

# Unanticipated Unity and Independence: A Photovoice of Ugandan Gender-Based Agriculture Issues

J. R. Spence<sup>1</sup>, T. Redwine<sup>2</sup>, T. Rutherford<sup>3</sup>, K. Dooley<sup>4</sup>

## Abstract

Globally, women are major contributors to agricultural productivity efforts, yet they face challenges in being as productive as their male counterparts. In Uganda, the male-dominant realities of agriculture are as strong as the country's dependence upon it. In this country, women are responsible for the majority of agricultural production, despite facing a plethora of gender-based barriers. Therefore, this photovoice study aimed to discover gender-based agriculture issues from the perspective of female Ugandan agriculture producers to make applicable recommendations for improvements in research, practice, and extension. Through this study, we found major themes of both technical challenges in agriculture as well as abstract social constructs that hindered the productivity of women farmers. Despite these issues, Ugandan women agriculture producers display unity in self-identification and pride as women farmers. Therefore, we recommend efforts be made to improve education for, research on, and extension efforts targeted toward women farmers as well as training for women and men in these communities to end gender-based violence that is currently used as a tool for control over women in developing, agriculturally-based countries.

## Article History

Received: November 19, 2022

Accepted: May 5, 2023

Published: June 5, 2023

## Keywords

Uganda; agricultural development; feminist theory; photovoice

- 
1. Jessica R. Spence, Ph.D. Student, Virginia Tech, 214 Litton-Reaves Hall, Blacksburg, VA 24061, [jessicaraespence@vt.edu](mailto:jessicaraespence@vt.edu),  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3789-3477>
  2. Tobin Redwine, Instructional Assistant Professor, Texas A&M University, 2116 John Kimbrough Blvd, College Station, TX 77845, [redwine@tamu.edu](mailto:redwine@tamu.edu),  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9975-8169>
  3. Tracy Rutherford, Professor and Department Head, Virginia Tech, 214 Litton-Reaves Hall, Blacksburg, VA 24061, [trutherford@vt.edu](mailto:trutherford@vt.edu),  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3875-4791>
  4. Kim Dooley, Professor, Texas A&M University, 2116 John Kimbrough Blvd, College Station, TX 77845, [k-dooley@tamu.edu](mailto:k-dooley@tamu.edu),  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-5654-5988>

## Introduction and Problem Statement

Productive and sustainable global agriculture is critical for a healthy, worldwide human population (Jones & Ejeta, 2016). When we rely upon agricultural producers to feed the global population, it is vital to note that of the 570 million farms across the globe, 83% lie within Sub-Saharan Africa (Lowder et al., 2016; Ricciardi et al., 2018). Across Africa, particularly within smallholder farming-based societies, women are often tasked with more agricultural labor than men (Ugwu, 2019). In addition to this workload disparity, women in developing countries take on major responsibilities as primary housekeepers, homemakers, and childcare providers when compared to their male counterparts (Satyavathi et al., 2010). Specifically, in Sub-Saharan Africa, Uganda's gender-based disparities within women's agricultural production are higher than that of other countries in the region, such as Niger, Ethiopia, and Nigeria (Doss et al., 2018; Palacios-Lopez et al., 2017).

The problem is women farmers in Uganda are hindered by societally imposed, gender-based issues such as farm work imbalance, disparities in home and childcare, as well as a lack of resources (Doss et al., 2018; Palacios-Lopez et al., 2017; Satyavathi et al., 2010; Ugwu, 2019). To better understand these individuals, research must explore barriers to production amongst its most productive individuals: women farmers.

## Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Feminist theory views interactions between men and women through a power hierarchy lens and brings to light inequalities due to gender (Keedle et al., 2019; Lindsley et al., 2019). A major goal within feminist research is to better understand, and thusly remove, inequalities in gender that contribute to societal structures (Hirudayaraj & Shields, 2019), and it fundamentally "seeks to unmask gendered patterns in human relationships, whether in public organizations or in the family to promote more equitable and emancipatory actions among all members in society" (Morton & Lindquist, 1997, p. 349). Scholars in feminist theory argue both women and men are biological beings, but the institutional subordination of women is a social construct and not determined through biology (Reddock, 2000). Biological aspects are fixed and cannot be changed, but "what is social is subject to change and should be the focus of attention for feminist theorists" (Reddock, 2000, p. 37).

