

Balancing the LOAD

*Proceedings of the Asia and
Africa Regional Seminars on
Gender and Rural Transport*

IFRTD



International Forum for Rural Transport
and Development

June and July 1999.

Publication sponsored by ILO ASIST

Cover photographs

Nitya Rao

Gina Porter

Pascal Kaumboho

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Acknowledgments

This publication of the proceedings of the Balancing the Load Seminars in Asia and Africa is testimony to the fact that there has been a significant number of people from a wide range of organisations in several countries around the world who have discussed and debated about how gender can be integrated into rural transport interventions. Our thanks to them for contributing their ideas and experiences.

The case studies that provided the background to the discussions at the seminars were written by Amadou Ouedraogo, Honorine Damiba and Aminata Ouedraogo from Burkina Faso; Mahjabeen Chowdhury and Neela Matin from Bangladesh; Nitya Rao, Mihir Bhatt, Rheema Nanavaty, Mahua Mukherjee, Shakula Alaknanda and Rekha Barve from India, Pascal Kaumbotho, Justina Nthenge and Cecilia Kinuthia Njenga from Kenya, Alexandrina Sabela from Mozambique, Ganesh Ghimire and Ava Shrestha from Nepal, E M Shaibu Imodagbe, Nurudeen Abubakar and Mohammed Bello Yunusa from Nigeria, Anne Marie Dizon and Maureen Pagaduan from the Philippines, Dharshini Samarajeewa, Kusum Kuruppu, Kusala Wettasinghe and Upali Pannilage from Sri Lanka, Suad Mustafa Elhaj Musa from Sudan, Josephine Mwankusye from Tanzania, Harriet Iga, Kwamusi Paul and Charles Kaira from Uganda, Dorris Chingozho from Zimbabwe, David Seddon, Jeff Turner and Gina Porter from the UK. Most of the case studies were based on the researchers' own experience of working with women in disadvantaged rural or urban communities in developing countries. They have made an enormous contribution to the existing knowledge on gender and rural transport. We are grateful for all the work that went into the studies and for the support and encouragement of the researchers during periods of funding difficulties and other delays. We also acknowledge with gratitude the work of Ros Patching in summarising the case studies.

The programme has had the benefit of some excellent facilitators. Special thanks to Megan Lloyd Laney, who took the responsibility for designing the Asia and Africa seminars and facilitated both of them and the workshops that immediately preceded them. She is also responsible for the compilation of these proceedings. We really appreciated Megan's unflagging enthusiasm and energy, and her ability to draw out even the most reluctant participant.

The initial research workshops in Asia and Africa were facilitated by Helen Appleton and Dr Emma Crewe respectively. We thank them for sharing their considerable knowledge on gender analysis and research and stimulating the researchers to develop strong research plans. Thanks are also due to Kusala Wettasinghe, Nelun Fernando and Farai Samunghu who helped Megan with the facilitation of the seminars.

The workshops and seminars were held in the regions and hosted by the IFRTD members and national networks. We are grateful to the Centre for Built Environment, Calcutta and the Uganda National Forum Group for hosting the researchers' workshops in Calcutta and Kampala respectively. The Lanka Forum for Rural Transport and Development and the South Africa National Forum Group hosted the regional seminars. A special thank you to Kalaivane Surenranath and Mac Mashiri for all their efforts behind the scenes.

Raising funds for the programme was not easy and we are grateful to the donors who have been supportive of the initiative from the beginning. The programme's main sponsor was the Infrastructure and Urban Development Division of British Department for International Development (DFID) who sponsored the research work, provided core funds for the two regional seminars and through regional offices in South Africa, Uganda and Ethiopia sent participants to the Africa regional seminar. However, the IFRTD Secretariat's input to initiating and managing the programme would not have been possible without the support given to the Secretariat from the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation. Other sources of support, primarily through sponsorship of participants to the regional seminars, were the Commonwealth Foundation, the Swiss Agency for Development Cooperation, Nepal, the Asian Development Bank, the United Nations Environment Programme, Copenhagen, the World Bank Gender and Thematic Group, the World Bank Rural Travel and Transport Programme, ILO Cambodia, ILO ASIST Harare and the governments of Sri Lanka and South Africa. We also acknowledge ILO ASIST's contribution towards the publication and distribution of these proceedings.

Finally our thanks to all those women (and men) who have been the subject of the case studies and who have shared with us their problems and their aspirations. They have set us a challenge. It is up to us to meet it.

IFRTD Secretariat
London
November 1999

Background, Aims and Methodology

Balancing The Load is a research programme of the International Forum for Rural Transport and Development (IFRTD). The aim of the programme is to investigate how gender and gender relations affect men and women's access in general, and transport provision in particular, in the two continents of Asia and Africa.

The programme set out to achieve this aim by commissioning research in 15 countries. Workshops were held in 1998 in Calcutta and Kampala for the researchers and organisers to agree common aims and Terms of Reference. A period of one year was then allowed for the research to take place. During June and July 1999, two further workshops were held in Colombo, Sri Lanka and Pretoria, South Africa, to discuss and analyse the findings of the case studies, and to prepare the issues for more public debate during two-day seminars which were held immediately after each workshop. This report presents the findings of the two seminars.

The organisers of *Balancing the Load* wanted to achieve something more than a straightforward sharing of the results of the 25 case studies during the seminars. They wanted to find out from the 150 policymakers, transport practitioners and professionals working at a community level who were to be gathered together for the seminars, what were their experiences of gender and transport provision. They wanted to provide a forum for the participants, together with the researchers to identify specific interventions which would bring about greater integration of gender into transport initiatives.

Two specific objectives were set for the seminars:

- To highlight the constraints and opportunities that exist for integrating gender and rural transport as a means of reducing poverty, fostering small enterprise etc.
- To develop guidelines for changes that are required at the three different levels of the community, the programme, and the policy in order for these opportunities to be maximised and the constraints overcome.

Issues arising out of all of the case studies, which had been identified by the researchers during the three-day workshops held immediately prior to the seminars, were presented to the participants. The issues had been divided into three categories: those relevant to people working at the community level (defined as 'Institutions and practitioners working directly with the community');

transport practitioners (defined as 'Professionals and practitioners designing and implementing transport interventions') and policymakers (defined as 'Government and donor institutions with responsibility for developing policies and strategies which affect transport systems and the people that use them'). The participants were divided into three groups to hear the issues, and something of the case study context from which they had been identified at community, practitioner and policy levels. In Sri Lanka, all of the nine case studies were presented but in South Africa – where a total of 16 case studies had been researched – only the seven case studies which had looked at specific transport interventions were presented. Issues unique to the other case studies were fed in as resource material during the course of the Africa seminar.

On the first day of each seminar, the three groups heard the issues and were asked to add their own experiences which were relevant for their target audience. They were asked to prioritise the five most important issues and try to 'craft' them as guidelines or instructions which would, if taken up by the target policymakers, practitioners and those working at a community level, lead to more practical development interventions.

They were told that the guidelines should be clear, practical and realistic.

These guidelines were shared at plenary on the second day. In Colombo, the participants chose then to break into smaller, multi-disciplinary groups to develop strategies for communicating these guidelines to their intended audiences. In Pretoria, the participants chose to break into groups representing the different regions of sub-saharan Africa (South Africa, southern Africa, east Africa, francophone West Africa and anglophone West Africa) to design strategies for delivery of the guidelines to specific target audiences. In both cases, the products of group discussions were shared at plenary at the end of the day, and conclusions drawn from them.

In each case, the purpose of the seminar structure was to begin a process of raising awareness about the importance of better integration of gender into rural transport interventions; and to introduce the concept of advocacy and to begin designing strategies which advocate change in the way that policymakers, community organisations and practitioners think about and implement rural transport interventions.

A Forum for participants and researchers to identify specific interventions which would bring about greater integration of gender into transport initiatives.

Overview and Summary

The Balancing the Load research programme began in 1996 with funding from the British Department for International Development, to fill the gaps in our knowledge about how gender relations affected women and men's access to goods and services and influenced the provision of transport infrastructure and services. The immense volume of analytical work emanating from the gender and development (GAD) programmes of universities and development agencies worldwide seemed to have hardly permeated the consciousness of transport providers, planners and policy makers including those working on rural transport issues. At the same time, though gender analysis was rapidly becoming integrated into the work in rural development, rural development planners and practitioners rarely addressed the issues of mobility and accessibility. The IFRTD's programme was aimed at bringing these two groups together.

The programme could have been approached in several ways, but at the IFRTD secretariat we chose to implement it in a way that would maximise the

participation of women and men working with rural communities, that would establish a dialogue between those working on gender issues and those working on rural transport and create opportunities for networking among them, and which would raise the profile issues rather than aim to explore them in depth. The programme commissioned around 40 case studies in Asia and Africa and planned to share the findings with a wider audience through regional and international seminars and through the publication of the full case studies. The programme also produced an issue of the Forum News on the research programme and expects to publish a bibliography on gender and rural transport.

The difficulties encountered in finding funding for the programme right through its implementation, reflected the lip service that many donor agencies are paying to gender issues and we are grateful to the handful that have been supportive of the initiative from the beginning. The major supporter of the programme was the Engineering Division (now called the Infrastructure and Urban Development Division) of the British Department for International Development (DFID) who sponsored the research work, provided core funding for the two regional seminars and through regional offices in South Africa, Uganda and Ethiopia sent participants to the Africa regional seminar. Others who have supported the programme through sponsorship of participants to the seminars include the Commonwealth Foundation, Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, Nepal, the

Asian Development Bank, the United Nations Environment Programme, Copenhagen, the World Bank Gender and Transport Thematic Group and the World Bank Rural Travel and Transport Programme, ILO, Cambodia and ILO ASIST, Harare and the governments of Sri Lanka and South Africa.

This volume of proceedings is being co-sponsored by the Senior Technical Advisor on Rural Travel and Transport of ILO ASIST in Harare. It was put together by Megan Lloyd Laney, who, together with Kusala Wettasinghe and Nelun Fernando in Sri Lanka, and Farai Samunghu in South Africa, facilitated the two seminars.

In this proceedings you will find an account of the two regional seminars held in Asia and Africa. The two seminars aimed to bring the researchers together with a range of other actors with an interest in gender, rural development and rural transport, so that they could pool their experiences and develop recommendations for better integration of gender into rural transport interventions (and rural transport into gender interventions!)

The seminars were developed along similar lines and were intended to be as participative as the time allowed. There are many similarities in the outcomes, reflecting the fact that at the very basic level, the problems relating to gender and rural transport issues are similar across the regions and that the nature of policy making, professional transport practice and community organisation do not differ very significantly either. There are also many differences. These reflect the differences in the culture, economy and political structures of the Asian and African countries. In the words of Michael Bamberger from the World Bank Gender and Transport Thematic Group (who attended the Asia seminar):

"Having just come from a gender and transport workshop in Tanzania, attended by delegates from various African countries, I was struck by the very much more active role of the public sector in the formulation and implementation of transport policies in South Asia. In countries such as Sri Lanka, India and to some extent Bangladesh, there is a strong emphasis on the responsibility of the state in promoting the social dimensions of transport. There was a feeling among many policy makers that many donors have unrealistic expectations concerning the ability of the private sector to provide transport services which satisfy the social needs of the population."

Differences in outcomes were also a result of the differences in orientation of the Asian and African

The seminars brought together a range of actors with an interest in gender, rural development and rural transport so they could pool their experiences.

researchers and participants. In Asia, several researchers and several participants had a strong sense of gender as an issue and many more were engaged in activities at the community level. There were also several media people in the Colombo seminar, and this enabled the seminar to take on a strongly strategic communications and advocacy perspective. In Africa, while participants included several with interesting and important community-level experiences, many more were either academics, consultants or policy makers with only little or past community level experience. Several participants seemed to be still grappling with such concepts as 'gender' and 'participation' which probably reflects a stronger technocratic orientation. There were also almost no media represented in the audience, and this absence was reflected in discussions on communications. On the other hand, the Africa seminar had much greater participation from key persons in donor agencies (DFID, World Bank, ILO) and might therefore have wielded greater influence.

The outputs of the seminars were targeted at three groups: communities and community-based organisations, transport practitioners, and policy makers. At each of the seminars, participants crafted guidelines or messages for each of these groups. In Asia they developed communication guidelines to reach these audiences. In Africa, the participants broke into regional groups to design strategies for delivery of the messages or guidelines to the three key target groups.

The key themes linking messages to each of the audiences are outlined below, along with communication strategies and the regional strategies developed by the participants in Asia and Africa respectively.

Messages for Communities and Community-based Organisations

The need for organising and building capacity

- Community participation and cooperative approaches should be actively sought in any transport and infrastructure development project. Existing community and cooperative approaches should be strengthened and new approaches designed where necessary. (Asia)
- Women have to be mobilised and organised into cooperatives to lobby the concerned institutions for access to credit and support. (Africa)
- Community capacity and in particular the capacity of women needs to be built up to enable them to participate in problem identification and analysis, programme planning and execution, and programme monitoring and evaluation. The dilemmas of following this strategy include increasing women's responsibilities, for example by getting them involved in the time consuming task of participating in committees which empowers them but adds to their workload. (Africa)

- Community organisations and institutions concerned with transport interventions need to be identified for the purpose of capacity building. (Africa)

Changing attitudes

- It is important to raise awareness within the community especially among women, on their right to mobility and the way in which cultural practices restrict this right. (Asia)
- there is need to change the attitude of both men and women to gender imbalances in carrying the load: presently women as well as men accept the load carrying as a natural part of their role within the family. (Africa)

Establishing the link between transport and other development activities

- All development initiatives should consider both gender and transport needs. Community organisations should make a point of identifying and raising awareness about local people's gender and transport needs so that they are not ignored. (Asia)
- Community Development Organisations should look at non-transport interventions that enhance access to services as a result reducing the need to travel long distances. If necessary, relevant training skills should be provided. (Asia)
- Gender planning should be integrated at all levels. (Africa)
- Economic activities for women need to be introduced alongside any project aiming to increase transport ownership, because without economic opportunities most women would not be able to afford the cost of improved transport. (Africa)

Developing appropriate transport technologies

- Community organisations should identify culturally-appropriate transport modes taking into consideration gender and location. Communities may want to take into consideration already available alternative modes of transport. Once they have decided on a suitable design, this information can be shared with technology providers. (Asia)
- It is essential that intermediate means of transport are developed to complement existing means of transport used by women. (Africa)
- Access to rural transport services helps in balancing the load, and those should be supported by local and national governments, NGOs and the private sector. (Africa)
- Technical support should start with peoples' (women's) own innovations and seek to strengthen them appropriately. (Africa)
- Rural infrastructure and transport service providers and users should be made aware about safety issues and develop safety procedures. (Africa)
- Transport interventions should be exchanged between south-south communities. (Africa)

Collecting gender disaggregated information

- Community organisations should allocate resources to collecting and analysing information on gender relationships and family dynamics (ie household decision making) prior to taking actions to meet gender and transport needs. (Asia)
- Data gathered during research must be disaggregated in order to show that the transport needs and burdens of women differ from men, and transport interventions need to reflect these differences. (Africa)

Messages for Transport Practitioners

The messages for practitioners were very focused and were concerned with understanding community and women's needs and involving them in transport planning and intervention, with prescriptions as to how this could be achieved. There was also recognition of the need for transport practitioners to work in multidisciplinary, cross-sectoral teams and provide gender sensitive information to policy makers

Understanding and responding to need

- Transport interventions need to respond directly to the needs of women. Often women are more likely to discuss freely their problems and transport aspirations with other women and therefore women should be used in gaining their views. (Asia)
- Planners and practitioners need to understand the socio-economic realities and needs of women's lives in rural communities. Engineers and economists must work with social analysts in designing transport interventions using experiences drawn from the non-transport sector. (Africa)

Engendering community involvement

- Practitioners should involve the community in all stages of rural development: planning and management. Recognition should be given to the fact that communities are not homogenous and that women's voices are often not heard and they are also not all the same. (Africa)
- Maintenance of infrastructure is particularly crucial to women's accessibility. Practitioners should actively involve both women and men in the maintenance and delegate the control over this process where appropriate (and should be aware that in some countries there may be social and cultural reasons why women cannot easily be involved in these tasks). (Asia)

The need for integrated and cross-sectoral approaches

- Problems of accessibility are not necessarily solved by transport interventions. Therefore practitioners should ensure their work is cross sectoral. (Asia)
- An integrated approach to rural transport services and infrastructure must take into account of the

cultural context and must be equitable and appropriate to the needs of women. (Africa)

Providing gender sensitive information

- Practitioners should generate and use qualitative and quantitative, gender-disaggregated information to provide analytical evidence to policy makers when designing transport interventions. (Asia)
- There is a need for advocacy strategies at all levels of gender and transport interventions (ie policy, practitioner, community) which are currently gender-blind. (Asia)
- There is need for gender responsive planning to provide feedback to policy makers and other transport practitioners and to communities. This requires effective monitoring and evaluation tools and dissemination of good practice. (Africa)
- Resource mobilisation and allocation to gender needs must be recognised as a priority. (Africa)

Messages for Policy Makers

In both Asia and Africa seminars, participants recognised that the lack of gender disaggregated information was a key constraint to the development of appropriate policies and practices at the macro level. In Africa the messages articulated the need for an enabling environment for the implementation of specific gender-sensitive transport interventions. The consensus appeared to be that if policies existed that encouraged community participation, environmental sustainability, safety, maintenance and labour based technologies, then these things would automatically meet gender needs. In Asia, the emphasis is more on the recognition of women's contribution to the national economy and the way in which this affects transport policy and practice.

Need for gender sensitive information

- All the agencies dealing with the subject of transport should collect and analyse gender-disaggregated data in formulating plans and policies, and develop gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation. (Asia)
- [Transport policies] should ensure that transport projects seeking funding are gender responsive and sensitive. They should provide adequate resources for gathering and disseminating gender disaggregated data and information to raise awareness about transport problems and to support media projects to reach women. (Africa)
- Priority should be given to monitoring and evaluation; demonstrations; gender disaggregated information, data gathering and dissemination; and awareness raising. (Africa)

Need to recognise women's contribution

- Women's full economic and social contribution to each sector of the economy should be both recognised and documented. Estimates should be

made of how much this could be enhanced by developing gender responsive transport policies and programmes. (Asia)

Need for policies to promote a gender perspective and women's involvement

- Review existing policies, laws and standards relating to transport from a gender perspective. (Asia)
- Establish a multi-sectoral policy forum to exchange information and agree appropriate policies at the highest level. (Asia)
- Socio-economic empowerment should be an integral part of transport policies and should address gender inequalities in culture (Africa)
- Policies should promote a decentralised framework for planning and implementation to encourage capacity building among women; community ownership through a participatory planning process and acquisition of skills. (Africa)
- Integrated rural development and planning should provide for resources to be made available for gender-responsive planning and implementation. (Africa)

Need for policies to promote appropriate transport interventions

- Compare transport vs non-transport interventions as a way of improving women's access to services and reducing women's transport burdens. (Asia)
- Recognise the importance of non-motorised means of transport as a transport option and provide policy support for developing infrastructure and credit facilities for them. (Asia)
- An enabling policy environment is essential for inclusion of incentives, finance and adequate access to credit. (Africa)
- Integrated rural development and planning should incorporate community contributions; appropriate designs for rural transport infrastructure and facilities; environmentally sustainable transport interventions. (Africa)
- Policies should promote labour-based technologies/approaches for rural transport development. (Africa)
- Donor initiatives should fit within country policies and frameworks for rural development. (Africa)
- Policies should include transport regulations that promote the use of safe rural transport facilities/modes of transport. (Africa)
- Governments should allocate resources to the rural transport sector and priority should be given to

capacity building. (Africa)

- Specific resources, both financial and human, need to be allocated for the maintenance of rural transport infrastructure (footbridges, access roads, paths, tracks, culverts). (Africa)

Reaching the audience

In both Asia and Africa participants developed strategies to reach the different audiences with the different messages they had developed. In Asia, participants designed communication guidelines to reach these audiences. In Africa, they broke into regional groups to design strategies for delivery of the messages or guidelines to all three key target groups.

The Asian guidelines for communication to communities and community-based organisations were developed by tackling the problem from a gender perspective rather than a transport one. They stressed the role of community-based organisations and the need for them to be more assertive in integrating gender and rural transport issues into their work. Strategies included carrying out pilot projects, raising funds and

building capacity within the organisations to address the issues. The guidelines also emphasised the importance of information sharing and the use of informal communication methods.

The guidelines for reaching transport practitioners targeted 'engineers'; a professional group who were perceived to be mostly men, and included strategies to make them more gender-sensitive. These strategies ranged from exerting peer group pressure and pressure by people higher up in the organisational hierarchy, to ensuring that appropriate language is used in any gender-sensitisation communication. It included integrating gender awareness and gender planning into the curricula of academic and training institutions, producing gender disaggregated information and providing professional engineers with gender planning training.

Communication strategies for reaching policymakers centred around making alliances with a wide range of actors, including donors and civil society and members of the policy-making institutions themselves, and developing appropriate ways of presenting information. The Asia participants were also conscious that there were other groups that have developed effective advocacy strategies and that they ought to learn from them.

In Africa, the guidelines were developed by the regional groups and reflected the particular characteristics and interests of the region. The South African group saw quotas and the government's policy on

The challenge is to use the experience, in formation and contacts gained to make a difference within the community, among fellow practitioners and among those policy makers whose decisions affect women's lives

affirmative action as an opportunity to integrate gender issues into the planning and implementation of transport activities. They also emphasised the need for relevant information, the need to change attitudes and the need to keep policies under constant review. The Southern Africa group comprising participants from Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique called for greater integration with other sectors and stressed the need for policy advocacy to come from all levels. The East African participants (from Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia and Sudan) concentrated on strategies that would raise awareness of gender and transport issues among communities and transport practitioners. They considered using informal communication methods at the community level. At the practitioner level they recognised the need to disseminate information of best practice and to enforce the consideration of gender in procedures and in monitoring and evaluation. The francophone West African group with representatives from Burkina Faso, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire, felt that because of the low priority given to rural transport in their countries, it was better to approach the problem from a gender perspective rather than a transport one. The anglophone West Africa group (Nigeria and Ghana) also emphasised the need to work with women's organisations, the mass media and to implement pilot projects.

The challenge for the future

The Balancing the Load programme has generated a number of exciting ideas about integrating gender into rural transport interventions. The issues discussed in the case studies and at the seminars go beyond gender to challenge how we work to eradicate poverty and bring about a more equitable development. These proceedings should mark the beginning of change in the transport sector and in rural development, generally.

There are about a 150 people working in countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and North America who participated in the programme and who, by their participation, have made an implicit commitment to take the ideas forward. The organisers hope to publish the full case studies by April 2000. The World Bank Gender and Transport Thematic Group hopes to build on the work of the Balancing the Load programme and are planning to host an international seminar on gender and transport in early 2000. But the real challenge to all those who participated in the programme, both as researchers and working guests at the two seminars, is to use the experience, information and contacts gained to make a difference within the community, among fellow practitioners, and among those policy makers whose decisions affect women's lives.

*Priyanthi Fernando
Executive Secretary, IFRTD
Project Coordinator, Gender and Transport Programme
London
October 1999*

Chapter One: 'Balancing the Load' Asia, 24–25 June 1999

Day One: Developing Guidelines for Practical Interventions

The seminar was officially opened by Mr Chandrasena Maliyadde, Additional Secretary, Ministry of Plan Implementation and Parliamentary Affairs.

The proposed structure of the seminar was presented, and agreed. The participants divided up into three groups as instructed, and spent the rest of the day discussing the issues coming out of the case studies, with particular focus on the three case studies presented by the authors who were present in each group. Each group was asked to brainstorm the issues, contribute their experiences and add any further issues which had been missed. They were then asked to prioritise the five issues which were most important for the audience they were targeting and feed these back to the plenary on the following day.

Group One: Guidelines for practical intervention at the community level

The issues arising out of three case studies which had particular importance for community-level interventions were presented. These were 'Accessing healthcare facilities in Sri Lanka' by Dharshini Samaranayake and Kusum Kuruppu; 'Transport data on Brgy, Caramay, Roxas, Province of Palawan, Philippines' by Maureen Pagaduan and Anna Dizon; and 'Transport issues in a cashew growing and processing community in Sri Lanka' by Kusala Wettasinghe and Upali Pannilage. Summaries of all case studies are included in the appendices.

Discussions prompted by the three presentations and issues arising out of the other case studies focused around a number of themes. One was around the need to raise women's awareness of their own transport burdens, and of the options which exist to relieve these burdens. In general it was stated that women are not confident enough to identify possible solutions to their problems of access, and those working at a community level should be careful to integrate strategies to increase women's self-confidence and strengthen skills of analysis.

Another set of discussions focused around the appropriateness of transport devices. It was noted that even where equipment such as IMTs (Intermediate Means of Transport) are more appropriate to women's needs than other, more conventional forms of transport such as cars and buses, there are still limitations. For example, men don't always recognise women's need to transport goods. A number of case studies reinforced the point that technology is not gender-neutral, but that gender awareness is a skill which has to be learned by those working at a community level and support should be given to strengthen such skills. The lack of transport

options for those living in particularly hilly places such as Nepal was also raised.

The problems of trying to quantify 'savings' brought about by improved means of transport were raised. It was proposed that by trying to convert everything into numbers, a distorted picture is being painted, for example how can the value of education be measured in numbers? Why isn't an improved quality of life considered sufficient reason to improve women's transportation? Will families who do not earn income as a result of improved access be marginalised if the basic tool of cost-benefit analysis is used? It was proposed that increased household or personal income should be a means to an end of improving the quality of life rather than the end in itself.

Community organisations should be aware of the need for two-way communication between local

Six guidelines for practical intervention at the community level were prioritised:

- ◆ Community organisations should allocate resources to collect and analyse information on gender relationships and family dynamics (ie household decision-making), prior to taking actions to meet gender and transport needs.
- ◆ Community participation and co-operative approaches should be actively sought in any transport and infrastructure development project. Existing community and co-operative approaches should be strengthened and new approaches designed where necessary.
- ◆ It is important to raise awareness within the community, especially amongst women, on their right to mobility and the way in which cultural practices restrict this right. Also communities could be informed about alternative means of transport.
- ◆ Community organisations should identify culturally-appropriate transport modes, taking into consideration gender and location. Communities may want to take into consideration already available alternative modes of transport. Once they have decided on a suitable design this information can be shared with technology providers.
- ◆ All development initiatives should consider both gender and transport needs. Community organisations should make a point of identifying and raising awareness about local people's gender and transport needs so that they are not ignored.
- ◆ Community Development organisations should look at non-transport interventions that enhance access to services, as a result reducing the need to travel long distances. If necessary relevant training and skills should be provided.

authorities (and other service providers) and the community whose needs they are meant to meet. Community Based Organisations (CBOs) should supply information required by the local authority (of the community), and this might prompt the authorities to share information which they have, with the communities and bring about the desired two-way communication. The importance of networking, and its increased effectiveness over one institution working individually with one other, was stressed. The importance also of using the media, and of using intermediaries to put the media in touch with success stories, was stated. Conventional media tends to look for crisis and sensation, but there does exist an 'alternative' media which looks for stories about the human condition and its improvement (for example YA TV in Asia). Stories about women and transport are more likely to find a place in these alternative media.

Group Two: Guidelines for Transport Practitioners

The group began by defining all the sorts of people who could be included in the title Transport Practitioners:

- Civil and Transport engineers
- Transport planners at sub-regional levels
- Researchers
- Manufacturers and producers of transport aids
- Transport sociologists and economists
- People responsible for the construction of infrastructure
- Bus/freight and other transport operators
- Transport user associations and committees
- National forum groups
- Transport unions
- Transport regulators
- Specialist transport journalists
- Gender specialists

These people operate at various levels within their respective institutions and include managers in both public and private institutions.

Issues of importance to practitioners were presented, with particular focus on three case studies: *Cycling into the Future* about the introduction of women to bicycles in Tamil Nadu, India by Nitya Rao; *From dawn to dusk: transportation of rural women to and from Calcutta Metropolis*, presented by Mahua Mukherjee, and *Transport needs of the women of the Santhal Parganas, Bihar, India*, presented by Nitya Rao.

A discussion ensued in which it was noted that women have special responsibility for the transportation of sick people to and from hospitals and bicycles were used for this. It was noted that the current man's bicycle

design is not comfortable for carrying passengers, nor is it particularly safe for more than one person to ride. Interventions from practitioners were welcomed in the form of more appropriate designs such as locks, and improvement to the tracks and infrastructure along which the bikes travel. Practitioners need to understand the unique role of the bicycle and its usefulness to women. The need to popularise the use of bicycles was expressed, along with the need for practitioners to lobby policymakers with evidence of this successful use of bicycles in order to create a more enabling environment for this appropriate transport intervention. Bicycles need to be integrated into other sectors because it provides a solution to other problems such as access to health and water services.

It was agreed that there is a general lack of gender-awareness in the transport sector. The group said that this could be partly remedied by a campaign to make all levels of people involved in transport provision (at the community, practitioner and policy level) more aware of the gender dimension of transport provision. It would also be useful for practitioners and others to produce or demand more contextual information which would identify the nature of the problems (for example, consider who are the stakeholders, disaggregate gender tasks and corresponding transport needs; investigate family dynamics; and explore root causes of transport deficiencies).

One participant said that there is a need to quantify data, and that data isn't always gender segregated. There was a discussion about what quantify means in this instance, and

disagreement about whether this was an appropriate tool in gaining insight into women's particular needs for access. Accessibility Indices were mentioned in trying to judge whose transport needs were highest, and some participants felt that gender was missing from this methodology. Others who said that there is a way to incorporate a gender perspective into this calculation agreed that it wasn't always understood or used.

There was some discussion around how practitioners can influence the policy environment in which they work. It was agreed that quantitative evidence was more likely to 'make the case' than other more qualitative information. Quantifying the work of women is useful not only for practitioners but for the women and men at a community level, who are sometimes surprised by just how many tasks are carried out by women. And it doesn't have to be a difficult or complicated assessment: just counting the number of tasks done by a women in a typical day is enough to make the point about her contribution. There needs to be an enabling environment which empowers women and gives them a voice and shows others and themselves that they are capable of

It is important to use the media and to use intermediaries to put the media in touch with success stories

undertaking technical and management tasks as well as men. An example from Nepal illustrated how a project overcame the problem of women not volunteering themselves or their views on transport: they employed what they called a 'critical mass' of women professionals who gained the confidence and trust of the village women and thereby increased their participation in the project design. The appropriateness of this methodology would vary in different countries, because of differing social and cultural circumstances. A number of key features of an advocacy strategy were identified. First, it is important to focus on one or two major issues and repeat them until they have been absorbed by the target audience. Second, you should use the language of your audience: that is craft the same instruction in many different ways so that the people you're talking to can understand you easily and absorb the content of your message. Third, to remember that the media is an important advocacy tool.

