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Women smallholder agricultural farmers' views on gender equality and the role of informal agricultural associations in the Catembe district, Mozambique
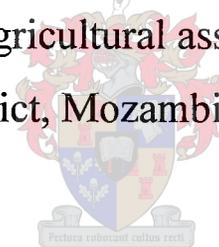
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Thesis presented in the partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts (Sociology) at the University of Stellenbosch

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

K. de Kock

Signature

December 2007
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Summary

The research objective of this study was to explore women smallholder agricultural farmers' views of gender equality in terms of access to land, control over land and the division of labour. However, after some time the decision was made to add to this an exploration of women smallholder agricultural farmers' views on the role of informal agricultural groups in promoting gender equality.

Six women, who live in the Catembe district in Maputo province took part in the study. As dictated by the research objectives participants in the study were married or living with a partner and engaged in smallholder agriculture both individually and collectively as part of an informal agricultural association.

The research was designed according to Participatory Action Research (PAR). PAR was chosen as a research design in order to meet the objectives of the study and because PAR is compatible with the theoretical position from which the research was undertaken, namely the Empowerment perspective on women, gender and development. Data collection methods for the study included individual and focus-group interviews, observation and a review of secondary data. Data was analysed using a combination of qualitative data analysis methods.

The research findings indicated that participants perceive a lack of gender equality predominantly in terms of the gender division of labour and not so much in terms of access to and control over land. The promotion of gender equality was not a consideration for women when they joined the informal agricultural association. Membership had little if any influence on the level of gender equality participants experienced in their personal lives. The association was primarily used to access some income and food and it appeared to have a social support function. The research findings also indicated that within informal agricultural associations the division of resources might be unequal. The unequal division of resources within the association does not only undermine its ability to successfully secure income and food security for its members, but it may also undermine the association's ability to act as a forum for discussing gender related issues. The latter is the potential role participants envision for informal agricultural associations in promoting gender equality.

Opsomming

Die navorsingsdoelwit van hierdie studie was om vroue bestaansboere se siening oor "gender" gelykheid in terme van toegang tot land, beheer oor land en die verdeling van arbeid te ondersoek. Na 'n ruk is die besluit egter geneem om vroue bestaansboere se siening oor die rol van informele landbou-assosiasies in die bevordering van "gender" gelykheid by te voeg.

Ses vroue, wat woon in die Catembe distrik in Maputo provinsie, het deelgeneem aan die studie. Soos aangedui deur die navorsingsdoelwitte was deelnemers in die studie getroud of in 'n saambly verhouding en betrokke by bestaansboedery op individuele vlak en gesamentlik as deel van 'n informele landbou-assosiasie.

Die navorsing was ontwerp volgens Deelnemende Aksie Navorsing (PAR). PAR was gekies as navorsingsontwerp ten einde die doelwitte van die studie te bereik kan word en omdat PAR ooreestem met die teoretiese posisie waarvan die navorsing onderneem was, naamlik die Bemagtigings perspektief op vroue, "gender" en ontwikkeling. Data insamelingsmetodes vir die studie het ingesluit individuele en fokus-groep onderhoude, observasie en 'n oorsig van sekondêre data. Data was geanaliseer deur 'n kombinasie van kwalitatiewe data analise metodes te gebruik.

Die navorsingsbevindinge dui daarop dat deelnemers 'n gebrek aan "gender" gelykheid grootliks ervaar in terme van die verdeling van arbeid en nie so seer in terme van toegang tot en beheer oor land nie. Die bevordering van "gender" gelykheid was nie 'n oorweging vir die vroue toe hulle by die informele landbou-assosiasies aangesluit het nie. Lidmaatskap het min of geen invloed gehad op die mate van "gender" gelykheid wat deelnemers in hulle persoonlike lewe ervaar het nie. Die assosiasie is primêr gebruik om toegang tot inkomste en voedsel te verseker en dit blyk dat die assosiasie 'n sosiale ondersteuningsfunkie gehad het. Die navorsingsbevindings het ook daarop gedui dat binne informele lanbou-assosiasies daar 'n ongelyke verdeeling van hulpbronne kan wees. Die ongelyke verdeling van hulpbronne binne die assosiasie ondermyn nie net die assosiasie se vermoë om suksesvol inkomste en voedsel sekuriteit te verseker nie, maar ook die assosiasie se vermoë om te funksioneer as 'n forum waar lede "gender" aangeleenthede kan bespreek. Laasgenoemde is die potensiële rol wat deelnemers beoog vir informele landbou-assosiasies in die bevordering van "gender" gelykheid.

I would like to dedicate this work to:

my husband Allan Lombard,

my mother and father Maxie en Sias de Kock,

my brother Hugo,

and my friend Liezel de Waal

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I wish to thank my supervisor, Prof. Adrienetta Kritzinger, for her help and guidance in the completion of this thesis.

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Finally, a heart felt thank you to Princess Furgeson and Maggy Sitoi who helped me in so manyways during my stay in Maputo.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Rational for the study

This project very much emerged from the both the personal and the professional/ academic facets of my life. Over the last two years I have visited Mozambique a few times and then decided to move there in August 2005. On arrival in Maputo, I joined Volunteers International and also signed a three month contract with the Lutheran World Federation (LWF). My work at Volunteers International exposed me to various small women 'self-help' groups, including an informal agricultural association, Caminos de Victoria (Road to Victory), in the Catembe district of Maputo-city province. At the same time, I was writing the LWF's annual report which entailed traveling around the country in order to visit the different LWF projects. One of my tasks during these visits was to interview women who were in one way or another affected by the LWF projects. Most of the women I interviewed were smallholder agricultural farmers.

My work at Volunteers International and the LWF combined with a long time academic interest in feminism and gender studies as well as development resulted in a wish to understand more about these women I had contact with. Originally the plan was only to explore women smallholder agricultural farmers' views on gender equality in the smallholder agricultural sector specifically in terms of access to and control over land and the division of labour. However, after some time, I decided to include in the study also women smallholder agricultural farmers' views of the role of informal agricultural associations in promoting gender equality. This decision was based on my work with Caminos de Victoria. When I started working with the association it appeared initially to me that membership could positively influence the extent of gender equality that members experienced in their personal lives. The question thus emerged whether the promotion of gender equality was at all a consideration for these women when they joined the association and whether indeed they thought that such informal agricultural associations can be used to promote gender equality. The research findings might therefore contribute to the existing body of knowledge about women, gender and

development as well as the existing body of knowledge about the potential of informal agricultural groups to act as a catalyst for change.

On a more practical level, a further justification for the research is that it might inform the government of Mozambique's new policies and programs for the development of the agricultural sector and the promotion of gender equality in this sector. Over 90% of Mozambican women work in agriculture, most of them in the smallholder sector (*ProAgri II*, 2003). It is stated in the ProAgri II document, which outlines the government of Mozambique's plan to develop the agricultural sector, that rural women are the main contributors to agricultural sectors and food systems. They are usually responsible for arranging food and taking care of small livestock and gathering food for cattle and other farm animals. Rural women are also generally responsible for gathering firewood as well as arranging the household water supply. Rural women often also make the decisions and provide most of the labour for various cultivation activities. They are also responsible for many post-harvest activities such as storage, marketing and food processing (*ProAgri II*, 2003). However, despite rural women's important role in the agricultural sector they face many constraints many of which can be related to a lack of gender equality in terms of access to and control over land and the division of labour (Waterhouse & Vijfhuizen, 2001:24-27).

1.2 The research objectives

The research objectives consisted of two main parts as already suggested in the previous section. Firstly, the research explores women smallholder agricultural farmers' views on gender equality in terms of access to and control over land and the division of labour. Secondly, the research explores women smallholder agricultural farmers' views on the role of informal agricultural associations in promoting gender equality.

1.3 The study area

The research was carried out in the Catembe district which is a fifteen minute ferry ride across from Maputo City. According to V. Matavel (personal communication, May 17, 2006) the population of Catembe is estimated at 18 000 and most people speak a combination of Ronga and Shangaan. The ferry crossing at Catembe is usually very busy despite the

blazing heat. Local music plays and many people get on and off the dilapidated ferries carrying bags of agriculture produce, buckets of fish or prawns and sometimes containers filled with household necessities. These products are obtained in Catembe and resold in Maputo or vice versa. The harbour also features the only relatively big shop in Catembe, a petrol pump and various smaller *barracas* (makeshift stalls) selling anything from alcohol and cigarettes to sweets, vegetables and hair accessories. Most people in Catembe walk but there are a couple of *chapas* (mini-bus taxis) which leave the harbour irregularly and only when filled to maximum capacity. When leaving the harbour and walking along the gravel roads of Catembe, it is easy to forget the commotion at the harbour. The country side of Catembe appears tranquil with large open spaces and mud and reed houses dotting the country side. Only a few brick houses are found in the area surrounding the harbour. Usually there are lots of children, goats and chickens in the dusty roads and friendly women can be seen carrying buckets of water. According to V. Matavel (personal communication, May 17, 2006) it is estimated that the average resident of Catembe has to walk 30min. to gain access to often poor quality water. There is also no secondary health and school facilities in Catembe.

The decision to carry out the research in Catembe was based in part on practical considerations which include it being close to Maputo where I live and my experiences with Volunteers International in the area. Catembe, however, is also unique because of its close proximity to the capital city. This close proximity to Maputo may amplify changes which may be experienced more gradually in other rural areas in the south of Mozambique. Its close proximity might also be the reason for the fairly limited amount of research that has been done in Catembe. According to E. Panintra (personal communication, Jan 27, 2005) it is often reasoned that the south of Mozambique is relatively well-off compared to the northern provinces. As a consequence, much research is done in the perceived poorer northern provinces. However, there are pockets of extreme poverty in the South, including areas in Catembe which tend to be overlooked by researchers.