Feminist theory's application within studies of women in developing nations has been previously used in similar contexts (Bryceson, 2020). Feminist theory lends itself to the present study because the socially constructed gender biases in Ugandan society are evident in the literature (Doss et al., 2018; Palacios-Lopez et al., 2017; Satyavathi et al., 2010; Ugwu, 2019). However, it is vital to note Southern feminist theorists denounce traditional Western feminism as it tends to reproduce imperatives within colonization when theorizing the struggles of women in postcolonial contexts (Oyewumi, 1997; Spurlin, 2010). Approaching this study with a framework of Southern feminist theory is crucial to this population, as Uganda is a once-colonized country, and its people still face issues resulting from colonialism. Women in Uganda,

specifically those who rely on agriculture as an economic and social means for survival, face daily challenges because of institutional gender-based disparities.

## Purpose

The purpose of this study was to utilize photovoice, a method aligned with feminist theory and one that empowers its participants, to explain the reality of women farmers in Northern Uganda via participatory methods to make participant-informed recommendations for change and improvement upon the gender-based issues they experience (Gervais & Rivard, 2013; Wang & Burris, 1997). The research question guiding this study was:

RQ1: What struggles and problems within agriculture do Ugandan women farmers experience?  
RQ2: Can specific improvements be made based on these problems?

## Methods

This study utilized a form of participatory action research known as photovoice (Wang & Burris, 1997). Subjects observed themselves, their environment, and their issues, produced self-taken photographs that documented their lives, and were observed naturalistically through the photos they produced and focus group discussion (Wang & Burris, 1997).

This photovoice was conducted in Northern Uganda in July of 2019, where community and opinion leaders helped identify potential participants in community gatherings at the Dokolo and Apac villages in the region. As recommended by Wang and Burris (1997), participants were embedded and involved in their community.

One member of the research team led the in-country photovoice procedures, and the methods will document the guidance from that individual. Once recommended individuals volunteered, I obtained consent and then introduced the groups to the camera's potential risks, power, and ethics (Wang, 1999), photograph viewing functions, and camera protection and handling (Wang & Burris, 1997). I then gave instruction and practice time with the cameras and distributed them, with SD cards and batteries already inserted, to the participants. Participants were prompted to take photos of their lives as women agricultural producers but were not given any further guidance on subjects or examples to not impede their interpretation and photography process.

The translator and I returned at the planned meeting time to the groups after 10 days. Upon our return, all 10 women (five in each meeting), and some of their young children, met us and the concluding meeting began. In this meeting I recorded audio on two devices whilst taking notes. Then participants' images were uploaded from SD cards onto my password-protected laptop for us to view each participants' photographs and identify elements within the photos during discussion. While viewing all of their photos, participants selected 1-2 photos that gave

context to what was in each photo, told the story of each photo, and identified issues, theories, and themes through the images and their experiences (Wang, 1999).

While recording both focus groups, I matched each speaker with the photos they took and removed all identifying information to maintain confidentiality (Jurkowski & Paul-Ward, 2007). Next, I systematically coded (Jurkowski, 2008) the transcribed interviews using the Constant Comparative Method (CCM) as per Glaser and Strauss (1967). The analysis occurred in three stages: comparing incidents, a unit that represents a meaningful concept that is relevant to the research and applicable to each category; integrating categories and their properties; and delimiting the theory by analyzing with a critical feminist lens (Grove, 1988; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

I achieved trustworthiness and credibility throughout the inquiry by participating in reflexive journaling (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In the data collection process, credibility was achieved through prolonged engagement with participants in multiple meetings, field notes, audio-recording and verbatim transcription of the focus groups, the triangulation of data via photos taken and supporting focus group description and discussion, and member-checking during focus groups with a translator (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I employed member-checking to ensure the translator communicated effectively and maintained transferability by providing thick, rich descriptions of my findings, including direct quotes to accompany the themes. A notable limitation of this study is the lack of verbatim translation in some parts of the focus group sessions. I performed member-checking and especially did so when this issue occurred. Nonetheless, it is important to note that there is data from discussion lost in translation. To ensure confidentiality, each individual's name referenced represents a participant through a pseudonym.

### **Positionality Statement**

I identify as a white, American, middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual female who is from a developed nation. I view the world through these intersectional lenses, many of which are from a place of privilege. These potential influences on the research were notable, as there were many intersectional differences between me and the participants within this study. My identity, influences, and personal biases as result of my positionality limit my ability to fully understand the participants' and their lives, identities, and culture.