It was proposed that sometimes, what appears to be a transport problem (such as in Calcutta where women

have to travel long hours on inadequate transport) is really a symptom of a larger problem (women travel to the city of Calcutta because of lack of economic opportunities in the rural areas around it, and because of high prices charged in local markets). Once this correct analysis is made, suitable interventions can be designed (such as bringing a collective method of marketing to the rural areas outside of Calcutta in this example). This illustrates the need for synergy across sectors such as transport, energy, water, micro-enterprise etc.

Practitioners should be advocates of their own advice: ie that they should practice what they preach or learn from what they find in their gender research, for example, and incorporate it into the way they work. There is a need for interaction between the three groups of policy, practitioner

and community to make effective gender-sensitive interventions in transport. The example of women maintaining their local roads was given, where women have been given basic skills training and support from local institutions and have gained control over the transport. Practitioners need to be able to access sophisticated gender analysis before seeking to engage full participation of women in transport issues.

Quantifying the work of women is useful not only for practitioners but for the women and men at a community level who are sometimes surprised by just how many tasks are carried out by women

Five priority guidelines for practical intervention by Transport Practitioners were identified as follows:

- Practitioners should generate and use qualitative and quantitative, gender-disaggregated information to provide analytical evidence to policymakers when designing transport interventions.
- Problems of accessibility are not necessarily solved by transport interventions. Therefore practitioners should ensure that their work is cross-sectoral.
- Maintenance of infrastructure is particularly crucial to women's accessibility. Practitioners should actively involve both women and men in the maintenance and delegate the control over this process where appropriate. (And should be aware that in some countries, there may be social and cultural reasons why women cannot easily be involved in these tasks).
- There is a need for advocacy strategies at all levels of gender and transport interventions (ie policy, practitioner; community) which are currently largely gender-blind.
- Transport interventions need to respond directly to the needs of women. Often women are more likely to discuss freely their problems and transport aspirations with other women and therefore women should be used in gaining their views.

Group Three: Guidelines for policy makers

Issues of note for policymakers were presented, with particular attention to three case studies *Spatial mobility and women's empowerment: implications for developing rural transport in Bangladesh*, by Neela Matin and Mahjabeen Choudhary; *My daily odyssey: transportation in the lives of SEWA Bank's clients*, by Sangita Shrestova and Rekha Barve; and *Gender and Transport in Nepal*, by Ganesh Ghimire.

Initial discussion concentrated on the case studies. The different patterns of transport ownership in each of the three countries was highlighted, along with differences in the way that men recognise women's transport responsibilities and difficulties, compared with women's understanding of men's transport needs.

Some of the problems of incorporating a gender dimension into transport policies were covered in discussion. The importance of any guidelines 'taking a mellow tone' was stressed, so that the policymakers don't reject them outright. The group was reminded that even when the gender dimension is included in policies, the actual implementation of these policies doesn't always solve women's problems of access for various reasons. For example, in Bombay, special trains and buses for women are provided, but there is no provision for the

goods that women carry on them. It was argued that women's need for transportation is more complicated than men's because the men simply go to work and come back and so provision of transport to meet their needs is easy. Policymakers lack awareness of the different needs of the people (for example they tend to overlook women's economic

contributions and therefore fail to provide transportation which would enable the women to easily fulfil their responsibilities). Policymakers, it was proposed, are only really interested in providing transport, rather than gender-appropriate transport, and it is therefore up to those implementing the policies to make them benefit women.

The group talked about some of the reasons why policymakers are detached from the reality of people's transport needs (for example, policy decisions are made by the politicians, but NGOs are working with the bureaucrats and that's why there is a communication gap; also, women are 'late inclusions' into the whole transport debate and as a result their needs are not recognised; current policies are made by urban-based policymakers who do not understand well the situation in rural areas etc.) It was suggested that it takes years for enlightened policies to bring concrete benefits 'on the ground' and therefore people should be patient and not raise

Practitioners should be advocates of their own advice: they should practice what they preach, learn from what they find in their gender research and incorporate it into the way they work

expectations even when they see gender becoming a serious consideration in the paperwork. The distinction between the work of planners and policymakers was discussed, and it was proposed that planners should do the research and policymakers do the policymaking.

There was debate about the various policy options

which exist for funding transport (eg the customer pays and provides profit for the operator). Mention was made of the different 'safety nets' which exist to ensure that those who cannot afford to travel are given subsidised access to basic health and education.

It was recommended that gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation systems should be

included at all levels of policymaking, and the impact of policies should be investigated. A researcher said that there was no information in Ahmedabad about the numbers of women who pull handcarts and there is a general need for more information about these patterns. Someone said that the whole concept of transportation for students slips between the two sectors of education and transport but in Sri Lanka this is covered by the Education Ministry. Research is needed to investigate the link between access and levels of education of women and transport provision. Having women among policymakers is not enough to ensure that gender needs are incorporated, but rather awareness needs to be raised among all policymakers.

Guidelines for practical intervention at the policy level

- All the agencies dealing with the subject of transport should collect and analyze gender-disaggregated data in formulating plans and policies, and develop gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation.
- Review existing policies, laws and standards relating to transport from a gender perspective.
- Recognize and document women's full economic and social contribution to each sector of the economy and estimate how much this could be enhanced by developing gender responsive transport policies and programmes.
- Recognize the importance of non-motorized means of transport as a transport option and provide a policy support for developing infrastructure and credit facilities for them.
- Compare transport vs. non-transport interventions as a way of improving women's access to services and reducing women's transport burdens.
- Establish a multi-sectoral policy forum to exchange information and agree appropriate policies at the highest level.

Day Two: identifying messages and strategies for delivery

The guidelines were presented at plenary by each of the three groups. Questions of clarification were taken and comments followed. The themes which were common to at least two of the groups were as follows:

- Existing research methodologies should be improved or new ones introduced so that the right sort of information is generated which tells each of the three groups about women's needs, capacities and experiences in appropriate transport interventions;
- Women should be given the space to actively and effectively participate in solving their own problems of accessibility;
- We should be raising awareness about transport options, about transport rights and about the transport needs of women in particular;
- Gender and transport interventions should be more integrated, and 'Gender and Transport' interventions should be more integrated with other 'sector' interventions such as health, education etc.
- Transport problems are not necessarily solved by transport solutions;
- Each of the three groups (policymakers, practitioners and community organisations) should be generating more information about appropriate transport options, as well as information about the range and success of current and past transport options.

The progress of the previous day was summarised, and the tasks for the second day outlined. Specifically, the organisers had divided up the participants into three groups according to their profession (eg policymakers were asked to join the 'policymakers' group; those working with communities to join the 'community organisations' group etc). Two objectives were set for each of the groups: first, to build up a profile of the information needs of policymakers, transport practitioners and community organisations and second, to design a strategy for reaching these audiences with one of the guidelines developed on the first day of the seminar.

To meet the first objective, participants were divided up into three groups and asked to brainstorm for two hours to build up a picture of the information needs and constraints of their respective audience. They were given a set of questions to assist them in this task.

- What sort of information do you need to do your job (or a specific, typical task within your job, eg developing a policy, designing a transport intervention within a project, mobilising a community to upgrade a path etc.)?

- When do you need this information?
- Where do you look for this information (the source of information for example the author?);
- How would this information best reach you (eg By telephone? By Internet? In a publication? On the radio etc.)
- How often do you need this information?
- Under what constraints do you operate (ie what practical problems do you have in undertaking these tasks)?

Each group tackled this exercise using different methodologies: some broke up into smaller groups with common languages and shared their answers in a 'mini-plenary'; others chose a participant who was actually a policymaker (or transport practitioner etc.) and quizzed the individual about their need for information and why current information provision is inadequate for making gender-sensitive transport decisions.

Each group used the information profiles to feed into the afternoon's session about designing appropriate strategies for reaching development professionals.

Gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation systems should be included at all levels of policymaking

Group One: Reaching Community Organisations

The group made up of people working at the community level presented a list of recommendations which they felt would bring about better, and more gender-aware transport interventions. The list incorporated elements of the guidelines developed by the previous day's group, and pointed towards a strategy for their effective dissemination. Each point was directed at others working at a community level, even though some of them had implications for transport practitioners and policymakers too.

Community based organisations should

- Be willing to share information generated and identified in their work;
- Carry out pilot projects to assess impact of Gender and Transport interventions and to monitor and re-orient projects if necessary;
- Use the credibility of their organisation to access funds for Gender and Transport projects;
- Build capacity of a group of people within Community based organisations to meet Gender and Transport needs;
- Improve community based organisations' capacity to access, analyse and systematically use data for effective project implementation;
- Network with other NGOs which have negotiation skills or equipment;
- Recognise that information shared is positive, whether

within or outside the organisation;

- Ensure that there exists a systematic way to regularly share information among project staff;
- Encourage appropriate communication methods which need not be formal eg photos, illustrations, local forms of communication, community songs, skits, sharing personal experiences;
- Invite external resource people to share their experiences;
- Expose people to reading habit consciously;
- Assign staff to make presentations to outside organisations to acquire and share knowledge;
- Develop skills to articulate acquired experiences.
- Make policymakers talk in the language of the beneficiaries.

Group Two: Reaching Transport Practitioners

The group presented their strategy for reaching similar practitioners with the issue 'Practitioners should generate and use qualitative and quantitative, gender disaggregated information to provide analytical evidence to policymakers when designing transport interventions.'

- Convince the planners and managers and they will convince the engineers;
- Lobby policymakers who issue instructions to engineers;
- Ensure that information that is regularly used by engineers is broken down into men and women's needs;
- Speak 'in the language' of the engineer if you want to effectively communicate;
- Get gender-sensitive information into the engineering subjects and institutions of learning if you want to influence future engineers;
- Methods of analysis commonly used should be gender sensitive;
- Lobby researchers and producers of information used by engineers to make it reflect men and women's needs separately;
- Write stories about successful women's participation in transport in professional journals;
- Influence the agenda of professional meetings to highlight the Gender and Transport approach;
- Analyse how the environmentalists mainstreamed environmental issues in development, and copy their successes;
- Include gender-dissaggregated information in the social impact assessments which are done as part of cost-benefit analysis;
- Introduce and enforce gender-planning training to engineers;
- Encourage/stimulate engineering research and publication – showing the value of incorporating gender disaggregated information into engineering work;

- Encourage (with incentives) more men to get involved in gender issues.

Group Three: Reaching Policymakers

The group presented a strategy for reaching the Ministry of Transport and other relevant agencies with the issue 'To influence them to recognise and document women's full economic and social contribution to each sector of the economy and estimate how much this could be enhanced by developing gender responsive transport policies and programmes.'

- Collate data from existing sources and present in an appropriate form, remembering to highlight the transport component in different sectors. While collating data, identify partners from other influential agencies that can collaborate on the advocacy strategy, including personnel from the Transport Ministry itself;
- Produce material (eg video) to be used in creating an awareness of gender and transport issues among key officials in the Ministry;
- Influence other agencies such as those in policymaking or communication/information by organising a meeting and generating publicity (eg press conference);
- Mobilise donor support for pilot intervention;
- Mobilise civil society organisations and other stakeholders to advocate for recognition of women's economic contribution;
- Monitor strategy and continually reinforce strategy. Look at other effective lobbying/advocacy strategies done by other groups eg sustainable development groups and see how to adapt some of these on gender and transport.

The facilitator highlighted some of the recurring themes in the presentations, such as the need to constantly document women's positive interventions and achievements in the transport sector for dissemination; and the need to recognise the interdependency of the three levels of community, practitioner, and policymaker and the information needs of each one. Priyanthi Fernando, as Executive Secretary of IFRTD, thanked the participants for their interest and attendance and pledged the Forum's continuing support for further integration of gender into rural transport work. The seminar was then officially declared closed.

Chapter Two: 'Balancing the Load' Africa, 15–16 July 1999

Day One: Status report and developing guidelines for practical intervention

Mac Mashiri, on behalf of the Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), the host institution for the seminar in South Africa and Convenor of the South

African Forum Group, welcomed all 87 participants to the seminar.

He described something of the background to the seminar and introduced Ms Joyce Seroke, Chair of the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE), to formally open the seminar.

Chief Guest's opening speech

On behalf of the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE), I thank-you for the invitation to speak at the opening of what I am sure is going to be a rigorous seminar on Gender and Rural Transport. I know that these two days will be challenging because the GCE has been dealing with the issues of gender equality since 1997, and we still find the path an uphill struggle, so I applaud you. I especially commend the organisers of this seminar for taking the initiative to promote the issue of gender equality through seminars like this one. It is not easy we know, but the cause is a worthy one so I urge you to persevere.

As background information I'd like to provide this audience with some information about the CGE and the constitutional framework within which it functions. The Commission on Gender Equality is an independent, statutory body created in terms of the Constitution and is one of a number of structures that freedom-loving South African women and men fought for, in order to promote and protect gender equality, as part of the pursuit of social justice and democracy. The location of the Commission within the Constitution makes it unique in many ways – it is the only independent body world-wide that is solely devoted to advancing gender equality.

The Commission's functions are set out in its enabling legislation, the Commission on Gender Equality Act, Act 39 of 1996. One of the Commission's key functions is the monitoring of all aspects of society, including government and the private sector. The Act specifically mandates the Commission to evaluate all laws – those already in existence, indigenous and customary systems of law and draft legislation – to ensure that they measure up to the Constitutional standard of equality. The Commission may make recommendations to Parliament in the event of legislation not adequately incorporating these values. The Act clearly articulates the need for the Commission to play an active role in rigorously reviewing all legislation to ensure that all the laws of South Africa protect and empower women.

The CGE has committed itself to creating a society free from gender discrimination, and all other forms of

oppression, in which all people will have the opportunity and the means to realise their full potential, regardless of race, gender, class, religion, sexual orientation, disability or geographic location. In fulfilling this mandate, the Commission will work closely with Parliament to ensure that the strongest possible gender provisions are included in all relevant legislation.

In your discussions on gender equality and rural transportation, you will focus your attention on the transportation requirements and problems of rural areas. These are some of the questions you will be asking yourselves: What types of journeys do people make? Why do they make them? How do they make them? What types of goods do they move? What are the costs of journeys undertaken in terms of time, efforts, money, opportunities foregone? What are the costs of limitations on mobility in terms of losses of income or in lack of access to health and education facilities? What types of opportunities would a particular transport intervention provide?

A gender perspective on rural transportation has two major aspects:

- Identifying differences in the socio-economic positions and resources of women and men, and ensuring that transport interventions provide opportunities and benefits that meet the need of women as well as those of men.
- Identifying opportunities to reduce gender inequalities and to move to more equal gender relationships.

I am glad to see from your presence here, that you take the issue of gender equality seriously. If our experience at the CGE is anything to go by, this is not going to be an easy journey. The CGE relies heavily on its partners and on those who share a vision of equality. When you return to your own organisations, I ask that you give life to the discussions and plans formulated during this seminar. Let us all work to manifest and better this example in all the sectors of our continent.

With these few words, I declare this seminar open. I thank you.

Following the opening speaker the aims and objectives of the *Balancing the Load* research project were explained and the proposed structure for the following two days, linking it to the seminar's objectives was presented. A team of three researchers then presented a combined oral and visual picture of the status of gender and rural transport in sub-Saharan Africa, as built up by the 16 case studies. The picture which they painted was intended to remind people of the diversity of transport problems which are currently experienced by men and women, and therefore to provide a common background for the discussions which were to follow.

Dr Charles Kaira began by stating that the task of balancing the transport load should be achieved not through confrontation, but through sharing and understanding. The main factors that influence the distribution of this load are gender roles, culture, religion and access to opportunities (social, economic and empowering). He said that when we discuss the issue of Balancing the Load, we should remember that we are seeking a balance of time (time budgets/savings); effort (transport aid vehicle/means); and burden (transport aid vehicle/means/time and health).

Dr Pascal Kaumbotho presented a set of slides which depicted some of the problems identified through the research, such as broken bridges, unkempt roads and pathways, difficult terrain, overcrowded buses etc. The slides also showed some of the innovative solutions which the men and women of Africa have made to partly solve these transport problems.

Josephine Mwankusye went on to present the key facts which currently inhibit women's access in particular, and men's, to adequate transport systems. These facts were categorised as those relevant at the community level; at the practitioner level; and at the level where policies are designed and implemented.

At the community level

- Cultural systems determine what men and women can do, or cannot do, particularly influencing ownership over the means of transport and use of transport devices;
- Social systems have particular influence over women's accessibility;
- Ownership and transport operations are mainly controlled by men;
- Community involvement in planning, implementation and monitoring of transport interventions is lacking;
- Community organisations have high potential but in some places they suffer from lack of control over resources.

At the level of transport practitioners

- The topography can cause serious constraints to the use of intermediate means of transport (IMTs), and even on maintenance of roads and footpaths;

- Safety issues are serious limitations to widespread use of IMTs, particularly among women;
- Time can be a constraint on women starting empowering projects: women's inputs are increased with more productive use of the time saved;
- The use of IMTs is associated with economic gain.

At the level of policy makers

- Gender policies and institutional frameworks which support appropriate, gender-friendly interventions are lacking;
- Lack of resources and support to the community affect the development of community initiatives;
- Sometimes priorities are misplaced or misdirected;
- Facilities are often badly sited, far away from the users.

Developing 'guidelines for practical intervention' in groups

Participants divided up into groups, as instructed, and spent the remainder of the first day in these group discussions. Each group heard presentations from two or three researchers with examples of specific interventions aimed at improving access in rural parts of Africa. Space was given for others in the group to share their own experiences, and each group was asked to prioritise five issues which they considered to be most important for their particular audience (eg policymaker). Where possible, the groups crafted these key issues into messages appropriate to their particular audience and prepared presentations for delivery to the plenary the following morning.

Group One: Users/Community organisations

Two 'intervention case study' presentations were made; *Impact of bicycle/motorcycle taxi services – boda-boda – on women's travel needs in Uganda*, by Harriet Iga, and *The impact of feeder roads in Jebel Si Rural Council area on food security* by Suad Mustafa Elhaj Musa (Sudan), and questions invited. In response to the Sudanese case study about feeder roads, one participant pointed out that paths and tracks are often even more important to women who travel within communities as much if not more than between them. For such routeways, donkeys are a valuable alternative means of transporting marketable produce and doing household tasks for women.

The situation where communities establish a road and lorries and trucks come to use it but pay money to the local authorities for permission, was raised. The local authorities don't use the money to re-invest in the transport infrastructure which means that the road wears away very quickly and the community have to face the burden and costs of its maintenance. The need for gender planning training at this local level was raised.

The issue of ownership over a transport intervention, whether infrastructural or a device, was

introduced as crucial to the sustainability of the intervention. Labour based technologies, for example involving the community in the construction and maintenance of a road, was suggested as a good way of increasing the community's ownership and commitment to the road as well as creating employment and income potentially during the non-harvest season. Women's participation is crucial to building appropriate interventions.

The issues arising out of the researchers' case studies were presented. The influence of cultural traits was re-emphasised and stress was made of the need to understand the nature of these in order to craft appropriate transport interventions. A multi-sectoral approach was promoted, stressing that problems of access don't necessarily need a transport solution, but that solutions should begin with the access needs of women. The problem of roads passing through several communities was raised, where inclusion of users becomes complicated, but it was agreed that both government and NGOs should support spontaneous community initiatives, and involve them particularly in the problem identification stage of the process.

Criticism was made of NGOs which go into a community with pre-conceived ideas of what sort of 'development' they want to facilitate (for example those with Transport Programmes wanting to pursue this solution to any identified problem). In this case, it was suggested that looking to facilitate solutions of better access would be better than simply providing transport options. It is important to recognise and respect existing cultures and taboos in any implementation project and where this is ignored there can be dramatic results. The example of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project was cited, where people were displaced to make way for a reservoir which they felt was going to benefit the people of South Africa rather than local people. There was great opposition to the scheme and when a crack developed in the dam wall, this was interpreted as punishment for the project not respecting ancient burial grounds and the wishes of the people.

The issue of capacity building at all levels of the community and the institutions which work with them such as local government, traditional structures, civic institutions etc. was explored. The capacity building programme being conducted in three pilot areas by the Association of Rural and District Councils in Zimbabwe was suggested as a good model for this work with communities. Work in South Africa includes that done under the Public Works and Health Programmes which begin with PRAs at the community level with the

objective of being able to analyse problems and identify solutions without outside intervention. The fact that women are far behind men in terms of access, status, resources, confidence, was stated as reason for there to be positive discrimination in all capacity building work with communities.

In Uganda, work is going on to spend time with women at the very early stages of both government and donor-funded projects in order to raise their skills and levels of confidence to a stage where they feel comfortable to speak in public at community meetings. Quotas are set in Uganda for minimum numbers of women to be in attendance at community meetings to ensure that their views are heard and their needs incorporated in any development planning. Capacity building at all levels should be undertaken in the context of providing practical project support and imparting skills rather than teaching theories which aren't easily absorbed. The need to separate men and women when they are being first approached to identify needs and problems, was raised as a way of making sure that the women's voices are heard. Where this has been done, it has resulted in women not being afraid to speak out and tell the truth about their concerns and desires.

Someone said that the most important strategy was one of getting women themselves to stop accepting their transport burden as 'one of those things', but to actively reject the hardship and seek and work for alternative time and labour saving options. Men also should be sensitised to the imbalance of women's burdens and encouraged to support initiatives to relieve these burdens.

It was suggested that in South Africa very few women are Rural and District councillors and that the issue of gender training and raising awareness is particularly difficult. Other participants agreed that the **type of government** in control influences heavily the access that women have to decision-making structures. In particular, there are problems where community structures are particularly 'politicised' such as in parts of South Africa. One participant from Kenya advised that it is good advice to 'depoliticise the project but politicise the cause', meaning that sometimes it is useful to be able to promote the development cause through existing political structures which might find it in their interests to take up the cause and lobby on its behalf. The need to involve government structures at an early stage is important however, because government structures remain when NGOs and outside institutions move on. The proposal of including other 'stakeholders' such as manufacturers of transport devices, government and non-government agencies

The most important strategy is getting women themselves to stop accepting their transport burden as 'one of those things' and to actively seek and work for alternative time and labour-saving options

Issues for Users/Community Organisations

Gender planning

- Integrate gender planning at all levels;
- Change the attitude of both men and women to gender imbalances in carrying the load (women as well as men accept the load as a natural part of their role within the family);
- Disaggregate data gathered during research to show that the transport needs and burdens of women differ from men and transport interventions need to reflect these differences.

Access and ownership

- Introduce economic activities for women alongside any project aiming to increase transport ownership (without economic opportunities, most women would not be able to afford the cost of improved transport);
- Women have to be mobilised and organised into co-operatives to lobby the concerned institutions for access to credit and support;
- Access to rural transport services helps in balancing the load, and thus should be supported by local and national governments, NGOs and the private sector.

Capacity building

- Build community capacity, and in particular the capacity of women, to enable them to participate in problem identification and analysis; programme planning and execution; and programme monitoring

and evaluation. The dilemmas of following this strategy include increasing women's responsibilities (for example by getting them involved in the time-consuming task of participating in committees which empowers them but adds to their workload).

- Identify community organisations and institutions concerned with transport intervention for the purpose of capacity building.

Appropriateness

- It is essential that intermediate means of transport are developed to complement existing means of transport used by women;
- Transport interventions should be exchanged between south-south communities;
- Technical support should start with peoples' (women's) own innovations and seek to strengthen them appropriately;
- Rural infrastructure and transport service providers and users should be made aware about safety issues and develop safety procedures.

Policy environment

- Government should create a gender-sensitive and enabling environment for provision of basic services with special reference to transport interventions;
- Management structures which include manufacturers of transport devices, transport planners and local policy makers are more likely to lead to appropriate transport interventions for women;
- Development agencies should be lobbied to develop a multi-sectoral approach to transport interventions.

involved in the sector and businesses in the management and implementation of any project was felt likely to increase the chances of any interventions being appropriate.

The issue of safety was raised in connection with the Boda Boda case study from Uganda.

The group nominated a handful of people to prepare their presentation, and to share their key findings with other participants the following morning. It was agreed to 'cluster' a range of key issues under five broad headings rather than present only five priority issues, because the group thought all of them equally important.

In plenary discussion, one participant said that if the community feels that they are part of the intervention, they are more willing and able to provide the materials. Naturally occurring community groups are more sustainable and more able to mobilise resources than groups which are created specifically for the purpose of introducing a development initiative.

Another participant said that capacity building should explicitly seek to build women's leadership skills. A question was asked about what steps can the community take to balance the load without adding to the already

existing burdens and responsibilities of the woman?

Someone from the group answered that women should be involved with problem identification right from the very beginning, and in that way they would be able to choose to be involved with problem solving interventions. Another participant said that it might be necessary to accept short-term disbenefits (for example more time spent at committees and general involvement in the transport intervention) for long-term benefit (sustainable systems for maintaining paths and tracks and building new roads).

Group Two: Guidelines for Transport Practitioners

The group began by brainstorming the types of people who would be part of the audience of transport practitioners.

- Engineers – contracting and consulting
- Development planners
- Non-policy staff and those involved in implementation in government agencies at regional, district and local levels.

- Manufacturers of transport equipment
- Transport operators
- Transport equipment support service providers
- Researchers and educators
- Transport economists
- Development banks
- Co-ordinating agencies and networks
- NGOs

The group discussed the issues arising from three of the 'intervention' case studies that were presented: *Gender Responsive Planning in Uganda*, by Charles Kaira, *The impact of Intermediate Means of Transport on the allocation of the transport burden*, by Dorris Chingozho (Zimbabwe), and *The Nkone River Bridge and its impact on travel and marketing activities of the Karia Community, Meru District, Kenya*, by Pascal Kaumbutho.

The discussion focused on key sets of issues. The first set of issues related to **government and community roles in transport interventions**. The group discussed the 'absence' of government and government's inability to meet the priorities of local communities – such as in the case of Nkone Bridge case study in Kenya, where the community identified the need to repair the bridge but received no support from the government to do so. This led to a discussion on the importance of community involvement in transport planning and in implementing interventions. Participants suggested the need for community integrated development as well as the need in some circumstances for the community to take the initiative to mobilise their own resources and to carry out activities independently of government on a self-help basis. Some members of the group felt that it was important not to allow governments to neglect disadvantaged communities. The group recognised that community involvement did not necessarily imply the involvement of women. Transport practitioners should help communities with capacity building, and at the same time ensure representation of women. This would also sometimes require efforts to raise awareness/consentification of women.

Consideration of the role of government also led to a discussion on decentralisation. The group recognised that decentralisation could lead to community participation and representation of gender needs provided it was accompanied by 'good government'. Effective decentralisation involved decentralisation of management, finances and technical capacity.

A second set of issues related to **the analysis, monitoring and evaluation of transport interventions**. It was agreed that any analysis should take into account

what happens at the household level. What happens at the household level is strongly influenced by the cultural context. It was important to recognise that this cultural context could change. It could be influenced by the project in the long term. It could also impede the success of a project and the accurate analysis of gender relations at the household level. For instance it was not often possible to understand the household dynamics in cultures where women are in seclusion, or when men's influence (either by being present or through fear of coercion) is strong on women being interviewed.

Most transport interventions, such as road projects, are evaluated only in economic terms. It is important to analyse the social as well as economic impact, including gender and to ensure that interventions are equitable and appropriate. This integrated and

multidisciplinary approach to rural transport infrastructure and transport projects should be mandatory. Transport practitioners were encouraged to work with social analysts in designing interventions and to take into account methodologies that have been used outside of the transport sector. It was also considered important to take into account the net benefit of interventions: to analyse the gender differences in trip

Naturally occurring groups are more sustainable and more able to mobilise resources than groups which are created specifically for introducing a development initiative

Issues for Transport Practitioners

- Practitioners should involve the community in all stages of rural development: planning and management. Recognition should be given to the fact that communities are not homogenous, and that women's voices are often not heard and they are also not all the same.
- Planners need to understand the socio-economic realities and needs of women's lives in rural communities. Engineers and economists must work with social analysts in designing transport interventions using experiences drawn from the non-transport sectors.
- An integrated approach to rural transport services and infrastructure must take account of the cultural context and must be equitable and appropriate to the needs of women.
- There is need for gender responsive planning (monitoring and evaluation) to provide feedback to policy makers and other transport practitioners and to communities. This requires effective monitoring and evaluation tools and dissemination of good practice.
- Resource mobilisation and allocation to gender needs must be recognised as a priority.

frequencies and purpose and to look at the implications for non-transport interventions. The group also recognised that women are not a homogenous group.

Participants stressed the importance of sharing and disseminating information on successful interventions, especially of feeding back the information to policy makers, other transport practitioners and communities.

A third set of issues related to the need for practitioners to be aware of **the existing legal and policy framework**. Interventions should be consistent with and build from the legal and policy framework.

A fourth set of issues related to **the access women and men in rural communities have to finance**. The group felt that practitioners should consider the realities that rural women and men face and facilitate communities to mobilise resources. Several examples of group credit schemes etc. were cited. The importance of targeting women was stressed and the example of a woman's bank in Burkina Faso was considered as one such option. It was important that transport innovations should be innovative and low cost so that they can benefit women (who often have less access to finances). In plenary discussion, it was suggested that corruption must be tackled by a strategy of promoting good governance at all levels, and capacity needs to be built up at the local level. When considering resources needed for effective interventions, a broad definition of 'resources' should be used which includes community knowledge.

It was recommended that the transport sector should learn from other, more gender-sensitive sectors such as water and sanitation, and should look to gender specialists and social scientists for techniques which incorporate the needs of women from the outset. The need to sensitise district engineers, particularly where there are community road projects, was highlighted and the case of Uganda was used as an example of where this had happened successfully. One of the keys to effective integration of engineers and sociologists within a project was to focus on the objectives of the project and then to look at the relative contributions to be made by each professional.

More general discussion focused on the need to have explicit rural transport policies in all countries; to ensure that road agencies have a gender-balanced staff and staffing policy; to introduce affirmative action as a way of increasing women's participation in projects; and to consider road users' contributions to financing rural development alongside the government's contributions.

