to **PRODUCTIVE, REPRODUCTIVE** (in the social sense as well as biological, e.g. child care, domestic chores etc) and **SOCIAL/COMMUNITY** roles. (see Moser, activity profile)

Explore **ACCESS and CONTROL** of resources, e.g. land, income etc. How are decisions made? (Access and control profile and Influencing factors – Moser and Harvard framework)

Explore **SOCIAL RELATIONS** along the value chain.

SECONDARY DATA REQUIRED

- Information/data on gender in the national and district agricultural and agri business sectors, with particular focus on cassava.
- Gender roles - cultural construction of gender roles, influences of religion, traditional culture, history etc. Extent of convergence of factors resulting in marginalisation and social exclusion of particular groups
- Financial regulations, banking rules in relation to gender and credit.
- National labour law relating to enterprises of different scale.
- Local institutions and governance – who are the authorities at different levels – village, district etc. who influence decisions on expansion of cassava production and processing.
- Local status of health, (HIV/AIDS), nutrition and household food security - seasonal variation.

CROSS CUTTING ISSUES FOR DISCUSSIONS ALONG THE VALUE CHAIN

- Gender of enterprise owners and managers
- Contractual relations along the supply chain
- Factors that promote or discourage women's entry into the value chain
- Gender issues in credit access

END USERS: INDUSTRIES

- Brief history of business and strategic objectives
- Gender of owner and manager(s)
- Identification of sources of supply :
 - relationships (contracts and informal) with supplying companies
 - history of relationship
 - Women managed suppliers
 - Drop out suppliers
 - criteria for selection of supplier (location etc)
- Staff:
 - Numbers and job categories of workers (including women in leadership roles)
 - Recruitment policy (origins - sources of workers e.g. migrants, etc. equal opportunity/gender policy?) What are the reasons for this pattern? Note attitudes.
 - Staff profile by skills, gender and age
 - Permanent / temporary (contracts)
 - Wages (by gender and job category) and allowances
 - Working hours
 - Leave entitlements, including maternity, sick (HIV/AIDS), etc
 - Staff promotion procedures
 - Membership of any labour code, certification scheme?
 - Workers organisations, welfare, social, Trade Union etc.
- Facilities:
 - Washing
 - Protective clothing
 - First aid / health care on site
 - Worker training
 - Housing/ allowance
- Environment:
 - Waste disposal
- Marketing of products
 - distributors, retailers, customers
- Perception of constraints at supply level (prices, credit, skills, labour and processing capacity, infrastructure and transport, policy and regulatory, seasonal etc)

PROCESSORS (GRITS TO HQCF)

- Brief history of business and strategic objectives
- Gender of business owner and manager (s)
- Number and gender of workers in different processing steps (see INDUSTRIES) NB: labour requirements and gender of workers
- Identification of sources of supply:
 - Criteria for selection of supplier (location etc)
 - Types of suppliers
 - Scales
 - Location
- Contractual arrangements with suppliers (including informal personal linkages)
 - Gender
 - supplying companies
 - associations / groups
 - composition of association and type
 - leadership
 - Price differentials to suppliers
- Staff:
 - Job categories of workers (including women in leadership roles)
 - Recruitment policy (origins - sources of workers e.g. migrants, etc. equal opportunity/gender policy?) What are the reasons for this pattern? Note attitudes.
 - Staff profile by skills, gender and age
 - Permanent / temporary (contracts)
 - Wages (by gender and job category) and allowances
 - Working hours
 - Leave entitlements, including maternity, sick (HIV/AIDS), etc
 - Staff promotion procedures
 - Membership of any labour code, certification scheme?
 - Workers organisations, welfare, social, Trade Union etc.
- Facilities:
 - Washing
 - Protective clothing
 - First aid / health care on site
 - Worker training
 - Housing/ allowance
- Environment:
 - Waste disposal
- Marketing of products – customers
 - Industries
 - Exports
- Perceptions of market opportunities and constraints
- Perception of supplier (to processors) level opportunities and constraints /needs(prices, credit, skills, labour and processing capacity, infrastructure and transport, policy and regulatory, seasonal

VILLAGE PROCESSING UNITS (VPU)

- Biography of owner(s)
 - Gender,
 - age,
 - interest in cassava
 - production / processor
- Type of business ownership (association/family/legal status etc)
 - Association membership /gender /age
 - Head of VPU if family owned (sleeping partners)
 - Control of funds (and decisions) of VPU
 - Ownership and control of equipment and tools
- Source of credit: Start up capital for VPU
 - Procedures for accessing credit
- Sources of supply
 - Gender / age of suppliers
 - Constraints
- Type of product delivered to VPU (root or grits) by gender
 - Quantities
 - Quality of cassava / grits
 - Prices differentials (related to quality or scale) gender?
 - Perception of constraints faced by supplier
- Procedures at delivery at VPU
 - Who normally delivers to VPU (owner or representative of family)
 - Payments schedule (cash in hand or account)
- Perception of improved livelihoods by gender in local area
- Perception of VPU on production related constraints (by gender)
- Staff :
 - number of employees by gender
 - Staff roles / product and activity specialisation by gender
 - Source of employees
 - Wage/salary/seasonal – by activity
 - Contracts
- Health and environment: health and safety precautions in place
 - Facilities (toilets etc)
 - Quality assurance
 - Waste water disposal
- Infrastructure (road and transport, buildings/shelter)
- Area coverage of VPU
- Sources of information and support.