## **Findings**

The realities women farmers in Northern Uganda face were represented, through this study, by the emergent themes and subthemes of agronomic knowledge and competencies and abstract social constructs. Within the major theme of agronomic knowledge and competencies, emergent subthemes were: varied agriculture practices, physical skills and fatigue, and technical challenges. The theme of abstract social constructs was described by the emergent subthemes: gender inequities and patriarchal society, women assuming majority responsibility,

physical and financial abuse, independence, need for help, visualization and self-actualization, and lastly, pride in self-identification.

### **Agronomic Knowledge and Competencies**

Through the supporting incidents, generated from the participant's explanations of their photos, agronomic knowledge and competencies is an evident theme. Participants detailed their challenges with agricultural production, both as a labor-intensive livelihood and technical issues but also gave evidence to their existing knowledge and prowess within the agricultural production. This theme is explained by the supporting themes: varied agriculture practices, physical skills and fatigue, and technical challenges.

### **Varied Agriculture Practices**

With 20 incidents supporting this theme, the participants explained how they use tangible and varied agriculture practices to support both themselves and their families. Participants took photos of their crops, including soybeans, ground nuts, sunflowers, simsim, and sunflowers. They displayed their practical agriculture knowledge clearly, taking photos of themselves weeding, planting, harvesting, and using the ox plow as a method—with the Dokolo group collectively stating they “relate to one another through use of ox plow for plowing.” Jaime said she “wanted to show the ox plow method of farming,” which is a vital technique for her success as she “cannot plant without an ox plow” as shown in Figure 1.

**Figure 1**

*Participant Photo 1: Women pose in a garden with their ox plow.*



### **Physical Skills and Fatigue**

Every element of agriculture implementation, even processes aided by animals, cause exhausting physical fatigue. The participants engage in varied, rigorous agriculture practices. These are necessary for production and ultimate financial and nutritional gain; however, they come at a physical cost to each individual. Women use ox plows to plow fields, navigating the tough earth to ready it for planting. If ox plows are not available, they must turn the soil by hand, as Gail photographed herself performing this task and stated she “wanted to show how she farms using a hand ho,” shown in Figure 2. The Apac group consensued that “after completing so many tasks, you feel tired.” Jan commented on the work to come in the next season by stating, “next year I will need to work harder.” The Dokolo group said they felt “there is no reward for hard work.”

**Figure 2**

*Participant Photo 2: A woman weeding in her garden by hoeing the soil.*



### **Technical Challenges**

Beyond physical challenges, these women face many technical challenges in their farming. From germination, transportation, weather, and pests to harvest, their barriers to their practical farming needs increase the level of difficulty to maintaining their livelihoods. The participants discussed problems with seed germination, the beginning of the planting process, and the beginning of their practical issues in farming. Using her camera as a tool for communication, Hallie said she “took a photo to show the challenge [she] had with first planting.” Many women

of the group struggle with this issue, as Jan added she too has “been struggling with successful germination.”

When the original planting does not germinate and therefore become a sellable or consumable product, they lose financial gain but still need to repurchase seed to attempt planting again. Hallie said she struggles because “buying seed is expensive when [she has] to rebuy from lack of germination.” A participant noted there are challenges during harvest, as well. Once products are harvested, they often need to be physically moved to market to be sold. Participants noted there are often issues during or finding transportation.

According to participants, pests that destroy and predators that consume are both notable and constant threats to the success of harvest, family consumption, and financial gain. This issue was notable enough for Cait to take a “photo of maize affected by worms that is a challenge,” visible in Figure 3.

### Figure 3

*Participant Photo 3: Two women working in a garden with pest-damaged maize crop.*



### Abstract Social Constructs

As evident through the basis of feminist theory, the prevalent emergent theme of abstract social constructs appearing in the findings. Participants discussed and detailed their duties, assigned to them by society due to their gender and societal role as women. These roles reveal a disparity between men and women, responsibilities to family and income generation, issues

with physical and financial abuse, independent work completed by women, and the resulting self-identity as women farmers.

### ***Gender Inequities and Patriarchal Society***

Because of their gender, participants identified disparities between their roles and responsibilities versus that of men in their lives. Women are not only responsible for the majority of cultivation, but also their home, childcare, and a host of other tasks. Additionally, their families look to them specifically as women for education, food, and income. Their physical and financial safety is not under their control either, as men often take control of the finances; this issue is perpetuated with threat of physical violence without compliance.