1.4 Research design and methodology

The research was designed according to Participatory Action Research (PAR). PAR was chosen as a research design in order to meet the objectives of the study and because PAR is compatible with the theoretical position from which the research was undertaken, namely the Empowerment perspective on women, gender and development. The Empowerment perspective, which is discussed in depth in chapter three, emphasizes many of the principles underlying PAR. These include for example, valuing the views and experiences of participants; ensuring participation in the research process; empowering participants and changing their social conditions. A related consequence of these principles is that PAR usually draws on qualitative research methods. As such, data collection methods for the study included individual and focus-group interviews, observation and a review of secondary data. Data was analysed using a combination of qualitative data analysis methods.

1.5 Thesis structure

The structure of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter two begins with a general discussion of smallholder agriculture and the government of Mozambique's stance on smallholder agriculture and gender equality in this sector. Some key terms are defined and then research findings relating to gender equality in smallholder agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa are provided. Such studies have generally centered on the differences between men and women in terms of access to land, control over land and the division of labour. Research findings are therefore discussed in this sequence. This is followed by research findings considering specifically gender equality in smallholder agriculture in Mozambique. Such findings are also discussed in terms of access to land, control over land and the division of labour. Lastly, research findings relating to the possible role of informal agricultural groups in promoting gender equality both in Sub-Saharan African and Mozambique are examined.

Chapter three clarifies the theoretical position from which the research was undertaken, namely the Empowerment approach. Such a clarification is important because the theoretical position from which the research is undertaken influences the whole research

process. It influences for example the choice and interpretation of research findings reviewed in the literature review chapter and it influences the way in which data is interpreted and conclusions are drawn. This chapter thus provides an in-depth discussion of the Empowerment approach to women, gender and development. The discussion includes an overview of how the Empowerment approach emerged and explains what the Empowerment approach entails.

Chapter four sets out the research design and methods. It begins with a discussion of the key principles underlying PAR. The selection of participants and the data collection and analysis methods are subsequently discussed. This discussion is followed by an overview of the quality of the data and the ethical considerations that formed part of the research.

Chapter five is aimed at giving a description of the research results. The chapter begins with a description of the characteristics of participants. This is followed by a description of the research results framed within the two objectives of the study. The discussion is drawn together by highlighting the main research findings.

In Chapter six the main research finings are discussed in terms of the literature reviewed and the theoretical background of the study. The larger significance of the study is explained, recommendations for further research are made and limitations of the research are pointed out.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of research findings relating to the two objectives of the study. Books, academic articles, government publications, other theses and the internet were consulted in order to establish definitions, theories, and empirical findings relating to the two objectives of the study namely women's views on gender equality in terms of access to and control over land and the division of labour in smallholder agriculture and women's views on the role of informal agricultural groups in promoting gender equality.

The choice of books, academic articles, government publications, theses and internet resources depended on certain criteria. Firstly, the literature had to be topical. Secondly, the literature had to be relatively up to date. This was of particular importance in the case of the literature on Mozambique. In 1997 the country implemented new land legislation and it was reasoned that this would have affected smallholder agriculture in particular ways. As such, case studies carried out before 1997 in Mozambique were not included. Lastly, I tried to include studies that provided examples of different parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. Similarly, the case studies on Mozambique provide research findings relating to northern, central and southern Mozambique.

The literature review is organized according to themes. It begins with a general discussion of smallholder agriculture. This is followed by the definition of some key terms. Then research findings considering gender equality in terms of access to, control over and the division of labour in smallholder agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa are provided. This is followed by research findings specifically considering gender equality in terms of access to, control over and the division of labour in smallholder agriculture in Mozambique. Lastly, research findings relating to the possible role of informal agricultural associations in promoting gender equality is discussed.

2.2 Smallholder agriculture

The agricultural sector in Sub-Saharan Africa is currently largely characterized by two production systems namely capitalist enterprises and smallholder agriculture. Although

vestiges of other agricultural systems remain, Sachs (1996:124) argues that they usually survive in combination with one of these two systems. The prevalence of large scale capitalist agriculture varies somewhat throughout Sub-Saharan Africa. In contrast, smallholder agriculture, also referred to as 'family farms' or 'small farms', is found virtually everywhere. It is by far the most common form of farm organization in Sub-Saharan Africa (Hussein & Toulmin, 2002:7).

The agricultural sector, however, is undergoing enormous changes. Debates are surging over the future of smallholder agriculture in light of globalization and market liberalization. Defined as *"...a farm operation made up of any number of related individuals who contribute the majority of the farm's labour themselves, producing products predominantly for their own consumption, while also producing cash crops to generate income from their sale, on relatively small units of land...",* smallholder agriculture is said to face exceptional challenges (Hussein & Toulmin, 2002:7).

On the one hand there are scholars who envision a bleak future for smallholder agricultural farming. These scholars maintain that smallholder agriculture is facing enormous risks associated with current strategies for trade liberalization. The risks include increased competition from international trade, less protection from cheap imports, continued agricultural subsidies paid to farmers in certain countries which make it impossible for African farmers to gain access to those markets and the rising barriers of quality standards (Hussein & Toulmin, 2002:10). Mbilinyi (1997:3-26) argues that in many parts of Tanzania, such risks and their consequences are resulting in a breakdown of the smallholder agricultural farming system and the communities and households depending on it for their survival. She maintains that in many areas the returns to smallholder farming have decreased for both cash and food and that the only way maize, coffee and sugar cane farmers can make ends meet is to increase their use of unpaid family labour. Simultaneously, according to Mbilinyi (1997:3-26), women are now increasingly being held responsible for obtaining some cash income as men's income and opportunities for employment decline. Mbilinyi also documents delayed marriage patterns and an increase in female headed households which she attributes, in part, to young men lacking the financial means to marry. In other words, smallholder agricultural

farmers are facing many risks due to some of the negative effects of globalization and trade liberalization. These negative effects often have a disproportional effect on female smallholder agricultural farmers because apart from having to deal with the risks posed by globalization and trade liberalization, women smallholder agricultural farmers also have to deal with the effects of gender inequality.

On the other hand there are scholars who envision a brighter future for the smallholder agricultural system and the communities, households and female farmers that depend on it for their survival. Smallholder agriculture farmers are said to have the potential to adapt to market opportunities and in doing so, start a process of self-sustaining growth across a variety of agricultural and non-agricultural activities (Hussein & Toulmin, 2002:11). To substantiate this claim, Hussein and Toulmin point to examples in Ghana, Côte d' Ivoire and Mali where smallholder agricultural farmers have been able to exploit new economic opportunities, despite the risks posed by globalization and trade liberalization. Peacock, (2004:1) argues that such success stories are illustrative of the capacity of the smallholder agricultural sector to contribute to economic growth and poverty reduction.

The debates surrounding the feasibility of smallholder agriculture, under the present conditions of globalization and market liberalization, have also come to bear on Mozambique, a country in which smallholder agriculture accounts for 90% of cultivated land (*ProAgri II*, 2003). It appears that the government of Mozambique is opting for the more positive view on the future of smallholder agricultural farming as perpetuated by Hussein and Toulmin (2002:11). Various steps are being taken to develop the agricultural sector, in particular the smallholder agricultural sector which is deemed important to the process of economic growth and the reduction of poverty (*ProAgri II*, 2003). The following steps, shown in table one, outline the actions that are being taken to develop the sector and ensure its viability under present conditions of globalization and market liberalization.

Table 1: Program for Smallholder Agricultural Development

Program Objective:	Strategic actions:
Support people in the family-sector to develop their agriculture and enhance their livelihoods	Financial services: *Formulate and implement a plan to address family sector needs for financial services*
	Roads: *Address important road access constraints at province and district level*
	Markets for agriculture inputs, products and services: *Stimulate markets for key inputs, products and services*
	Access to agricultural technology and advice: *Develop an effective research and extension system*
	Farmers' organizations: *Develop and implement a program for widespread facilitation of sustainable farmers' groups*
	Enabling environment for the development of the smallholders' agricultural business: *Establish an enabling business environment for family-sector development*

(Source: *ProAgri II* 2003)

As indicated in the above table, the steps to develop the smallholder agricultural sector include providing farmers with access to financial services; infrastructure development; stimulating markets; providing access to agricultural technology and advice; promoting farmer's associations and creating an enabling environment for the development of agricultural business.

Part of the effort to develop the smallholder agricultural sector is the promotion of gender equality in this sector. Although gender equality is not specifically mentioned in

9

the above table, the ProAgri II document does dedicate a separate chapter to it. In this chapter it states that the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MADER) regard gender inequality and gender differences, defined as the differences between men and women in relation to access to and control over resources, as major issues to be addressed (*ProAgri II,* 2003). Gender differences are regarded to play a key role in determining the success or failure of agricultural policies and programmes (*ProAgri II,* 2003). As such, the basic principles of MADER include that "gender considerations should be integrated in the planning, implementation and monitoring of all MADER activities" (*ProAgri II,* 2003). To this end technical assistance has been provided to the Gender Unit within MADER to support the "mainstreaming of gender" (*ProAgri II,* 2003).

Before examining in more detail the issue of gender equality in smallholder agriculture it is important to define some key terms.

2.3 Definition of key terms: gender, gender equality in smallholder agriculture and land tenure

According to Ann Oakley, who introduced the term gender to sociology, "sex refers to the biological division into male and female and gender refers to the social division into masculinity and femininity" (Oakley cited in the *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*, 1998). The term gender, in other words, emphasizes the socially constructed aspects of the differences between men and women and it is usually used to refer to socially learned behaviour and expectations that are associated with members of a particular sex.

Sociologists use the term socialization to refer to the process by which people learn the norms of their society as well as to perform their social roles which include their sex roles. According to Anderson (1983:49) sex roles are "...those expectations for behaviour and attitudes that a culture defines as appropriate for men and women..." She explains that through sex role socialization, boys and girls learn what is considered appropriate behaviour for their sex. From a functionalist sociologist perspective such socialization is important because it promotes stability in society. Identity theorists argue that sex roles provide people with the chance to demonstrate to themselves and other people that they are a particular type of person and feminists argue that sex roles are

essentially a way of keeping women subservient to men (*Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*, 1998).