TRADERS

- Gender, age, Personal history in trade field (mini biography)
- Type – wholesale or retail* (implications for supply of HQCF to industries or to end consumer)
 - Reasons for choice of type of trade
- Sources of supply
 - How identified
 - Price differential in relation to type/scale/gender of supplier (in relation to sources of demand, seasonality)
 - Gender and suppliers
- Sources of information – reasons and constraints
- Sources of demand.
- Scale and reach of trade networks.
- Gender related issues in credit access
- Market associations
 - Membership
 - Gender, age of members
 - Criteria for joining association
 - Leadership
- Infrastructure/ transport constraints (women specific)
- Labour employment in trade related activities gender specific

HOUSEHOLD LEVEL PROCESSING

- Local definitions of 'household'.
- Gender roles and responsibilities (Productive, reproductive and community, especially food provisioning, cash earning, crop production)
- Gender roles and cassava production and processing - products, scale, decision making
- Access and control of land for cassava production
- Access to credit. Access to other inputs (planting material, labour – household and hired etc)
- Ownership and control of cassava yield (roots and grits)
- Control of cash from sale of cassava roots / grits and other cassava products. How negotiable?
- Gender and scale of marketing of roots /grits /other cassava products
- Distance women travel to nearest VPU, to markets, etc. (mobility mapping)
- Tendency to sell roots or grits/ other cassava products
 - Reasons for choice (labour, time etc)
 - Preference for roots / grits /other products
 - Decision making on sales
- Processing stages and gender roles
- Buying cassava roots /(grits) from neighbours for resale
 - From who do you buy (household type, seller (trader/producer) and gender)
 - Perceived constraints on the seller
- Constraints impacting on quality of roots / grits (shelter, drying platforms etc)
- Constraints faced by women on delivery of grits /roots to VPU
- Sources of information and support?

Scoping Study Checklist

Cross-cutting issues

Gender, Diversity age, religion, wealth

FARMERS AND COMMUNITIES

Who to ask: Key informants; Group(s); Individuals – women, men, other important diversity aspects e.g. wealth

Community background

- Population and number of households in the community/village (specify unit)
- How long has the community/village been established?
- What are the main livelihood activities (for men and for women).
- Do men and women have separate plots and cultivate their own crops and/or joint plots and crops?

Role and importance of cassava in livelihoods

Ranking of cassava – food

Ranking of cassava – cash

Current level of cassava activities

Individual Size of farms, current area of cassava grown, significance [cash, household food, priority for land etc] of cassava relative to other crops,

Cassava area planted this year and cassava area planted last year for individuals interviewed and reasons for change

Ability of women to access land

Ability of men to access land

Current production practices:

Who does what? Who Decides?

- variety, List all varieties (modern and traditional reported; whether pure or mixed stands,
- seasonal pattern of work on cassava, whether intercropping, use of machinery, weedkiller, fertilizer, time(s) of planting and times of harvest etc
- Any collective field operations?
- Where do hired labourers come from? Both men and women?

Access to credit (informal and formal – men and women)

Formal credit

Informal credit

Collective access to credit

Productivity

Yields pure and mixed stands

Amount of current surplus cassava and their estimate of how much surplus they could provide given a guaranteed market, how has it changed and why [target is about 1t of cassava grits = ~3t of fresh cassava/farmer]

Community Overall community cassava production and surplus, how has it changed and why [Target is about 750t of cassava grits/VPU/yr]

Current post-harvest practices:

- What are the current postharvest practices by individuals and communities?
- Main uses of cassava – consumption, selling and trends
- Is crop processed in the community into: Add specific traditional uses, Wet cake, Flour, Grits.
- Are farmers aware of HQCF process

- Any collective processing? Any collective marketing?

Economics of cassava farming

Details of costs and revenue throughout the cassava production and post harvest cycle

Including:

Cost of land clearance

Cost of planting material

Cost of planting

Cost of weeding (Daily weeding wage for women Daily weeding wage of men)

Cost of harvesting

Cost of transporting from field

(One use of this will be to calculate: Net income per acre and Gross income per person day)

Current cassava markets and price trends:

Current markets for cassava *(for what e.g. gari, to whom and location Eg School feeding programme in village)*

Price trends and expectations for fresh cassava and various processed eg gari

Current and potential source of knowledge, negotiating skills and technologies about cassava (for men and for women)

E.g., Government, NGO, family. Ownership of mobile phone, radio, TV ownership (Ability to access information)

Gender roles, responsibilities and benefits; access and control.

- Daily, seasonal and spatial patterns of work in domestic, agricultural and livelihood activities
- Decision making on use of income (men's, women's, joint) and responsibilities for household expenditure and investment.
- Have gender roles and responsibilities changed in recent times? How?