### **Women Assuming Primary Responsibilities**

As is evident in the above themes, women participate heavily in the cultivation of their crops—but their uneven gendered responsibilities do not end outside of their gardens. Childcare, food preparation, and keeping of the home are some of the additional responsibilities participants stated as shouldered by women in the family.

“Women have many tasks,” the Apac group consensed, continuing to agree that “cooking, fetching water, firewood, everything at home, thrashing, and harvesting is the work of a woman.” Not only is their time taken up by the many activities assigned to them, but these duties fall on their shoulders because of their gender. The Apac group agreed, “women have many responsibilities at home.” Bailey supported this in saying she is “responsible for [her] child, garden and housework.” The theme is strengthened by the Dokolo group consensing that “women must cook, fetch water, raise kids—a lot of work as women.” Ruby said the prevailing societal norm is that “as a woman she should not just sit, she should be doing something.”

Women feel they are the responsible individual for their families and specifically their children. The burden of productivity in the garden is furthered as their children look to them specifically for food, financial help, and education. Many women grow certain crops specifically to be their food at home to provide sustenance for their children, as shown by the groundnut crop in Figure 4. The Apac group agreed, “children ask the mother about education,” emphasizing this responsibility’s corresponding gender as the father is not the one asked. This theme continues to reveal gendered nutritional responsibilities as the group consensed, “children ask the mother for food.”

**Figure 4**

*Participant Photo 4: A woman and her child processing groundnuts in the garden.*

**Physical and Financial Abuse**

Participants said men feel entitled to the financial gain in selling crops, even if they did little to contribute to the tilling, planting, production, and harvest. The Apac group consensed, “men do little work and leave the rest of the work to the woman.” Pearl explained that men help in the garden in the morning but return home early and the rest of the work is left to the woman. The Apac group collectively agreed on the gender-bound disparity by saying, “if the woman sells her crop herself, the man will demand money from the sale.” Oftentimes, women do the work to produce the crop and after it is harvested, “the man takes the harvest to market,” said Bailey, to effectively sell her production. Once the crop is sold, profits may even not make it back to aid the family the women are responsible for the man may misuse money from the sale, confirmed by the Apac group. When asked if the women may try to keep their money, the Dokolo group agreed, “if a woman refuses to give money to the man it will bring domestic abuse.”

**Independence**

An emergent theme is the effect these gender-based discrepancies have on women. Firstly, they are more independent, resulting in a lack of help from their partners and others. This independence contributes to self-actualization and an evident pride in their identity as women farmers. Independence often has a positive connotation, but within this theme we see two sides. One side, they are empowered, as displayed in their photos and statements like Val saying she “wanted to show [herself] using an ox plow alone without help,” as shown in Figure

5, and Gail stating, “[she does her] own work as a woman farmer without anyone helping her.” On the other side, the independence and lack of help has negative effects. Jaime said “[she’s] alone, with no money and can get defeated.” The group also agreed that “some women are depressed” due to the amount of work and responsibilities placed on them individually.

### Figure 5

*Participant Photo 5: A woman plows a garden independently with an ox plow.*



### Need for Help

Although one participant spoke of her positive experience with her husband, stating, “[her] husband helps with the crops and garden,” the overwhelming majority said they felt the opposite in regard to help. Pearl said, “men help with the garden and go home to rest,” although the women continue with their other responsibilities. Val said she is “not happy with the lack of help.”

### Visualization and Self-Actualization

One of the strongest and most evident themes is supported by the focus group discussion and also the visual phenomenon that all ten participants chose to photograph themselves, as shown in Figures 1 through 6. None of the women were instructed to do so, but all of them took photos of themselves in their gardens, in their homes, and with their crops and animals. This unanticipated, unified, theme among the photos sparked a larger discussion among the groups. Table 1 displays how many photos from each participant were self-portraits.

**Table 1***Number of Photos and Self-Portraits Taken, and Selected by Participants*

Name	Total Photos Taken	Total Self-Portraits Taken	Percent of Self-Portraits
Ruby	173	45	26
Hallie	131	57	44
Pearl	107	41	38
Cait	92	17	19
Bailey	90	36	40
Val	81	14	17
Violet	71	50	70
Jaime	44	30	68
Gail	41	15	54
Jan	28	11	27

*Note.* When selecting photos for the focus group, all participants chose to discuss two photos, rather than one, and all participants chose a self-portrait style photograph.