From the 1970s onward sex role theory has become less popular due to new ways of thinking about gender. In Connells' *Social theory of gender* he criticizes sex role theory's inability to adequately theorize the power relations both between and within the genders and social change. Connell (1996:56) defines gender as a "configuration of practice". The emphasis he argues should be on "…what people actually do and not what is expected or imagined." By this Connell aims to emphasize the point that gender is consistently created and recreated through the actual behaviour of people (Demetriou, 2001:340). In this sense gender is not a fixed set of expectations or norms, it is something that people do. Judith Butler (1990: 24-25) argues that gender is not a noun, it is a verb. What is more, because people of different races and classes 'do gender' in different times and places, different patterns of masculinity and femininity arise. It is for this reason that Connell speaks of masculinities and femininities (Demetriou, 2001:340).

In discussions of gender equality, gender is usually understood in the more conventional way. In the context of this study, gender equality therefore means that a person's access to land, the control he/she has over land and the work he/she does on the land should not depend on the socially constructed differences between men and women.

According to Waterhouse and Vijfhuizen (2001:21-22) there are three popular reasons for arguing that access to land, control over land and the division of labour should not depend on the socially constructed differences between men and women. These include firstly the social welfare or poverty alleviation argument which states that women have to have access to land and should be able to enjoy a reasonable amount of land tenure security as this will enable women to meet their own nutritional needs and those of their families. Secondly, there is the equity argument that maintains that because women work on the land and are dependent on land for their survival, they have the right to a fair share of the benefits. Lastly there is the efficiency argument which asserts that ensuring women's land rights is imperative to raising productivity levels of countries.

Before moving on to examining gender equality in smallholder agriculture in more depth, one further term needs clarification. In discussions on the differences between men and women in terms of access to land, control over land and the division of labour, the term 'land tenure' is often used. Land tenure refers to "...the social relations established around land that determine access to, control over and the division of labour" (Lastarria-Cornhiel, 1995:2). A broad distinction can be made between two land tenure systems: modern land tenure systems and customary land tenure systems. Modern land tenure systems are written down as a formal law and are implemented by the State. Such systems are usually built on the "...exclusive principles of property rights..." and theoretically, on the principle of equal rights for all (Waterhouse & Vijfhuizen, 2001:10). In contrast, customary land tenure systems are usually unwritten. Such systems are usually built on "...a more inclusive concept of multiple rights..." and access, use and control over land are usually attributed differently based on things such as whether the person is a man or women, his/her kinship status, position in lineage hierarchies and relationship with partner (Waterhouse & Vijfhuizen, 2001:10).

In the next section, research findings that are relevant to the first objective of the study, namely to explore women smallholder agricultural farmers' views on gender equality in terms of access to and control over land and the division of labour are presented. As mentioned, the research findings are organized according to themes. First, research findings relating to the gender aspects of access to and control over land and the division of labour in Sub-Saharan African countries other than Mozambique are discussed. This is followed by a section only focusing on Mozambique.

2.4 Gender equality in smallholder agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa countries

2.4.1 The gender aspects of access to and control over land

Studies that have examined the gender aspects of access to and control over land have generally centered on the differences between men and women in terms of the possibility to use a given piece of land, the right to make operational decisions on the farm and the

right to inherit and decide ownership. It appears that the way in which men and women gain access to land influences the rights they can exercise on the piece of land. For most Sub-Saharan African women, access and control over land is gained through kinship ties and unfortunately this tends to result in a system where women have only limited or indirect access and control over land.

2.4.1.1 Access to and control over land through kinship ties

As mentioned above, most Sub-Saharan African women gain access to and control over land through kinship ties and unfortunately this tends to result in a system where women have only limited or indirect access and control over land. It is the exception rather than the rule that women have very good land rights, in particular the rights to hand down, sell or lend land. There are two exceptional cases. The first exceptional case is in areas influenced by Islamic inheritance laws. Gray & Kevane (1996: 2-4) mention Caplan who in his study of Islamic inheritance rights on Mafia Island off the Tanzanian coast found that women have strong rights to both bush land and valuable coconut land. For instance, husbands and wives can inherit each others' property and a daughter can inherit a share of her parent's belongings when they die. Valuable coconut land is also not only inherited, but given to women as a marriage payment or as compensation upon divorce. Daughters also retain rights to their land even when they have married out of their kin group (Caplan cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996: 2-4). Another example where Islamic inheritance laws have secured women's rights to land is in the Gezira area of Sudan. Here, Barnett (cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996: 2-4) describes how women used Islamic inheritance laws to regain their access to and control over land that was previously confiscated from them under the auspices of the Gezira irrigation scheme.

The second exceptional case where women have very good land rights, in particular the rights to hand down, sell or lend land, are in areas influenced by matrilineage. Matrilineage applies to inheritance and/or succession through the female line. In other words, in matrilineal systems succession and/or inheritance are traced from the mother, or blood relatives of the mother, to the mother's descendants (Waterhouse & Vijfhuizen, 2001:11). This implies that women can inherit from their mothers. Matrilineage is also associated with matrilocality or uxorilocal residence which means that a married couple

13

stays at the home or on the land of the wife's kin (Waterhouse & Vijfhuizen, 2001:11). An example of an area influenced by matrilineage is in the DRC. Schoepf (Schoepf cited in Gray & Kevane 1996:4-8), in his study of the Lemba, writes that "men say we live at the homes of the women; the land here belongs to women; women have a say in everything we do; we listen to the opinions of women". Similarly, women have very good land rights in the Zomba District in Malawi, in the Uluguru Mountains in Tanzania and among the Luapula of Zambia. In all instances these rights facilitate direct access to and exceptional control over land (Gray & Kevane, 1996: 4-8). However, matrilineage could also and frequently does mean that the mother's brother (her blood relative) will transmit land and property to the mother's son (her descendant). In such cases matrilineage is not necessarily beneficial to women.

The more common scenario for women in Sub-Saharan Africa is to have limited land rights as is the case in patrilineal systems. Patrilineage is the inheritance and/or succession pattern found throughout most of Sub-Saharan Africa. In this system, inheritance and/or succession are traced through the male line. In other words, from father to legitimate son (*Oxford Dictionary of Sociology,* 1998). Patrilineal systems are also associated with patrilocal or virilocal residence which means that the couple resides at the home or on the land of the husband's kin (Waterhouse & Vijfhuizen, 2001:11). Accordingly, land acquisition and possession is a man's privilege and women have mostly indirect access to land and limited or no control over land. A women might, for example, be given a piece of land to use and cultivate crops on and she might be able to exercise some control over the crops that she grows but the rights to hand down, sell or lend the land remain in the hands of her husband or farther who inherited it. Van Wyk (1999:66) argues that patrilineage is one of the primary causes for the essentially secondary land rights of women compared to men in Sub-Saharan Africa and the subsequent differences between men and women in terms of access to and control over land.

Examples of patrilineal systems in Sub-Saharan Africa are manifold. In some areas of Kenya, for example, many married woman do not own property in their own right. Women's property, whether acquired before or after marriage, falls under the control of their husband when he is alive and when he dies, the property is inherited and

controlled by sons (Muigai and Sutherland et al. cited in Wambugu 1999:24). A similar case is found in the rural areas of South Africa, particularly in Kwa-Zulu Natal (Cross, 1999:16). Likewise, patrilineal systems are common among Shona and Ndebele women in Zimbabwe (Fortmann & Nontokozo cited in Gray and Kevane, 1996:8-10).

There are variations on this theme however and in some patrilineal systems women have more rights than in others. In the northwestern areas of Kenya, under the 'house-property complex' system, wives are often allocated some land and can frequently be the managers of the land and make operational decisions on the land allocated to them. Gulliver (cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:8-10) describes how in the Jie society women have well-defined rights to "garden land" around the household settlements. This land cannot be taken away by a husband from a wife without her permission, even in the case of divorce, as this land belongs to her children (sons). Her sons would be providing her old-age security. Oboler (cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:8-10) argues that women in such societies are better off than women from other Kenyan groups because of the house-property system (as long as she has sons). In the words of Oboler: "House property means that a widow can have secure property rights without maintaining an ongoing relationship with any members of her husband's family" (Oboler cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:8-10). Also, in Swaziland, the usual interpretation of land tenure is that women have virtually no rights to land. But Rose (cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:8-10) argues that in reality, the picture is often a bit more complex. She states that "male homestead heads and chiefdom authorities use harmony ideologies to reinforce principles of male land control and to reinforce or establish principles of female land access and use rights. Most participants in Swazi society adopt the common front that disputes are to be phrased within this discourse, which obfuscates- for the researcher- the real text of statements regarding land" (Rose cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:8-10).

Although this implies that in some patrilineal societies women have more rights than in others, it is the exception rather than the rule. In most patrilineal societies women have very few rights. Murray (cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996: 5-8), describes how the majority of women in Lesotho have to take responsibility for agriculture, due to male out-migration, while hardly having any control over the resources they need to farm

successfully.

In any discussion of matrilineality and patrilineality it is important to note the observation by Richard (cited in Braga 2001:201) that neither of these systems exist in "absolute form". Rather, these systems exist in "negotiated forms" which depend on various factors including class and particular family circumstances. Kuper (cited in Bryceson, 1995:264) elaborates on this stating that it is extremely difficult for any particular society to be classified as patrilineal or matrilineal. Each society tends to have a distinctive mix of patrilineal and matrilineal characteristics. For this reason, Kuper (cited in Bryceson, 1995:264) argues that it is perhaps more useful to look at where married couples reside because how near a woman lives to her own family tends to influence how much land tenure security, status and authority she has. What complicates Kuper's argument though is that couples may move between the husband's and the wife's family. According to Davison (cited in Bryceson, 1995:264) the most important matter for couples is usually whether fertile land is available amongst the husband's or the wife's family. Once the couple has decided where they are going to stay based on this, "the lineage-based rationale may follow afterwards" (Davison cited in Bryceson, 1995:264).