Group Three: Guidelines for policymakers

The group looked at the transport problems arising out of the case studies from Tanzania and Nigeria: *Rural transport interventions in Tanzania: are they reaching women?* by Josephine Mwankusye and *The impact of road rehabilitation on transport and accessibility in rural Soba*

District of Kaduna State, by E.M. Shaibu Imodagbe. Three categories of transport constraints emerged: mobility, provision of transport services and planning. The gender dimensions of these problems were also highlighted to form the basis for developing guidelines for policy

Issues for policy makers

- Socio-economic empowerment should be an integral part of transport policies, and should address gender inequalities in culture; it should ensure that rural transport projects seeking funding are gender responsive and sensitive; and it should provide adequate resources for gathering and disseminating gender disaggregated data and information to raise awareness about transport problems, and to support media projects intended to reach women.
- Policies should promote a decentralised framework for planning and implementation to encourage capacity building among women; community ownership through a participatory planning process; and acquisition of skills.
- Integrated rural development and planning should incorporate community contributions; appropriate designs for rural transport infrastructure and facilities; environmentally-sustainable transport interventions; and should provide for resources to be made available for gender-responsive planning and implementation;
- Policies should promote labour-based technologies/approaches for rural transport development.
- Donor initiatives should fit within country policies and frameworks for rural development.
- Policies should include transport regulations that promote the use of safe rural transport facilities/modes of transport.
- Governments should allocate resources to the rural transport sector, and priority should be given to capacity building.
- Specific resources, both financial and human, need to be allocated for the maintenance of rural transport infrastructure (footbridges, access roads, paths, tracks, culverts).
- Priority should be given to monitoring and evaluation; demonstrations; gender disaggregated information, data gathering, and dissemination; and awareness raising.
- An enabling policy environment is essential for inclusion of incentives, finance and adequate access to credit.

Themes emerging from all groups

The broad themes which appeared to be common to all groups were as follows:

- The need for information to be generated and disseminated on both men and women, but separately, if more appropriate transport interventions are to be made;
- The need for an integrated approach, eg multidisciplinary teams within projects which employ social scientists, gender specialists, technicians together; eg multi-institutional management of projects to include representatives from manufacturing sector; private and public, NGO, the community and policy; eg integrated learning from other sectors which have already found ways of better meeting the needs of both women and men such as the water and sanitation sector.
- An enabling policy environment which both supports and promotes gender-sensitive and gender-sensible interventions and ways of working;
- More money released for initiatives which specifically involve and benefit women;
- Capacity building for a range of ends, eg good governance, strong leadership, gender-awareness;
- The need to generate and disseminate good practice based on evidence from practical project work.

makers. Lack of access to means of transport by women was highlighted and the group underlined this as one of the major factors contributing to the transport burden of women in particular.

The group also noted that the location of services, such as markets and other basic services was particularly inconvenient for women. Although there were clear transport problems related to this, the group agreed that some of these problems could be tackled by non-transport interventions, through an integrated approach to rural development. The importance of understanding the realities of communities, and involving them in planning was also emphasised.

The group agreed on the fact that there is a general absence of rural transport policies in Africa. In cases where policies exist, these are not gender responsive and there is either limited implementation, or none at all. In addition, there is a lack of representation of women in policy formulation, and lack of adequate data and information to enable policy makers to make effective gender policies.

Community involvement did not necessarily imply the involvement of women

Day Two: Developing strategies for effective communication

Armed with an agreed set of guidelines for each of the three audiences, the next task for participants was to discuss and come up with strategies for communicating these guidelines effectively. It was pointed out that however important were the participants in their respective fields, they couldn't be expected to bring about the changes needed in the rural transport sector alone. Therefore, some strategy needed to be outlined which would effectively convince others outside the seminar of the need to change the way that they work to better include the needs of women, and the women themselves, in their transport interventions.

Some brief guidance was given on the nature of advocacy. To begin with, the 'ABC' of advocacy was described (a term which originated in one of the groups at the Sri Lanka seminar), followed by a list of factors to consider when trying to influence people (details included in Chapter 3).

With this brief introduction, the participants were divided up into regional groups to come up with communication strategies relevant for their own areas. There were five regions identified: South Africa, southern Africa, east Africa and anglophone and francophone West Africa. The groups spent the morning in discussion. They presented their strategies to plenary in the afternoon.

Communication strategies: South Africa

Key recommendations for more gender appropriate transport interventions in South Africa

- need for a quota system within projects
- more attention to gender planning
- more relevant information for policy making
 - constant review of existing policies
 - change of mind set, attitudes towards intermediate means of transport

Strategies for communication

- flyers
- press conferences
- mass media – especially radio
- targeted papers to government
- attendance at open parliamentary days

The group reiterated some of the key recommendations which might bring about more gender-appropriate transport interventions. These include the need for a quota system within projects; more attention given to gender planning; and more relevant information fed into policymaking. The group said that there is need for a constant review process to be undertaken of policies, in order to identify gaps and to gauge the appropriateness of these policies to the government's development needs.

In addition, a change of mindset on the part of communities in South Africa is necessary towards intermediate means of transport (IMTs) so that they are no longer considered as second rate.

They said that a variety of media should be used to effectively communicate these issues, such as flyers, press conferences, mass media, especially radio, workshops (send proceedings to all parties), targeted papers to government, and attendance at parliamentary Open Days.

A range of questions followed the presentation around the topics of setting quotas and the nature of 'disadvantaged groups'. The first question asked specifically how to bring about greater participation of women, because in Ethiopia various techniques had been tried and found not to have been successful. The presenter suggested that quota setting within projects at community and non-governmental levels is a practical measure, and along with affirmative action (one of South Africa's national policies) could help to broaden participation.

A representative from the World Bank said that it was important to be flexible when setting quotas for women's involvement in transport projects. She explained that the World Bank had originally required that women should make up half of all the participants of their projects, but when this had failed to materialise, they had dropped the quotas to 25% and this seemed to be more realistic. Another participant raised the issue of the involvement of disabled members of the community, asking that they shouldn't be marginalised in the same way that women shouldn't be ignored in projects. A practitioner said that they should be considered as part of the 'disadvantaged' group along with women and steps taken to involve them in the same way. But another participant said that they shouldn't all be 'lumped' together because this doesn't take consideration of their different needs and women should continue to be considered separately.

The importance of training practitioners to be more aware and inclusive of women in projects was raised, but it was stressed that policymakers also need training, however senior their positions. It was suggested that policy reviews be conducted regularly to identify gaps in the existing framework, and to fill them with appropriate training. 'Catching future policymakers early' is an important strategy to ensure that future policies are gender-sensitive.

It is important to analyse the social as well as the economic impact of transport interventions, including gender, to ensure that interventions are equitable and appropriate

Communication Strategies: Southern Africa (including Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique)

Main message: the need for gender integrated planning and awareness of the gender dimension to transport interventions

The main message chosen by the group was the need for gender integrated planning and awareness of the gender dimension to transport interventions. Their discussions had produced strategies aimed at communicating this message to the three different groups involved in transport interventions, and the presentation reflected these discussions.

Strategies for communication at a community level

- Awareness should be raised through participatory methods such as group discussions (held separately for men and for women), drama, songs etc.
- Attitudes should be influenced through the education system so that girls and boys understand their gender differences and how that impacts on the way they do things.
- Communities need to be empowered so that they can be the ones to influence policy.

To transport practitioners

- Data collection and analysis should be gender disaggregated. Researchers to collect evidence to prove to policymakers that rural transport needs of men and women differ.
- Practitioners should work in association with other sectors to create a generic gender planning strategy involving agriculture, water and transport-related sectors.
- Dissemination should be achieved through workshops and seminars; emailing lists, briefing papers, media (radio, internet etc); and through learning institutions.
- At the inception stage of research, project practitioners need to involve other sectors.
- Transport practitioners need to understand policies before they attempt to influence it.

Policymakers (including gender ministries and organisations who can influence policy makers and government)

- Use credible institutions to lobby policymakers.
- Use abstracts of research to influence policymakers.
- Invite policymakers to see the demonstration projects.

Following the presentation, a researcher from the audience suggested that one way of bringing about more integrated transport work is to look at how you as a

practitioner could work with practitioners from other sectors, and that was one action she was going to take when resuming work in England. Another participant highlighted the importance of the media in facilitating information exchange. She proposed that everyone should consider themselves an 'activist' and actively look at how the media could be used to promote better transport interventions. A representative from ILO-ASIST offered their range of documents held in Harare for everybody's use as a way of furthering this dissemination task.

Communication Strategies: East Africa (including Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and Ethiopia)

Main message – the need for capacity building

Strategies for Communication

At a community level it was recognised that this needed to revolve around community participation; that there are many stakeholders but women needed to be recognised as a specific and unique group within this; and that there is a need to raise awareness of the whole issue of gender in rural transport. A range of techniques can be used to both communicate and strengthen capacity, including

- using posters, drummer groups, and religious organisations;
- providing management training for women; improving women's access to credit;
- making available funding and resources for capacity building; and
- making more effort to involve women in the decision making and control of maintenance.

At a transport practitioner level the aim is to sensitise practitioners to gender issues and this could be done in many different ways for example

- through training (refresher courses 'on the job' as well as through college and university);
- by revising procedures to enforce gender (dialogue required with policy to ensure that they are supportive of 'writing in' gender into the procedures);
- by making checklists (VTTP in Tanzania already has checklists and this could be copied elsewhere);
- by dissemination of 'Best Practices' and lessons; through appropriate interventions, for example provision of information; and
- by ensuring that the monitoring and evaluation of gender impact is mandatory in all projects.

Networks at a country, regional and international level

should be identified and exploited as a starting point to carry out this work. They should be influenced to take up these issues and adopt the same advocacy objectives so that a large body of organisations is pushing for the same goals. The NFGs should be used as a point of entry where they exist, eg Kenya and Uganda.

The discussions centred around the nature of institutions which support capacity building, and the processes which encourage information sharing. One participant stated that strong institutional structures are needed to support capacity building of themselves and of other stakeholders. National Forum Groups are good places to begin building and strengthening capacity, and influencing at a policy level. In some countries where the NFGs are already established, they already have the credibility to influence at each of the different levels. One participant who runs a Website from the University of Manchester invited others to use this medium for sharing information, and encouraged others to think about identifying and offering their own mechanisms for information dissemination.

Communication Strategies Francophone West Africa (to include Burkina Faso, Côte D'Ivoire, Guinea)

Messages

- The need to treat men separately from women in the planning, involvement, resource-allocation and information stages of every project.
- Capacity building is necessary in order to sensitise people, impart skills and involve them in projects.

Strategies for communication

At a policy level, the specific targets for this message were identified as the Ministry of Transport; the Ministry for the Promotion of Women; local government; donors; and NGOs. The strategy for communication relied upon the National Forum Group. In Burkina Faso, the NFG is made up of policymakers (officials from the Ministry of Transport), researchers and women and women's associations.

In the region, despite the striking development of intermediate means of transport (IMTs), rural transport is not actually taken into account in overall transport planning. A favourable factor is that authorities have shown concern for the promotion of women in many instances, and the strategy for communicating the two messages capitalises on this fact and aims to address the issue from the gender perspective rather than the transport perspective. One recommendation is to urge authorities, donors, and the communities themselves to implement pilot projects.

There is a lack of representation of women in policy formulation and lack of data and information to enable policy makers to make effective gender policies

Information should be disseminated through the NFGs, Municipalities, mass media, newsletters, meetings, visits and workshops.

Communication Strategies: Anglophone West Africa (including Nigeria and Ghana)

Messages:

- the need for gender disaggregation in planning, involvement, resource-allocation and information, and
- the need for capacity building.

Strategies for communication.

In Nigeria it was recommended that a National Forum Group be established which should link up with the National Commission for Women and the National Council for Women Societies (NCWs) in order to sensitise them about the gender imbalance existing in rural transport. In addition, a number of institutions could be networked for evidence and support including CBOs which focus their work around women's issues; Ministries; Universities; research institutions; professional bodies and international NGOs and other non-forum groups.

Dissemination to key policymakers and to the community should take place by networking; through the mass media, talk shows and advertisements; in newsletters and by demonstration. Use should also be made of community institutions such as town criers, women's groups and religious bodies, and local education authorities.

Questions and contributions following the West African presentations centred around the value of pilot projects in generating evidence for influencing; mediums for sharing information; and problems and promises of funding gender and transport work.

One participant supported the francophone countries' recommendation that pilot projects can generate evidence to influence policy and practitioners. He proposed that NFGs could play an important role in establishing and using information from such projects, with adequate funding, and went on to suggest that these groups chronicle their existing experiences to make a case for further projects. Another participant agreed, but said that donors are reluctant to fund such initiatives and called on the donors in the audience to support such work.

General Discussion

There was general consensus that dissemination of information was a desirable activity so that mistakes could

be minimised and successes replicated, but questions about what was the best medium to share information. A representative from the World Bank said that plenty of information on gender and transport already exists – for example as discussed by the Gender and Transport thematic group within the World Bank – but that it was largely anecdotal. She added that policies which encourage and promote a more gender-aware approach to transport interventions are unlikely to be designed without firmer evidence. A member of IFRTD wanted to know where this information is located, and whether it could be shared more widely so that others could act on it too, and greater efforts to disseminate information were promised. The World Bank has looked seriously at the Internet as a way of sharing the information they have, but needed to know how accessible this channel is for most of the practitioners working in the field.

Responses to this query were in agreement that while the Internet may be a useful way of reaching some policymakers, more conventional channels of information delivery should not be overlooked because these are more common in Africa. ILO-ASIST promoted their role as information brokers and urged participants to use them and the information which they hold.

Participants reinforced the need for networking as a way of promoting more gender-sensitive approaches to transport interventions. Forging strategic alliances was seen as one particular strategy which works well, particularly in those countries without National Forum Groups such as Ethiopia. With a view to further networking, a plan to hold an international seminar on Gender and Rural Transport was aired by the World Bank, and they were urged to invite 'real people' who are working directly with the issues in the field to this forum. One of the aims of the seminar is to take lessons to policymakers, and issues arising out of this seminar would be used in preparation for the task.

With regards difficulties to date in funding NFGs, the World Bank Rural Travel and Transport Programme (RTTP) pledged to finance work in the countries in which they have programmes, both for dissemination and advocacy activities. Asked how easy this funding would be to access by NFGs, and what strings might be attached, the World Bank responded that because the funding would be in the form of grants and not loans, there would be no strings attached save for those of accountability and reporting. As for the details of how to access the funds, these had not yet been thought through but would be communicated as soon as they had been worked out.

National Forum Groups are good places to begin building and strengthening capacity and influencing at a policy level

Themes emerging and issues arising

An attempt was made to draw out some of the common threads which had arisen out of the presentations and discussions, as follows:

- When trying to influence specific audiences, it may be useful to use intermediary institutions to lobby your actual target audience (for example using the forum groups with established reputations to influence policymakers);
- The media can be a useful tool in building 'background noise' in support of your cause, so that when you do reach your target audience with specific messages and recommendations, they are already familiar with the subject and themes within it;
- It will be necessary to raise the profile and capacity and reputation of the instruments of influence (ie the institutions who will be doing the actual advocacy work);
- In order to bring about effective changes in the policies and practices of policymakers, you need to fully understand the policy context and be seen by policymakers to have this understanding;
- Influencing today's policymakers doesn't necessarily guarantee gender-aware practices in the future: you need to reach tomorrow's policymakers through training centres, education facilities, schools to make them gender-sensitive now;
- When trying to change the way individuals work, show them how much they have already achieved in meeting the needs of both men and women in their work – then point out how much more effective they could be by incorporating your recommendations/guidelines;
- The most influential tool you have for changing the way people work and think is EVIDENCE. Make sure all gender and transport work (practical as well as advocacy) is monitored and disaggregated information collected on an ongoing basis. You should then be able to assess the impact of current strategies regularly and share this information with others.
- Think about your own individual capacity and potential to bring about change. Once you've audited this and started to be an advocate, talk about what you do as a way of inspiring others to take their own personal commitment to bring about change.
- Look for a niche for your information: ie find out what other people are doing and what information would be useful to them and try to 'fit' your advice so that it meets their needs (that way, your ideas are more likely to be taken up with enthusiasm);
- Audit what you already know and disseminate it to others so that they may use it in their own advocacy

Think about your own individual capacity and potential to bring about change. Talk about what you do as a way of inspiring others.

work.

Conclusions and the way forward

Priyanthi Fernando, Executive Secretary of IFRTD, thanked the participants and presented a synopsis of what the Secretariat would be doing in the immediate future to take forward the issues raised at the seminar.

- Produce proceedings of the 'Balancing the Load' Asia and Africa seminars, by the end of August 1999;
- Book of the full case studies to be published by the end of 1999;
- Forum News issue dedicated to the theme of advocacy during 2000;
- AT Journal (September issue) takes as its theme rural transport;
- Email discussion list;
- Abstracts and Occasional Papers;
- Ongoing support to National Forum Groups in South Africa, Uganda, Kenya, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Zimbabwe, Tanzania;
- Issues workshops/other networking opportunities;
- Collaborative events eg World Bank International Seminar;
- Pilot projects with funding from World Bank RTTP programme;
- Media activities.

She urged participants to continue their hard work, and to become advocates for the better identification and integration of both women and men's needs in rural transport interventions.

Chapter Three: Toolkit for Effective Advocacy

The ABC of Advocacy

When trying to convince other people to your way of thinking, it's useful to divide them into the ABCs and decide on the best way of approaching each group separately.

A is for Advocates: people who are already convinced of the issues and who are actively influencing others and generating evidence with which to convince them. You need to learn some of the tricks and techniques used by this group of people, who probably have much more experience of advocacy than you, and you need to share any evidence you have which could support their advocacy work as part of a broad movement for change.

B is for Benign: this group of people are neither for or against what you are trying to do. They probably agree with the theory of what you are trying to do – in this case, satisfy women's transport needs more directly in transport interventions – but have never been sufficiently convinced of how this can be done. The majority of people working in the rural transport and gender sectors probably lie in this middle group, and the potential for engaging their co-operation and turning them into advocates themselves is enormous. You need evidence and instruction to show them how to integrate women more effectively into rural transport programmes, and you need to understand under what constraints they work and what sorts of support they need to be able to change the way that they currently work.

C is for 'Cannot Change': a group of people who have decided that they don't agree with your central argument, and they cannot see any reason to change the way that they currently work. In the minority, this group is extremely difficult to engage in debate and even more difficult to persuade to change. An awful lot of time can be spent getting nowhere with this group and unless they include individuals who are critical to the success of your broader campaign, it might be useful to ignore them.

Factors critical to the success of any advocacy strategy are as follows:

- **Time:** those whom you're trying to influence have full time jobs (usually) and are not able or willing to give you either all of their attention or unlimited time to make your case. You need to research how and when they need the sort of information you have to communicate, and deliver it appropriately.
- **Credibility:** you know yourself that there are some people whose advice you more readily accept either because of who they are (ie you have known them a long time and their advice has been good in the past) or what they know (they are well-placed with good sources of information on hand). If you are not

regarded as credible with the people you're trying to convince, then pass on what you know to someone who can deliver your message who IS credible.

- **Frequency:** sometimes you need to communicate the same basic message in a range of different but consistent ways over and over again in order for it to be heard. Repeating yourself is unlikely to do much damage – except make people avoid you – and could result in the message finally 'getting home'.
- **Language:** use the sorts of words and expressions that your audience will understand and which they normally use in their own communication. For example, use scientific evidence if you're trying to convince scientists etc.
- **Money:** sometimes the people you're trying to get to work in a different way – for example to use disaggregated data when designing infrastructure projects – cannot afford to take on board your ideas because they would cost more money than has been budgeted. In this case, it might be worth trying to secure funds to 'bolt on' to their project in order that they can incorporate your ideas and you can prove that this approach is more effective in meeting women's transport needs (which in itself can be used to secure more gender-sensitive funds in the future).
- **Evidence:** your opinion or instinct or articulate words are never going to be as convincing as evidence. Build up a portfolio of evidence which proves the points that you're trying to make. Try to make them relevant, current, accurate and credible.
- **No choice:** people can be influenced to change the way that they work if you do all of the above, and if you're lucky and are in the right place at the right time. But they have to change the way that they work if their organisation or line manager or donor requires it. Sometimes it is worth 'leap-frogging' the person you're actually trying to influence in order to bring about changes in the organisation's culture or procedures or Planning Monitoring and Evaluation Systems to force them to change the way that they work.

Annexes

List of Asia Participants

List of Africa Participants

List of Researchers, Facilitators and IFRTD Staff

Abstracts of Case studies

Participants in Asia Seminar

Bangladesh

Mahbubar Rahman Mr

Bangladesh Inland Water Transport Authority (BIWTA)
BIWTA Bhaban
141-143 Motijheel C/A
Dhaka-1000
Bangladesh.
Phone:+880 2 9550870
Fax: +880 2 9551072
E-mail:abir@bangla.net

Mashuda Khatun Shefali Ms

Executive Director
Nari Uddug Kendra (NUK)
(Centre For Women's Initiatives)
22/18, Khilji Road, Block- B
Mohammadpur, Dhaka-1207
Bangladesh.
Tel: + 880 2 9115696
Fax: + 880 2 9110088
E-mail: nuk@bd.drik.net

Cambodia

Kheng Chanthou Ms

ILO
8 street 352
Phnom Penh
Cambodia
Tel: ++ 855 23 211484, 428210
Fax: ++ 855 23 427632
Email: ilo@bigpond.com.kh

Sophany Kco Sun Ms

ILO
8 street 352
Phnom Penh
Cambodia
Tel: ++ 855 23 211484, 428210
Fax: ++ 855 23 427632
Email: ilo@bigpond.com.kh

Denmark

Maria Figueroa Ms

UNEP Collaborating Centre on Energy and Environment
Risoe National Laboratory
P O Box 49, Roskilde DK 4000
Denmark
Tel: +4545775171
Fax:+4546321999
Email: maria.figueroa@risoe.dk

India

Ashoke Sarkar Dr

Civil Engineering Group
Birla Institute of Technology and Science
Pilani (Rajasthan)333031
India
Tel: +91 1596 45073/4
Fax: +91 1596 44183
Email:asarkar@bits-pilani.ac.in

Madhusudan Mistry Mr

Disha
9 Mangaldeep Flats
Near Parikshit Bridge
Gandhi Ashram Post
Ahmedabad 380027
India
Tel: +91 79 7559842
Fax: +91 79 755 6782

Sikdar P K Prof

Central Road Research Institute
Delhi – Mathura Road
New Delhi 110 020
India
Tel: 91 11 68 48917/6823437
Fax: 6845943/6830480
Email:

Nepal

Alok Rajouria Mr

ITDG
P O Box 15135
Tangal
Kathmandu
Nepal
Tel: +977 1 415477
Fax: +9771 434354
Email: alokr@itdg.wlink.com.np

Bidhan C. Rajbhandari Mr

Sr. National Programme Officer
Swiss Development Corporation
Enkantakuma, Jawalkhel
P O Box 113
Kathmandu
Nepal
Tel: 00 977 1 524927 to 9
Fax: 00 977 1 525358
Email: kathmandu@sdcc.net

Pakistan

Zubaida Hussain Ms

Development Visions
Education Town
P O Allama Iqbal Town
Wahdat Road
Lahore
Pakistan
Tel: + 92 42 5414427
Email: lightskapes@usa.net

Philippines

Ruwani Jayewardene Dr

C/o OESD
Asian Development Bank
Manila 0980
Philippines
Tel: +632 632 5915
Fax: +632 636 2205
Email: rjayewardene
@mail.asiandevbank.org

Sri Lanka

Abegunawardena V G T R Ms

Min. of Transport & Highways
No 1 D R Wijewardene Mawatha
Colombo 10
Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 1 687108, 687437
Fax: +94 1 687284

Dinali Fernando Ms

Journalist and university lecturer
572/10 Welikadawatte
Nawala Road
Rajagiriya
Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 1 862946
Fax: +94 1 863671
Email: dinali @sjp.ac.lk

Eva Ranaweera Ms

Coordinator,
Kantha Handa (Voice of Women)
21/25 Polhengoda Road
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 74 517879

Faizal Samath Mr

Journalist
4/1D Pietersz Place
Kohuwela
Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 | 822595
Fax: +94 | 822595

Fuad M. Sabry Mr

Young Asia Television
8 Kinross Av
Colombo 4
Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 | 596286
Fax: +94 | 501740

Gamage MT Ms

National Transport Commission
241 Park Road
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 | 503707
Fax: +94 | 503725

Jayalath Gunarathna Mr

Asst. Business Development Co-ordinator
REDS
36 Privena Road
Ratmalana
Sri Lanka
Tel: + 94 | 715165
Fax: +94 | 731110
Email: reds@slt.lk

Jegarasingam K Mr

Chairman
National Transport Commission
241 Park Road
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 | 503680
Fax: + 94 | 503725

John Diandas Mr

12 Galle Face Court
Colombo 3
Sri Lanka
Tel: + 94 | 324313/ 433512
Fax: +94 | 324313/ 433512
Email: diandas@sri.lanka.net

K D Pieris Mr

VINIVIDA
'Jayadam'
Agunawila
Mundel
Tel: + 94 72 240324
Email: upali@itdg.lanka.net

Liyanage U L K Ms

National Transport Commission
241 Park Road
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: + 94 | 587373
Fax: +94 | 503725

Madhavi Ariyabandu Ms

ITDG
5 Lionel Edirisinghe Mawatha
Kirullapone
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: + 94 | 852149
Fax: +94 | 856188
Email: madhavi@itdg.lanka.net

Mallika Gamage Ms

Senior Trainer
SEEDS
36 Privena Road
Ratmalana
Sri Lanka
Tel: + 94 | 715165
Fax: +94 | 731110
Email: reds@slt.lk

Neranjana Gunathilake Ms

Institute of Policy Studies
99 St Michael's Road
Colombo 3
Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 | 431368
Fax: +94 | 431395
Email: ips@sri.lanka.net

Ramona Miranda Ms

ITDG
5 Lionel Edirisinghe Mawatha
Kirullapone
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: + 94 | 852149
Fax: +94 | 856188
Email: ramona@itdg.lanka.net

Ratnayake W K S Mr

National Transport Commission
241 Park Road
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: 94 | 587394
Fax 94 | 503725

Ray Wijewardena Mr

133 Dharmapala Mawatha
Colombo 7
Sri Lanka
Tel /fax: + 94 | 421881
Email: raywije@eureka.lk

Sahabandu M J Ms

NTC
241 Park Road
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: 94 | 503705
Fax: 94 | 503725

Sangeetha Nesiah Ms

Intermediate Technology Development
Group
5 Lionel Edirisinghe Mawatha
Kirulapone
Colombo 5.
Sri Lanka
Tel: 94 | 852149
Fax: 94 | 856188
Email: sangeetha@itdg.lanka.net

Seneviratne M P P C M Ms

National Transport Commission
241 Park Road
Kirulapone
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: + 94 | 503707
Fax: + 94 | 503725

Sugathadasa W P D K K Ms

National Transport Commission
241 Park Road
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: 94 | 503707
Fax: 94 | 503725

Tushara Williams Ms

Institute of Policy Studies
99 St. Michels Road
Colombo 3
Sri Lanka
Tel: 94 | 431368
Fax: 94 | 431395
Email: IPS@sri.lanka.net

Vishaka Hidellage Ms

Policy Director
Intermediate Technology Development
Group
5 Lionel Edirisinghe Mawatha
Kirulapone
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: + 94 | 852149, 829412-5
Fax: + 94 | 856188
Email: vishaka@itdg.lanka.net

Weerasinghe W P D V M Ms

National Transport Commission
241 Park Road
Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: + 94 1 503707
Fax: + 94 1 503725

United Kingdom

Annabel Davis Ms

Transport Research Laboratory (TRL)
Old Wokingham Road
Crowthorne
Berkshire RG45 6AU
United Kingdom
Tel: +44 1344 770398
Fax: +44 1344 770643
Email: adavis@trl.co.uk

Jenny Rigby Ms

Department for International
Development (DFID)
94 Victoria Street
London SW1E 5JL
United Kingdom
Email: j-rigby@dfid.gtnet.gov.uk

USA

Michael Bamberger Mr

Senior Sociologist
Gender and Development
Poverty Reduction and Economic
Management
World Bank
1818H Street, NW
Washington DC 20433
USA
Tel: + 1202 473 6438
Fax: + 1202 522 3237
Email: jbamberger@worldbank.org

Participants at Africa Seminar

Cote D'Ivoire

Siele Silue Dr
BP 399 CIDEX I
Abidjan
Cote D'Ivoire
Tel:+225 07 73 53
Fax: +225 25 86 68
Email: s.silue@africaonline.co.ci

Ethiopia

Brian Samuel Barr Mr
P.O. Box 12700
Addis Ababa
Ethiopia
Tel: +251 1 531633
Fax: +251 1 514866
Email: bbarr@telecom.net.et

Jemal Ali Gizaw Mr
P.O. Box 12700
Addis Ababa
Ethiopia
Tel: +251 1 531633
Fax: +251 1 514866
Email: bbarr@telecom.net.et

Guinea

Marie Yvonne Curtis Ms
BP 3423
Conakry
Guinea
Tel +224 46 57 47
Email: my.curtis@hotmail.com

Kenya

Jeffrey Maganya Mr
IUCN Eastern Regional Office
Wasaa Consevation Centre
Mukoma Road (off Magadi Road)
PO Box 68200
Nairobi
Kenya
Tel: +254 2 890 605
Fax: +254 2 890 615
Email: maganya@hotmail.com

Malawi

Arthur Chibwana Mr
RTTP Coordinator
Ministry of Local Government
P O Box 30312
Lilongwe
Malawi
Tel: +265 780 555 0r 721810
Fax: + 265 780 242
Email: localgovt@malawi.net

South Africa

Wim Van Steenderen Mr
University of Witwatersrand
Department of Civil Engineering
Private Bag 3 PO Wits
Johannesburg
South Africa
Tel: +27 11 716 4424
Fax: +27 11 339 1762
Email: wim@civen.civil.wits.ac.za

Claudia da Lomba Ms
University of Witwatersrand
Johannesburg
South Africa
Tel: +27 11 716 4423
Fax: +27 11 339 1762
Email: lomba@netactive.co.za