Poverty and vulnerability issues

- Significance of social grouping to cassava production
- Current levels of health, nutrition and food security, income, education (especially for women and children), seasonal variations and recent trends.
- Situation of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups and households in the area, e.g. relating to gender, ethnicity, age, HIV, disability, migrants etc

Organisational & institutional issues

- Do farmers operate as individuals or in groups; if the latter, what are they etc?
- Operations and Governance of associations and farmer groups
 - Origin of association [how initiated]
 - Objectives
 - Leadership structure [gender, how appointed]
 - Criteria for membership and current composition. (gender, age, marital status)
 - Meetings [frequency, time, normal agenda]
 - Methods of maintaining unity and interest
 - Responsibilities and benefits
 - Contract enforcement procedures

Strengths, weaknesses and needs

Farmers' perceptions of a) their strengths and weaknesses and b) External constraints at any point in production and post harvest cassava system and needs in relation to these.

Farmer perceptions of their information, training, technology needs based on above analysis.

Processors (VPU, farmer processing groups and associations)

VPU_s – ORGANISATION AND OPERATION

- NGO, private business? How did they start, e.g., microfinance?
- Owner characteristics – gender, age, origin,
- What equipment do they have? Ownership and control of equipment and tools
- Source of credit: Start up capital for VPU
- number of employees by gender
- Wage/salary/seasonal – by activity. Conditions/contracts.
- Health and environment: health and safety precautions in place - Facilities (toilets etc), waste water disposal
- Quality assurance.
- Infrastructure (road and transport, buildings/shelter)
- What do they produce?
- How much cassava do they process & seasonality?
- Number of farmer suppliers (men, women) and catchment area
- Do they process other crops?
- Prices charged for processing
- Running costs
- Capacity - do people ever have to take produce home and return the next day?
- Sources of information and support.

COMMUNITY BASED PROCESSOR GROUPS AND ASSOCIATIONS

Organisation of cassava processing – household, groups and enterprises.

- Operations and Governance of associations and farmer groups
 - Origin of group/association [how initiated]
 - Objectives and activities
 - Leadership structure [gender, how appointed]
 - Criteria for membership and current social composition. (gender, age, marital status)
 - Meetings [frequency, time, normal agenda]
 - Methods of maintaining unity and interest
- What equipment do they have? Ownership and control of equipment and tools
- Source of credit: Start up capital
- Products and product choice. Quality assurance
- Supply arrangements
 - Who is providing the fresh roots?
 - Criteria for selection of supplier (location, scale etc)
 - Catchment area
 - Prices for buying fresh cassava, including at different seasons?
 - Financial arrangement with farmers, e.g., do farmers provide labour to peel cassava?
- Labour hired by the group (if applicable)– numbers, gender, origins, wages
- Facilities: (washing, protective clothing, first aid)
- Health and environment: health and safety precautions in place - Facilities (toilets etc), waste water disposal
- Marketing arrangements and linkages – location of sales, market prices and price trends.
- Ownership and benefit sharing arrangements within the group

Strengths, weaknesses and needs

Processors (men and women) perceptions of a) their strengths and weaknesses and b) External constraints at any point in cassava processing system and needs in relation to these.

Processors perceptions of their information, training, technology needs based on above analysis.

SERVICE PROVIDERS- GOVERNMENT EXTENSION AND NGOs

Details of organization currently providing services to farmers and/or community level processors

Current objectives, strategies and activities (including poverty and gender orientation)

Do they provide support to: Individual farmers? Farmer groups? Faith groups? Small businesses?

Who do they not provide support to (Social exclusion: Gender, faith, poverty etc)?

Staff skills, numbers and associated resources etc

Perceptions of strengths and weaknesses of cassava situation in their target area

What are their perceptions of farmers' needs?

Perceptions of their own strengths and weaknesses in relation to achieving C:AVA objective

How could they provide support to C:AVA for:

- Post-harvest management eg technologies
- Pre-harvest management including access to superior varieties
- Group formation,
- Development of business skills
- Gender and diversity assessment and response

WIDER CONTEXT/ ENABLING ENVIRONMENT

We also need to know generally about the wider world in which cassava production occurs in each target community. This will require a general [but selective so it doesn't take too long!] survey of the wider world of stakeholders, e.g., ministries, NGOs, IITA, partly in order to know support they can provide our activities [e.g., extension, improved varieties] and rally it.

District assemblies – how are they supporting value adding activities?

THE LONGER TERM

The immediate purpose of the scoping studies is to develop an area strategy for year 1 in which there are only 2 – 3 VPUs planned for each area, of which there are 2 in each of Ghana and Nigeria. Inevitably, the scoping study in each area will focus on these first VPUs. However, in years 2 & 3, the number of VPUs in each area increases dramatically. For the longer term, we also need to:

- Know about the ability of intermediaries to receive and process cassava grits in larger amounts and from more VPUs
- Identify service providers able to support an expanded number of VPUs, farmers and farming communities
- Identify a form of VPU that can easily be replicated area- and country-wide [for example, can we 'piggy-back' on gari manufacture by simply enabling gari producers to generate grits?].