Nonetheless, generally speaking, some research findings seem to indicate that inheritance is increasingly changing from matrilineal patterns to patrilineal patterns. In Zambia for example, Moore and Vaughan (1994:210) describe how "garden land" that was previously controlled by women is no longer under women's control because it has been reclassified as "ibala gardens for the production of staples." Such land belongs to men. The authors argue that this strategy is common as people attempt to redefine ownership by "manipulating the relabeling and recategorization of fields, gardens, and other resources." This manipulation of the relabeling and recategorization of fields, gardens, and other resources occurs with changing values of land due to, among other things, the effects of globalization and trade liberalization.

Another worrying trend also associated with the effects of globalization and trade liberalization is delayed marriage patterns. Delayed marriage patterns have a negative effect on women's land rights because, as discussed earlier, most Sub-Saharan African women's access to and control over land depends on them being married. As mentioned,

Mbilinyi (1997:3-26) documented delayed marriage patterns in many part of Tanzania. Hakansson (cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:12-14) describes how an entire group of landless women are appearing in the Gusii areas of Kenya. Similarly, Andre and Platteau (cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:12-14) found in their study of a Rwandan village that approximately two-thirds of the couples have been married without the customary bride payment. Until bridewealth is paid, the marriage has no legal status and the women's bargaining power and land rights are significantly reduced (Andre and Platteau cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:12-14).

Sub-Saharan African women have not merely sat back and accepted all this. Although generally speaking most Sub-Saharan African have limited access to and control over land, many studies have attempted to highlight how women negotiate and challenge their kinship-based land rights. Sub-Saharan African women are also increasingly making use of opportunities beyond kinship ties to access and control land as illustrated in the following section.

2.4.1.2 Access to and control over land beyond kinship ties

Sub-Saharan African women negotiate and challenge their kinship-based land rights. Richard's argument (cited in Braga 2001:201) that neither matrilineality nor patrilineality exists in "absolute form" but rather in "negotiated forms" already highlighted this point. Another case in point is Oboler's argument (cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:8-10) about the house-property system. Mother-son partnership in patrilineal societies can be seen as a way women negotiate and challenge their kinship-based land rights. Bestemen (cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:8-10) also researched mother-son partnerships in patrilineal societies. He established that in Somalia, where women have only indirect access to land and limited or no control over land, women form partnerships with their sons to get around kinship-based land rights restrictions. A woman's son for example, will acquire a piece of land to which the mother will then also have access. One woman interviewed by Bestemen describes this system in the following way: "it is his land, but I'm the bank, so I keep all the money" (Bestemen cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:8-10).

Along similar lines, there is also the institution of 'female husbands' as an example of how women negotiate and challenge their kinship-based land rights. In Kenya for instance, a childless widow or a widow without sons will take a wife and give the wife a piece of her land as bridewealth. In this way she maintains access to her deceased husband's land (Glazier cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:8-10). The woman-woman marriage that results will give the older 'female husband' a heir. Glazier (cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:8-10) explains: "the child of the young woman, fathered perhaps by an agnate of the older woman, is considered to be a descendant of the fictitious son the widow never had". Such arrangements in other words provide options to widows in societies where levirate arrangements are not compulsory.

Beyond customary norms, there are also opportunities for women to acquire access to and control over land through informal channels such as lending, borrowing or purchasing land. The borrowing of land is quite common in Sub-Saharan Africa. Swanson (cited in Bikaako & Ssenkumba, 2006) mentions that land is rarely denied to someone who needs it for subsistence particularly if the piece of land is not being used. In the eastern parts of Uganda up to 27 percent of the land under cultivation was found to be borrowed and in the more densely populated northern parts, up to 56 percent (McMillan cited in Bikaako & Ssenkumba, 2006). When land is borrowed, tradition requires that small gifts such as nuts, vegetables, spices or some form of help be exchanged for it. Such gifts are usually more frequent when borrowers and lenders are not related. However, in areas of high land value, borrowing may be associated with forms of rent payments (Prudencio cited in Bikaako & Ssenkumba, 2006). While studies indicate that women are lending and borrowing to access and control land, it is nonetheless important to mentioned that women still lend and borrow land less frequently compared to men.

Another strategy for women to obtain land is through purchase. In Uganda, Bikaako and Ssenkumba (2006) established that some women actually arrange to secretly raise livestock which is then sold to buy land without their husbands' knowledge. This is a brave step considering the risks involved for these women. The authors elaborate on these risks stating that the women stand the chance of losing the land because they have

to purchase the land in the name of a son or brother. Also, people are reluctant to sell to a woman without the permission of her husband and women are often at a disadvantaged position when negotiating with men because of their lower social standing, lower income and lower level of education (Bikaako & Ssenkumba, 2006). In a study by Tripp (2004: 14-15) women gave the following reasons for buying land: security in case of divorce, financial independence, and wanting to be able to sell the land without any restrictions.

Generally the documents that are used in such purchasing transactions are informal documents but women have also been gaining legal titles to their land (Tripp, 2004:14-15). Arguments in favor of land titling in Sub-Saharan Africa have focused on several assumed potential benefits. A titling program gives the title-holder a valuable asset. He or she can sell the title and benefit from the transaction. Owning an asset gives the land collateral value and farmers can use their land to borrow money. It is also reasoned that when farmers have a high degree of rights and security they will make investments on their land which in turn will increase both productivity on the land and the value of the land. Also, when land becomes more valuable, there is a tendency for land disputes to increase which can be very costly in the absence of title deeds (Besley cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:17-20).

In much of Africa, however, land titling has not resulted in these assumed potential benefits. Yngstrom (cited in Cross, 1999:17) found in her study in Tanzania that title deeds created the opportunity for men to exclude women's customary claims. Furthermore, Migot-Adholla (cited in Cross, 1999:17) argues that the most serious aspect of insecure tenure is the *perception* of it, and that traditional tenures were not insecure to local people to start off with.

Land titling, of course, has not been entirely negative for women. It has also created opportunities for women. Some wealthier women have been purchasing land that is in their name and that they can use as they like. Many examples of this trend can be found in Ghana (Dei cited in Gray & Kevane, 1996:17-20).

Another way Sub-Saharan African women resist discrimination in terms of land rights is through the use of courts. Tripp (2004:14-15) maintains that increasing numbers of

women are taking their land concerns to magistrate's courts. She (Tripp,2004:14-15) established that women prefer to go to these courts because they are perceived as cheaper (corrupt local officials charge payments) and more just (locally elected courts are often filled with their husband's friends and family) .

So far the emphasis has been on the different ways women in Sub-Saharan Africa gain access to and control over land. These finding were considered to be relevant to the first objective of the study namely, to explore women smallholder agricultural farmers' views on gender equality in terms of access to and control over land and the division of labour. The research objective, however, necessitates a closer look at another aspect that is generally looked at in studies that examine the extent and nature of gender equality in smallholder agriculture namely, the gender division of labour.

2.4.2 The gender aspects of the division of labour

Studies that have examined the gender aspects of division of labour have generally centered on the differences between men and women in terms of hours of work and who does what work including both reproductive and productive labour. Various theories have also been formulated in order to explain these differences.

2.4.2.1 The differences between men and women in terms of hours of work and who does what work

Research findings from various Sub-Saharan African countries show that women tend to work for longer hours than men. This is clearly illustrated in the following table showing the average daily hours spent on agricultural and non-agricultural activities.

Table 2: Gender differences in terms of hours worked

Country	Gender	Agricultural	Non-agricultural	Total
Burkina Faso	Men	7.0	1.7	8.7
	Women	8.3	6.0	14.3
Kenya	Men	4.3	3.8	8.1
	Women	6.2	6.1	12.3
Nigeria	Men	7.0	1.5	8.5
	Women	9.0	5.0	14.0
Zambia	Men	6.4	0.8	7.2
	Women	7.6	4.6	12.2

(Source: Wambugu, 1999:18)

The above table illustrates the longer hours worked by some women compared to men. It also shows that housework (non-agricultural activities) remain almost exclusively the obligation of women. Ann Oakley has studied housework in-depth. In 1971 she interviewed 40 housewives in London and although Oakly's study was conducted in a starkly different context, some of her findings are worth mentioning here. Dissatisfaction with housework predominated, irrespective of class differences. Oakley found that these predominantly negative feelings about housework (low job satisfaction) contrasted with a typically positive orientation to (or high identification with) the housewife role. She attributed this to women's general view of masculine and feminine roles and she established that working class women had a slightly more positive orientation to the housewife role compared to middle-class women (Oakley, 1974:186). A further

important aspect of housework is that it is usually combined with another job namely taking care of shildren. Some definitions of domestic labour now also include emotional work such as tension management and caring (*"Oxford Dictionary of Sociology"* 2003).

Returning to the topic of smallholder agriculture, various scholars cited by Wambugu (1999: 17-19) argue that the actual farming tasks and responsibilities are also gendered. Cloud (1989:26-30) found that although the possible arrangements of agricultural tasks and responsibilities are many, there are four gendered patterns that tend to reoccur. These include:

- **Separate Crops**: In this pattern, men and women are responsible for the production and disposal of different crops. For example, there may be a division between men's cash crops and women's subsistence crops. But this separation between subsistence and cash crops and between men and women who respectively work with these crops should not be over estimated. Whitehead (1994:37) points out that for a long time women have been involved in commercial crop production because of male out-migration and the development of internal food markets.

- **Separate Fields:** In this pattern, women produce the same crops as those controlled by men but in different fields. Such crops are usually for household consumption, but some may also be sold in the market.

- **Separate Tasks:** In this pattern, some or all the tasks within a single cycle are assigned by gender. For example, men prepare the ground and women plant the crops; men do the plowing and women select the seeds and store the harvest.

- **Shared Tasks:** In this pattern men and women undertake the same tasks on the same crops. In some communities almost all tasks will be shared while in others, only labour intensive tasks such as weeding and harvesting are shared.