Constance Ntsoko Ms
CSIR Transportek
PO Box 395
Pretoria
South Africa
Email: cntsoko@csir.co.za

Diamond Motha Mr
CSIR
135 Block I
Mabopane 01490
South Africa
Tel: +27 12 841 3769
Email: dmotha@csir.co.za

Dirk Hanekom Mr
Agricultural Research Council
Institute for Agricultural Engineering
Private Bag X519
Silverton
Pretoria 0127
South Africa
Tel: +27 12 842 4053
Fax: +27 12 804 0753
Email: wkt8@ingl.agsic.za

Dora Zitha Ms

Department of Public Transport,
Northern Province
P O Box 239
Giyani 0826
South Africa
Tel: +27 15 297 4884
Fax: +27 15 291 3989

Matthew Dayomi Dr

Department of Geography
University of The North
Private Box X 1106
Sovenga
Petersburg
South Africa
Tel: +27 15 268 2236
Fax: +27 15 268 2323
Email: dayomia@unin.unorth.ac.za

Ramachandra Rao Kalaga Dr

Department of Civil Engineering
University of Durban – Westville
Private Bag X54001
Durban 4000
South Africa
Tel: +27 31 204 4185
Fax: +27 31 204 4755/204 4291
Email: RRKalaga@pixie.udw.ac.za

Thandiwe Sizdumo-Mazibuko Dr

Independent Development Trust
Eastern Cape Regional Office
P O Box 5275
Umtata 5100
South Africa
Tel: +27 47 5312973/5315113
Fax: +27 47 5312969/+27 11 7261020
Email: thandiwes@idt.org.za

Danso Poku Agyemang Mr

University of Witwatersrand
Civil Engineering Department
South Africa
Tel: + 27 11 7162484

Isaac Kwaw Mr

Univeristy of the North
Department of Geography
P/Bag X1106
Sovenga 0727
South Africa
Tel: +27 15 268 3185
Fax: +27 15 268 2323
Email: isaack@unin.unorth.ac.za

Madumelena Inncentia Mhlongo Ms

CSIR/B10
PO Box 395
Pretoria
South Africa
Tel: +27 12 841 3791
Fax: +27 12 841 3232
Email: mmhlongo@csir.co.za

Matseliso Motsoahae Ms

Graduate Research Assistant
University of Fort Hare
p/B X1314
Alice 5700
South Africa
Tel: +27 27826908201 or +27406022085
Fax: +27406531730
Email: S9415360@ufhcc.ufh.ac.za

Mark Harvey Mr

DFID
208 Infotech Building
1090 Arcadia Street
Hatfield
Pretoria 0083
South Africa
Tel: +27 12 342 3360 X118
Fax: +27 12 342 3429
Email: m-harvey@dfid.gtnet.gov.uk

Ted Stilwell Mr

Development Bank of South Africa
PO Box 1234
Halfway House 1685
South Africa
Tel: + 27 11 27313 3911/3138
Fax: +27 11 27313 3086/3533
Email: ted@dbsa.org

Hazel Ngwenya Ms

Private Bag X83
Marshaltown
Johannesburg 2107
South Africa
Tel: +27 11 355 7227
Fax: +27 11355 7163

Mmeme Sejosengwe Ms

Department of Transport and Public
Works
Private Bag X83
Marshalltown
Johannesburg 2107
South Africa

Phumla Princess Zangga Ms

Private Bag X83
Marshalltown
Johannesburg 2107
South Africa
Tel: +27 11 355 7228
Fax: + 27 11 255 7163

Sbongile Mokgatla Ms

Private Bag X83
Marshalltown
Johannesburg 2107
South Africa
Tel: +27 11 355 7227
Fax: +27 11 355 7163

Thokozile P Mabaso Ms

PO Box 232
Plesslaer 3216
South Africa
Tel: + 27 331 3558866/886 (w)
Fax: +27 331 3558098
Email: mabasot@dotho.kzntl.gov.za

Vivienne Susan Lipman Ms

Department of Transport
Private Bag X 193
Pretoria 0001
South Africa
Tel: + 27 12 309 3231
Fax: + 27 12 328 5102
Email: LipmanV@ndot.pwv.gov.za

Natasha Primo Ms

National Research Foundation
South Africa
Prudence Moeketsi
CSIR
Transportek
PO Box 395
Pretoria 0001
South Africa
Tel: +27 12 841 4287
Fax: +27 12 84 4200
Email: pmoekets@csir.co.za

Sabina Mahapa Ms

University of the North
Department of Geography
P/Bag X1106
Sovenga 0727
South Africa
Tel: +27 15 268 2323/3199
Fax: +27 15 268 2323
Email: sabinam@unin.unorth.ac.za

Sammy Magalego Mr

CSIR Transportek
PO Box 395
Pretoria 0001
South Africa
Tel: +27 12 841 3932

Longile Moho Mabuza Mr

University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3
Wits 2050
South Africa
Tel: +27 11 356 0740 (H) 716 4460
(W)
Email: 041mabu@cosmos.wits.ac.uk

Timothy Simalenga Dr

Chairperson
ATNESA
University of Fort Hare
PBag X1314
Alice 5700
South Africa
Tel: +27406022085
Fax: +27406531730
Email: Tim.s@ufhcc.ufh.ac.za

Tuswa Pumza Mr

Transaid Worldwide
P O Box 5023
Halfway house 1685
South Africa
Tel: +27 11 805 6158
Fax: +27 11 805 6158

Wellington Didibuku Thwala Mr

University of Witwatersrand
P O Box 543 WITS
Johannesburg 2050
South Africa
Tel: +27 11 359 6061 (home) 716
4460 (work)
Fax: +27 11 339 1762
Email: 041well@cosmos.wits.ac.za

Segape David Makgahlela Mr

Department of Transport – Northern
Province
PO Box 269
Lebowakgamo 0737
South Africa
Tel: +27 15 6335722 home 082
9636291 +27 15 2952923 (work)
Fax: + 27 15 2912711/29135989

Sudan

Mohamed Harou Ismail Mr

Elfashir University
Darfur
Sudan

Uganda

Bernard Tumwebaze Mr

c/o John Newbery

Western Uganda Roads Maintenance.
Capacity Building Project Community
Roads Officer
Parkman – O'Sullivan & Graham
PO Box 777
Fort Portal
Uganda
Fax: 00 256 483 22636
Email: mailto:posg@imul.com
posg@imul.com

Rose Gamwera Ms

Uganda local authorities association
ntc building, 8th floor
plot 3 pilkington road
p o box 23120
kampala
Uganda
Tel: +256 41-347575/85
M: +256 44-77 401340

Salome Kamure Okayi Ms

District CAP Coordinator
Community Action Programme, West
Nile
P O Box 303
Arua
Uganda
Tel: +256 076 20002
Fax: +256 041 234409
Email: snvuga@imul.com

United Kingdom

Simon Lucas Dr

DFID
94 Victoria Street
London SW1E 5JL
UK
Email: s-lucas@dfid.gtnet.gov.uk

Annabel Sophie Claire Davis Ms

Transport Research Laboratory
Old Wokingham Road
Crowthorne
Berkshire RG45 6AV
UK
Tel: +44 1344 770398
Fax: +44 1344 770643
Email: adavis@trl.co.uk

Bruce Britton Mr

Consultant
Flass Farmhouse
St Fort
Newport-on-Tay
Fife DD6 8RE
UK
Tel: +44 1382 540070
Fax: +44 1382 540070
Email: b.britton@neem.demon.co.uk

USA

Elizabeth Rankin Ms

Consultant on Gender and Transport
Issues, RTTP
648 Robin Glen Drive
Glendale
USA
Tel: + 1 818 243 8880
Fax: + 1 818 502 1533
Email: erankin@worldbank.org

Jerry Lebo Dr

World Bank
F4P-192
1818H Street NW
Washington DC 2043
USA
Tel: + 1202 458 7396
Fax: + 1202 522 3223
Email: jlebo@worldbank.org

Zambia

Diana Banda Ms

Gender specialist
University of Zambia IMT Group
Dept. of Rural Economics-UNZA
Box 32379
Lusaka 10101
Zambia
Tel: +260 1 250587
Fax: +260 1 250587

Zimbabwe

Bertha Mudamburi Ms

Institute of Agricultural Engineering
PO Box Bw 330
Borrowdale
Harare
Zimbabwe
Tel: +2634 861950/860019
Fax: +263 4 860009/860136
Email: bertha@iae.icon.co.zw

Fatemah Ali Nejadfard Dr

Senior Technical Advisor – Rural Travel
and Transport Component
ILO ASIST
P O Box 210
Harare
Zimbabwe
Tel: +263 4 748345-7
Fax: +263 4 759427
Email: alinejadfard@ilo.org

George Banjo Dr

Rural Travel and Transport Program
(RTTP) Africa Region
The World Bank
RTTP Regional Office, Resident
Mission, Finsure House (5th Floor),
84-86 Union Avenue
Harare
Zimbabwe
Tel: 263 4 729-6111/2/3
Fax: +263 4 708-659
Email: gbanjo@worldbank.org

Rodgers Mozhentiy Mr

Development Advisor
ARDC
P O Box BE411
Belvedere
Harare
Zimbabwe
Tel: + 263 4 726 526
Fax: +263 4 725 433

List of Researchers, Facilitators and IFRTD Staff

Researchers

Burkina Faso

Amadou Ouedraogo Mr

01 BP 3265 Ouagadougou
Burkina Faso
Tel: +226 36 2132
Fax: +226 38 43 24
Email: amadouo@hotmail.com

Honorine Damiba Ms

01 BP 1771 Ouagadougou 01
Burkina Faso
Tel: +226 30 62 11 OR 30 62 12
Fax: +226 31 18 24

Aminata Ouedraogo Dr

Bureau d'Etudes BEHOD
03 BP 7111 Ouagadougou 03
Burkina Faso
Tel: +226 38 43 24
Fax: +226 38 43 24

Bangladesh

Mahjabeen Choudhary Ms

IT Bangladesh
House 32 Road 13A
Dhanmondi Residential Area
Dhaka 1209 Tel: +880- 2 811-934
Bangladesh
Fax: +880 2 813-134
Email: itdgb@bdmail.net

India

Alaknanda Shakula Ms

Shri Mahila Sewa Sahakari Bank Ltd
109 Sakar II Building, Near Town Hall
Ellisbridge, Ahmedabad 380006
India
Tel: +91 79 658-1597
Fax: +91 79 657-6074

Mahua Mukherjee Ms

Research Associate
Centre for Built Environment
2/5 Sarat Bose Road
Calcutta 700 020, India
Tel: +91 33 474-5424, 476-1495
Fax: +91 33 943-333, 954-321, 466-0625

Nitya Rao Ms

Flat 18, 6th Floor, 'Jeevan Satyakam'
57D, Dr Ambedkar Road, Bandra
(West)
Mumbai 400 050
India
Tel: +91 22 604-3637, 649-3828
Fax: +91 22 646-2304
Email: nityarao@vsnl.com

Rekha Barve Ms

Research in-charge
Shri Mahila Sewa Sahakari Bank Ltd
109 Sakar II Building, Near Town Hall
Ellisbridge, Ahmedabad 380006
India
Tel: +91 79 658-1597
Fax: +91 79 657-6074

Kenya

Justina Nthenge Ms

P O Box 61694
Nairobi
Kenya
Tel: +254 2 521450
Fax: +254 2 521001
Email: j.kinuthianthenge@cgjar.org

Pascal G Kaumbotho Dr

Executive Coordinator, KENDAT
PO Box 61441
Nairobi
Kenya
Tel: +254 2 766939
Fax: +254 2 766939
Email: kendat@africaonline.co.ke

Mozambique

Alexandrina Leonardo Alberto Sabela Ms

Agostinho Neto 1888 Andan I
or
World Relief Mozambique
Rua Jopse Mateus 274
Caixa Postal 680
Maputo
Mozambique

Nepal

Ganesh K Ghimire Mr

G P O Box 4067
Kathmandu
Nepal
Tel: +977 1 223-091
Fax: +977 1 227-691
Email: ghimi@ghimi.wlink.com.np

Nigeria

E M Shaibu Imodagbe Mr

Samaru College of Agriculture
Ahmadu Bello Univeristy
PMB 1058
Zaria
Nigeria
Tel: +234 69 51113 (Principal's office)
+234 69 551293 (Director's office)
Email: imoshaib@abu.edu.ng

Nurudeen Abubakar Mr

Society and Environment Initiative
PO Box 1793
Zaria
Nigeria
Email: nurudeen@abu.edu.ng

Mohammed Bello Yunusa Dr

Department of Urban and Regional
Planning
Ahmadu Bello University
Samaru Zaria
Nigeria
Email: belloyun@abu.edu.ng

Philippines

Anne Marie Dizon Ms

C/o Urban Poor Associates (UPA)
50-A Malakas St., Brgy. Pimjahan
Quezon City 1100
Philippines
Tel: 63 2 426-4119
Fax: 63 2 426-4118
Email: emc321@wtouch.com

Maureen Pagaduan Prof.

C/o National Forum for Rural
Transport and Development
College of Social Work and
Community Development
University of the Philippines
Diliman
Quezon City
Philippines
Tel: + 63 2 929-0491
Fax: + 63 2 929-8439

Sri Lanka

Dharshini Samaranyake Ms

899 Peradeniya Road
Kandy
Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 8 223-973
Fax: +94 8 232-458

Kusala Wettasinghe Ms

ITDG
5 Lionel Edirisinghe Mawatha
Kirulapone Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 1 852-149, 829-412-4/
Fax: +94 1 856-188
Email: kusala@itdg.lanka.net

Kusum Kuruppu Ms

899 Peradeniya Road
Kandy
Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 8 223-973
Fax: +94 8 232-458

Upali Pannilage Mr

Rural Transport Team,
ITDG
5 Lionel Edirisinghe Mawatha
Kirillapone, Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 1 852-149, 829-412/4
Email: upali@itdg.lanka.net

Sudan

Suad Mustafa Elhaj Musa Ms

Darfur
Sudan

Tanzania

Josephine Mwankusye Ms

P O Box 77569
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania
Tel: +255 51 668926
Fax: +255 51 137437

Uganda

Harriet K Iga Ms

P O Box 1291
Kampala
Uganda
Tel: +256 41 251064/5
Fax: +256 41 257521
Email: neic@starcom.co.ug

Kwamusu Paul Mr

Professional Driving and Defensive
Systems Limited
PO Box 9718
Kampala
Uganda
Tel: +256 41 343856
Fax: +256 41 343059
Mobile + 77 405503

Charles Kaira Dr

Transport Specialist
National Long Term Perspective
Studies
5 Edinburgh Avenue
P O Box 20, Kyambogo
Kampala
Uganda
Tel: +256 41 286-218 (home), 348-
307
Email: ckkaira@infocom.co.ug

UK

Jeff Turner Mr

Department of Planning
University of Manchester
Oxford Road
Manchester M13 9PL
UK
Tel: + 44 161 275 6948
Fax: +44 161 275 6893
Email: Jeff.Turner@man.ac.uk
<http://www.art.man.ac.uk/transres>

Gina Porter Dr

CORD/Department of Geography
University of Durham
Science Laboratories
South Road
Durham DH1 7LE
UK
Tel: +44 191 374 2495/+44 1765
635285
Fax: +44 191 374 2496
Email: r.e.porter@durham.ac.uk

Zimbabwe

Dorris Chingozho Ms

Intermediate Technology Development
Group
Box 1744
Harare
Zimbabwe
Tel: +263 4 490270
Fax: +263 4 496041

**Researchers not Present at
the Seminars**

Bangladesh

Neela Matin Ms

c/o IT Bangladesh
House 32 Road 13A
Dhanmondi Residential Area
Dhaka 1209
Bangladesh
Tel: +880 2 811-934
Fax: +880 2 813-134
Email: neela@dhaka.agni.com

India

Mihir Bhatt Mr

Director
Foundation for Public Interest
Sakar V Suite 411, Fourth floor
Behind Natraj Theater, Ashram Road
Ahmedabad 380 009
India
Tel: +91 79 658-2962
Fax: +91 79 658-2962
Email: mihir@adl.vsnl.net.in

Reema Nanavaty Ms

Self Employed Women's Association
(SEWA)
Sewa Reception Centre, opp. Victoria
Garden
Bhadra, Ahmedabad 380 001
India
Tel: +91 79 550-6477, 550-6444
Fax: +91 79 550-6446
Email: bdmsa@adl.vsnl.net.in

Kenya

Cecilia Kinuthia Njenga Ms

United Nations Centre for Human
Settlements (UNCHS)
P.O. Box 30030
Nairobi
Kenya
Tel: +254 2 623 164
Fax: +254 2 624 265
Email: ckinuthia@elci.sasa.unep.no

UK

John David Seddon Mr

School of Development Studies
University of East Anglia
Norwich NR4 7TJ
United Kingdom
Tel: +44 1603 456-161
Fax: +44 1603 451-999
Email: J.D.Seddon@uea.ac.uk

Faciliators

Megan Lloyd Laney Ms

Commsconsult
Holly Barn
Sunny Corner,
Cusgarne
Truro TR4 8RN
UK
Tel: +44 1872 863279
Email: commsconsult@gn.apc.org

Farai Samunghu Ms

Head of Marketing
ITDG Zimbabwe
91 Enterprise Road
Highlands
Harare
Zimbabwe
Tel: +263 4 490270
Fax: +263 4 496041
Email: dprcldtg@internet.co.zw

Nelun Fernando Ms

ITDG
5 Lionel Edirisinghe Mawatha,
Kirulapone Colombo 5, Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 1 852-149, 829-412-4/
Fax: +94 1 856-188
Email: nelun@itdg.lanka.net

Kusala Wettasinghe Ms

ITDG
5 Lionel Edirisinghe Mawatha
Kirulapone Colombo 5
Sri Lanka
Tel: +94 1 852-149, 829-412-4/
Fax: +94 1 856-188
Email: kusala@itdg.lanka.net

IFRTD Secretariat, UK

Priyanthi Fernando Ms

Executive Secretary
IFRTD Secretariat
New Premier House
150 Southampton Row
London WC1B 5AL
UK
Tel: +44 20 7 278 3670
Fax: +44 20 7 278 6880
Email: ifrtd@gn.apc.org

Mike Noyes Mr

Deputy Executive Secretary
IFRTD
New Premier House
150 Southampton Row
London WC1B 5AL
UK
Tel: +44 20 7 278 3670
Fax: + 44 20 7 278 6880
Email: ifrtd@gn.apc.org

Ana Bravo Ms

Consultant Deputy Executive
Secretary – Latin America
C/o the IFRTD Secretariat
New Premier House
150 Southampton Row
London WC1B 5AL, UK
Tel: +44 20 7 278 3670
Fax: + 44 20 7 278 6880
Email: ana.bravo@mcmill.com

Appendices

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2. *Spatial mobility and women's empowerment: implications for developing rural transport in Bangladesh*
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3. *From Dawn to Dusk: transportation of rural women to and from Calcutta Metropolis*
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9. *Issues from Asian Case Studies*

Asia Case Study Summaries

My Daily Odyssey: transportation in the lives of SEWA Bank's clients

By Sangita Shrestova and Rekha Barve

This case study presents evidence regarding the pressing transportation issues faced by SEWA (Self Employed Women's Association) women in and around Ahmedabad, India. These women experience acute access restrictions and transportation constraints, and the format of the study, which includes 'stories' of six of the women's daily lives gives clear insights into how these issues convert into daily drudgery for the women themselves.

At the outset the study presents a fundamental paradox: that while the SEWA Bank clients' lives are some of the most adversely affected by transport related problems, the women themselves are not even aware of transportation as a 'separate aspect' of their lives, despite the fact that their lives revolve around it. Concepts such as 'distance travelled' have little meaning for the women, who tend to think in terms of 'time spent' on tasks as having much more relevance to their daily lives.

The study examines what form of transportation women are using for income-generating, leisure and social purposes. It asks: "Why are these transportation decisions made? In other words, to what extent are women's transportation decisions affected by economic, cultural and gender-based considerations? "

The authors use three mechanisms to obtain their evidence: secondary research (mainly SEWA background information), six case studies about individual women (clothes/utensils peddler, pull-cart labourer, bidi roller, sweeper, ragpicker and farmer) and survey data collected from questionnaire responses from 79 of the SEWA Bank's clients, who were selected by location because of early problems in locating all of those from a randomly selected list. The authors argue that this 'deviation from the random sampling method' does not decrease the authenticity of the report and its 'snapshot-like portrayal of transportation in SEWA Bank's clients' lives.

The report is presented in four sections. The first details the methodology as described above, while the second gives geographical and demographic background and detailed research findings.

All the women respondents are workers in the informal sector of the economy, and their monthly income ranged between Rs.0 to Rs.5000, with an average of Rs.1300. Both urban and rural workers are represented in the sample. They each work six or seven days a week in income generating activities and household chores combined, and those days are long (up to nineteen hours). Women carry headloads of up to 40Kg and walking is the main mode of transportation, with many of the women interviewed 'walking anywhere

even remotely accessible to cut transportation costs'. This certainly applies to all the women featured in the fourth section, containing the six women's 'travel diaries'.

Other modes of transport, such as bus or rickshaw, are secondary to walking, and buses, the second most important form of transportation to the women, are only used in emergencies (such as for health reasons) or where the income earned by the woman is sufficient to stand the use of a bus occasionally. On average, fractionally under thirty per cent of the women's income is spent each month on transportation, and despite many of the women suffering physical problems as a result of up to ten hours per day moving around, the highest percentage (more than eighty per cent) complained of high public transport costs as a difficulty, before the lack of a vehicle, long waits for public transport or physical strain. It was also noted among the respondents the use of public transport for health reasons for a family member was more likely than the women using one themselves for their own health.

The women's favoured solution to improve their transportation difficulties include a significant majority believing that a new vehicle would help them (58.22%). This figure includes 100% of home-based workers felt a new vehicle would 'help them significantly', while 92.86% of primary producers (farmers) felt this. Depending upon the nature of business, this might be a bicycle or push cart (rather than headloading or hiring a cart); a rickshaw (most useful to the vendors), or a bullock cart (farmers). This latter, rural category however were the most hesitant about using one themselves, based on gender/cultural based limitations (which also exist in the city to varying extents).

In the third section the authors then tie in their study with one by the Ahmedabad Municipal Transport Service (AMTS) which brings in the wider considerations of traffic congestion and pollution in Ahmedabad itself, which also adversely affects the women respondents, and which it is realised at policy level needs to be addressed urgently. The AMTS study finds that only 29% per cent of its passengers are female. Why? This study finds that 'women save money at the expense of time and health', and that the major deterrent to taking a bus is cost. As the AMTS is hoping to restructure to attract new customers, the authors suggest there may be scope for SEWA to negotiate a concession for members using public buses.

The authors also suggest other areas for future study and possible assistance to SEWA members, bringing transportation much more to the fore in SEWA investigation and policy-making: "Transportation is not often considered as a separate issue in the surveyed women's lives, yet our study demonstrates that [it] plays a vital part in both the professional and personal lives of our respondents".

Spatial mobility and women's empowerment: implications for developing rural transport in Bangladesh

By Nilufer Matin, Mahjabeen Chowdhury, Hasina Begum and Delwara Khanam

The authors begin with an assertion of the known linkages between spatial mobility and the social and economic empowerment of women. This study explores these linkages, and analyses the gender aspects of transport in the context of rural Bangladesh, where the limitations on women's mobility are entrenched and where gender issues in transport are an under-explored area of research.

Two geographical areas of the country were selected, Faridpur and Netrokona. Villages within 2km of a paved road were termed 'easy access'. These villages have access to motorised transport. Villages further from the paved road which can only be reached via earthen tracks and using non-motorised transport are termed 'remote'

The existing pattern of transport in Bangladesh is determined by the dominant topography. Therefore most modes of transport are non-motorised and pedestrian traffic still dominates. In 1986 non-motorised transport accounted for 94 per cent of commercially operated vehicles and two-thirds of carrying capacity. The other district feature is the regular flooding experienced during the monsoon in large areas of the country. The earthen roads, which are the majority, are flooded during the monsoon and remain muddy for much of the year. Country boats are much used.

In 'easy access' rural areas, the available modes of transport are bus, rickshaw, tempo, rickshaw van and during monsoon, country boat.

Women in rural Bangladesh face a rigid division of labour in the composition of work being done by women and men. Rural men spend 5.97 hours daily on work and rural women spend 7.57hrs. Of this, 5.57 hours are spent by women on subsistence activities and housework, men devote little more than half an hour to such work.

The gender division of labour has been on the one hand induced by the traditional cultural restrictions on women's mobility, and on the other hand has reinforced the restrictions. There is a strict code regarding when and for what reasons women may leave their homes. Women have broken out of seclusion to some extent, but the 'social psychology is reproduced in the present day policies for women's development': development agencies design most of their activities for women in the field of subsistence home-based activities which do not require much mobility. This, though it has helped women to participate in income-generating activities, in turn also contributed to the perpetuation and reinforcement of traditional restrictions on women's mobility outside the home.

The authors gathered data in Faridpur and Netrokona in easy access villages and remote villages. Participatory techniques were used and some of the findings and variations are summarised below.

Women are greatly assisted in their duties by the presence of clean water in or near their village (e.g. tube well). If there is no school in the village then boys and girls have to walk for perhaps 25 minutes. Some schoolgirls are starting to ride bikes, and those who can afford it pay for a rickshaw or tempo. Schools located in villages save much time and expense. Likewise healthcare facilities.

A paved road is a great help to all transportation needs in a village, and working on road construction can bring in income for men and women where such projects have been instigated. In remote villages there can be great hardship during the monsoon flooding; men cannot get to work or children to school; health workers do not come to the village and women hardly go out at all. NGOs are reluctant to run credit programmes in the villages because they are in isolation for half of the year. As such, women have almost no employment and income earning opportunities and no way of attending training programmes. Women also do not attend markets or travel to gather firewood, using dried leaves or dung available domestically. Where social restrictions are very tight in such remote villages, women express a wish for better jobs for the men in their families, not themselves, despite abject poverty.

In the easy access villages of Netrokona in the drier part of the country, women enjoy much more freedom to move about. They can access credit and training and go to the market to trade. Poorer women have to walk if they cannot afford a rickshaw, but still enjoy greater mobility than their counterparts above. Even in the remote villages of this region women have greater mobility. They are free to work outside the home and have access to the family land to raise an income. This means that they are often carrying loads, on heads for the poorest. but the well-off can hire rickshaws. They also have to cover some distance to collect firewood. Only men use bicycles.

The report encompasses considerable variation, but the authors note how women from many different locations and backgrounds have been able to break through barriers, and have established examples of increased spatial mobility as a means to empowerment with minimum aid from outside institutions. Class, wealth and caste have complex effects on women's mobility, but generally the poor and destitute have fewer restrictions than the well-off. Women-only buses or the availability of rickshaws help women to move around in a restrictive society.

Other recommendations to increase women's mobility include:

- Well-maintained earthen roads

- Increased availability to women of non-motorised means of transport (credit programmes)
- Bicycle incentives for schoolgirls to ride to school
- Women-friendly bus services.

From Dawn to Dusk: transportation of rural women to and from Calcutta Metropolis

By Mahua Mukherjee

This paper examines the lot of rural women who take the train each day from a collection of rural villages outside Calcutta to undertake mostly informal sector work in the city. The economic disparity between rural and urban areas, coupled with other disadvantages has led to this daily migration from rural to urban areas. Both men and women are part of this massive movement of people on overcrowded trains, but a large proportion are women who are compelled to commute in search of income to support their families.

The author uses secondary research, observation and discussion, and primary research in the form of a questionnaire-based interview. There was very little existing information about the women commuters, so the author found she was effectively starting from scratch.

What the study uncovers is a large and growing number of women travelling daily into the city at considerable mental and physical cost to themselves, and there is at least some evidence in the study that families are suffering associated ill effects also. The author reports that rural/urban commuters are in a double bind; not as vocal as their urban informal sector counterparts, they have to endure virtually non-existent rural transportation and chaotic, overcrowded urban public transport.

The area under study, District South 24 Parganas, has a high number of men and women commuting to Calcutta, as it supplies vegetables, fish, flowers and milk to Calcutta and vendors travel in with these, workers for the leather, plastics and building industries, untrained workers for hospitals and care homes, a few formal sector (office staff), but in the group of women studied, the majority were employed as 'maidservants' (domestic help).

The aim of the study, was to determine 'who are the commuters and how are they commuting? What are the problems they are facing and how far are these gendered? How does their choice and use of transport affect, or is affected by their roles and responsibilities in their homes and communities? What ideas do the women have about improving transport facilities?

Girls under twenty years of age were not found to be commuting for a job, but for educational purposes. For those commuting who were in their twenties, thirties and forties, selling produce of various kinds and domestic servant were the main occupations. Depending on age and state of health the women may fulfil this role for more than one household. Only 6 per cent of

respondents were engaged in the formal sector; these feel they could pay more for transportation but in exchange would want a relatively comfortable journey – impossible under present circumstances. Most women in the informal sector simply do not pay for their tickets (there is no systematic checking although railway staff are corrupt and accept bribes. The government are running this part of the train line in South 24 Parganas with a subsidy, and considering closing it down because of the losses, in lieu of further development or expansion).

The women also have to manage their own housework as well as their outside jobs; the author found evidence of severe poverty, lack of access to water and sanitation. There is physical strain on many family members (asthma and TB are common) and some evidence of breakdown in the traditional extended family through the women having to work away from home. 54 per cent of women respondents spend more than twelve hours outside their homes every day. Only five per cent stay away for less than eight hours. On average one and a half hours of this is taken up with travelling, with many respondents spending three hours or more. Time is wasted waiting to change from one mode of transport to another; on average 55 minutes per day. In every case the women walk for part of their journey, on average for 90 minutes but in some cases 150-180 minutes.

There are extremely limited opportunities for earning an income in the villages of the District, which is what drives the women to make a difficult and often unsafe journey in a crowded and frequently late-running train. In one village of the District however, Taldi, there is a rather different story. There is a local prawn processing industry, and most of the women who live there are engaged in that industry, local to their homes. This gives them a local means of earning a livelihood, sparing considerable strain on themselves and their families. Their energies are not wasted on difficult travelling.