When asked why they made the decision to photograph themselves, the Dokolo group responded, agreeing they “wanted to show their struggles as women farmers by photographing themselves,” and they “took photos of themselves to show challenges as a woman farmer.” The group also said they “wanted to show their gardens by photographing themselves.” Jaime noted she “took photos of herself to show what she does, her work, and what she does by herself.”

Betty reflected on the method of using photography as a tool for displaying her farming, stating, “seeing [her] work in the photo makes her appreciate the work she is doing.”

**Figure 6**

*Participant Photo 6: A woman checking her sunflower crop in the garden.*

**Pride in Self-Identification**

The final theme is formed from the evident pride the overwhelming majority displayed in their self-identification as farmers and more specifically as women-farmers. They used their photos to display themselves as farmers, as Pearl said her “photo shows [she] is a farmer.” When asked what their photo meant to them, multiple responded that they wanted me to know they were farmers, and more responded that they are women farmers. They were proud to display the actualization of their farming. Cait stated she “wanted to show [me] methods used in farming.” Cait also said she “wanted to show herself as a farmer preparing land,” and that she “wanted to show [me] that women can also do farming.” Ruby used photography to display the grandeur in which she produces her crop by stating the “photo shows she is a farmer who grows sunflowers on a big scale.” Ruby also made her camera a communication tool, stating that the “photo shows she is a woman farmer, concerned about her garden who wanted to check anything that might be wrong.”

**Conclusions, Discussion, and Recommendations**

We found that Ugandan women agriculture producers face many challenges, including those of technical challenges and those caused by gender-issues. This confirmed issues identified in the literature such as primary responsibility in the household, of childcare, and of agricultural labor

(Doss et al., 2015; Kasente et al., 2002; Palacios-Lopez et al., 2015; Kristjanson et al., 2017; Palacios-Lopez & Lopez, 2015). Ugandan women faced challenges due to a lack of resources, land, and education that contribute to the technical challenges in agriculture and physical fatigue, as evident in the emerging themes of this study (Doss, 2018; Jafry & Sulaiman, 2013; Mukasa & Salami, 2016; Sharaunga et al., 2015; Uduji et al., 2019). Thus, we concluded that gender-based challenges compound existing foundational and technical challenges faced in participants' agricultural pursuits. Based on this finding, we recommended extension efforts be made specifically targeted at women in Northern Uganda.

Through the results, we concluded women in this study view their role as agriculture producers holistically and with majority responsibility (Palacios-Lopez & Lopez, 2015). They viewed their role as producers and as providers for their children; they kept their families fed and produce income that contributes to their children's education. Self-identity was evident through the emergent theme visualization and self-actualization, as participants wanted to show themselves as women-farmers. Pride is often a theme found in photovoice results due to the empowering nature of photovoice (Wang & Burris, 1997). Through the pride in self-identification, evident in the participant's photos and words, we concluded they take a deep sense of pride in what they do. Through adversity, they persevered. Therefore, this was a resilient and resourceful population that, due to the pride in their work and coupled with the responsibility they feel toward their children and families, would be receptive to aid in the form of education, resources, and extension. We recommended increased research on how these factors can be empowered to improve women's lives and productivity for their own success. Specifically, we recommended gender-based extension efforts be made for this and similar populations.

Women faced gender-based issues at home confirming issues noted in the literature (Doss et al., 2018; Nelson et al., 2012), such as assuming majority responsibility in the eyes of their children, paying for education, providing food, and a host of other tasks. They faced additional personal responsibilities as women that affect their abilities to perform in the garden. These tasks and responsibilities burden women with a gender-based inequity between them and their male counterparts as noted in Nelson et al. (2012). Once in the garden, men helped with production but often left the garden early and leave more work to the women. Women were motivated to produce in the garden because of the responsibilities at home to feed and use income to pay for their children's schooling. This presented more gender-based challenges, as women often do not retain control over the income generated from agricultural production. Men associated with the production take control over the funds once harvest is sold for profit—with the threat of physical violence preventing women from retaining these controls. Therefore, we recommended increased research on how to best engage men and women in eliminating gender-based control and threats.

In conclusion, as we found efforts to understand and further prevent the gendered cultural structure that invokes violence as a tool for control as a vital need, we must continue to proliferate not only sustainability in agriculture but social justice. Women smallholder farmers must be empowered and unified by their independence and collective voices; for together, they

are louder. It is essential that we be inspired by the multifaceted challenges these women overcome daily because they are the faces of agriculture and the backbone of their country.

## Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Texas A&M University's Center on Conflict and Development for funding the ten cameras used within this study.

**Author Contributions:** **Spence, J. R.** – conceptualization, formal analysis, investigation, writing-original draft; **Redwine, T.** – supervision, writing-review and editing; **Rutherford, T.** – writing-review and editing; **Dooley, K.** – writing-review and editing.

## References

- Bryceson, D. (Ed.). (2020). *Women wielding the hoe: Lessons from rural Africa for feminist theory and development practice*. Routledge.
- Doss, C. (2018). Women and agricultural productivity: Reframing the issues. *Development Policy Review*, 36(1), 35–50. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dpr.12243>
- Doss, C., Kovarik, C., Peterman, A., Quisumbing, A., & Van Den Bold, M. (2015). Gender inequalities in ownership and control of land in Africa: Myth and reality. *Agricultural Economics*, 46(3), 403–434. <https://doi.org/10.1111/agec.12171>
- Doss, C., Meinzen-Dick, R., Quisumbing, A., & Theis, S. (2018). Women in agriculture: Four myths. *Global Food Security*, 16, 69–74. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gfs.2017.10.001>
- Gervais, M., & Rivard, L. (2013). “SMART” photovoice agricultural consultation: Increasing Rwandan women farmers' active participation in development. *Development in Practice*, 23(4), 496–510. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23469663>
- Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Adeline.
- Grove, R. W. (1988). An analysis of the constant comparative method. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 1(3), 273–279. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0951839900030105a>
- Hirudayaraj, M., & Shields, L. (2019). Feminist theory: A research agenda for HRD. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 21(3), 319–334. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1523422319851286>

- Jafry, T., & Sulaiman, R. (2013). Gender inequality and agricultural extension. *The Journal of Agricultural Education and Extension*, 19(5), 433–436.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1389224X.2013.824166>
- Jones, A. D., & Ejeta, G. (2016). A new global agenda for nutrition and health: the importance of agriculture and food systems. *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 94(3), 228.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.2471/BLT.15.164509>
- Jurkowski, J. M. (2008). Photovoice as participatory action research tool for engaging people with intellectual disabilities in research and program development. *Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities*, 46(1), 1–11. [https://doi.org/10.1352/0047-6765\(2008\)46\[1:PAPART\]2.0.CO;2](https://doi.org/10.1352/0047-6765(2008)46[1:PAPART]2.0.CO;2)
- Jurkowski, J. M., & Paul-Ward, A. (2007). Photovoice with vulnerable populations: Addressing disparities in health promotion among people with intellectual disabilities. *Health Promotion Practice*, 8(4), 358–365. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1524839906292181>
- Kasente, D., Lockwood, M., Vivian, J., & Whitehead, A. (2002). Gender and the expansion of non-traditional agricultural exports in Uganda. In R. Shahara (Ed.), *Shifting burdens, gender and agrarian change under neoliberalism*, (pp. 35-65). Kumarian Press.
- Keedle, H., Schmied, V., Burns, E., & Dahlen, H. G. (2019). A narrative analysis of women's experiences of planning a vaginal birth after caesarean (VBAC) in Australia using critical feminist theory. *BMC Pregnancy and Childbirth*, 19(1), 142.  
<https://doi.org/10.1186/s12884-019-2297-4>
- Kristjanson, P., Bryan, E., Bernier, Q., Twyman, J., Meinzen-Dick, R., Kieran, C., & Doss, C. (2017). Addressing gender in agricultural research for development in the face of a changing climate: where are we and where should we be going? *International Journal of Agricultural Sustainability*, 15(5), 482-500.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14735903.2017.1336411>
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Sage.
- Lindsley, J. G., Harris, J., Kruger, A. C., & Meyers, J. P. (2019). An exploratory study of African American adolescents' talk about peer sexual harassment: More support for the utility of Feminist Theory. *The Journal for Specialists in Group Work*, 44(4), 251–270.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01933922.2019.1669750>
- Lowder, S. K., Scoet, J., & Raney, T. (2016). The number, size, and distribution of farms, smallholder farms, and family farms worldwide. *World Development*, 87, 16–29.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gfs.2018.05.002>