There are quite a few explanations for the gendered division of reproductive and productive labour. Three theories in particular are worth mentioning.

2.4.2.2 Theories explaining the differences between men and women in terms of hours of work and who does what work

There are three popular theories for explaining the gender aspects of the division of labour. The first theory argues that the gendered division of labour is sustained by informal norms. These norms, as mentioned before, are learned through socialization. When people do not comply with these norms, they feel awkward because it goes against what they have learned and what society expects of them (Kevane, 2004:67). Moreover people who do not comply with the norm might be informally punished by for example, being made fun of or being excluded from social conversation and gatherings (Kevane, 2004:67).

The second theory holds that the division of labour is determined by "unitary households functioning in competitive labor markets" (Kevane, 2004:73). According to this theory, husbands and wives are "partners in a production and consumption enterprise" (Kevane, 2004:73). Accordingly, a woman's direct access to and control over land, or having a separate income or not, is not important because husbands and wives pool all their resources to maximize their joint welfare. It is assumed that everyone in the household will do what is best for the household. For example, if the husband is able to earn more money than the wife and simultaneously the wife can take better care of domestic responsibilities, it makes sense to divide labour in this way because it maximizes the joint welfare of the household (Whitehead, 1994:47). Not everyone agrees with this theory. Many scholars argue that it is often very obvious that resources are not pooled between husbands and wives in order to maximize their joint welfare (Whitehead, 1994:48).

The third theory, also known as the "bargaining household theory" holds that members of a household negotiate for control over the resources of the household. Usually what happens is that members of the household will cooperate with each other if it is in their interest and when something is not in their interest, they do not cooperate. Whitehead (1994:48), however, highlights the point that it is important to remember that "...the distribution of property within the household affects economic decisions

23

and welfare..." For example, a poor woman might be likely to act in her husband's interest because if he leaves her she might not have a house to stay in.

The bargaining household theory seems to suggest that people only act in their own self interest and never altruistically try to maximize the joint welfare of the household. Whitehead (1994:46-49) argues that this is not the case. According to Whitehead (1994:48-49), it is important to examine in more detail the ways parenting affects self-interest. In order to explain why women work longer or engage in work that they are not paid for, Whitehead introduces the term maternal altruism. Maternal altruism is a culturally constructed ideology. According to Whitehead (1994:48-49) it is a set of values that influences men's and women's behavior specifically their sense of self-interest and altruism. In any particular culture men and women are exposed to this ideology and are socialized into being self-interested and altruistic in different ways and to different degrees. Whitehead also suggests that it is this ideology that leads Kusasi women in Ghana to sell groundnuts to feed their children, when they themselves are hungry while the men are more likely to spend money on themselves.

This concludes the section on research findings relating to gender equality in terms of access to and control over land and the division of labour in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the next section these themes are explored again following the same strcuture but the focus is only on research findings that concern Mozambique.

2.5 Gender equality in smallholder agriculture in Mozambique

2.5.1 The gender aspects of access to and control over land

Studies that have examined the gender aspects of access to and control over land in Mozambique have generally also centered on the differences between men and women in terms of the possibility to use a given piece of land, the right to make operational decisions on the farm and the right to decide ownership. As mentioned, the way in which men and women gain access to land, tends to influence the rights they can exercise on the piece of land. Similar to the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa, most women in Mozambique gain access to and control over land through kinship ties and this unfortunately implies that most women have only limited rights.

2.5.1.1 Access to and control over land through kinship ties

As indicated above, similar to most Sub-Saharan African women, most Mozambican women gain access to and control over land through kinship ties and unfortunately this tends to result in a system where women have only limited or indirect access to and control over land. As stated, it is the exception rather than the rule that women have very good land rights in particular the rights to hand down, sell or lend land.

Exceptional cases where women do have extensive land rights and in particular the rights to hand down, sell or lend land are, however, also found in Mozambique. Although no current studies were found that examined the influence of Islamic inheritance laws, quite a few studies were found that examined the effect of matrilineage on women's land rights. For example, in the Ribáuè district in Nampula province, Arnfred (2001:153-176) found that women occupy central positions in the communities due to their control over land and food crops. Inheritance of land follows the female line, from mothers to daughters and daughters remain on the family-land of their mothers where their husbands join them. Men in other words have access to land only through their relationships with women.

Interestingly enough, men do have some control over the cash crops, even though the land belongs to the women. But the men cannot do exactly as they please. They have to negotiate the spending of income from cash crops (Arnfred 2001: 173). Similarly, in Issa Malanga, Niassa Province, Braga (2001:199-223) states that women have a significant level of land tenure security through their matrikin and matrilineage has contributed a lot to women's authority and economic security. However, once again with respect to the income from cash crop sales, it would seem that control is exercised by men. Nonetheless, from the interviews Braga conducted it appeared women knew how much money had been earned from cash crops and where the money was kept.

The more common scenario for women in Mozambique is to have limited land rights due to the prevalence of patrilineal systems. Waterhouse (2001:66) found that men from the Ndixe village in the Marracuene district in Maputo province found it very important to claim their inheritance on family land. Even the men who work and live most of the

time in the city claimed their land. In the latter case, Waterhouse (2001:66) writes "…it is wives who in practice stake the claim on the land through physically being there but despite their presence on the land, they continue to have secondary land rights to men…" This is similar to the situation in the Gondola district in Manica province. Here too the most common way for the transmission of land is via patrilineage. Women do not inherit land since according to local custom, marriage is patrilocal. When a woman marries, she then has the right to use her husband's land, but in the case of widowhood or divorce, she could potentially lose that right (Tique, 2001:112).

Once again it seems reasonable to argue that under matrilineal systems women have much more access to and control over land compared to women in patrilineal systems. Although there are elements of truth in this statement, it is somewhat simplistic. Pitcher and Kloeck-Jenson (2001:150) found in their study of patrilineal systems in the Namacurra District in Zambezia Province that women still sometimes acquired substantial rights through participating in the care of crops and trees. They also found that couples sometimes engaged in elaborate negotiations regarding the management and control of crops (Pitcher & Kloeck-Jenson, 2001:144-145). Pitcher and Kloeck-Jenson go on to emphasize the point made by Richard (cited in Braga 2001:201) that patrilineality and matrilineality do not exist in absolute form. In their study in the Namacurra District of Zambezia province they observed how patrilineal inheritance patterns meet and mix with matrilineal inheritance patterns (Pitcher & Kloeck-Jenson, 2001:125-150).

Then again, the fact that patrilineal inheritance patterns meet and mix with matrilineal inheritance patterns is a cause of concern for some scholars. In their studies of matrilineal societies, Arnfred, Daniel and Braga found increasing virilocal residence patterns which are usually associated with patrilineage. Arnfred (2001:164-173) and Braga (2001:199-223) are of the opinion these increasing virilocal residence patterns are not necessarily an indication of emerging patrilineage but they do state that it may eventually erode women's rights. In contrast to Arnfred and Braga, Daniel (2001:195-196) suggests that the increasing virilocal residence patterns are indeed an indication of emerging patrilineage. But he argues that the shift from matrilineal inheritance to

patrilineal inheritance patterns is not necessarily negative for all women. In his study in the Mueda district of Cabo Delgado he found that, although there is a tendency for land to pass increasingly from father to son, rather than uncle to nephew, a few women had received land from their fathers (Daniel, 2001:195-196). Such a variation from the norm draws attention to how rights based on kinship ties are negotiated and challenged.

2.5.1.2 Access to and control over land beyond kinship ties

Previously, 'mother-son' partnerships and the institution of 'female-husbands' were mentioned as examples of how women negotiate and challenge their kinship based rights or the lack thereof. It seems reasonable to assume that 'mother-son' partnerships will also occur in the patrilineal societies of Mozambique because they are so prevalent in other Sub-Saharan African countries. However, no current studies were found that specifically examined this phenomenon. With regard to woman-woman marriages, Arnfred (2006) attests to its existence in the Northern Provinces of Mozambique.

The informal lending, borrowing and purchasing of land in Mozambique is well documented. It appears that the informal lending, borrowing and purchasing of land is a strategy that Mozambican women often employ to gain access to and control over land. A case in point, in terms of lending and borrowing, is in the Ribáuè district in Nampula Province. Of the women Arnfred (2001:165) interviewed, most were involved in lending and borrowing. The lending and borrowing of land also seems to be a common practice amongst the villagers in Mueda district in Cabo Delgado Province (Daniel, 2001:195-196). An interesting theme that emerged in Vijfhuizen's (2001:89) study of the Massaca Irrigation Scheme in Maputo Province is that women are sometimes sceptical about renting out or leasing land to men because they may not keep their end of the bargain. Many of the women Vijfhuizen (2001:89) interviewed claimed that those who take the lease (mainly men) fail to pay the electricity fees.

In terms of purchasing land, Daniel (2001:192) found in the Mueda district in Cabo Delgado Province that men as well as women are involved in buying land and that both men and women participate in negotiations depending on who has the cash to purchase the land. However, since buying land requires cash, men from the Mueda district are more

likely to buy land than women. In the Massaca Irrigation Scheme in Maputo Province Vijfhuizen (2001: 93 -100) also found that plots of land are sold by women but that the buyers are mainly men from Maputo and Boane.

In general it seems that the titling of land is not very common in Mozambique. Examples of (rural) Mozambican women asking for individual titles are extremely rare. Arnfred (2001:166) in her study in the Ribáuè district in Nampula Province, found that residents felt that the new Land Campaign which advised them to register their land, was addressing a problem which was not yet relevant in their area. Daniel (2001:193) also did not find any concrete examples of people applying to title their plots in the Mueda district in Cabo Delgado Province and neither could Tique (2001:114) in the Gondola district in Manica province.

Tripp (2004) also mentioned another way Sub-Saharan African women negotiate and challenge their land rights, namely through the use of courts though this does not seem to happen so often in Mozambique. Similar to Tripp's findings, Bonate (2006) found that women in rural areas perceived locally elected courts as corrupt. Access to formal courts is limited and the women did not feel that the fact that there were other women functioning as representatives in locally elected courts helped them with respect to their rights.