In her evaluation, the author draws out the following main points. Economic reasons are the driving force behind the mass daily commuting. The women usually have to keep their own houses as well as earn an income. Time away from home is long (about twelve hours) and wasting time waiting between journeys is about an hour on average. Regarding the journey itself, discomfort is the main problem: too hot in summer, too cold in the early morning in winter; no lighting when walking home in the dark, other passengers do not welcome the large loads carried by the vendors, roads for walking are muddy during the rainy season, no toilet facilities at the roadside, inadequate women's facilities on the train, trains are cancelled and run late without prior warning, pickpocketing and bribery are rife on the trains.

Their long days away mean that the women can interact less with their families and the author mentions a 'trend of negligence' towards the women from other family members themselves struggling with poor nutrition and hygiene facilities. In many of these families the

husband is too ill to work, and the strain of housework, commuting and time away from home is taking a toll on the women and their family relationships.

The rural women's suggestions to improve their situation included: the number of trains and buses should be increased; a double-decker train, electric street lights and a cemented walkway, toilet facilities by the roadside; more women only compartments on the trains; trains should not be cancelled without prior notice; railway staff and police corruption should be clamped down on. Perhaps the most far-reaching long term suggestion from the women themselves was for alternative income generation opportunities nearer to their villages. It is fundamentally lack of any alternatives which makes these women follow the course of action they do, and their health, education, housing conditions and family life all suffer as a result.

The women expressed all aspects of their lives and their difficulties, but the author reports that they did not feel they could play any role, however minor, in improving their present situation. Their confidence and self-esteem is extremely low.

The author concludes with a broad list of recommendations, underpinned with the exhortation that any solution must be economically viable and sustainable, and that the present set of circumstances requires a great deal of human and economic resources to resolve. Much research is needed now to work out the best ways to mobilise resources and to manage an appropriate action plan.

Transport patterns in two barangays in the Philippines

By *Maureen Pagaduan and Anna Dizon*

This study presents a description and gender analysis of the transport patterns in two barangays in the Philippines.

The first, Caramay which was formed in 1905, covers a land area of some 8,000 hectares and is home to about 480 households, each with an average of five inhabitants. Farming is the main economic activity, with coconuts grown as the main export crop, and fishing supporting household income. There are two dirt roads servicing intra-barangay travel; two gravel provincial roads and one feeder road.

A range of transport devices are used to transport people and goods. A fleet of jeepneys, oversized jeeps with the motor engine of a truck which have a seating capacity of 50 but accommodate 75 people when fully packed, is used by both men and women. The vehicles are mostly owned by men for public, utilitarian and commercial use, and operate from early in the morning to late at night. Their design poses no discomfort nor inconvenience to women who are frequent users.

Motorcycles and bicycles are ridden by both men and women, although ownership is restricted largely to men. They are used to travel to the local high school, to work,

to undertake errands such as fetching water, and delivering messages to friends and relatives. The barangay has between 30-50 motorcycles and up to 60 bicycles. Women are very familiar with both modes of transport and are comfortable using them.

Bancas, or boats, both motorised and non-motorised, are used by fishermen to transport themselves to fishing grounds. They are also used for domestic chores and for bathing, where the male owners of the boats ferry their sisters and wives to unpolluted stretches of the Caramay River. The majority of the residents carry out their everyday activities by walking. Women walk to the local market to buy provisions for the household, and both men and women walk to fetch water and to take a bath. Women and men also walk to the health centre, to church, to neighbours to exchange news and stories. They also walk to go to other sitios, especially in the upland section of the community, to work on their patch of land, to gather cashew nuts, to plant rice and to take care of these. Children walk to attend school and some of their teachers do too. From the national road going to the sitios, people walk towards the interior of the barangay since there are no tricycles to transport them to their final destination. There are no designated walking trails within the barangay since the entire area has accessible walking paths underneath coconut trees. Even the barangay roads are still dominantly used by pedestrians.

The second barangay, Handumon, is one of three which make up the island of Jandayan, itself part of a small chain of islands off the coast of the mainland. The barangay is 58 hectares, and home to 158 households. Fishing is the main economic activity, with the main source of cash income from seahorse trading with mainland China. Fresh water is supplied by 52 wells, and the women of the island collect and sell firewood to households on neighbouring islands.

The sea is the main routeway used by all inhabitants. Roads are maintained by local government but the comprehensive network of narrow paths are made and repaired by local users. A range of transport devices are regularly used by the people of the barangay; motorised and non-motorised bancas; ferry boats; motorcycles; push carts, bicycles, and walking.

Bicycles and boats tend to be used by men rather than women, partly because of ownership patterns, and partly because women are not comfortable with these particular modes of transport (for example, women are uncomfortable with rowing non-motorised bancas, and have developed fear of the sea because they are rarely taught how to swim as children). Travel by motor boat takes some time because even if the actual ride only takes less than an hour, the waiting time is long. This is especially difficult for women because of the many concerns and chores they have to attend to. While the banca is covered, it can only provide shade for 10 people. Also, because of the inconvenience of a boat ride, women can not dress appropriately for fear that it might cause

them greater inconvenience and embarrassment in getting in and out of the vessel.

Women would prefer to stay home if there were no motor boat available and non-motorized bancas are the only option. This is because the use of the latter sometimes causes quarrel among husbands and wives especially when the man does not want to do the rowing. Women would be forced to row and because they are not practised in this type of activity, an argument might follow. A non-motorized banca is three times slower than a motorized boat because it is very much dependent on wind resistance and the power of the person who handles the paddle. The boarding area for non-motorized bancas is along the shore where one has to wade in knee deep water before reaching the boat. In this case passengers, can not do anything but get wet.

Motorcycles are modified to enable up to five medium-sized passengers to travel together with luggage. Fees for passengers are not fixed, and women expressed discomfort at sitting so closely with other male passengers and having to negotiate fares with the driver. A passenger's safety is a matter of concern for the individual and the driver takes no responsibility for ensuring that they wear protective clothing.

Women can be regularly seen walking. They walk to other neighbours to sell their husband's catch when it is too few to sell to commercial buyers. They walk to fetch water, especially those who are located far from the wells, for the drinking and washing needs of their household. They walk to gather firewood and to sell food like bread and viands. The men, upon returning from the sea or their work, are not expected to work in the house. They will sleep and rest during the day because everybody believes that they are too tired because of their work the previous night.

Pushcarts are also owned by the men. They are both for their personal use and for rent together with their labour. Its main purpose is for hauling water containers from the well to the shore where they will be loaded to waiting motorised boats to deliver to customers in the island barangays. They are also used to haul firewood which is also sold like fresh water to other islanders. They are also rented to deliver merchandise from the shore to the doorsteps of store owners in the barangay.

Transportation is a source of livelihood for men in the barangay. They are the owners of boats, motorcycles and bicycles which they use for personal mobility and for leisure.

Cycling into the future: The experience of Women in Pudukkottai, Tamil Nadu

By Nitya Rao

The story of the introduction of bicycles and bicycle riding skills as part of a literacy campaign (by the National Literacy Mission) in the early 1990s in Pudukkottai region, Tamil Nadu, is a well-known example of women's

increased mobility, independence and empowerment through a successful intervention: cycling.

The author of this study wanted to see how circumstances had evolved more than five years 'down the road', and whether the movement in women riding bicycles had been sustained and would remain sustainable.

The initial campaign enlisted the help of men to teach women how to cycle. Loans were made available for women to buy cycles and those with a regular income (such as NGO extension workers, childcare workers) were quick to take these up. As more women were seen regularly cycling, the opposition and 'male jokes died away'. It became acceptable through the sense of it being a widespread movement.

The author sought to ask three questions:

1. Though cycles were introduced from the perspective of empowering women rather than meeting their transport needs, have they been able to meet those needs, both for their productive and reproductive activities. Are women able to access bicycles to meet those needs?
2. What has been the impact of women's increased mobility on their self-esteem and confidence, on gender relations in the community?
3. Has providing cycles to women been a sustainable intervention? In particular, has women's investment in cycles continued and do they have control over the use of these cycles?

Key informant interviews, a focus group discussion and a village survey were the tools employed to find answers to these questions. 49 women were interviewed in 12 villages.

Out of these 49, only three did not know how to ride a bicycle. Most of these 'sample' women were Scheduled and Backward caste women, half of them barely literate and the others educated up to middle school. They earn their living through their labour. They are mostly in the 20-30 years age group and most of them have children and families to care for, in addition to their income-earning activities. Their workload is therefore heavy.

An activity and time profile conducted with eight couples revealed that while men and women spent 6-8 hours per day on paid work, the women spent a similar amount of time on household maintenance and childcare tasks, whereas men spent less than two hours on these. Women's working day could stretch to between 12-18 hours per day.

The researchers found that all women who had access to cycles, whether their own or that of a husband, father or brother, were using them for a range of tasks, related to all areas of their responsibilities. The most common uses were fetching water from the well or tank, taking paddy to the rice mill, collecting fuel and fodder, going to the hospital in an emergency, and going to school (younger girls). A few use the cycle for their

productive work, such as selling flowers in the market, purchasing and selling gems to and from the contractor and maintenance of plants in a government nursery, etc.

In the majority of rural homes of the District a cycle is now common property. In a door to door survey covering 50 households, it was found that 32 of them (64 per cent) owned a cycle. 83 out of 91 men asked knew how to cycle, and 34 out of 100 women. There might perhaps have been three or four prior to the literacy campaign.

Only four out of the sample of 49 women actually owned their own bicycle, however. Women seemed willing however to use hired cycles not only in emergencies, but also for use in paid work or when they were able to plan several household tasks together that are located at a distance. Hiring every day would be too expensive, but now they know how to cycle they can also borrow from neighbours or use one belonging to another member of their own household.

Cycling is generally viewed as a cheap and efficient means of transport and definitely contributes to meeting the transport needs of women particularly those in 'low access' villages (distant from essential services). The pattern of use and ownership of cycles bears out that better provision of services such as drinking water, food shops and health and education facilities can lead to substantially reducing women's transport burden and needs.

An interesting issue is that while between 30-50 per cent of people hiring cycles in the District are women, ladies cycles can rarely be found in the shops. The women have in fact got used to riding gent's cycles, and in fact feel that it gives them better balance when carrying loads. Even riding a gent's bicycle in a sari doesn't bother the women any more, the convenience of the mode of transport outweighing all other considerations.

The author tells the stories of some individual women and how cycling has helped them. A common theme is that they can be more involved with social, development and community tasks because they can confidently and independently cycle from village to village. This in the case of one woman who has enhanced her status within the home so she is now a major decision taker in her household. Her husband is quite happy with this, not least because his workload has reduced! This woman brought the bicycle on a loan, and she has already repaid it.

Other women reported how taking a sick relative or child to hospital themselves on the bicycle gave them a feeling of independence and usefulness; of being a 'useful member of society'. The motivation to learn among the women who do not yet know how to cycle is still high today.

While access to cycles for women now seems widespread, what is more problematic is the issue of control. Very few women still actually own cycles, hence they are dependent on the cycles of others, and they have to adjust their work according to the needs of the

owners. For instance, if a husband owns the bike and has to leave for work at 8a.m., then the woman has to get up extra early to try to finish as much of her work (water collecting etc.) before this time. The men in the households generally own the bicycles, and so they get priority in its use.

Only 12 of the 49 women interviewed had easy access to cycles, and another ten reported that they usually had access to a bicycle when they needed it. The distance of the cycle hire shop was quoted as a problem for the women, reconfirming that the utility of cycles is no longer an issue of debate for the women, but seen as an accepted requirement to meet their needs.

There are still however some social restrictions that prevent some women from cycling. Husbands say they worry about their wives or daughters being injured, but in many cases women's work is just not a priority for men. Cycles greatly reduce the time and labour inputs for women in several drudgery-ridden tasks that are essential for household maintenance, but as these are unpaid tasks and have no cash value, the owners of the cycles, mostly men, do not see cycles as critical for women in the performance of their tasks.

Cycling for women does not seem to have changed gender relations (for more than two thirds of the sample) in the household significantly. Major decision making (on expenditure etc.) continues to be vested in the men.

With the greater acceptance of cycling in the District, the profitability of cycle shops as an income earning enterprise has seen their numbers increase steadily. A cycle shop is now seen as a facility that should be available in a village. With changes in employment patterns and lifestyles, the isolated and self-sufficient village economy is a thing of the past. Mobility and transportation are integral parts of people's lives. Large numbers of girls are cycling to school every day in Pudukkottai; this is indicative of even higher bicycle use in the next generation.

In concluding the comment on the evidence of the survey and interviews, the author states that the primary impact of learning to cycle on women's lives is their perception of independence in terms of their roles in the household and community; productive, reproductive and community managing roles. The second and related impact has been in terms of improvement in both their self confidence and self-esteem.

Looking at gender relations the picture is more complicated. On the positive side, women cycling has come to be accepted as a normal phenomenon, and rural girls now learn to cycle alongside boys.

On the other hand, almost 40 per cent of the women reported that their workloads had actually increased. Tasks that the men would do before, such as marketing, taking the children to school or whatever involved travelling distances, have all now shifted to women. Cycles do however help them to complete their jobs faster and more easily. Despite their extra burdens, they report

having more time for leisure.

On a broader front, the Pudukkottai programme has demonstrated that cycling can be one very effective strategy for empowering women. The women themselves have found an efficient, cheap and easy way of meeting their transport needs, which has also empowered them. The signs are that use of cycles by women in Pudukkottai is a sustained and sustainable phenomenon, an integral and necessary part of their lives.

Demands of a forest economy

By Nitya Rao

This study analyses the transportation patterns and links with gender relations in the Santhal Parganas, in the south-eastern part of Bihar, Southern India. Dumka is its main town and market centre of the area, which takes its name from the Santhal tribes who constitute a large proportion of the mainly rural population.

Dumka itself has no rail connection, although all the major towns are well connected by buses. Bullock carts remain a main form of conveyance, though these are useless on the steep and rocky rural paths. Bicycles are slowly increasing in number, but as yet are entirely used by men, so women have no option but to walk almost everywhere.

The Santhals and Paharias, who make up the groups studied here, are poor cultivators and gatherers who have been viewed by mainstream society as people to be employed as labourers in agriculture and construction, rather than as literate people. In the three villages studied, they earn an income from the forests, which in some areas is receding rapidly from the settlements.

According to Santhal law and tradition, women are perceived as 'objects' or 'property' to be transferred from the father to the husband. Women do not have any claim over property, neither can they inherit it. Deprived from inheriting land, and frequently rejected as a consequence of polygamy, they can be thrown out of a house without maintenance. Large numbers of Santhali women therefore lead unimaginably hard lives, with hardly any resources.

Agriculture along with the sale of forest products is the traditional mainstay of the Santhal economy, but the gradual decline in forest cover and lack of improvements in agriculture means that Santhals have been forced into wage labour, both local and migrant. Livelihoods today are often made up from a mixture of all three.

The study looks at three villages where the forest economy plays the major role. This means the collection of fuel-wood; poles for the construction industry; food items such as roots, berries, mangoes etc.; medicinal herbs and other products such as leaves which are made into leaf plates for sale. Shifting cultivation is also practised under the forest canopy.

The forest economy is primarily a female one, with women responsible for the collection, processing and sale

of produce. As forests dwindle they have to walk further and carry the produce home as headloads. The heavier products such as jackfruits and firewood are carried by men who take them to market.

A few villages have a single bus service each day, taking them one way to the market. Often these are crowded and therefore refuse to carry women with large and heavy loads. The majority of the villages are however hilly and inaccessible to buses, or even bullock carts. Motorbikes are rare, and there are only a few cycles in the villages, entirely under the control and use of men. The roads, which have not been maintained since built by the state in the 1940s or '50s are in a dreadful state, people preferring to walk in the fields next to them as they are softer on the feet! The limited focus of transport provisioning by the state has been to link villages with towns to meet the needs of the market, rather than the needs of village women.

Jadopani village was studied, an interior tribal village of two hamlets, one high up near the jungle and one lower down the slopes. The study brought to light the intensity of women's daily transport burden: almost six to eight hours spent daily for the collection of water and firewood and other forest products, in addition to their work in the fields. There is a clear gender division of tasks, with all household maintenance falling into the women's domain. This includes housework and earning income for the purchase of food such as oil and spices. The men are responsible for the supply of grains to the family, and therefore for the household agriculture, in which they are assisted by women. They are also engaged in wage labour and the higher value forest products. Men's transport burdens are also high, as they have to travel further to market, carrying heavier loads, but this is not a daily trip.

The scope of non-transport interventions in reducing women's transport burdens can clearly be seen when one compares the collection of drinking water in the upper and lower hamlets. In the lower one, this is a relatively easy task due to the presence of a hand-pump near the houses, and a stream close by. For women in the upper hamlet, the stream is about one kilometre away and this often dries up, so they must walk further on rocky ground, carrying pots of water on their heads.

In Maholo, the second village studied, the gender division of labour was found to be similar, but the terrain meant that men have recently begun to cycle to the more distant market at Pakuria and get a better price for their fuel-wood, which they also collect as well as the women. Men were found to be supporting the women to some extent by taking on some cooking and childcare responsibilities. Thus women have had their transport burdens eased to some extent by not going to market. Men also seem to spend the money earned on household necessities, but women have no access to the cash themselves because the men are doing the marketing. Any surplus the men spend on themselves.

Collecting water, fuelwood and forest products

similarly takes many hours in the third study village of Pandhini Duma. The forest lies eight kilometres away, so journeys start very early in the morning for women and men, and they may not go every day. There is some migration for wage labour to West Bengal, and men with cycles collect coal from the open-cast mines which can be sold for a relatively good return locally or in the market centres. The cycles are again found to be an exclusively male asset. Because the women do not have transport, they collect fuelwood for domestic use and do not sell other forest products at the markets. Use of bicycles would help them enormously but has not even been discussed. A reliable source of drinking water within the village would again be of enormous assistance to them.

The author found that as in other agricultural societies, transport needs vary with the seasons, particularly between local transport needed for the collection of forest products, water etc. and the need to travel greater distances for wage-labour in the off-season.

It was also noted that the larger families with more women in them actually helped ease women's burden of transporting and other tasks; as there is clear demarcation between men's and women's duties, more females in a household could spread the load. Women in nuclear-type households had the heaviest burdens of work.

Transport interventions have been few, and the state has limited itself to the construction of roads and setting up bus routes, neither of which have helped the tribal women very much. Informal interventions such as the introduction of bicycles have not helped either, as they are under men's ownership and control. Although men with cycles have taken over taking forest produce to markets, and they do spend the income on household needs, women lose direct control of the income and so they are unable to save for emergencies or utilise any of it for personal expenses. They still have to undertake the collection of the products from the forest, where using a bicycle is impossible.

On the policy intervention level, the author feels that it may not be possible to address many of the women's transport needs with transport interventions alone. Non-transport interventions, such as a reliable source of drinking water in the village, might well be of great assistance, as would longer term projects of protecting and regenerating the forests to prevent further receding.

Access to markets is a serious problem for women. They have to headload their produce to the nearest markets, and return as soon as possible. Access to better (further) markets and safe ways of returning would mean the women could get better prices for their produce. One suggestion is to have special buses for women carrying loads on market days.

In conclusion, the author states that '...a combination of non-transport interventions for providing basic services such as water, health and education facilities in

the villages themselves, along with innovative transport and organisational interventions to ease the transport burdens on the tribal populations, particularly women, without adversely affecting gender relations, are urgently required'.

Gender and transport in Nepal

By Ganesh Ghamire

The author begins with the assertion that 'Gender considerations in rural transport interventions in the Nepalese context are rather new', and this study goes on to give evidence effectively to bear this statement out, through a review of the content of the transport planning component of the Five Year Plans in Nepal from 1956 until the present one which runs up to 2002, and fieldwork undertaken in two rural areas, one in the mountains, and a comparative piece of research based in the rural Terai (plains).

Travelling and transport take up a huge amount of time for rural Nepalis, and account for a good deal of drudgery. The research sought to answer such questions as: how is this burden shared by men and women? What are their transport needs? Are issues of gender taken into account in policy and planning? and finally, what impacts have various transport interventions had upon the rural populations?

Difficulty, drudgery and inefficiency of transport is a particular feature of Nepal, and has often been cited as the main obstacle to achieving a more rapid pace of economic and social development. Settlements in the mountains are generally scattered and sparse, and the prevailing method of travel is walking and moving goods is by human load-carrying. Many of the communities have no motorable road at all. Movement of people and goods often involves much physical hardship.

In the plains, there tend to be clusters of settlements linked to each other and to the outside world via a network of tracks or wide trails which have evolved according to needs over time. The local people upgrade and repair sections themselves, so that animal-drawn carts, hand-carts and pack animals can be used.

In the mountains the difficulty of travel has tended to lead to isolation, whereas in the Terai, malarial infections are a problem, connected with the seasonal flooding of the north/south flowing rivers which constrain movement both within the area and to and from the outside world.

Only since the planned development period, beginning in the mid 1950s, have there been efforts to develop transport systematically to encourage development in Nepal. A summary is given of the aims of each five year plan with regard to transport since they began. There has been a consistent priority given to 'strategic roads', such as feeder roads main highways, and also aviation, for long distance haulage, while for internal mobility emphasis has been placed on trails, local roads and suspension bridges. Low-cost rural roads and more

environmentally-friendly approaches began to emerge in the 1980s, but, concludes the author, none of the transport planning and policy documents '...mention gender. Even implicitly... The subjects are dealt with as if they are gender insensitive'.

Only in the Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) was there any recognition for women's role in national development, but the document 'did not identify women's issues'. Subsequent Five Year Plans made clear declarations about women and development, but have failed to recognise any of the particular roles that women play, assuming that they are not involved in nation building and do not recognise women's contribution to economic growth. Only the current one (1997-2002) begins to address the issues of discrimination based on gender.

The author looks more closely at the roles taken by women and men in rural areas, and finds women's workload is spread more widely than men's over the range of domestic, household, agricultural and transport tasks. He then goes on to examine the impacts of certain rural transport interventions.

It is reported that building a road in a rural area has particular effects not only on the total stock of travel and transport tasks, but on the share of travel and transport tasks that men and women take on, and that this varies between the mountains and the Terai.

The fieldwork reports on a rural road constructed to connect the village with the market centre. The road brought motor vehicles about one hour closer to the village, and there are plans to bring it closer yet. Irrespective of gender, the author reports, long distance travel has become easier. With better access to the market, the demand for dairy products has risen dramatically and the village people are raising more cattle to satisfy this need. This has actually increased household burdens. Travel and transport-related tasks have also increased, and this is not being shared equally between men and women. It is the women who have taken on the increased burden.

In the Terai on the other hand, the author reports on a village located on the junction of an earth track recently upgraded to motorable standard and an earth track built by the local people.

The improved road condition has facilitated the introduction of more motor vehicles such as motorcycles, light jeeps and minibuses. There is now a regular bus service to the market centre and the village now acts as an important junction for the surrounding rural areas. Motorcycle ownership has increased dramatically, and the number of shops of all types has increased substantially.

The transport tasks are felt to have reduced, and many more women are now riding bicycles which has increased their mobility significantly, while some changes in taking responsibility for travel and transport tasks have been observed. For example, men using bicycles to collect fuelwood is a new and regular sight, which might indicate a gender shift of responsibilities at the household

level. Women, in particular young women, are using bicycles to carry small loads. It is also the case that travel and transport tasks have increased overall and that women are taking up the extra load disproportionately, as in the mountains.

Accessing healthcare facilities in Sri Lanka

By Dharshini Samaranayake and Kusum Kuruppu

The paper analyses to what extent the transport infrastructure in Meegahamada village in Sri Lanka meets the transportation needs of women in accessing primary and curative healthcare. It argues that because of the gender defined productive and reproductive responsibilities of women which gives them responsibility for feeding and nurturing their family and of nursing those who are ill, access to primary and curative care is vital.

Meegahamada is one of the few traditional villages located in Kandy district. It lies at the foothill of the eastern side of the rock Yahangala, as did eight other villages at one time, but five were abandoned because of their inaccessibility and the community's inability to eke out a viable livelihood. The origins of the village are not known exactly, but it is recorded that ten families moved in as part of the Hasalaka peasant resettlement scheme which was initiated in 1958, bringing with it extensive infrastructural development. Of the total numbers of people living in the 56 Buddhist households, nearly half are women of child-bearing age, increasing the need for ante-natal and post-natal medical facilities. Issues of child survival, immunisation, access to family planning and maternal care supersedes other needs of the community.

Paddy cultivation is the main agricultural activity, cultivated once a year, and slash and burn cultivation in the highlands, and casual wage labour are secondary sources of income. Women are exclusively responsible for vegetable cultivation in the highlands even though the men usually clear the area first, and equal numbers of men and women are involved in paddy cultivation, although the women are responsible for taking the harvest and processing all of the paddy and finger millet in mills some 3-4 miles from the village.

In 1997-98, as a result of a lot of pressure from the villagers for an access road to the main road, a non-governmental organisation located in the village worked in conjunction with the Pradeshiya Sabha (local bodies made up of elected community members who are responsible for all aspects of infrastructural facilities at this level) to construct such a road. One of their main justifications for this expenditure was the community's need for better access to medical facilities. Although the women were aware of the need to participate in village organisations, the lack of functional literacy and access to education deterred their participation in existing organisations, or the formation of spontaneous common interest groups which promote the needs of women.

There are now two class 'A' roads (connecting the capital city with provisional capitals and the latter together in a network) in the division to which the village belongs. The main road is 12km away from the village, connected by two access roads which are gravelled. One access footpath from the main road crosses the river which is often swollen and difficult to cross, and the final footpath leading to the village is narrow and steep with several flights of steps. The footpaths are used by the men to visit the fields transport produce and for bathing. The women use the footpaths for agricultural activities, to collect water for domestic use, washing of clothes and bathing, collect firewood and herbs for medicine, collect reeds to weave mats and baskets and maintain social ties with their relatives.

Private bus services operate on the agricultural, local and gravel roads and are used by the people of the village more often than the public bus service, but the vans run during peak hours only and are heavily overcrowded with goods and commuters. People report that they travel outside of the village most often for buying provisions, processing agricultural produce and accessing healthcare services. Despite the addition of the road, infrastructure is still poor: one mother walked nearly 6km, carrying a child to Udattawa hospital and then had to wait up to four hours for medical attention. Monthly visits to the pre-natal clinic takes more than seven hours for a round trip on foot unless the family owns a bicycle – as 72 per cent of families do – in which case the trip is much quicker.

The authors report that women blamed their lack of access to healthcare facilities on lack of basic infrastructure and lack of primary healthcare institutions. They found that the community had once relied upon a traditional system of healthcare which was a combination of beliefs and rituals, traditional methods of healing based on the use of herbs and natural substances and traditional birth attendants. However, this traditional system had been gradually eroded over a period of two decades with the process of integration and modernisation. Now, the researchers found that the entire village depended on western medical treatment and primary health care facilities provided by the state.

Levels of literacy were very low in the village: 65 per cent for men over 15 years of age and 55 per cent for the equivalent groups of women. The authors suggest this could be partly due to the fact that the nearest primary school is three miles away from the village and school attendance is infrequent and of low priority. Girl children are often not sent to school because the footpaths leading to the school from the village are through isolated shrub jungle. The general understanding in the village is that girl children do not need an education especially secondary education which coincides with the age of puberty. Lack of education was cited by one woman interviewed as being the main constraint to social development which in turn affected their health status.

Of the health care needs expressed by the women

the most important need was access to maternal healthcare services. Pre-natal care was accessed at the monthly primary health care clinic held at a hospital 5km from the village, and although the access road to the village had been improved, the lack of motorised transport and the monopolisation of the family bicycle by the men meant that women continued to walk to the clinic. Attendance had gone up at the clinic after the road was built, but there were no coincidental increases in frequency of the Family Health Worker to the village, and according to the residents the lack of road access, the nature of the terrain, and the wide geographical area covered by the Family Health Worker were the main constraints to service delivery.

The impact of inadequate transport infrastructure on access to healthcare while the mother is having the baby was particularly harsh. Of the 50 women who had given birth in the village, 229 births had taken place in the home while 31 were institutional births. 40 percent of the women interviewed reported of a infant/child death: a total of 32 infant deaths and 2 maternal deaths were reported in the household survey.

The paper concludes that the lack of access to transport in Meegahamada has led to a situation where a combination of factors interact to form a pocket of poverty, neglect and isolation in terms of healthcare due to lack of access to education, information, services and facilities which are a consequence of the lack of transport facilities. Although the provision of a road has not had a significant and immediate impact, it has definitely started a process of change where the women have begun to access services and facilities more regularly and identify their transport needs.

Issues from Asian Case Studies

Appropriate for community level intervention

Access to Health: issues from Sri Lanka

- Maintenance of infrastructure is as important as its introduction
- Transport interventions on their own are sometimes not enough

My Daily Odyssey: issues from Ahmedabad, India

- Women's lack of confidence in dealing with technology new to women
- There is a need to assist women to place themselves within the wider political/social contexts, including understanding how gender influences their circumstances
- Need for more circumstances and information on gender and transport in order to devise appropriate interventions
- Consideration of transport issues should be central to micro enterprise strategies, alongside business planning, marketing credit lines etc
- Transport is not only a means of getting from one place to another: it can also be the site and source of business

Tales of Isolation: issues from the Philippines

- Isolated communities suffer from a dearth of institutions assisting them to solve their own problems and this exacerbates the symptoms of their isolation such as transport burdens
- Understanding the dynamics within a household is crucial in planning appropriate transport interventions
- Cross-sector co-operation is essential in meeting the livelihood needs of women

Commuting to Work: issues from Calcutta

- Need to investigate innovative coping strategies to overcome mobility constraints of women and offer these as options to other women
- Potential for practitioners working with women on other issues (e.g. health) to look at transport issues with their constituency
- Need to work with women to help them analyse their own situation and explore options

Transport Tasks: issues from Nepal

- During identification of people's transport burdens and needs, there is advantage to talking to each of the community's stakeholder groups separately as a starting point
- Analysis of the differing impact of transport interventions on men and women is missing in available information

- Introducing alternative means of transport to undertake a task can change gender responsibilities both positively and negatively

Forest Products: issues from India

- Improving modes of transport could result in women losing control of, for example, income from sale of products
- Helping women to organise themselves to 'collectivise' the marketing of their products could overcome transport constraints of getting to market

Cycling into the Future: issues from India

- Make cycles available as a cheap and easy mode of transport

Spatial Mobility: issues from Bangladesh

- Communities should be involved more in the planning and maintenance of roads
- Cultural education is a vital part of any effective transport strategy
- Information should be made available to women which inform them of their rights to mobility, and the options available for achieving greater mobility

Growing Cashews: issues from Sri Lanka

- All development interventions will have an impact on transport patterns and transport needs
- There are other forms of control over transport devices, other than ownership
- Women's priorities for investing are determined by their gender and by the social environment in which they live
- Working with communities to raise their levels of awareness and analytical skills will create a demand which is, by definition, multi-sectoral
- 'Horizontal' communication can be a socially appropriate way of raising awareness, and can be part of a broader strategy which includes capturing positive experiences for wider dissemination.