- Morton, N. O. R., & Lindquist, S. A. (1997). Revealing the feminist in Mary Parker Follett. *Administration & Society*, 29(3), 348–371.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/009539979702900305>
- Mukasa, A. N., & Salami, A. O. (2016). Gender equality in agriculture: What are really the benefits for sub-Saharan Africa? *Africa Economic Brief*, 7(3).  
[https://afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/AEB\\_Vol\\_7\\_Issue\\_3\\_Gender\\_equality\\_in\\_agriculture.pdf](https://afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/AEB_Vol_7_Issue_3_Gender_equality_in_agriculture.pdf)
- Mugizi, F. M., & Matsumoto, T. (2021). From conflict to conflicts: War-induced displacement, land conflicts, and agricultural productivity in post-war Northern Uganda. *Land Use Policy*, 101, 105149. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2020.105149>
- Nelson, S., Sisto, I., Crowley, E., & Villarreal, M. (2012). Women in Agriculture: Closing the Gender Gap for Development. *Feeding a Thirsty World*, 25.  
[https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Anders-Jaegerskog/publication/262916491\\_Feeding\\_a\\_Thirsty\\_World\\_Challenges\\_and\\_Opportunities\\_for\\_a\\_Water\\_and\\_Food\\_Secure\\_Future/links/545cb6290cf295b5615cced0/Feeding-a-Thirsty-World-Challenges-and-Opportunities-for-a-Water-and-Food-Secure-Future.pdf#page=25](https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Anders-Jaegerskog/publication/262916491_Feeding_a_Thirsty_World_Challenges_and_Opportunities_for_a_Water_and_Food_Secure_Future/links/545cb6290cf295b5615cced0/Feeding-a-Thirsty-World-Challenges-and-Opportunities-for-a-Water-and-Food-Secure-Future.pdf#page=25)
- Palacios-Lopez, A., & Lopez, R. (2015). The gender gap in agricultural productivity: The role of market imperfections. *Journal of Development Studies*, 51(9), 1175–1192.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2015.1028539>
- Palacios-Lopez, A., Christiaensen, L., & Killic, T. (2017). How much of the labour in African agriculture is provided by women? *Food Policy*, 67, 52–63.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodpol.2016.09.017>
- Oyewumi, O. (1997). The invention of women, making an African sense of Western gender discourses. *African Studies Review*, 42(3), 21–33.
- Reddock, R. (2000). Why gender? Why development? *Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development*, 23–50.
- Ricciardi, V., Ramankutty, N., Mehrabi, Z., Jarvis, L., & Chookolingo, B. (2018). How much of the world's food do smallholders produce?. *Global Food Security*, 17, 64–72.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.gfs.2018.05.002>
- Satyavathi, C. T., Bharadwaj, C., & Brahmanand, P. S. (2010). Role of farm women in agriculture: Lessons learned. *Gender, Technology and Development*, 14(3), 441–449.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/097185241001400308>

- Sharaunga, S., Mudhara, M., & Bogale, A. (2015). The impact of women's empowerment in agriculture on household vulnerability to food insecurity in the KwaZulu-natal province. *Forum for Development Studies*, 42(2), 195–223. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08039410.2014.997792>
- Spurlin, W. J. (2010). Resisting heteronormativity/resisting recolonisation: Affective bonds between indigenous women in southern Africa and the difference (s) of postcolonial feminist history. *Feminist Review*, 95(1), 10–26. <https://doi.org/10.1057/fr.2009.56>
- Uduji, J. I., Okolo-Obasi, E. N., & Asongu, S. A. (2019). Corporate social responsibility and the role of rural women in sustainable agricultural development in sub-Saharan Africa: Evidence from the Niger Delta in Nigeria. *Sustainable Development*, 27(4), 692–703. <https://doi.org/10.1002/sd.1933>
- Ugwu, P. (2019). Women in agriculture: Challenges facing women in African farming. *Project report of African Women in Agriculture*.
- Wang, C. C. (1999). Photovoice: A participatory action research strategy applied to women's health. *Journal of Women's Health*, 8(2), 185–192. <https://doi.org/10.1089/jwh.1999.8.185>
- Wang, C., & Burris, M. A. (1997). Photovoice: Concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment. *Health Education & Behavior*, 24(3), 369–387. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10901981970240030>
- World Bank (2008), *The growth report: Strategies for sustained growth and inclusive development*. Commission on Growth and Development. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/6507/449860PUB0Box3101OFFICIALOUSEONLY1.pdf>.

© 2023 by authors. This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution license (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>).