2.5.2 The gender aspects of the division of labour

Similar to the research findings in other Sub-Saharan African countries, researchers in Mozambique have found that men and women spend a different number of hours on agricultural and non-agricultural activities, that housework remains almost exclusively the obligation of women and that agricultural responsibilities and tasks are gendered. Cloud's (1989:26-30) four common possible arrangements of agricultural tasks and responsibilities, namely: separate crops, separate fields, separate tasks and shared tasks were also found to greater or lesser degrees in the rural areas of Mozambique. In general it seems that couples may have separate crops and their own separate fields or they may be more or less involved in different agricultural tasks at different times of the year or they can share production tasks and work fields in common.

28

One aspect Waterhouse & Vijfhuizen (2001) mentioned again and again is that while access to land is very important for women, the ability to use the land is just as significant. In their research in Mozambique they established that one of the greatest problems women farmers face is lack of labour power on the lands. For this reason they argue that capacity to work the land is just as important to women as access to land. The following quote captures the gist of their argument "…secure lifelong access, even to fertile land, will not help a woman to increase production if she has no help on the fields, no-one to help take care of her children while she works, only has hand tools and cannot travel to the market" (Waterhouse & Vijfhuizen, 2001:235).

The literature so far reviewed have all in one way or another been relevant to the first objective of the study namely to explore women smallholder agricultural farmers' views on gender equality in terms of access to and control over land and the division of labour. In the next section, research findings are presented that relate to the second objective of the study namely, to explore women smallholder agricultural farmers' views of the role of informal agricultural associations in promoting gender equality. It has to be noted that the literature on informal agricultural associations in Sub-Saharan Africa were found to be rather scattered and disjointed. Nonetheless it seems that a case can be made that these associations are rather popular amongst rural women and that they do have the potential to promote the extent of gender equality their members experience in their lives. A brief discussion of the characteristics informal associations are followed by research findings on informal agricultural associations in Sub-Saharan Africa and then research findings specifically pertaining to Mozambique.

2.6 Informal Agricultural Associations

2.6.1 The characteristics of informal associations

Informal associations usually lack legal recognition and have a rather diffuse and flexible structure. Leadership and membership are flexible and the relationships within informal associations tend to be informal and personal (March & Taqqu, 1986:8-9). This informality both in terms of leadership and membership makes informal associations responsive to changing circumstances and is regarded as one of the greatest

advantages of informal associations. The purpose of informal associations can also vary enormously. What is more, informal associations can respond to several needs and perform several functions simultaneously. March & Taqqu (1986:8-9) state that "even the most specialized of women's informal associations can serve wider personal and community needs, up to and including the most diffuse desire for companionship".

March and Taqqu (1986:41) make a distinction between "defensive" and "active" informal associations. Informal associations are defensive when they form in response to hardship and crisis. These informal associations are "reactive" and in the words of March and Taqqu (1986:41) "...they do not aim to create separate resources, alternative conditions or autonomous influence". An informal association can be classified as "active" when it moves beyond only being a safety-net towards creating resources, improving members' status and building members' confidence, leadership and organizational skills (March & Taqqu, 1986:34).

The above mentioned distinction made by March and Taqqu (1986:41) is important because according to these authors only active informal agricultural associations can be formalized or be successfully linked to more formal organization. The formalization of informal associations is a topic that is explored in depth by March and Taqqu. They (March & Taqqu, 1986:122) argue that the transformation of even active informal associations can be very problematic. March and Taqqu's (1986) work suggests that only some active informal associations are suitable for such a transition or effective linkage with more formal organizations. This includes active informal associations which have a clear purpose and in which member benefits are equally distributed.

2.6.2 Research findings on informal agricultural association in Sub-Saharan Africa

Fortmann and Rocheleau (cited in Wambugu, 1999:21) argue that it makes sense that women organize for action because they are usually the ones in a disadvantaged position. In Kenya, Parkins (cited in Wambugu, 1999:21) found that women were very involved in farmer group networking and activities. He reasons that this might be due to women's responsibility for household food and the gendered division of labour which results in

women working together and sharing farm and food preparation chores (Wambugu, 1999:21).

The formation of such informal agricultural associations seems to have clear advantages for women. Guinand and Hitimana's 1994 survey in Burundi (cited in Wambugu, 1999:22) showed that women's access to land was easier as a group and they were able to plant, manage, harvest and sell trees on the groups' land. Eckman (cited in Wambugu, 1999:22) supports these findings and explains that "by forming groups, women are better able to gain access to extension services, credit and other inputs, acquire land and tree rights, gain the fruits of their labour and better ensure their family's survival." Davison (1988:172) found that in Kenya, several women's groups were working with local authorities to purchase land for members' food cultivation. Also in South Africa, a group of women in Baphiring village in Rustenburg formed an informal agricultural association. These women decided to come together to purchase land because of the many barriers they face in gaining access to land within their village. The women believe that gaining access to land independently will enable them to earn an independent income which would secure them a say in household decision making as well as improve their self-image and confidence. These research findings seem to suggest that informal agricultural associations can act as a vehicle of empowerment and promote gender equality by improving women's bargaining power at home and helping them to:

- gain access to land

- gain control over farm operations

- gain access to and control over extension services, credit and other inputs

- gain control over the use of crops

- gain control over income generated from crop sales

- gain confidence

Informal agricultural associations are not without their problems though. Husbands might not like their wives joining these associations, the members might not get along,

and the member benefits in the association might be unequally distributed. Guinand (cited in Wambugu, 1999:22) found that women's desire for independence and empowerment did not go unchallenged by men. Men were jealous and intentionally damaged or stole seedlings from the nursery. He found that in order for such groups to succeed men had to be involved but the women were very sceptical about men joining their group because they were scared that men would "take over".

A very interesting study by Davison (1995:195-196) established that in matrilineal societies women have a preference for individual family production over collaborative forms of production such as informal women's agricultural associations. She attributes this to the fact that in most Sub-Saharan African societies that are patrilineal and virilocal, women find it necessary to form alliances with other women while in matrilineal societies this is not the case. Another problem that is sometimes experienced in informal agricultural associations is that member benefits are not equally distributed. March and Taqqu (1986:8-9) write that "…informal associations between women are often used for the particular benefit of some women over others although the inequalities tend to be downplayed because of the personal relationships between members…"

Despite these problems, the potential benefits of informal agricultural associations seem many. Yet, studies that have made an in-depth study of informal agricultural associations are few. This is also the case in Mozambique.

2.6.3 Informal agricultural associations in Mozambique

In Mozambique there seems to be very little specific information available on informal agricultural associations. It seems that the term "farmer associations" and "cooperatives" are sometimes used to refer to informal agricultural associations. At the beginning of this chapter, the government of Mozambique's strategy to develop the smallholder agricultural sector was summarized in table one. One of the strategic actions to be taken is: *"Farmers' organizations: Develop and implement a program for widespread facilitation of sustainable farmers' groups" (ProAgri II, 2003)*. The problem, however, is that what is understood to be a "farmer association" a "farmer organization" or a "sustainable farmer group" is never clearly defined. Similarly it appears that the word

32

cooperative is sometimes used to refer to informal agricultural groups although this was not always clear. A lot of research seems to have been done on more formal cooperatives but these findings were not considered to be relevant to the study.

Taken together, the above research findings relate to the two objectives of the study. These are firstly, to explore women smallholder agricultural farmers' views on gender equality in terms of access to and control over land and the division of labour. Secondly, to explore women smallholder agricultural farmers' views on the role of informal agricultural associations in promoting gender equality. On the whole, the literature reviewed suggests that the position of women in sub-Saharan Africa in terms of access to, control over and the division of labour is variable. The general picture seems to be one in which women have less access to and control over land compared to men and the division of labour favours men rather than women. However, the above studies also suggest a great amount of flexibility in land tenure systems. Sub-Saharan African women negotiate and challenge their kin-ship based land rights. Simultaneously, Sub-Saharan African women are increasingly making use of ways to access and gain control over land that draw on modern land tenure systems. For example, cases were mentioned where women bought land or went to court. Furthermore, there seems to be potential for informal agricultural associations to play a key role in the promotion of gender equality.

The choice of research findings presented in the literature review chapter and the fact that these research findings are interpreted as being illustrative of Sub-Saharan African women's agency is due to the theoretical position from which the research was undertaken. In the next chapter the theoretical position, namely the Empowerment perspective on women, gender and development, is discussed in more depth. It is important because not only did it influence the choice and interpretation of the literature reviewed in this chapter, but it also influenced the choice of research design, the way data is interpreted and the conclusions that are eventually drawn in this study.

Chapter 3: Theoretical position from which the research was undertaken

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to clarify the theoretical perspective from which the research was undertaken. Such a clarification is important because as mentioned before it influences the entire research process. Together with the previous chapter, which documented relevant research findings, these two chapters provides the foundation for the study.

In the context of development theory and practice there are five popular theoretical positions on women. These include the 'Women in Development approach' (WID), the 'Women and Development approach' (WAD), the 'Gender and Development approach' (GAD), 'Postmodernism' and the 'Empowerment approach'. The Empowerment approach was considered to be the most appropriate perspective because it considers power relations, emphasizes the value of collective action and it stresses Third World women's agency. As the previous section demonstrates, these are all relevant to the current study.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: first, some historical background is provided on how the Empowerment approach emerged. This discussion includes a brief, simplified overview of the other four theoretical positions on women namely, WID, WAD, GAD and Postmodernism as they had some bearing on the emergence of the Empowerment approach. Next, there is a discussion on DAWN (Development Alternatives with women for a new era), the main advocates of the Empowerment approach as well as an explanation of what the Empowerment approach entails.