Issues appropriate for transport practitioners

Cycling into the Future: issues from India

- Make cycles available as a cheap and easy mode of transport
- Reduce transport burden of women (by service provision)

Transport Tasks: issues from Nepal

- Where transport interventions are limited (e.g. difficult terrain), non transport interventions such as provision of drinking water; should be considered

- Improving modes of transport could result in women losing control of, for example, income from sale of products
- During identification of people's transport burdens and needs, there is advantage to talking to each of the community's stakeholder groups separately as a starting point
- Analysis of the differing impact of transport interventions on men and women is missing in available information
- Introducing alternative means of transport to undertake a task can change gender responsibilities both positively and negatively

Commuting to Work: issues from Calcutta

- Transport problems may only be a symptom of other problems (e.g. lack of economic opportunities, lack of social mobilisation etc.) which, when tackled, could relieve transport problems
- Need for more information on the extent and nature of the gender and transport problem in order to raise awareness of the problem and thereby stimulate action and appropriate intervention

Tales of Isolation: issues from the Philippines

- Understanding the dynamics within a household is crucial in planning appropriate transport interventions
- Transport planners and policymakers are predominantly men. This fact, along with the general lack of awareness of gender issues within the sector, should be taken into account when planning transport interventions.
- Cross-sector co-operation is essential in meeting the livelihood needs of women

My Daily Odyssey: issues from Ahmedabad, India

- Need for more circumstances and information on gender and transport in order to devise appropriate interventions

Access to Health: issues from Sri Lanka

- Women's unique healthcare needs should be a consideration in designing transport interventions
- Unco-ordinated management and modes of transport interventions makes influencing decisions more difficult
- Maintenance of infrastructure is as important as its introduction
- Transport interventions on their own are sometimes not enough

Growing Cashews: issues from Sri Lanka

- Women's priorities for investing are determined by their gender and by the social environment in which they live
- All development interventions will have an impact on transport patterns and transport needs

- Working with communities to raise their levels of awareness and analytical skills will create a demand which is, by definition, multi-sectoral
- 'Horizontal' communication can be a socially appropriate way of raising awareness, and can be part of a broader strategy which includes capturing positive experiences for wider dissemination.

Issues appropriate for policy makers

Spatial Mobility: issues from Bangladesh

- There is a need for more economically, socially and technically appropriate transport facilities for women.
- Cultural education is a vital part of any effective transport strategy
- Information should be made available to women which inform them of their rights to mobility, and the options available for achieving greater mobility
- For transport options to be appropriate for women, they need to guarantee a women's safety and freedom from sexual harassment
- In planning transport facilities (especially roads), emphasis should be placed on non-motorised means of transport, and efforts made to make them even more appropriate to women's needs

Cycling into the Future: issues from India

- Need for policy support for local forms of transport
- Women's work to be made visible
- Reduce transport burden of women (by service provision)
- Review present transport policy

Forest Products: issues from India

- Where transport interventions are limited (e.g. difficult terrain), non transport interventions such as provision of drinking water, should be considered
- State provision currently fails to address the specific needs of women

Transport Tasks: issues from Nepal

- Complete absence of consideration of gender and transport issues in national policies
- When policies around issues of transport are developed, they must recognise gender relations within the household
- Analysis of the differing impact of transport interventions on men and women is missing in available information

Tales of Isolation: issues from the Philippines

- Isolated communities suffer from a dearth of institutions assisting them to solve their own problems and this exacerbates the symptoms of their isolation such as transport burdens
- Appropriate transport systems acknowledge the reproductive roles of women in their design

- Transport planners and policymakers are predominantly men. This fact, along with the general lack of awareness of gender issues within the sector, should be taken into account when planning transport interventions.
- Cross-sector co-operation is essential in meeting the livelihood needs of women
- Science and technology is not gender neutral: those in charge of educating future science and technology professionals should consider this when designing syllabi and training

Commuting to Work: issues from Calcutta

- Public transport systems which serve the needs of poorer sections of society need cross-subsidisation in a range of ways (e.g. payment of commuter fares by employers, purchase of travel pass by employers or state social security)

My Daily Odyssey: issues from Ahmedabad, India

- When planning transport systems, attention should be paid to the nature of demand (e.g. timing, load, social requirement, frequency of service)
- Informal sector is invisible but massive contributor to transport sector: large transport burden is large potential client base
- Need for more circumstances and information on gender and transport in order to devise appropriate interventions

Growing Cashews: issues from Sri Lanka

- There are other forms of control over transport devices, other than ownership
- Women's priorities for investing are determined by their gender and by the social environment in which they live

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Africa Case Study Summaries

Impact of bicycle/motorcycle taxi services (boda-boda) on women's travel needs in Uganda: a case study of Mpigi district

by Harriet Iga

This study looks at the emergence of boda-boda bicycle and motor cycle taxi services in Mpigi District, which provide a link between rural areas and local towns. The research analyses boda-boda use and operation and its impact on women's travel needs

The aim of the study was to:

- Find out the gender composition of boda-boda taxi users and operators
- Determine significant transportation activities carried out by boda-boda taxi services
- Assess how the boda-boda taxi services meet the needs of women
- Determine constraints faced by women and men who use/operate boda-boda taxi services
- Find out the gender differences in demand for boda-boda taxi services.

Rural transport in Uganda is not well developed with most districts having remote areas which are not easily accessible from district headquarters. The most common means of rural transport is by walking and headloading along road paths, tracks and trails. Culture and tradition tend to limit load-carrying activities to women, thereby making them shoulder most of the transport chores in the household.

Usage of intermediate means of transport (IMTs) is rather poor due to the high purchase prices of bicycles, draught animals and animal carts, making them too expensive for many rural households. There are some inefficient locally made wheelbarrows that are used to transport firewood, water and other household goods, but these are also limited to a few middle class families. In cases where IMTs are available, men and boys tend to take over the duties which would otherwise have been a preserve of women.

Ownership of personal means of transport is very low and limited to well-to-do households. Some households own bicycles which are the most common means of transport in rural areas where terrain permits. Bicycles are popular especially in Eastern and Northern Uganda, where they are used as bicycle taxis (boda-boda). However, it is mainly in these areas that women pedal bicycles, unlike in the Central region, where Mpigi is located, where bicycles are owned and controlled by men and women are dependent passengers who ride sideways on the rear luggage rack.

The study was carried out in the rural towns of Mpigi district and it surveys a total of 195 respondents from

both rural and peri-urban areas.

Mpigi District covers an extensive area which lies within the central part of Uganda and is the gateway to Kampala, the capital city. It has a population of 913,867 people according to the 1991 population census with a projected population of 1,066,400 for 1996. The major economic activities carried out by the people include; agriculture, fishing, forestry/lumbering and trade.

Women carry out most of the productive tasks. They carry out most agricultural activities, from land clearing, ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting and also perform the supporting role of health care, child bearing, cooking, fetching water and firewood for the family. Most of these activities require some form of transport.

The district has a total road network of 851 kilometres of roads, and of these, 110 kilometres are tarmac roads; 267 kilometres are all weather murrum or gravel; and 474 kilometres are dirt roads. Rural areas are mainly served by footpaths, and most of the urban roads are not tarmac and are poorly maintained. This, coupled with poor drainage leads to very fast deterioration.

Motorcycles and bicycles are a common and versatile means of transport in Uganda. They are used for personal travel and movement of goods or passengers. Unlike bicycles which are intensively used in Eastern and Northern Uganda, motorcycles in the form of boda-boda taxi services have become more common, especially in the urban and peri-urban areas of the central region. Where the two modes of transport are in operation, motorcycles charge higher fees compared to bicycles.

Boda-boda operators perform a type of taxi service from road stands in towns, trading centres and along main roads. The research randomly selected 25 operators who were interviewed. It was found out that the majority (52%) were aged between 20-29 years old, 28% were aged between 30-39 years and only 20% were aged between 15-20 years.

With regard to their educational level, 20% had never gone to school, 56% were drop-outs at primary level and 24% had dropped out at secondary level. The implication is that this kind of transport service is rendered mainly by male school dropouts and those who have never been to school. The youth have taken up this service as an occupation on which they are depending for their survival.

People of different social classes use the boda-boda services although findings show that it is mainly the working class (those who leave their homes to go and work elsewhere), and the business community. Others include students going to school and patients when going for treatment.

In rural and peri-urban areas of Mpigi district, boda-boda taxis are used for a variety of journey types, such as going to markets, social visits, burials, church/mosque, transportation of goods (agricultural produce and shop

purchases), as well as travel to school and work places. They are also used for connecting to taxi stages, especially in areas which are not easily accessible to taxis. Women's use of intermediary means of transport is on the increase. Many women use boda-boda taxis.

Research found out that all boda-boda operators had to be licensed and insured, and were supposed to belong to an association and receive registration numbers. Of the 25 operators interviewed, 19 were insured while 6 were not, and only one bicycle was not licensed. In Uganda, due to the poverty level, and bearing in mind that it is mainly the low income earners who own bicycles, it is very rare to find a bicycle that is insured.

Boda-boda operators expressed a number of problems affecting them, including insecurity at night due to attacks by thieves, non-payment by some passengers, risks from accidents, heavy taxes and arrests by traffic police. In addition, they pointed out that the roads are rough and dusty and slippery during rainy seasons. This limits the extent to which body-bodas, especially bicycles, can be used effectively.

Boda-boda services are still new in Mpigi District although they are rapidly spreading all over the country. Regarding the reasons for the introduction of boda-boda services, many of the respondents were of the view that this was to bridge the transport gap between the rural and peri-urban areas, and to ease transport movements within the rural towns. Other reasons included, job creation for the youth and veterans, and to provide a means of income generation.

Boda-boda services have contributed to the development of rural areas because trade has been promoted, communication to inaccessible places has improved, and jobs have been created.

A number of constraints faced by users especially women were enumerated, and these included uncomfortable sitting positions and the risk of falling off, speeding leading to accidents, and high charges. Observations on cultural taboos were also made, such as body contact with the operators and ungainly sitting positions being necessary. However, it was noted that these taboos are dying out, and are not so serious to stop women from using boda-boda services altogether.

Major transport problems faced by the community did not differ from those mentioned by boda-boda operators during interviews, such as poor, rough roads which are slippery during rainy seasons, non-operation of taxis in some localities and high charges by the operators.

Owing to the fact that the communities are not participating in the maintenance of roads, opinion leaders ranked periodic road grading and repair as their first priority in solving the problems listed above. This was followed by the need to introduce taxis and boda-boda services in areas where they were not yet in operation, and increasing boda-boda services in places where they are few.

In identification of priorities for transport project

implementation, to ensure women's participation, all respondents were of the view that women should first be sensitised on the project, be involved in community road maintenance activities, and they should also be involved in the business directly, operating boda-boda services themselves. Community leaders were of the view that projects should begin with sensitisation, outlining benefits to be accrued from the project by the whole community, involvement in implementation and appointment of a committee to take charge of mobilising the community to ensure maximum participation in the project.

There are as yet no female boda-boda operators although the services are used extensively by both urban men and women.

The women users expressed a number of constraints which were not different from the rest of the respondents. They complained of higher charges by the operators which to a certain extent forced them to walk. They also complained of undisciplined operators who harass them. In addition, female respondents like other respondents pointed out that although the community was involved in transport business, there was no local group or organisation responsible for rural transport promotion.

The female respondents offered a number of suggestions in relation to the transport problems in the area which included a programme of repairs, grading and tarmacking of the roads by relevant authorities, which in turn would encourage transport operators to reach remote areas. Respondents appealed to the boda-boda taxi operators to travel to the more hilly areas which were not easily accessible. Women suggested that they should have access to credit facilities to enable them invest in the transport business, and acquire means of transport such as bicycles or wheel barrows for domestic use. In addition, introduction of women-friendly bicycles for female riders was suggested.

The key findings of the case study include the following. Boda-boda taxi operation is predominantly a male job mainly carried out by young men, whose level of education does not exceed secondary level. In central Uganda, tradition does not allow women to ride bicycles although they can be carried on them. However, a few young women in the region have started riding motorcycles, but not as a form of taxi. Therefore, the gender composition of the operators is male.

The gender composition of the users was hard to determine because operators could not decide whether the majority of passengers was male or female. However, opinion leaders were of the view that the majority users were men. Generally, it can be concluded that the majority of boda-boda users are also men.

Boda-boda services have a positive and significant impact on the development of their localities. Findings indicate that the services have promoted trade and created jobs in the rural areas and have bridged the transport gap between the rural and peri-urban areas,

and therefore need to be promoted to boost community/rural development.

Research indicates that women do not have any assistance in their transport needs, and the potential for their involvement with community transportation schemes and boda-boda services should be further explored.

The impact of feeder roads in Jebel Si Rural Council area on food security, with particular focus on the role of women,

by Suad Mustafa Elhaj Musa

Northern Darfur is an arid, Sahelian region bordering the Sahara Desert. It is composed of 26 Rural Councils (localities), and this case study looks at the impact of a feeder roads construction programme which took place in 1996 in one of these Rural Councils (RC), called Jebel Si.

The RC is characterised by its extreme isolation and its hilly and inhospitable terrain. The traditional pattern of farming has been disrupted by successive droughts and dramatic deforestation. Most of the children suffer from malnutrition to some extent.

It has not received any attention from government since Independence in 1956, but recent out-migration has forced the area upon the attention of outsiders, because if the tide of migration is to be stemmed then the area must be developed and basic facilities provided. Food security is a dominant issue.

Men and women each have their own farms and 95 per cent of the livestock is owned by women. The women's farms are the largest because these have to feed the family all year round. The men's farms are supposed to grow crops for market. Polygamy is practised, so combined with male out-migration a high proportion of households are effectively female-headed/managed. All farming is dependent on the rains coming; in times of drought no surplus is produced for sale and there is no cash income, unless men migrate to work or livestock is sold. In such circumstances, women's workload has increased to make up for the gap in production caused by out-migration.

The lack or absence of any decent passable roads in and out of the area means that, amongst other things, women (predominantly) cannot get their produce out to markets to barter for the best prices. Traders may visit the village and only buy at the lowest prices which women are forced to accept. Their isolation also means they cannot get access to improved farming tools and techniques (most of the work, ploughing, planting, etc. etc. is done with hand tools, in particular the hoe), there are insufficient food storage facilities in the village to store up food when they do have a good harvest, and they cannot travel out of the village to reach such facilities because of a combination of inhospitable terrain, appalling roads and lack of load carting capacity.

All this brought the Jebel Si community to Oxfam to ask for help. Oxfam carried out a baseline survey in 1995. The inhospitable nature of the terrain was underlined for the Oxfam surveyors, on foot or donkey: the survey took four months to complete.

As a result of the dialogue process with Oxfam, feeder roads emerged as a priority to address the travel and transport needs of the community, encompassing sustainable livelihood issues and community mobilisation.

With all the communities in the area mobilised, work began on road clearing and construction. These roads have now connected 24 villages in the RC, with 85 km passable (just) for trucks. The work was co-funded by Oxfam and the Sudan Government, with the communities contributing their labour, food and water.

The mobilisation of the communities on this project has led to successful mobilisation, lobbying and advocacy on their part for other improvements, such as the building of schools and health units, further road improvement and maintenance activities and a programme to halt deforestation. Women's contribution has been found to be 60 per cent of the total of all development activities carried out with Oxfam in the three villages of the RC.

Although the main objectives of the feeder roads project was the facilitation of marketing of agricultural produce and access to services such as vaccination for children and education facilities, based on their many roles, women have been the first to benefit. Apart from access being improved for them, strategic gender needs have also been addressed.

Both women and men have increased bargaining power in selling their products at market. 90 per cent of women in the RC report increased revenues from sales. They also have better access to agricultural inputs and improved tools. They are therefore able to increase the size of their plots. Women have also begun to venture into trading as an income generating activity, at the side of the roads near the market. People and vehicles attending the markets have increased, and outsiders can get access to the market which has reinvigorated it.

The flow of medicines into the area has improved and the health centres are busier and more effective: child immunisation in the area is now up to 70 per cent in the villages linked by the feeder roads. The village of Roga, which is still remote and unconnected, has a rate of 13 per cent.

The communities and Oxfam have also started a literacy campaign, and the previous rate of 3 per cent literacy for females is rising dramatically. The numbers of girls (and boys) attending school has increased, and girls are not being removed from school for domestic work or early marriages thanks to community action on this matter.

People's attitudes are changing as they come into contact with more people from 'outside', along with improved diets. Food processing techniques have been

disseminated among women in the RC (through Oxfam and ITDG) which adds value and keeping time to food products, including pasta making. Demand was initially low, but now pasta is used throughout the villages and a particularly nutritious food for children.

Through the interventions of Oxfam, women have been targeted particularly as the initial surveys revealed it was they who were struggling disproportionately. Through this process and through better communications with the outside world, women have come to realise the importance to them of organising and participating collectively, and have formed committees which meet to discuss needs and share information, and which the women are more likely to be able to travel to easily, within a day, on the improved roads.

All the development in the community has not been caused by the single factor of the feeder roads project, but that has proved a significant factor in the mobilisation of the communities.

The roads are now in continuous need of maintenance and rehabilitation after rains, and this is arduous work. The main modes of transport are still on foot or by donkey and this is still time consuming and the loads that can be carried are limited. The local authorities receive revenues from the trucks passing along the roads, but they do not reallocate any of this for maintenance work. As such, the roads are not sustainable.

The author concludes with recommendations including the following:

- The feeder roads system needs to be extended to link all the isolated villages in the Darfur Region
- IMTs, taking into account usability by and for women, should be promoted, via Intermediate Technology
- Gender aware technology to relieve some of the drudgery involved in agricultural production should be promoted and made available
- Gender sensitive planning is needed in all sectors, and particularly rural transport.

Gender responsive planning and implementation: the case of Uganda

by Dr Charles K. Kaira

This case study looks at this vitally important area, using statistical analysis and secondary data to elucidate the growth of the women's movement in Uganda, its translation into policy at all levels, and then to ascertain how this has converted into the implementation of gender aware and responsive project implementation.

Uganda is a landlocked country on the Equator: Eighty nine per cent of the population lives in rural areas living in mainly poor conditions. Only 25 per cent of households have access to clean drinking water and 98 per cent use firewood for cooking. Although 70-80 per cent of the agricultural labour force is female, only 7 per cent own land and only 30 per cent have access to and control over proceeds.

The author presents tabular information to underline the extent of the gender imbalance across a range of indicators, including literacy, access to education, health care, employment opportunities and so on, and comparing the contribution men and women make to household and reproductive obligations.

The case study then looks at the 'struggle to correct the imbalance', describing the rise of the women's movement in Uganda from its pre-independence origins in the Uganda Council of Women formed in 1946, to the foundation of the National Council of Women of Uganda in 1979.

Among the achievements of the women's movement in Uganda are:

- Realisation of the obstacles to the advancement of women in Uganda (details given)
- Mobilising the Government and NGOs to take actions that benefit women
- Significant lessons learned about the actual roles and status of women in their societies; more significantly by women themselves;
- Creation of public awareness of the need for women to take an active role in promoting a peaceful atmosphere for development and welfare.

The Uganda Government ratified the UN Convention on elimination of discrimination against women in 1980. Since coming to power in 1996, the NRM Government has achieved a commendable amount by encouraging dialogue rather than confrontation. Women are being given opportunities to fill responsible positions and given equal access to resources and policy decision making. There is now a woman Vice-president and several women Ministers in the Government, as well as High Court judges and the appointment of numerous women in high ranking administrative and professional posts, including Head of the Civil Service.

The electoral law in Uganda now provides for a woman representative for every district to serve in parliament, in addition to which women can also compete in direct elections against men at country level. The Local Government Act 1997 provides for women representatives at each level of local councils.

The Government is committed to considering gender issues in sector development in the country. There is a National Gender Policy that forms the legal framework and mandate for every stakeholder to address the gender imbalances within their respective sectors. The policy exists to mainstream gender concerns in the national development process, to improve the social, legal/civic, political, economic and cultural conditions of the people and in particular women. The NGP is based on the following principles:

The NGP is an integral part of the national development process and reinforces the overall development objectives...

- It complements all sector policies and programmes and defines structures and key target areas for ensuring that gender concerns are routinely addressed in all planning activities as well as in the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of programme activities.
- It emphasises the cross-cutting nature of gender, and seeks to integrate gender considerations into development efforts at national, sector, district and local levels.
- It seeks to strengthen and provide a legal basis for already existing gender oriented sector policies and to ensure that national development policy objectives are made explicitly gender-responsive.

The case study lists the specific objectives of the NGP which lie within the framework above.

The institutional framework for the implementation of the Gender Policy is also examined in the case study, as the means through which the policy will be implemented. From national to local level, these institutions seek to achieve the gender responsive development objective through the following strategies:

- Sensitise and train planners in gender analysis skills.
- Build capacity of policy makers to internalise gender and development concepts
- Collect, compile and disseminate routinely age and gender disaggregated data.
- Formulate appropriate gender responsive micro-policies
- Develop gender specific macro qualitative and quantitative indicators for monitoring gender responsiveness of policies.
- Use regional and international instruments to monitor implementation of government commitments to ensure gender equity.
- During all stages of project development by donors, Government and other key actors in the development field ensure that gender issues are taken into consideration.
- Insist that all project and programme-related missions, including financial assistance negotiation teams include persons with gender analysis skills who are charged with the responsibility of incorporating gender concerns into assistance programmes.
- Add value to the reproductive and productive contribution of women to national development by ensuring that national statistics reflect the role played by women in social production and that such statistics are utilised to develop gender responsive programmes.

Since all these strategies are applicable at all levels, it is important that the *political process* has the capacity to identify, analyse and incorporate gender concerns at all levels too. The author also describes the relevant monitoring and evaluation indicators which have been

put in place to ensure the policy objectives are being met, and the mechanisms through which these distinct elements in the gender policy development process are delivered.

In assessing how far these processes have facilitated the meeting of rural women's transport needs, the author examines the example of the Hoima District Integrated Community Development Project. This was begun in 1992 to run for five years, supported by a number of donors. Its primary objective was to reduce the rates of morbidity and mortality amongst rural women and children in the District. The secondary objectives included improved provision of safe water supplies and the production of enough food for the families' subsistence. Achieving these also took in: improved health care and health care facilities, improved sanitation, improved access roads from villages to farms, improved agricultural practices, provision of credit for members of women's savings and loan groups.

The author reports a number of benefits to people generally and to women in particular, both economic and social. In particular, women have been employed as road labourers carrying out rehabilitation works in some numbers. Men are now assisting with water collection from bore holes during the dry season, if the journey is possible by bicycle. Women's access to credit has been improved, agricultural production is up and there is more competition and better prices paid for produce in the newly emerging local markets. Not least women have been sensitised about their rights and have been encouraged to participate in local politics and decision-making.

The Impact of Intermediate Means of Transport (IMTs) on the allocation of the transport burden: some aspects from the ITDG transport project in Zimbabwe

by D. Chingozho

This study is concerned with the impacts and benefits of improved rural transport, specifically IMTs, on women and on gender relations. It draws its data from areas where IMTs have been introduced as part of the ITDG transport project. The study uses ITDG transport project evaluation reports to assess these impacts.

The study finds that the use of IMTs has created both direct and indirect benefits for women. First, they have shortened the travel times involved in the various journeys that women must make, such as water and fuelwood collection and going to the grinding mills and commercial centres. Secondly, IMTs have increased the efficiency with which loads are carried – e.g. women find the transportation of maize, firewood and manure via cart is quicker and more efficient than by headloading, also reducing the drudgery and effort of human portage,

This has in turn left them with more time to devote to other activities, economic, social and in some cases political. Some have started or expanded income earning projects.

The study's findings reveal something of the pattern of transportation in the following areas of IT's transport project activity: Binga, Zhombe and Chiredzi, Chivi, Nyanga, Murombedzi, Chivhu and Chiota. IMTs in use included scotch carts, wheel barrows, push carts, water barrows, and bicycles.

The ownership of IMTs in all the areas studied is largely determined by incomes, entrepreneurial skills and social status, and is a wealth indicator. IMT owners tend to have higher incomes than non-owners. Ownership is also determined in some cases by the existing potential for income generating activities. Evidence from two villages in Chiota also indicated disparities in ownership dictated by family size and age. Young and small families have lower IMT ownership patterns than bigger and older families.

Female-headed households are those where the woman is widowed, divorced or unmarried, with children. Female-managed households are usually a product of male out-migration and are not so poor as female-headed. Both together make up about 40 per cent of the households in the areas studied. IMT ownership is also generally lower among female-headed households than among female-managed households. Their restricted cash income, poorer agricultural performance and lower levels of IMT ownership confirms their marginal status and lack of social and economic activity. It was also found that low-income groups make the least number of trips to commercial centres.

Bicycle owners are few, and there are more in male-headed households. Female-headed households only have bicycles either because they were used by their late husbands, or are used by their children. Many are old and now unused. The use of bicycles by women generally is limited, even though they are 'allowed' to use them. In areas where there are employment opportunities in the surrounding farms, bicycles are used by men to travel to and from work, or to carry loads to and from the commercial centres.

While not every household owns a scotch cart, it is the most widely used form of IMT used in the areas surveyed. They are used by both men and women, for agricultural and domestic load carrying including firewood and taking grain to the grain mill. The women who use them have been liberated from headloading and because they can take larger loads, although no faster, fewer journeys need to be made, so women's time is saved. In some areas carts are leased or rented, and this brings in additional income to those who own a cart.

Women in some areas involved in marketing maize or cotton may collectively hire a truck to take it to the market. The women feel that the higher price they can achieve for the crop justifies the expense of hiring a

truck.

In areas of critical transport shortages, farmers (both women and men) co-operatively use scotch carts or hire trucks to move their crops to the nearest Grain Marketing Board or Cotton Co. of Zimbabwe point of purchase. The movement of small quantities is effected by wheel barrow.

The level of usage of carts generally therefore exceeds the level of ownership, owing to significant levels of borrowing, sharing and hiring, particularly during times of peak agricultural usage. These circumstances have worked considerably to the advantage of women who are in female managed households. This is because the cart is a particularly useful IMT for women who need to gather fuelwood, as the sources have become increasingly depleted and journeys have got longer. Having access to a cart means that women can bring back more at one time, saving on time and effort.

The use of IMTs has created both direct and indirect benefits for women, but there are variations between these gains, depending on the wealth, status and size of households. The main benefits fall into the category of time saving and reduction of effort, freeing up time for other pursuits. However, as acknowledged by previous studies, the question of time saved and its utilisation is a complex one. They certainly do not use the time saved to rest, as new demands on their time are ushered in as others recede. Women in the study area also indicated that it was not so much lack of time which prevented them from starting income-earning projects, but lack of start-up capital.

The evidence from this study area is that IMTs are to some extent gender-sensitive. The ITDG designed vehicles have taken gender considerations into account, and are easy to use and maintain, designed in some cases light enough so that even a small child could operate them. The wheel barrow seems to be gender-neutral in its usage, unlike the bicycle (not an ITDG intervention). The level of take up by women of the IMTs has been good.

The Nkone River Bridge and its impact on travel and marketing activities of the Karia Community, Meru District, Kenya

by P.G. Kaumbutho

Here is a study which deals with the importance of a single element of rural infrastructure; its enormous value to a community and the impacts when it is not operating: the Nkone River Bridge in Karia, Kenya.

Karia is located on the slopes of Mount Kenya, with a landscape of hills and valleys. It has fertile volcanic soils which produce a wide range of agricultural and forest products. There is a plentiful supply of water because every valley has a clear stream or river flowing along it. Means of transport however are very limited, especially since the last decade when government investment in

infrastructure, as in all other areas, has dwindled.

There is an elaborate, tarmacked road however, about five kilometres from Karia, and it seems that once this was built all by the government, all other rural access roads were forgotten and left to local initiative to maintain.

The main road did bring some benefits to Karia, but at the same time many locally convenient services and enterprises moved further from Karia to be nearer the tarmac, and Karia was affected as a place in its own right. Falling tea and coffee prices at the same time (two of Karia's principle crops) have not helped its development.

One of the crucial element in Karia's infrastructure is the Nkone River Bridge. It crosses the Nkone, and is the shortest and most efficient route out of Karia to link it with the rest of the world. All other routes are much longer and more difficult. Government money for repairing (it gets washed away in the floods) and maintaining the bridge has ended, leaving the community to 'do it themselves'.

Because of its importance to them, they have done this several times over the last few years, most recently in 1997. But without adequate funding and training, the engineering standard of the bridge was not enough to prevent it from being washed away in the particularly heavy *El Nino* rains of Winter 97-98.

This case study aims to assess and report on the impact of the Nkone River Bridge on transport and access, as it applies differently to the men and women of Karia, and thereby to understand the gender-based dimension of Karia's travel and transport problems. The study also attempts to establish the importance and urgency of the Nkone River Bridge and the need to repair the road it serves.

Like many other parts of Kenya, the interior roads of Meru District are in great need of repairs and maintenance. The Keria-Karia road, on which the Bridge is located, is close to the tarmac road and as such is needed as a 'gateway' to the area, which has great economic potential. Nkone is an outlet for agricultural, forestry and other products heading for markets. It is also an efficient access route to information: administrative, spiritual, medical, and other.

But because of the bridge and road problems, farmers are often unable to get inputs to farms, such as fertiliser. In circumstances where the bridge is broken down, men will often send women and children to Keria Market to divide an 80 kilo sack of fertiliser among them for portability. Men view this as a legitimate means of transport whenever an IMT or other vehicle is not available, even when the women and children have to carry out several trips. The alternative would be to catch one of the few Landrovers to bring the load uphill, but the charge for this transport can easily double the price of the inputs. The owner of the Landrover often opts to walk – to save wear and tear on the vehicle.

The author has researched carefully into the exact division of labour in Karia, and from that research it is

clear that the economic activities of the community are implemented almost solely by women. While men may be involved in planning and some of the heavier tillage work, women alone prepare seedbeds and plant, they weed, harvest and take produce to the market. A survey of the market in Karia showed that the majority of traders are women. Men are few, and they handle only those goods that need a short time to sell and fetch larger returns, such as livestock and hardware.