3.2 The Empowerment approach

3.2.1 Historical background

The Empowerment approach calls for a more culturally responsive, grassroots approach to development (Snyder & Tadesse, 1995: 13-14). Development, it is argued, should be embedded in the practical experiences faced by women in LDCs (Snyder & Tadesse,

1995: 13-14). Supporters of the Empowerment approach argue that women's experiences vary as a result of factors such as race, class, colonial history and their position in the economy. Therefore western feminism is not appealing for all women nor are mainstream development goals.

The search for a development approach that is more embedded in the practical experiences faced by women in LDCs has been the consequence of various events in the arena of development. The idea of development first became popular in the 1940s (Parpart, 2000:3). During this time modernization theorists argued vehemently that LDCs could catch up with the developed world by copying the economic and social systems of western capitalism. Parpart (2000:3) writes that "…development was defined as a technical problem which could be solved by northern experts with the necessary skill and information". This was easier said than done. The failure of modernization theory to alleviate poverty gave rise in the 1970s to another approach, dependency theory. According to Parpart (2000:3) dependency theorists blamed underdevelopment on Northern/Western capital and experts. Dependency theorists argued that the more developed countries had an interest in maintaining their privileged position in relation to the LDCs. More recently, criticism is usually about the way development problems and solutions are defined. Generally however, even though there are some recognition for the contribution local people can make in defining development problems and solutions, the emphasis is on the market as solution to all development problems. Parpart (2000:4) maintains that in light of globalization, neo-classical economists argue that states should be reduced both in size and that development should be left to the market. This process should be facilitated by good governance, democracy and economic liberalization.

The events in the broader arena of development influenced academics and development practitioners concerned with women, gender and development. When the idea of development first became popular in the 1940s women in LDCs were paid little attentions to. The main reason for this was that women were exclusively seen as mothers and wives (Visvanathan et al, 1997:18-19). This view of women in LDCs started to change in the early 1970s when Ester Boserup published her book *Woman's role in Economic Development* (Visvanathan et al, 1997:18-19). Drawing on Ester Boserup

work, proponents of the WID approach argue that women are marginalized in the development process (Visvanathan et al, 1997:18-19). Strategies must therefore be developed to integrate women in the development process. This includes strategies to relieve women of much of the hard work that characterizes their lives due to their reproductive responsibilities and strategies to minimize the disadvantages women face in the work sector (Visvanathan et al, 1997:18-19). The WID approach in other words accepts existing social structures. The problem is women's lack of integration into the development process. The WID approach seems to suggest that the problem of gender inequality can be fixed by mainstreaming gender i.e. integrating women into the economic system and providing access to resources such as land, technology and education.

The Woman and Development movement (WAD) emerged from a critique of the WID approach. It became popular in the late 1970s and was influenced by Dependency theorists' critique of mainstream development and radical feminist's idea of separate development (Visvanathan et al, 1997:18-19). Similar to WID, WAD argues that women are important economic actors. In contrast to WID, however, the WAD approach maintains that women have been integrated into the development process all along. It is 'the system' into which women are being integrated that is the problem not, 'not being integrated'. The WAD approach seems to suggest that the only way to realize gender equality is for women to step outside "global power structures" such as patriarchy and capitalism (Marchand & Parpart, 1995). They advocate small-scale women-only projects and other approaches that "reinforce and celebrate women's culture" and they urge women to avoid working to closely with male-dominated institutions (Marchand & Parpart, 1995).

The inability of both the WID and WAD approach to really improve women's position in LDCs gave rise in the 1980s to the Gender and Development (GAD) approach. The GAD approach focuses on gender as appose to women. It argues that cultural assumptions and practices defining gender roles impede the development of both men and women. As such, it calls for a focus on gender roles and relations, culture and socio-economic inequalities (Parpart, 2000:5). Supporters of GAD generally formulate short-

term and long-term strategies. The short-term goals are usually family welfare projects and educational projects and thus similar to WID goals. The long-term goals often include ways to empower women through collective action and to encourage women to challenge gender stereotypes and practices and institutions that discriminate against women (Parpart, 1995).

Postmodern social theory also emerged in the 1980s. According to Ritzer (2000:604) it represents a new way of thinking about the social world. Its influence on the field of women, gender and development can mainly be seen in an increasing number of studies that analyze "colonial and neo-colonial discourse" in WID, WAD and GAD writings (Marchand & Parpart, 1995). Drawing on Postmodern social theory's emphasis on issues of power, language and difference, postmodern feminist attempt to show how the representation of Third World women is used to "reinforce and maintain the discourse of modernity which is so essential to Northern hegemony and development practices" (Marchand & Parpart, 1995). Postmodernist feminists argue that the option for women to engage in coalition politics is created through this uncovering of colonial/neo-colonial discourse and postmodernist's emphasis on power, language and difference. In turn, the advantage of coalition politics is that it does justice to the complexity of women's lives and strengthens the many stances that women can adopt (Barriteau, 1995).

The WID, WAD, GAD and Postmodernist perspectives on women, gender and development represent approaches that emerged from the developed world. In contrast, the Empowerment approach emerged from within LDCs. In 1984, DAWN held its first meeting in India (Snyder & Tadesse, 1995:13-24). It consisted of a group of women researchers who argued that a new approach to development is necessary that is less top-down and less western focused.

3.2.2 What the Empowerment approach entails

The Empowerment approach, which constitutes the theoretical position from which this study is undertaken, calls for development that is more embedded in the practical experiences faced by women in the LDC. As mentioned before, supporters of this

approach argue that women's experiences vary as a result of factors such as race, class, colonial history and their position in the economy (Snyder & Tadesse, 1995: 13-14). Therefore western feminism is not appealing for all women nor are the top-down, Western focus of most development theory and practice.

The Empowerment approach is aimed at developing a new development paradigm. The views and experiences of women in LDCs are regarded as central in the development of this new development paradigm because their situation is uniquely typified by the combination of all types of oppression based on race, class, and gender (Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Häuser & Wieringa et al. 1994:120). In order to elicit the views and experiences of poor women in LDCs, supporters of the Empowerment approach try to develop ways of enabling women themselves to critically assess and express their own situation (Oxaal & Baden, 1997:26). PAR, the research design chosen for this study, is aimed at doing this as will be explained later.

The research methodology advocated by the Empowerment approach can thus be described as a bottom-up approach. It begins by analyzing, at the micro level, the views and experiences of poor, women in LDCs and then goes on to linking these to the macro level issues i.e. the economy (Braidotti, et al., 1994:117). At the same time, the Empowerment approach incorporates social, cultural and political dimensions into economic analysis.

The Empowerment approach advocates a more equitable distribution of power in all spheres of society on a micro and macro level. For example, supporters of the empowerment approach readily talk of psychological, social, legal, political and economic empowerment which ought to happen on individual, household, community, national and international level (Mayoux, 2003:14). For some theorists this process will result in tremendous conflict because power is regarded as a zero-sum: one group's increase in power will necessarily mean another's loss of power. Accordingly women's empowerment would translate into less power for men (Braidotti, et al., 1994:117-119). From an empowerment perspective this need not be the case. DAWN argues that the kinds of power described as power-to (having decision making power), power-with

(people organizing with a common purpose) and power-within (having self confidence, self-awareness and assertiveness) can be developed as alternatives to power-over (Braidotti, et al., 1994:117-119). The empowerment approach in other words constitutes a very holistic orientation to the process of women's development as opposed to a purely economic orientation. It urges development workers to pay attention not only to development activities but also the bigger context in which these take place. This consideration is important because empowerment in one area does not necessarily carry over to empowerment in other areas (Braidotti, et al., 1994:117-119).

Finding any one activity that addresses all the different aspects of empowerment at the same time is unlikely however. For this reason empowerment is regarded as a process that is ongoing. Empowerment constitutes a framework within which more precise goals can be set and changed over time. For the coming years DAWN has identified three key issues on which research and policy development should focus: alternative economics, reproductive rights and women and the environment. By making use of action research it is hoped that these topics will contribute towards setting up a framework for the formulation of an alternative paradigm for the future (Braidotti et al., 1994:119).

Before moving on to a description of how the research was designed it is worth mentioning that another important component of the empowerment approach is collective action. According to the Empowerment approach, collective action plays a central role in women's empowerment. According to Sen and Grown (1985:82) the empowerment of groups or organizations requires resources, leadership, skills training, the development of democratic processes such as dialogue and taking part in decision making, and the development of conflict resolution techniques. Women are empowered by being a member of an organization in which these things happen. In the words of Sen and Grown "…the long-term viability of the organizations, and the growing autonomy and control by poor women over their lives, are linked through the organizations' own internal processes of shared responsibility and decision-making" (Sen & Grown, 1985:82). This concludes the discussion on the Empowerment approach which constituted the theoretical position from which the research was undertaken. In the next chapter, the way in which the research was designed is clarified.

Chapter 4: Research Design

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to clarify the way in which the research was designed. Such a clarification is important because the research design connects the objectives and the theoretical background of the study to the methods and techniques that were used in the research process.

The structure of the chapter is as follow: It begins with a discussion of the key principles underlining PAR. These principles informed the choice of research methodology, in other words, the way participants were selected and the way data were collected and analysed. The selection of participants and the data collection and analysis methods are subsequently discussed. This discussion is followed by an overview of the quality of the data. Finally there is a section on the ethical considerations that formed part of the research.

4.2 Type of research design: Participatory Action Research

4.2.1 The key principles underlining PAR

PAR is based on certain principles which correspond well with the objectives and the theoretical background of the study. These principles include: valuing the views and experiences of participants and therefore their participation in all stages of the research process; empowering participants and changing their social conditions. As such, PAR was chosen as the most appropriate research design.

Before discussing these principles in more detail, it is important to mention that these three principles could only be realised to some degree in this study. The fact that the research was carried out on an individual basis (it was not linked to any development institution/program) and other practical considerations such as limited time and resources meant that the participants in the research were only consulted on some central aspects of the study and did not fully participate in all stages of the research. Furthermore, definite planned action or intervention following from the research could not be assured.

Nonetheless, PAR was seen as the most appropriate research design and the principles of PAR were regarded as a goal and something to be striven for.