The men of Karia carry out what are described from the survey as 'well-defined and tangible' jobs or chores, such as fetching fertiliser, getting a vet, attending community and other meetings, or arranging transport to collect farm and building materials, etc. The equivalent 'well-defined' jobs for women are: organising the cooking and feeding the family, caring for livestock including feeding, milking and general welfare, home and house care, 'minor' commercial ventures such as marketing kitchen garden produce, transport of smaller loads such as animal feed, firewood and water. Men completely stay away from less well-defined tasks e.g. almost anything to do with nurturing children, including seeing them safely across the river when the bridge has been swept away (a risky business when the waters are swollen; two adults have been drowned). The women stand on stones in the river and throw the children across in turns.

This and other evidence researched by the author made clear that women and children suffer the loss of the bridge and a serviceable connecting road much more than men.

The author's conclusion that it is essential to fix the Nkone Bridge and road. There are no logistical alternatives for the people of Karia, the available options being five times longer and much rougher, passable on foot only. After the *El Nino* rains swept the Bridge away, many farmers gave up to some extent or another producing marketable crops, despite the excellent yield potentials of the Karia area and the dependence upon it as a 'granary' by surrounding areas.

Men are inconvenienced less by the absence of the bridge, because they tend to abdicate their responsibilities to women and children whenever the conditions are unfavourable. Their inconvenience lies more in the area of inaccessibility of services, and lost time and opportunities.

Men more than women express a wish for better access to motorised transport and IMTs such as animal-drawn carts, pack animals and motor cycles. None of these are viable without the bridge. The Nkone Bridge is more useful to women in terms of time efficiency and reduced workload.

The author concludes with a list of reasons why the Bridge should be fixed with appropriate workmanship and resources. It will:

- save lives
- increase economic activity and remove the isolation

of the Karia community, enhancing their opportunities for a sustainable rural livelihood

- encourage travel and information exchange
- boost crop marketing and give better access to farm and other inputs
- reduce the price of food and supplies needed for farm- increase the returns for cash crops such as tea, coffee, forest products etc.

Rural transport interventions in Tanzania: are they reaching rural women?

by Josephine A. Mwankusye

Tanzania has a predominantly agricultural economy, and women are the majority of agricultural producers. In rural areas they are responsible for about 90 per cent of food processing activities, 80 per cent of transportation of crops from field to home and market, as well as water and firewood collection.

Since the 1980s several efforts have been made to assist rural development. Such efforts include provision of credit schemes, extension services and banking services. But the impacts of these have been marginal owing to the inefficient transport systems. Fifty per cent of villages in rural areas are not accessible by motorised transport during the rainy season. Paths and tracks dominate the rural transport infrastructure, and many of these are also unusable during the rainy season.

Considerable efforts are being made in Tanzania to improve rural transport systems, and it is in this context that the case study sets out to examine the particular question of whether women have access to IMTs, and what the impact of such vehicles has been. The four key questions addressed in the study are:

- Is there any relationship between women's household and economic activities in the study area?
- Do women have access to IMTs?
- What are the specific uses of IMTs?
- What are the perceptions of women's use and ownership of IMTs?

The study focused on three villages; two in Morogoro Rural District (Bunduki and Maguruwe) and one in Muheza District (Potwe). These Districts are among those currently implementing the Village Travel and Transport Programme (a government initiative).

The economy of the areas studied depends on small-scale agriculture. Various food crops are grown and there is some agro-processing of mostly sisal and tea.

The transport infrastructure of the areas breaks down as follows:

- Paths and tracks. 80 per cent of domestic and agricultural activities make use of these, using walking and IMTs.
- Feeder roads, usually made of earth, connecting village

centres to district regional roads. Main transport modes on these are walking, bicycles, handcarts. Motorised vehicles are rare.

- District roads – mostly gravel; usually some kind of bus service.
- Trunk roads. Used by long-distance traffic and not really significant to the local population.

Rural women play a dominant role in domestic as well as in the income-earning activities of households. Previous research has revealed that women carry about 75 per cent of the total transport burden in rural areas and about 73 per cent of all the transport requirements are achieved by headloading.

Apart from the transportation of agricultural produce, marketing and household needs, rural women are usually responsible for getting the sick to health centres. These are often located at District headquarters, an average of eight miles away. Women are also responsible for the majority of family and social duties in addition to all the above, yet they are not integrated into the planning of transport development at all.

It is also clear that although government, donors and others have tried to assist women through credit schemes, the majority of women have yet to benefit. In addition, most income generating activities do not directly focus on alleviating the travel and transport problems experienced by women.

Female-headed households are the most marginalised within the society. They are substantially worse off at every level of wealth than their male-headed counterparts. They have fewer adults, have lower total incomes and incomes from agriculture. The absence of a male partner and lack of access to IMTs contribute to the heavier transport burdens carried by these women.

In 1987 the Government of Tanzania drafted a National Transport Policy. This should deliver benefits to the rural population via a number of specific objectives, ensuring that rural people spend less time walking and carrying, and takes into account the existence of and need to expand the use of IMTs as being locally appropriate and cost-efficient. It also recommends self-help road maintenance at the District level. The policy also acknowledges the importance of locating facilities such as woodlots, water sources and grain milling facilities closer to communities.

In 1992 a seminar was held under the aegis of the World Bank's SSATP, and key policy objectives were defined in order to deliver benefits to the rural population. Briefly these included a recognition that travel and transport should be seen as part of an integrated rural transport development strategy, and that planning for rural travel and transport should start from the needs of the household, with emphasis on reducing unproductive time spent obtaining access to basic needs. Planning for rural transport should cater for the production and provision of affordable motorised and

non-motorised IMTs, and empowering women so that they can use them. A bottom-up approach should be taken, including the involvement of women's groups.

It is therefore part of policy and policy recommendations that IMTs are a fundamental element of developing rural transport and the rural economy generally.

However, studies show that the widespread use of IMTs is being hampered by several factors including the high acquisition price (above the earning capacity of most rural households), and also the poor condition of paths, tracks and roads. These factors are accompanied in the case of women's ownership by socio-cultural factors which makes their ownership/access to IMTs even more difficult. The dominance of headloading by women is because they have no real access to alternatives, such as IMTs.

Most women struggle to find enough cash to meet their families most basic needs as it is, and so the purchase of an IMT is out of the question. The demands on their time mean that they could not take on extra work to pay for it.

Discussions with women's vegetable growing groups in Potwe show that the women are aware that an IMT, preferably a push cart or a bicycle with trailer, could assist greatly in transporting their heavy produce from field to market, but their limited incomes and the fact that credit schemes favour men mean that they cannot purchase either.

Many women in the areas studied are however not aware that IMTs could substantially reduce their time and effort spent on travel and access. They believe headloading is all that is available. This is partly a consequence of their lack of mobility itself: they cannot travel outside the area to see other solutions or alternative practices. Their access to outside information is likewise limited.

Generally in all three villages studied there is no strong culture which actually prevents women from using IMTs, but there is a general attitude (among the women themselves too) that IMTs are not really for them. The author feels this prevailing attitude could be changed, and is not insurmountable. Again in all three villages, there is very little use of IMTs for household uses, including water and firewood collection where the benefits would be greatest. When new technologies are introduced, women have much less time than men available to learn how to use them.

The author makes a series of recommendations which would assist in the effective promotion of IMTs. These include:

Measures to increase the supply and reduce the prices of IMTs, e.g. bicycles and trailers

Promote the use and benefits of IMTs to women through the media, and stage demonstrations and community development initiatives. Evidence and successful experiences from other areas could be shown.

Women's groups should be included as a source of information and learning about IMTs

Efforts should be made to introduce specific credit schemes for individual women and women's groups for the provision of IMTs among other activities.

NGOs should be encouraged to provide IMTs in rural areas, and financial and technical assistance given to artisans who can produce IMTs appropriate to the local area.

IMTs should be adapted for women's use where necessary. Women's bicycles should be given priority.

Initiatives could be introduced to encourage communities to encourage communities to balance the cultural division of labour. This can give women more opportunity to participate in development programmes.

Gender aspects in the provision of rural infrastructure

by Mukuka Lilian N. Zimba

This case study is concerned with the use and maintenance of village paths, tracks and footbridges in two villages in Zambia, Songololo in Northern Province and Mwachilele in Lusaka Province. It aims to identify major factors affecting the use, provision and maintenance of rural infrastructure in terms of gender; determine the nature of interventions needed from policy makers, and suggest some possible solutions to the marginalisation of rural areas through the enhanced provision of rural infrastructure.

Songololo Village is sparsely populated, about two people per square kilometre. The population is about 600; 400 of which are women and children. The main occupation is subsistence farming. The main market is far away, so there is little influence from outside to improve or modify farming practices. The village lacks feeder roads and is serviced by tracks and paths. The women are the principal providers of labour, and carry loads on their heads. They collect water from the streams which surround the village.

Mwachilele is densely populated, with a population of about 2000 who are likewise subsistence farmers.

In both villages, women walk and headload for all their journeys, while men had access to bicycles. In Mwachilele both sexes had access to bicycles and ox-carts. In Songololo bicycles are used, but not by women. The bikes are owned by men. In Mwachilele men owned the bicycles but women were allowed access.

Women in both villages believe that improvements to the network of paths is very important, as this would enable more contact with the outside world. They also wish to sell produce to traders or take it to market.

Based on research findings, the author essentially suggests a number of interventions for rehabilitating paths and tracks in and around the villages that would have a great impact on the safety and efficiency of rural travel and transport.

- increase the safety of footbridges or other water crossing points so that people do not have to make long detours.
- Straightening paths where helpful to cut length of journeys
- reducing steep and slippery sections
- Upgrading routes so that they are usable by IMTs such as a bicycle or cart as well as on foot.

Considering the shortage of money at District level, such improvements would have to be on a self-help basis. It would need to take the needs of the community as its starting point, and in particular women. Women in both these villages are well aware of all the time and energy they expend on travel and transport. They fetch water, fuelwood and carry agricultural produce on poorly-maintained tracks. Although the author does caution that the actual benefits to women of an improved network of paths alone may not be as great as perceived, it would certainly benefit them more than the current national emphasis on main road development.

In both villages surveyed, women would be prepared to take paid work on road maintenance programmes; they considered it a good opportunity to earn income and an activity that would benefit the community.

Women and rural transport in Rollo, Burkina Faso

by Dr. Aminata Ouedraogo

The author of this case study looks at a rural area of Burkina Faso (Rollo) which is isolated and underdeveloped. Some of the reasons for this underdevelopment are examined, and the potential role for rural transport in the development process is assessed, with emphasis on its capacity to ease the particular burdens of women.

The case study begins by outlining the extent of the socio-economic, environmental and transport problems facing Burkina Faso. In particular, it looks at the circumstances in the Department (Region) of Rollo in the north western part of Bam Province. Rollo consists of 21 villages, characterised by an isolated, arid landscape where severe water shortages and deforestation are major problems facing the inhabitants, in particular women, who must travel to fetch scarce water and dwindling fuelwood.

Agriculture is the major occupation, employing 90 per cent of inhabitants, but has been blighted by droughts which lead to malnutrition and then lethargy which affects people's ability to farm, even if /when the rains do come. Mortality rates are high, and there is a haemorrhage of people out to the cities and to coastal countries.

In Rollo, there is a single track which leads from the main town of the region to Rollo (160km). It has been formed through usage and is not surfaced at all; it is basically a track which is disintegrating with use.

In the rainy season the lack of bridges and crossing places means that it becomes impassable to any/all means of transport, and then it is impossible to get relief supplies into the villages of Rollo, which are cut off. There are no roads/tracks linking Rollo with other towns or villages, and in its current condition the one road acts more as a barrier to any economic or commercial activity than a help.

The means of transport used in the area are: donkeys, carts, bicycles and human portage. The first three are beyond the financial means of most people in the area, so human portage is the most frequently used mode of transport.

Women undertake most of the travelling, because of the nature of their combined agricultural and domestic tasks. It is also a feature of the area that the women's fields are those furthest away from the village, handed out after the family plots have been selected. They have no rights as such to own land.

Women also engage in basket making, pottery and soap making, to trade with other villages. The lack of transport infrastructure makes this trade very difficult.

There are a few wheelbarrows and donkey carts in the villages, but despite the fact that most transport tasks fall to women, they do not own any of them.

Despite their difficulties, the women of Rollo have organised themselves into women's associations, to try to improve their living conditions, but the author points out that they cannot achieve lasting improvements without outside intervention and the prioritising of development in the area, which has so far been lacking.

The women are agreed that what they and their communities most need is transport infrastructure which links the villages, and a way to use/purchase IMTs. Specific and integrated development programmes, based on participative principles, is what the area now needs.

IMTs in conjunction with road construction will increase the impact of the latter, saving considerable time for women in, to give just one example, being able to load harvest produce on to a cart (150 kilos at once) rather than headloading (25 kilos at once).

If time is saved for women in their transport tasks, they could devote more time to their income generating handcraft work, which would assist all in the community. Better links with other villages will increase access to education facilities and healthcare, as well as better trading opportunities.

The author lists a number of potential benefits that could follow an integrated rural transport programme concentrating on road construction works and expansion of IMTs. All the respondents in the study agreed that an all-season road for their area was a priority to relieve the isolation and open up the area to communications and development.

More study and investigation into the actual implementation of this type of programme is now urgently needed.

Contrasting gender needs and access to rural transport in the Yatenga Province, Burkina Faso: the case of Tuya

by Dr Amadou Ouedraogo

Burkina Faso is a landlocked Sahelian country located in West Africa with a population of ten million people. About 90 per cent of the population are subsistence farmers. The Yatenga Province is in the northern part of the country, 186km away from the capital of the region. The infrastructure is poor and the drought-prone land makes farming extremely hard.

Even where life is hard for everyone, the author highlights in this study the particular difficulties faced by women, and based on surveys, discussions and interviews, the origins of their problems are explored. Some suggestions for solutions are offered at the end of the study.

The village studied, Tuya, has 3000 inhabitants, all of whom are involved in farming. The rainy season lasts for only four months per year, and no farming is possible during the dry season which lasts around eight months of the year. There is a primary school in the village, but it has only been there for ten years and the literacy rate is very low. Only one third of the village children attend school. There is no village health centre; the nearest is 17km away but is of a very poor standard. The nearest medical centre that is well resourced is in the regional capital, Ouahigouya, some 25km away. The village wells dry up in the midst of the dry season, and the next nearest wells are two to three kilometres away. The nearest market is 5km away.

All these factors make life difficult for the people of Tuya, but are in turn made worse still by the poor transport system and bad access roads, isolating the village for certain times of the year.

The two tracks that connect Tuya with the outside world are in a bad state of repair. They cross a small river which has no bridge, so when the river floods in the rainy season the village is cut off and children from neighbouring villages cannot get to school, it is impossible to reach markets or to get healthcare, even when urgent.

There is no public transport system connecting the villages, and the only modes of transport used are bicycles, donkeys, animal-drawn carts and motorcycles. In Tuya, people's very low purchasing power means they only use bicycles, carts or donkeys, and women are permitted only to walk and must carry everything on their heads, no matter what the distance. The carts, donkeys and bicycles are always overloaded, way beyond their proper capacity.

Men in Yatenga Province only work on the farm. So for the eight months of the dry season that no farming takes place, they have no other activity except in very rare cases. Women however have domestic responsibilities that are assigned to them exclusively and permanently. They also work on the family farm in the

season, and on their own farm lots where they grow food for the family. Throughout the year, women are the first to rise and the last to go to bed. Their activities require constant moving about; an estimate by the author of the average is between 16km per day at the lower end and an upper average of 44km. All distances are covered on foot and loads carried on the head. Women themselves do not appear to question any of this, as the cultural norms are deeply ingrained.

All means of transport are exclusively owned, controlled and used by men. After a day's work on the farm, men will be seen riding their bicycles or donkeys back to the village without a load, passing the women as they walk with headloads and babies on their backs. Even when the family bicycle or donkey is not being used by the husband, the woman cannot use it, either because she cannot (bicycle), or because cultural rules forbid her (donkey).

Although all in the region are poor, women are the poorest. 89 per cent of women in Tuya earn from US\$ 0-10 per annum. They therefore have no means to purchase a means of transport, even if it occurred to them. If they have any cash or any say in how family income is spent, women themselves are more likely to approve of purchasing a means of transport for a husband or son than for themselves.

In the area studied, it is strictly forbidden for a woman to ride a donkey or a horse, even if one is available to her. The belief is not questioned, even though explanations of its purpose and origin are rather vague.

The author then has highlighted three main areas which limit women's mobility. The first is the unfair division of labour; the second is the poverty of women even in comparison to the men, and the third is the constraints placed upon women by cultural rules.

The author makes a concluding list of suggestions regarding possible solutions to the problems of women in this region. These include:

- Planners and policy makers should see transport in the province as a priority; a basic factor of development. This includes the improvement of road/path condition and the transport system.
- Planners must be aware that women and men have different transport needs, and should strive for awareness and equality of access with regard to transport.
- Transport interventions should take more account of women's needs and perspective and should involve women in the planning and implementation of such interventions.
- Women's access to adequate means of transport should be promoted, together with a more equitable division of tasks.
- Non-transport interventions, such as improved water supplies, increasing sources of fuelwood, promoting efficient wood-burning stoves and positioning of crop

grinding mills to reduce time and effort spent on transportation should be implemented.

- IMTs should be promoted, taking into account gendered perceptions and needs
- Support should be given to women in the establishment of income-generating activities to increase their financial autonomy.
- Consider setting up a system of small loans aimed at women.

The author concludes by stating that more studies and surveys are required so that the suggestions can be implemented successfully, taking a participatory and enabling approach, encouraging people to think over their own situation and express their needs and concerns, so becoming involved themselves in the search for solutions.

Safety and gender issues in rural transport. A case study of Busia District, Uganda

by Kwamusi Paul

This study maintains that rural road safety issues constitute a neglected area, and that in the studied district in Uganda, road travel is growing in an unregulated way which has consequences for road safety. There has been little attempt to integrate the issue with rural transport planning and development, and the issue also links with gender considerations.

There is an increasing rate of accidents on rural roads, and the incidence of injuries caused by travelling fall disproportionately on women. This is even though they make substantially less use of motorised vehicles than men.

The study focuses in particular at the causes of accidents to women, the effects of these upon the women and their community and to what extent these safety issues compromise rural accessibility.

The area selected for study is known to have the highest number of bicycles per capita in Uganda. It is culturally acceptable for women to ride bicycles here, although there are some restrictions on when/how etc. Walking is, however the main mode of travel, and women make more walking journeys than men because of their domestic and reproductive tasks.

Many of the accidents happening to women as they walk are caused by being knocked down either by bicycles or motorcycles. They also fall and slip owing to poor road surfaces and mud during the rainy season. Headloading contributes significantly to the risk of injury, and when falls do take place they are usually worse if the woman was carrying a load. Fatigue caused by this method of load carrying also contributes to accidents. Some respondents noted that it was actually harder to hear vehicles approaching when carrying a load on the head.

Uneven paths, animal and snake bites and collisions

with cycles and motorcycles were all mentioned by women as causes of accidents to themselves.

Cyclists also reported a number of causes of accident/injury. These include falling off (again for reasons of poor road surface etc. as above, but women are more likely to fall off because they are carried as passengers on the boda-boda services and the awkward sitting position makes them vulnerable).

Bicycles are also frequently in a very poor state of repair: this is because spare parts and maintenance are very costly. Old bicycles are adapted and somehow kept going, but brakes are often non-existent. Other factors affecting cycle accidents are poor visibility caused by riding at night without lights (they are too expensive to buy); overloading the cycles to try to reduce the number of journeys made, and copious consumption of alcohol by some operators. Although women do use cycles, men have many more accidents while using them. This seems to be because they carry heavier loads and tend to be less cautious than women.

The study also notes that only 7 per cent of road accidents are brought to the attention of the police, and only 20 per cent of victims seek medical assistance. There is also no overall responsibility for road safety issues, and a general lack of interest on the part of the police.

The study found that travel accidents are one of the main causes of disability in the area. There are gender issues involved here, as the author points out that when a woman is seriously injured, her husband will marry a new wife. If however the man (or indeed any member of the woman's family) is permanently injured, it will be seen as her job to look after them, in addition to her other tasks.

The accident rate also affects women's perceptions of IMTs, many respondents stating that they prefer to walk everywhere because it is safer, and only ride anywhere in extreme emergencies. In this way, accidents can compromise the success of rural transport initiatives.

The author states a need for more data in the field of travel safety issues, but concludes with a list of recommendations to assist with bringing the accident rate down while improving awareness of the problems at all levels.

The recommendations include: promoting community based road safety programmes; resources and mobilisation needed for self-help road rehabilitation and maintenance programmes to improve road conditions; a review of bicycle design with regard to 'woman-friendliness', load-carrying capacity and increased safety, with scope for technology transfer from those Asian countries who have more experience of these matters.

At policy level there is a need to take safety into account when planning travel and access initiatives, and to have proper definitions of what constitutes safety in rural travel, and minimum standards. Gender aware planning should recognise this as an issue particularly affecting women.

A gender perspective on transport and accessibility in off-road areas: the case of women traders in Gomoa, coastal Ghana

by Gina Porter

The case study begins with a concise statement of the prevailing circumstances of women traders in coastal Ghana, for whom marketing is a major responsibility.

In many districts women face considerable difficulties in getting their goods to market, particularly from off-paved road locations. Feeder roads and tracks deteriorate rapidly in the rainy season and even settlements just a few miles from a tarred road can become inaccessible. Traders may not visit such villages at these times and so prices are depressed. Women have to headload their produce to the nearest motorable road if they are to obtain reasonable prices.

The author of this study asks five research questions which define the scope of the report:

- What is the current organisation and cost pattern of transport services in off-road areas (regarding links to the main market centres utilised)?
- What are the particular needs and difficulties of women traders in a small number of selected off-road settlements (and to what extent are they transport related?)
- Most transport is owned by men. Is there potential to develop women run/owned transport services?
- What potential is there for various types of intermediate transport use in the specific local cultural context and what would be the implications of its use for women's trading activities?
- Could electronic communications (such as mobile phones) play a role in improving market information? Would this have transport implications?

The study area is Gomoa, one of Ghana's poorest coastal districts. It is principally an agricultural district, and the main crops are maize, cassava, peppers and tomato. Restraints include unreliable rainfall, lack of credit for farmers, fluctuation in agricultural prices, high input costs, poor roads and labour shortages caused by out-migration of youth.

Central Region in which Gomoa lies has a reasonable road network compared to northern Ghana, but the condition of roads is frequently very poor. Gomoa has a fairly good network of roads, but the majority of these are classed as 'gravel'. On inspection they are frequently found to be indistinguishable from earth tracks, since the topography of Gomoa means that the gravel surface is rapidly lost and gulleying occurs.

Four villages in Gomoa, Adabra, Sampa, Lome and Abora have been selected for study and are compared and contrasted under a number of headings, including the current organisation and cost pattern of motorised

transport services; non-motorised transport use, and the needs and difficulties of women traders. Under the latter heading, although differences exist in the specifics depending on the village, the following evidence emerged.

A frequent response from richer and poorer women in all the villages was to talk about the lack of capital for expanding trading activity, including lack of money for transport fares (in the case of poorer women with regard to visiting local markets, in the case of better-off women to visit larger, more distant markets). Although women are the principal produce marketers, they are usually less able to afford transport than their husbands, who generally have larger areas of land to farm.

Defaulting creditors and long delays in repayment of credit are a second common problem for traders which affects those with both large and small businesses and both roadside and off-road residents alike, but is not specifically transport related. Another frequently mentioned problem is that of drivers of tro-tros arriving late on market day to pick up the traders and their goods. Many women in the off-road villages complained about loss of sales occasioned by such delays. The market may be well-advanced by the time they arrive, so it is not possible to sell all the produce they have brought before the customers disperse (having already purchased from the more punctual traders). Failure of transport to arrive at all is particularly common during the wet season, when drivers are unwilling to venture along difficult stretches of road. Women complained about the spoilage and losses of produce this caused.

From the evidence presented, it becomes clear that although not all trader problems are related, access to transport figures significantly among the difficulties described by women traders in the villages studied.

The study then looks at the potential for IMTs and the implications for women's trading activities.

IMT use is relatively low in Ghana, and among officials in Accra and Cape Coast, IMTs seem to be perceived as unlikely to be acceptable in the coastal areas (in comparison to northern Ghana).

Photographs of five IMTs were shown to groups of women of varying age and economic status in each of the four villages. The photos were selected to illustrate a range of transport options: the 'kencart' (a large mesh container on wheels, shown being pushed by a woman), the tricycle cart (shown ridden by a man), the wheel barrow, the bicycle (with long rear carrier), and finally a shoulder pole (shown being carried by a man).

The kencart was the most popular option with women from all villages, with the exception of Lome, where the bicycle ranked first. The cart was perceived by most women to be a really valuable means of transporting crops from field to village and on towards local markets. When the groups were asked about potential difficulties in getting the cart along village paths, they generally responded that the cart could be parked

on the nearest junction with the broad track and still ease their work considerably.

The tricycle cart was the second choice overall, especially with older women, and seen as having good potential, like the kencart, for both farm to village and village to market transport. The wheel barrow generated less interest and comment than either the kencart or tricycle cart.

The bicycle attracted much debate. Its long carrier was admired, but only in one village was the bicycle ranked above the kencart or tricycle. It was perceived to have restricted load carrying capacity, and unsuited to the unevenness of farm paths. Interestingly, women did not anticipate any opposition from men if they had bicycles to ride, but many were uncertain if they would be able to learn to ride them, and it is possible they would be commandeered by men. By contrast with the other IMTs, the carrying pole was rejected everywhere. All the women felt that it looked uncomfortable and too heavy, and would make it impossible to carry a baby on your back while transporting goods.

The potential for women owned/run motorised and intermediate modes of transport was also researched for this study. Only one woman in all the villages surveyed was actually a transport owner, and her case is exceptional. Most women in Gomoa have little likelihood of ever having enough funds on their own to purchase even a modest IMT.

Group ownership ought to be an option in these circumstances, but there is widespread concern among the women interviewed in all villages that groups would have difficulty amicably sharing any vehicles purchased in this way and everyone would want to use it at once. And in the poorer villages, even group purchase was considered beyond women's means. This suggests that in many villages, poverty or lack of experience with group enterprises may inhibit development of women-owned /run motorised transport and IMTs and that substantial groundwork would be necessary to ensure the success of any project.

The potential for improving access to market information through the use of electronic communications, including mobile phones is also examined in the study. The author states that in principle, another useful approach via which women's efforts to get the best prices for their goods could be assisted. However preliminary surveys are not encouraging. Most women do not seem interested in hearing about prices obtainable in more distant markets. They report that they prefer to deal in their own, local market where they are known and perceive themselves to be at less risk of being cheated. Many women also argue that they do not have the funds to visit more distant markets.

In conclusion the author points out the following. In coastal Ghana women have the principle responsibility for marketing. Access to motorised transport services from

and to off-road villages is often very restricted and travel is more costly (roughly double) than comparable distances over paved roads. Traders are regularly disappointed by the late or non-arrival of vehicles on market day, particularly in the rainy season when roads become impassable. The women may lose money as a result of this.

IMTs are currently very rare in rural Gomoa and almost wholly male-owned and operated. The more widespread use of IMTs could assist women in moving crops from farm to village and village to market, and the majority of women were extremely interested in photos of IMTs provided for discussion, particularly the handcart. However, most women could see little opportunity for obtaining IMTs themselves, because of lack of funds. They were negative about the idea of group purchase.

The World Bank's recently launched village infrastructure project (VIP) could help with IMT acquisition, but villagers are unaware of it at present. Since the project is envisaged as a providing investment to user groups, it is important that women in these villages consider ways in which they can come together to take advantage of this potential source of finance.

Rural transport infrastructure provision in Kenya – A practical view through women's eyes: A case of Keruwosa

by Cecilia Kinuthia-Njenga and Justina Nthenge

KERUWOSA, a large women's group of 120 members in Kandara Division of Muranga (now Maragua) District in the Central Province of Kenya is the focus of this study. The main objective of KERUWOSA is to improve the living environment through the implementation of infrastructure projects, mainly water and sanitation. Recognising that poor road infrastructure was affecting their day-to-day lives and activities, the group has incorporated road improvements as a key activity in their programme. As a member of the group stated, "in the old days, many roads surrounding our village were in good condition. Our town council was paying much attention to them. And during those days, the spirit of harambee was very high with people – men and women – contributing whatever they had in building or repairing roads. But nowadays, the spirit has weathered due to the council failing to do their part." But what has motivated KERUWOSA to take up the challenge?

KERUWOSA has embarked on some community development activities aimed at dealing with the twin problem of poor road infrastructure and of participation. The rural people of Kandara Division have become commodity producers for the international market. With the decline of coffee as the main cash crop and the rise of the French beans, flowers and other horticultural produce, the rural people of Kandara are transforming their environments and modifying their lives, not without difficulty and often with extra-ordinary energy and

determination. They continue to rely on informal social networks as safety nets of support.

Through a participatory research process, this study sought to first, identify and document the motivational factors behind transport infrastructure improvement projects designed and implemented by KERUWOSA and second, to highlight the relationships between such improvements and nature of women's transport patterns in relation to productive and reproductive activities.

Methods for investigating included focus group discussions, mapping, transect walks, Venn diagrams and gender analysis tools – activity profiles, roles and responsibilities.

With its deep volcanic soils, relatively high rainfall, undulating landscape, wide fertile valley bottoms, criss-crossing rivers and streams, Kandara Division falls within a medium high potential agro-ecological zone. Rivers and streams in the Division are subject to heavy siltation and thus flooding during the rainy season as a result of soil erosion, which has been accelerated by the intensive farming. Like in most parts of Kenya, women in Kandara are responsible for household activities such as home-care, child rearing, cooking washing, fetching water and collecting firewood. Productive activities, are however the responsibility of both women and men. In Kandara, the productive activities include agriculture – clearing, preparing land, digging planting, weeding, cultivating, harvesting, transporting and marketing; animal husbandry; and trading and small enterprise.

Recognising the link between their productive and reproductive roles it is no wonder that KERUWOSA has included infrastructure improvement as part of their community development activities. A analysis of transport needs for the roles and responsibilities assigned to women and men indicates that women's responsibilities have a more transport-intense dimension particularly of unserviced paths, tracks and footbridges. The responsibility of women to fetch water and to collect firewood requires that they utilise footpaths and tracks and sometimes bridges, which are internally located and in very poor condition. A mapping exercise clearly demonstrated that at least 70% of the foot-paths, tracks and bridges were in poor condition.

Focus group discussions revealed that the conditions of transport routes and used by rural men and women determine the amount of time and effort spent on transport activities. Participants of the Focus groups discussions indicated that they spend one hour fetching water during the dry season and at least two hours fetching water from the same stream during the wet season. This is because some paths are totally impassable during the wet season. The same case applies to access to french beans collection points. This point was very well illustrated in the mapping exercises and transect walks.

Based on this analysis, KERUWOSA has set aside half a day a week when they contribute to improving rural infrastructure in their respective villages. Their key

activities including sweeping the roads, digging gullies and gutters, repairing bridges, and laying twigs and leaves on critical paths during the rainy season. The women use the tools used regularly in their homes. such as hoes, pangas, jembes and brooms. The group has only purchased 20 brooms and 5 hoes. They have written proposals to donors requesting support to purchase additional equipment including gloves. They are however, not involved in improving the main roads as these would require permission from the local authorities. Moreover, work on major roads would require some investment in capital and cash, which the group currently lacks. The work of the group is purely voluntary and part of their community development contribution.

Very little is known about the benefits women derive from participation in road infrastructure improvement, although recent studies indicate that rural infrastructure contributes to women's lives and those of their families, particularly those from marginal regions or have few land assets and/or are economically worse-off. Focus group discussions with the members and non-members of KERUWOSA indicated that improved roads contributed positively and some instances negatively to both women and men.

Members of KERUWOSA are motivated to contribute to the improvement of road infrastructure for the following reasons:

- to reduce energy and time spent on carrying out roles and responsibilities – for example, with improved road infrastructure it takes only half an hour more to fetch water during the rainy season;
- to increase women's access to social services – mobile clinics and community based health workers visit areas that are more accessible – thus reducing the need to make lengthy trips to district hospitals;
- to increase access for extension workers to farms that are located more interior;
- to improve access to collection points/markets for farm produce.

The KERUWOSA initiative in road improvement illustrates that women are capable of determining their infrastructure needs, and can successfully mobilise their resources to address their priority problems.

Gender and transport load sharing among households in Kafur Village in Southern Katsina State, Nigeria

by Mohammed-Bello Yunusa

This study looks at the particular roles and circumstances of women in terms of their transport needs in the particular circumstances of an isolated rural Hausa-Fulani Muslim community where the women are further isolated by the practice of purdah.

The level of rural transport infrastructure development in Nigeria is generally very poor, and is

compounded by a poor policy framework. Governments have continued to invest in urban transport showing little or no commitment to the rural sector. Rural communities rely on traditional transport means such as walking and animals for carrying loads. Women in these circumstances are further constrained by socio-cultural as well as material factors. The study contends that women in purdah and in isolated villages have specific transport needs that require attention.

The study sets out to look at the concept of 'transport burden distribution' by gender in a rural community in Nigeria. In this context the problem of rural transport load provides a framework for addressing the problems of poverty and gender inequality. The study was carried out in Kafur village in the Savannah belt of Northern Nigeria.

Women here are secluded from men other than their husbands and cannot leave the house without his permission. In purdah, women do not work on the farm, but do go out for important ceremonies or on health grounds. However, they are engaged in productive economic activities at home in addition to household chores.

The village has good services which have developed because of the establishment of Local Government Council headquarters which is based there. Services include a market, clinic, repair and other shops and a petrol station. For this reason, journeys by men or women for basic household needs above 3km in length are exceptional.

Many of the women are engaged in handicraft work based at home, while some sell goods or snacks in the market. Women's income is much lower than men's.

Men often own a bicycle or a motorcycle, but women cannot afford to, and/or are prevented anyway for cultural reasons. The only exception is oxen, which they can own in order to hire out to farmers for ploughing. Therefore men both own and control means of transport. Added to this there are cultural restrictions placed upon women in the ownership and use of means of transport. The women surveyed also stated in some cases that they felt travel by bicycle or donkey was 'not convenient'.

Men actually make most of the journeys, as women are confined for much of the time. They do go to market to buy household necessities, but they also send their children out often to do these things for them. Some respondents relished the rare opportunities they got to go and do these things for themselves.

In Kafur, unlike much of Africa, women do not market agricultural produce. Children headload goods to market, but men have the main responsibility. Only a tiny proportion of women headload (3.4% of the sample).

Women reported difficulty in making trips for whatever reason, because they are constrained by their household duties, by the need to get permission from their husbands, or a combination of the two

Both men and women expressed a desire to own motorised rather than non-motorised transport, but the bicycle was still popular too. Neither men nor women felt it was important to improve the situation for walking, donkeys or horses, but to improve roads for use by motorcycles, buses and cars, in order to reduce the transport burden (mostly the responsibility of men, as we have seen).

The author concludes that enhancing the transport opportunities for women in the area requires a sociological as much as a technological approach. There is a need to work with women regarding why it is important for them to have the means to travel, even using one of the 'traditional' modes. The author suggests the emphasis should be on social purposes of travel, such as marriages and condolence visits. The economic aspects should be played down in the circumstances of men 'providing' for their wives. This approach has the benefit of inducing spontaneous economic use of transport modes by women without upsetting the family social structure. On the other hand, men can be educated that the women have better access to transport means so that they would be able to share the transport load more equitably with men.

Gender issues in rural transport: The case of Yankatsari in the Kano Closed Settled Zone, Nigeria

by Nurudeen Abubaker

This is a case study which takes an individual approach to assessing gender issues in rural transport in this very ancient and individual area of Nigeria. It gives a great deal of consideration to what has been written and researched in the field of gender and development, and seeks to discover how far statements that have been made can be applied in the actual circumstances of Yankatsari. It takes an openly questioning tone to many development assumptions by means of a survey interviewing 18 women in Yankatsari from 13 households. Through this method, the author seeks to 'test' the theoretical assumptions that inform the *Balancing the Load* research programme.

Yankatsari is a village close to the main town of Kano. The communities of this area have been established since ancient times and live at high density but dispersed (in this context, dispersal does not mean isolation). Chosen by the People's Redemption Party (1979-1983) as the site of a model village to aid rural development, its current circumstances are far from 'model' and most of the planned government interventions were never instigated.

The village is in a Muslim area and both purdah and polygamy are practised. The author asserts that 'purdah in particular has an encapsulating effect on travel and transport', and essentially women's domain is the home and any journeys other than social/cultural or urgent

medical are taken on her behalf. The author also states that over 77% of respondents were not in purdah by choice. Other than their household and reproductive duties, the majority of the sell jewellery, snack foods or groundnut oil as petty traders. The area is dominated by agriculture and farming, but the women take no part in this for cultural reasons as outlined above.

Though the bulk of the economic pursuits of the women of Yankatsari are within the homestead, over 61 per cent of the respondents listed some aspect of their work that required travel or transport. Of these however, only 27 per cent actually participate themselves in the travelling, mostly it done for them by young males. No respondent owned a bicycle or indeed any means of transport and since they had never seen any women doing such a thing, the question why not 'simply- does not arise'. Technological constraints are not the issue, the reasons again are social/cultural. Fetching water is among the household responsibilities of women, but the majority have wells in their home compounds or fetch from a neighbours nearby, so it does not need to be transported far at all.

Travel and transport was not a priority for the women when asked about favoured government interventions, and the communal maintenance of paths and tracks has no place for women in Yankatsari: 100 per cent of respondents said it is no business of women, citing culture, tradition, purdah and husband as reasons for non-participation.

The women did recognise however that improved travel and transport facilities would enhance access to markets, and for basic needs (such as healthcare), and would also attract more business.

The author states that when the study was initiated, it was not anticipated that purdah would be the all-pervasive element that it turned out to be in the survey results. From the findings, the author asserts that the primary issues that need urgent attention are socio-cultural. First, that the socio-cultural, economic and political context of being male or female in an extremely hegemonic society like Kano, with a well-articulated ideology, in a highly centralised set-up which has been in existence for almost a millennium, can hardly be over-emphasised. Second, that while the findings support the view that infrastructure improvements should not be underplayed, emphasis should change and focus on internal organisational changes. The most important stumbling block to improvements in rural transport is attitudinal, in this case on the part of both men and women.

The impact of road rehabilitation on transport and accessibility in rural Soba District of Kaduna State, Nigeria

by Mohammed-Bello Yunusa, E.M. Shalbu-Imodagabe and Y.A. Ambi, with Aminu Yusuf and Binta Abdulkarim

This case study assesses the impact of a road rehabilitation project in the Soba Local Government area, Kaduna State, Nigeria upon the inhabitants of one particular village, Lungu Taka Lafla, in the context of the debate about whether in fact better transport infrastructure leads, per se, to accelerated development.

There is a literature review in the first part of the paper which critically appraises the current state of the arguments in this respect, followed by a survey of the village of Lungu to see what has actually taken place there.

The Kaduna State Government decided to renovate the road which links Soba and Ikara towns, after it had been deteriorating for some considerable time. The project was aimed at reviving the flow of goods and services that might have been lost owing to the poor state of the road.

Lungu is located about midway along the length of the rehabilitated road, which actually touches the settlement. It is a large village with a predominantly Muslim population.

Among its findings, the case study highlights the following:

- The poor road condition had affected access to basic services in the study area. Ninety per cent of respondents to the survey reported that it had affected their access to medical services. Some of the specific health problems attributed to the bad state of the road included premature delivery and sometimes death, due to the very uncomfortable journey to the hospital at some distance away. After the renovation, 100 per cent of the male respondents and 92 per cent of the women agreed that most medical problems such as these were no longer significant. However eight per cent of the women still felt the renovation had not improved the state of available medical services, which is attributable to the absence of a well-staffed and equipped clinic in the community itself.
- Before renovation, women were predominantly responsible for taking the sick to hospital. After renovation, the numbers of men taking the sick to hospital had increased. This is probably because of the improved transportation to a major hospital some way away.
- In terms of collecting water, this is one of the few areas in Lungu dominated by women because households have wells in the compound. It is mainly carried out on foot (63 per cent), with limited use of donkeys, ox carts and motorcycles (men).

- Women dominate the collection of water for domestic uses; where men collect water it is for commercial reasons (water vendors), or in drought conditions when local resources dry up. With the renovation of the road, the involvement of men in the collection of water has declined. Pre-renovation, 17 per cent of male respondents collected water for their households, but after renovation it was only nine per cent. Females involved in water collection had increased from 48 per cent before renovation to 50 per cent after. This is probably because the road renovation led to an increase in movement and activities for males, leaving the women more sole responsibility for the household.
- The study population is mainly agricultural. Movement of inputs and farm produce accounts for many journeys. Pre-renovation, 57 per cent of farmers (predominantly men) reported they had experienced no problems with this, while 34 per cent reported that the poor state of the road created immense problems getting to and from their farms. This corresponds with the distances of individual farms from the village.
- With access to grinding mills however, the picture is much clearer. 43 per cent of respondents claimed that the poor road condition adversely affected their access to the mills because of the time spent getting to the mills and queuing when there. About 8 per cent of respondents also reported losses en route to the mill through spillage. Seven per cent reported that they had to pay higher transport fares to get them to the mill on the poor road, while 6 per cent complained of wear and tear on their means of transport. There are few women before or after who take grain to the mills, probably because they pound or grind the grain themselves rather than risk the journey or queue for ages at the mill. After renovation, this trend has not altered much, but there is a slight increase in men taking produce to the mills, owing to the better road surface facilitating the transport of much larger loads at one time.
- It was generally agreed by all that the market was adversely affected by the poor state of the road, because villagers could not make the journey over the rough conditions with their produce to sell. The gender pattern for the response on this matter was uniform between both sexes, with only minor variations.
- In Lungu, the men are the main collectors of firewood, because the women are in seclusion. Before the road was rehabilitated, much of the fuelwood transported was by foot (29 per cent), foot and donkey (12 per cent) and just donkey (11 per cent). This changed after renovation, when more wood started to be transported using motorised transport, although the bicycle and ox cart remained more important at 21 per cent. Only 10 per cent were

transporting wood on foot post-renovation.

- The study found that economic activities were the most affected by the road improvements. About half the sample reported a boost to economic activities, in terms of employment facilities and opportunities, increased sales of farm produce at higher prices, access to agricultural inputs at lower prices, and the cost of storage and processing of agricultural produce had reduced. This has benefited the whole community, but most directly affects the men because of the women being in seclusion.

In conclusion, the report points out that after renovation, access to medical and education facilities were increased, participation in social event for men and women have increased, and the economic activities of both male and female respondents was adversely affected by the bad state of the road previously and had correspondingly improved after renovation. The poor state of the road led to increases in cost and travelling time for grinding mills and market facilities located outside the village, now both much improved. The renovation of the road led to an increase in fuelwood collection and more use of motorised transport, and changes in domestic refuse collection from women to men, who make fertiliser from it now they can transport it in bigger loads.

The recommendations which conclude the study include:

- The need for regular maintenance of the road in rural areas
- The need to increase or improve the means of travel on these roads with particular emphasis on the use of animals which are under utilised in the area
- The provision of services in the community or nearer to it to reduce the burden of travelling
- The need to work out strategies for community involvement in the maintenance of the roads, rather than reliance upon the public sector.

Tell the World: incorporating women's views on accessibility and rural transport in Ghana into distance education material and Internet communication

by Jeff Turner

This case study takes the form of recounting the key points from a series of papers that were presented at a workshop during the GHACLAD conference (Ghana Computer Literacy and Development Conference 1998). The workshop aimed to raise the profile of rural women's voices in Ghanaian national transport policy debate by facilitating interaction with representatives of the professional transport community.

It is now well-established that there are gender differences in the travel patterns in the rural, urban, developing and developed worlds. It is also known that

the voices of women have not been systematically included by the transport community in either the training of professionals, the participation of users, or the design and planning of systems, services and equipment. There is therefore a need to promote the voices of rural women users in the formal policy arena.

The first paper summarised is 'Managing the Time: gender participation in education and the benefits of distance education' by Dr. Margaret Grieco. This paper pointed out how a recent audience survey in Ghana had underscored the importance of distance education as a more flexible option for spreading educational opportunities, especially to the less advantaged or remotely located audiences.

Of special mention was access by women. The paper pointed out that critical gender issues such as time management, task overload, and multiple tasks, and mobility constraints stifle women's access to educational opportunities, even when facilities are available. The consequence of these constraints on girls' education was highlighted. It asserted that because women cannot go to educational facilities, it behoved development workers to devise more appropriate and affordable ways to take education to women.

Another key point was the need to enable the currently voiceless, vulnerable groups in society to make their own case. The potential of using technology to amplify these voices was highlighted as viable way allowing women in particular to broadcast their situation in their own voices, to audiences all over the world. This could take place through a website and through video-based presentations. The paper stressed that with the spread of telephone usage, the Internet offers the best consistent opportunity for communication.

The second paper summarised is 'Gender and Rural Transport: the distance education of professionals and NGOs' by Jeff Turner. This paper points out the importance of paying attention to gender analysis in rural transport policy planning. It also highlights the differences in transport needs, and therefore modes of travel by women and men, informed by the different roles they perform. It indicates that the complex roles of women cause them to travel more often and for different activities, so that they need the kind of support that facilitates their effective role performance.

The need for sensitisation on gender roles in the transport sector and the appropriate actions required were touched upon, but the information needed for a proper appreciation of these issues is unavailable because of a scarcity of materials and data. The important role of local resource people in providing the right knowledge at both the basic (local knowledge) and technical (research) levels through participatory approaches was identified as the best strategy for gathering the requisite information and moving forward. The important role of information technology in facilitating this whole learning process was acknowledged.

The third paper summarised is 'Rural transport difficulties in Ghana: health and water', by Mrs Mercy Ackumey. This paper presented field data on the lives of women in the Sekyere-Odiomasi district of Ghana. It described the several tasks which women have to perform daily, the scarce time they have to perform each of them, and the consequences of these restraints on other aspects of their lives. For example, owing to the lack of good roads and access to transport for carting produce from farms, this task, which ought to be achievable in two hours, in fact takes six hours of headloading. The rainy season poses the most difficult challenges, since without extra help much farm produce goes to waste through spoilage.

The paper highlighted how trade-offs are made in time allocation to different roles. For instance, the performance of women's productive role in agriculture interferes with her role as health provider for the family. Without enough time to trek to the nearest clinic, the ailments of family members, including her own, are treated with self-medication which is often inappropriate. Health care is usually not easily accessible and so most pregnant women postpone trying to get to the clinic. Without transport, women with children make the journeys with the children on their backs, making the journey harder going still. Many pregnant women die on their way to the health centres, since decisions to take them there are often made only as a last resort.

With regard to water supply, the paper noted the strain women face in their role as water providers for their families. This is complicated in the dry season when water sources dry up and women have to travel to more distant sources.

Proposals made by the paper include the following:

- Use of mobile clinics;
- Mobile vans to educate and distribute information on drugs and medicines;
- Education for contraceptive usage;
- Provision of radio sets at vantage points;
- Women should be consulted about the siting of boreholes, so that their journeys can be reduced.

The next paper summarised is 'Women in Agriculture: Their access to technology and credit', by Mrs Lorraine Osei-Mensah. This paper presented a study about 80 women farmers, conducted in the Akim Abuakwa area of Ghana. The paper made the point that these women make a vital contribution to the economy, and made a case for enhancing their access to credit and farming technology to improve production. It noted that most of the women were ready to cultivate more but had difficulty accessing credit and modern farming technology. The situation is partly because of the women's lack of education and partly because of their poverty.

Another important role highlighted by the paper was the processing and distributive role of women. It noted that these vital roles are hampered by the lack of

transportation which constrains mobility, and therefore their ability to cart produce both from farm to village and on to markets. The paper described how women stay up at night to wait for the only vehicle which calls at their village at dawn on a specific day, and missing this means waiting a whole week usually before the (perishable) produce can be moved. The monopoly enjoyed by these drivers often means they raise charges as and when they please, and often over-charge for goods carted.

The final paper summarised in the case study is 'Gender, transport and agriculture in rural Ghana', by Rosetta Tetebo. This paper highlighted the enormous role played by women in Sub-saharan Africa and Ghana in particular, in ensuring the food security and nutritional well-being of their households, through production, processing, marketing and storage. It raised the point that in order to make agriculture the 'prime mover' in African economies, the constraints experienced by women must be addressed.

The paper also stated that there is technological bias against women, and any solutions must recognise this. It called for better post-harvest management, for better access to resources, particularly education and training for women through distance learning and mobile units to increase income-earning opportunities, and in marketing agricultural production. It also called for better transportation to allow better access to markets, credit and farm inputs.

From the presentations at the GHACLAD conference, a website has been put together. It is designed for transport professionals and policy makers and it is linked to other sites of interest in the transport field. It can be accessed at <http://www.art.man.ac.uk/transres/ghacladO.htm>

Issues from African Case Studies

Issues for Users and Community-Level Institutions

Road Rehabilitation in Nigeria

- Community involvement at planning stages of infrastructural development more likely to lead to sustainable maintenance and resourcing;
- To understand needs of women and impact of interventions made on women in specific cultural contexts, e.g. Purdah, it may be necessary to use women in interviewing and follow-up;
- The impact of transport interventions is heavily influenced by culture;
- The benefits of transport interventions depend on who is involved and has control over economic activities in the area of intervention;
- Road rehabilitation, together with increased transport provision, can bring overall benefits to a region. Road rehabilitation alone cannot.

Boda Bodas in Uganda

- Decentralisation and ownership of the road network can lead to better maintenance and mobilisation of resources given adequate technical and other supportive inputs;

Reaching Rural Women in Tanzania

- In planning dissemination campaigns to reach women, appropriate media should be used which reaches them and enables them to communicate their own user needs;
- IMTs can relieve women's transport burden, but who owns and controls the IMT can heavily influence the degree to which their problems of accessibility are alleviated;
- Need to make available and popularise a range of IMTs;
- Need to sensitise communities, and particularly women that IMTs can be used for domestic purposes;
- In seeking to resolve perceived transport problems (for example long distances to the marketplace), practitioners and planners should look at non-transport solutions (for example local processing of surplus foods). Tools such as accessibility planning, integrated planning and time analysis could be useful in seeking appropriate solutions.

Nkone river bridge

- Successful interventions need to be shared
- Initiatives should involve community organisations

Impact of IMTs in Zimbabwe

- Introduction of IMTs can encourage greater sharing of transport tasks and savings in time;

Impact of Feeder Roads in Sudan

- Donor initiatives (even when working with government) should benefit communities;
- In poor communities – how much contribution can you expect from the communities?

Issues arising from other case studies

- Community initiated activities are more likely to thrive than imposed activities (for example community-initiated groups taxing themselves to pay for their own development in Nigeria as opposed to imposed group ownership of IMTs).
- Community organisations should sensitise women to understand the scope of their transport constraints as part of a broader strategy to encourage demand-led transport interventions.
- There is need to facilitate linkages between community groups to share information and experiences, and to encourage linkages to other networks.

Issues for Transport Practitioners

Road Rehabilitation in Nigeria

- Community involvement at planning stages of infrastructural development more likely to lead to sustainable maintenance and resourcing;
- Transport interventions bring about changes in tasks of household members (positive and negative);
- To understand needs of women and impact of interventions made on women in specific cultural contexts, e.g. Purdah, it may be necessary to use women in interviewing and follow-up;
- The benefits of transport interventions depend on who is involved and has control over economic activities in the area of intervention;
- Road rehabilitation, together with increased transport provision, can bring overall benefits to a region. Road rehabilitation alone cannot.

Boda Bodas in Uganda

- Planners need to understand the travel needs of women users if they are to make appropriate gender-sensitive interventions;
- Transport technologies should be designed with complete understanding of the needs of women users;
- Local manufacture and adaptation of IMTs can be more responsive to the local, social and cultural requirements of users;

Reaching Rural Women in Tanzania

- In planning dissemination campaigns to reach women, appropriate media should be used which reaches them and enables them to communicate their own

user needs;

- IMTs can relieve women's transport burden, but who owns and controls the IMT can heavily influence the degree to which their problems of accessibility are alleviated;
- Need to make available and popularise a range of IMTs;
- Need to sensitise communities, and particularly women that IMTs can be used for domestic purposes;
- In seeking to resolve perceived transport problems (for example long distances to the marketplace), practitioners and planners should look at non-transport solutions (for example local processing of surplus foods). Tools such as accessibility planning, integrated planning and time analysis could be useful in seeking appropriate solutions.

Nkone River Bridge

- The provision of better (improved) roads and transport facilities can alleviate transport burden or balance the burden between men and women
- Successful interventions need to be shared
- Initiatives should involve existing community organisations
- Technical assistance in the design of community based works is crucial.
- Local government capacity building is necessary to support community initiatives

Policies in Uganda

- Indicators for effectiveness of such policies need to describe actual advancements for women
- Need for practical strategies to translate policies into positive interventions.
- There is need to provide adequate funding for gender-responsive rural transport planning and operationalisation.

Impact of IMTs in Zimbabwe

- Introduction of IMTs can encourage greater sharing of transport tasks and savings in time;
- Low cost interventions can only be accessed by those with resources – they are still inappropriate for those women without resources
- Practitioners should be encouraged to explore different options for women and men to access finance to acquire IMTs (e.g. subsidised mass production, loans)
- Introduction of IMTs is likely to be successful if supported by income generating activities
- IMTs should enable women to save time for other social and economic activities.

Impact of Feeder Roads in Sudan

- Organisations that work with communities should use participatory techniques in identification of needs, prioritisation and planning of development

programmes as a strategy for capacity building and coming up with more integrated programmes to address community needs.

- Planning of transport programmes should be sensitive to the needs of women and men in any community.
- The success of interventions is based on available resources within the community (communities' ability to contribute manpower; revenues, cost recovery?)
- In poor communities – how much contribution can you expect from the communities from the success of your initiatives?

Issues arising from other case studies

Transport problems can be resolved by integrated non-transport interventions, for example:

- Distance education in Ghana;
- Credit facilities and mobile banks;
- Increasing food production and supply in rural Nigeria provided impetus for road infrastructure development;
- Tele-centres and community radio in South Africa;
- Food processing adding value to agricultural products;
- Reviving periodic markets through advertising in Ghana;
- Improved sanitation and refuse dumping in Burkina Faso;
- Build the capacity of transport practitioners to design and make available transport options;
- Options for reducing transport costs for communities living far from paved roads, for example, incentives for off-road operators in Zambia provides duty-free incentives to such operators;
- Community initiated activities are more likely to thrive than imposed activities (for example community-initiated groups taxing themselves to pay for their own development in Nigeria as opposed to imposed group ownership of IMTs);
- Transport practitioners should look at the complementarity of modern modes of transports and IMTs in seeking solutions to transport problems;
- Incorporate safety considerations in design of transport facilities for rural travellers; provision of funds for enforcement is paramount;
- There is need to facilitate linkages between community groups to share information and experiences, and to encourage linkages to other networks.

Issues for Policymakers

Road Rehabilitation in Nigeria

- Community involvement at planning stages of infrastructural development more likely to lead to sustainable maintenance and resourcing;
- Transport interventions bring about changes in tasks of household members (positive and negative);

- To understand needs of women and impact of interventions made on women in specific cultural contexts, e.g. Purdah, it may be necessary to use women in interviewing and follow-up;
- The impact of transport interventions is heavily influenced by culture;
- The benefits of transport interventions depend on who is involved and has control over economic activities in the area of intervention;
- Road rehabilitation, together with increased transport provision, can bring overall benefits to a region. Road rehabilitation alone cannot.

Boda Bodas in Uganda

- Decentralisation and ownership of the road network can lead to better maintenance and mobilisation of resources given adequate technical and other supportive inputs;
- Local manufacture and adaptation of IMTs can be more responsive to the local, social and cultural requirements of users;
- Policymakers have a role to play in supporting appropriate transport interventions (for example by providing finance, shaping import requirements, setting standards for safety of transport devices, bringing in technical expertise to support and strengthen local initiatives);
- IMTs can be successfully introduced and owned by women users if adequate systems of support accompany the intervention (for example community development, capacity building, sensitisation etc.)

Reaching Rural Women in Tanzania

- In planning dissemination campaigns to reach women, appropriate media should be used which reaches them and enables them to communicate their own user needs;
- IMTs can relieve women's transport burden, but who owns and controls the IMT can heavily influence the degree to which their problems of accessibility are alleviated;
- Need to make available and popularise a range of IMTs;
- In seeking to resolve perceived transport problems (for example long distances to the marketplace), practitioners and planners should look at non-transport solutions (for example local processing of surplus foods). Tools such as accessibility planning, integrated planning and time analysis could be useful in seeking appropriate solutions.

Nkone River Bridge

- The provision of better (improved) roads and transport facilities can alleviate transport burden or balance the burden between men and women;
- Voices of users is valuable in making a case to policy makers;

- Initiatives should make existing community organisations;
- Technical assistance in the design of community based works is crucial;
- Local government capacity building is necessary to support community initiatives.

Policies in Uganda

- Gender-responsive and gender-responsible policies and institutional structures are useful starting points for gender sensitive transport interventions;
- Indicators for effectiveness of such policies need to describe actual advancements for women;
- Need for practical strategies to translate policies into positive interventions;
- There is need to provide adequate funding for gender-responsive rural transport planning and operationalisation.

Impact of IMTs in Zimbabwe

- Introduction of IMTs can encourage greater sharing of transport tasks and savings in time;
- Low cost interventions can only be accessed by those with resources – they are still inappropriate for those women without resources;
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- Introduction of IMTs is likely to be successful if supported by income generating activities.

Impact of Feeder Roads in Sudan

- Organisations that work with communities should use participatory techniques in identification of needs, prioritisation and planning of development programmes as a strategy for capacity building and coming up with more integrated programmes to address community needs;
- Planning of transport programmes should be sensitive to the needs of women and men in any community;
- Construction of feeder roads guarantees other benefits of the community, for example, health and sanitation, education, boost economic activities;
- Interventions should complement already existing programmes;
- The success of interventions is based on available resources within the community (communities' ability to contribute manpower, revenues, cost recovery?);
- Donor initiatives (even when working with government) should benefit communities;
- Sustainability – successful interventions should consider capacity building as a strategy for ensuring the sustainability of community initiatives;
- In poor communities – how much contribution can you expect from the communities from the success of your initiatives?

Issues arising from other case studies

Transport problems can be resolved by integrated non-transport interventions, for example:

- Distance education in Ghana;
- Credit facilities and mobile banks;
- Increasing food production and supply in rural Nigeria provided impetus for road infrastructure development;
- Tele-centres and community radio in South Africa;
- Food processing adding value to agricultural products;
- Reviving periodic markets through advertising in Ghana;
- Improved sanitation and refuse dumping;
- There is need to build and strengthen the capacity of transport practitioners to design and make available transport options;
- Options for reducing transport costs for communities living far from paved roads need to be considered, for example, incentives for off-road operators in Zambia provides duty-free incentives to such operators;
- Community initiated activities are more likely to thrive than imposed activities (for example community-initiated groups taxing themselves to pay for their own development in Nigeria as opposed to imposed group ownership of IMTs);
- Community organisations should sensitise women to understand the scope of their transport constraints as part of a broader strategy to encourage demand-led transport interventions;
- Incorporate safety considerations in design of transport facilities for rural travellers; provision of funds for enforcement is paramount;
- There is need to facilitate linkages between community groups to share information and experiences, and to encourage linkages to other networks.

The International Forum for Rural Transport and Development is a global network which aims to overcome the physical, economic and social isolation of the rural poor in developing countries. The goal is to improve the accessibility of rural communities by developing rural transport systems which respond to their needs and potentials.

IFRTD

IFRTD

c/o Intermediate Technology
New Premier House
150 Southampton Row
2nd Floor
LONDON WC1B 5AL
United Kingdom

Tel: +44 20 7278 3670

Fax: +44 20 7278 6880

Email: ifrtd@gn.apc.org

Web: <http://www.gn.apc.org/ifrtd>

Typeset by:

My Word! 138 Railway Terrace, Rugby CV21 3HN, UK

Web: www.myword.co.uk

Printed by:

Allesley Press, Leofric House, Waterman Road, Coventry CV6 5EQ, UK