The first principle underlying PAR is valuing the views and experiences of participants. This translates into an emphasis on the participation of participants in all stages of the research process including problem formulation, designing the study, gathering information and analyzing the data (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:315). It also means that the research results should be returned to participants, in an appropriate form, in order to collectively develop an action plan based on the research results (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:315). The action plan for change in turn also has to be assessed and evaluated by participants. Thus, from a PAR perspective, research and the action which follows from it should be "co-managed" by participants and the researcher (Maclure & Bassey cited by Babbie & Mouton, 2001:31) Research should become an "interactive communal enterprise" (Fals-Borda cited in Babbie & Mouton, 2001:315).

Participation to such an extent is, however, difficult to attain. It must be kept in mind that the degree of participation which is possible is the function of many factors and, as explained later, it is often difficult to facilitate empowering participation. PAR scholars also differ on what is considered to be enough participation by participants (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:316-317). On the one hand there are scholars who argue that consulting participants on the central aspects of research is sufficient. On the other hand there are the advocates of "participant control" in which participants are in charge of the whole study. Despite these differences, the important underlining shared idea in all the arguments is that the views and experiences of participants are valuable. Participants' views and experiences are relied upon and incorporated in the research process. According to supporters of PAR, this has the added value of ensuring that the research and the action that follows from it is appropriate (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:316-7).

The second principle underlying PAR is empowerment. The Empowerment approach, as discussed earlier, calls for a more equitable distribution of power in all spheres of society on a micro and macro level. PAR is committed to such an idea. The methods and techniques promoted by PAR are specifically geared at social equity and redressing the power imbalances often also found between researcher and the people being researched a

bias commonly found not only in society but also in the research process (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:315). PAR is built upon the idea that the relationship between the researcher and participants should be one of equals (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:315). Aiming for research to become co-managed and an interactive communal enterprise is, in effect, an attempt at "democratizing" the relationship between the researcher and participants (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:315). The active participation of participants is also seen as empowering because participants are placed in a position where they can learn new skills (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:315).

The third principle that underlies PAR is that research should be geared towards action. Babbie and Mouton (2001:320-21) state that "…PAR is fundamentally an effort in making research accountable and is therefore constantly concerned with making sure that the research is of value to those being studied". The research must be meaningful. It must not be an end in itself but rather a means through which action can be planned and implemented. What is more, the action which ought to follow from research is considered to be a "collective endeavour." Therefore the generation and promotion of "people's collectives" is considered another primary objective of PAR (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:321).

These principles underlying PAR means that when it is used as a research design, a researcher will usually draw on qualitative rather than quantitative research methods and techniques (Kane & O'Reily-de Brún, 2001:237). These techniques, which are subsequently discussed, are preferred because they are congruent with PAR's reliance on local knowledge and they are generally aimed at obtaining a good understanding of people's views and experiences (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:315-317).

4.2.2 The selection of participants

Participants were chosen by means of purposive sampling, a sampling method associated with qualitative research. It is important to note that it is not possible to draw generalizations and statistical inferences from this kind of sampling method. In purposive sampling, exploring the views and experiences of participants in depth is more important than the extent to which such views and experiences occur in the general

42

population and, the criteria used to select participants, are more important than the number of people interviewed (*Purposive Sampling*, 2005).

Purposive sampling is a form of non-probability sampling in which participants are selected based on the nature of the research aims. In other words, participants are chosen because they have certain characteristics which allow the research objectives to be met (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:166). For example, the objectives of this study dictated that the participants in the study are women, married or living with a partner and engaged in smallholder agriculture both individually and collectively as part of a informal agricultural association. From an ethical point of view, the women also had to be willing to participate.

In order to gain access to an informal agricultural association, I joined 'Volunteers International' on arrival in Mozambique. The previous chairperson of Volunteers International, Princess Ferguson, introduced me to Caminos de Victoria in February 2006. Caminos de Victoria is an informal agricultural association in the Catembe district of Maputo City province. The association has been assisted by Volunteers International with donations on various occasions since March 2004 when the association was first established. I accompanied the previous chairperson to Caminos de Victoria on three occasions after which I visited the association once or twice a month accompanied only by a translator which was necessary because all members spoke Shangaan. The purpose of the monthly visits was mainly to build a relationship with the women and gain their trust. Towards the end of August 2006, the idea of the research report was introduced and explained. The six members who complied with the specified criteria was then selected to partake in the study. Morse (cited in Ryan and Bernard, 2000:780) suggests that at least six participants is necessary if the researcher wants to understand a particular life experience. Preferably the selection of informal agricultural association and participants should have continued until the data became saturated but due to constraints mentioned previously, this was not possible.

4.2.3 The data collection methods

As mentioned earlier, PAR is associated with a variety of data collection methods based largely on qualitative research techniques (Kane & O'Reily-de Brún, 2001:237). These techniques include the more conventional data collection methods such as interviews and observation as well as more unconventional techniques. The latter is specifically directed at encouraging participants to fully participate in the study, analyse their own situation and formulate solutions to any problems they might be experiencing. These more unconventional data collection methods include, to name but a few: "do it yourself", where PAR team members learn a local skill and then participate in the activity. "They do it" involves local people interviewing, collecting and analysing data. "Participatory mapping and modeling" has local people drawing maps and creating models of social, demographic and health patterns and natural resources and a last example, "Time lines, trends and change analysis" entails local people making chronological lists of events in their history (Parpart, 2000:7).

A number of scholars are very optimistic about these more unconventional data collection methods. Participatory mapping and modeling appears to be particularly popular (Parpart, 2000:11). In Zimbabwe, Goebel (cited in Parpart, 2000:8) found that this data collection method facilitated the participation of illiterate women. Apparently the maps and models illustrated women's focus on the home while men paid much more attention to roads, fields and pastures. Goebel (cited in Parpart, 2000:8) then used the maps and models as a discussion point. These data collection methods are not, however, without problems. It takes time and resources and they require skill to administer (Parpart, 2000:11). Participation is also not necessarily equitable and it has been established that public group discussions, which are so central to PAR, are disempowering and threatening for women in some situations (Parpart, 2000:11). The informal and public nature of PAR techniques can also alienate people who prefer a more formal style of communication.

For the purposes of this study, the more conventional data collection methods were used. Semi-structured interviews constituted the main form through which information was gathered. Focus-group interviews, observation and the review of secondary data were

44

used as supplementary data collection methods. The data collection methods thus included semi-structured interviews, focus-group interviews, observation and a review of secondary data. Before discussing these in more detail it is important to consider the role of the interpreter.

4.2.3.1 The role of the interpreter

During the course of the research I used two interpreters. Their role was to translate questions and responses as well as any other conversation that took place between me and members of Caminos de Victoria. Maggy Sitoi, a 23 year old girl I met on the ferry to Catembe, accompanied me on all visits to Caminos de Victoria. She has a grandmother who lives in Catembe and thus knows the area well. She also attended primary school in South Africa which meant that her English was fairly fluent. For the interviews, which took place during September 2006 at Caminos de Victoria, I employed Milta Magaia. Milta is a third year 'Translation and Interpretation' student at the University of Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo. I approached a student organization at Eduardo Mondlane University, 'UEM Junior Consultancy' who made an announcement at the Department of Languages and interviewed 6 applicants. Milta was deemed the best candidate. Employing somebody with some translation and interpretation background was deemed essential in order to ensure that the sense and intent of what was being said during the interviews was interpreted while simultaneously the content of the interviews was preserved. Maggi also attended the interviews but was responsible for making tea and coffee and serving bread. I felt that this, together with the fact that the interviews were held at Caminos de Victoria, contributed to a non-threatening environment and making participants feel comfortable. To further ensure the quality of the interviews, Milta and I met on three occasions before the actual interviews took place. In these meetings we discussed the purpose of the interviews and went through the interview checklist in order to ensure that we both understood the questions in the same way. During the interviews the seating was arranged in a triangle so that the participant and I sat across from one another and Milta could be perceived as being neutral in the discussion (Phelan & Parkman, 2006). During the interviews I spoke to the participants in the second person, paused often and made particular effort to speak slowly and

unambiguously to facilitate the translation of questions. While the questions and responses were being translated, I tried to be attentive, responsive to non-verbal cues and to catch the drift and tone of what was being said.

4.2.3.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

As mentioned, semi-structured interviews constituted the main form through which data was collected while focus-group interviews, observation and a review of secondary data constituted supplementary data collection methods. Interviews can take many forms and can be placed on a continuum from structured, to semi-structured to unstructured interviews. The semi-structured interview, being in the middle, has some of the advantages of both structured and unstructured interviews. It ensures some comparability across cases but is also flexible and allows for participants to express their views and experiences in their own words. In the semi-structured interview, the interviewer has a general plan for the interview but not a specific set of questions that have to be asked precisely and in a particular order. Rather, the 'plan' takes the form of an interview checklist[1]. According to the article *Overview of qualitative methods and analytic techniques* (2006), the interview checklist helps the interviewer to pace the interview and make it more systematic and comprehensive. The interview checklist includes questions which have to be covered during the interview in order to meet the objectives of the study and facilitate some comparability across cases. However, the sequence of these questions can vary. The questions are also mostly open-ended to allow participants to express their viewpoints and experiences in their own words. The dynamic in a semi-structured interview according to Rubin and Rubin (1995:122-125) is that of a "guided conversation". The interview should be conducted in a relaxed atmosphere and the sequence of questioning should follow naturally.

The key to being a good interviewer is being a good listener and questioner (Wildschut, 2005:1-11). The researcher should ask follow-up questions and probe responses in order to gain detail, depth and clarity on participants' views and experiences. A particular advantage of the semi-structured interview is that the researcher can respond to unexpected information and introduce new questions into the interview which had not

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[1] A copy of the interview checklist is provided in Appendix 3

been thought of beforehand but arose only during the course of the interview (Wildschut, 2005:1-11). These characteristics of the semi-structured interview which allow for a thorough exploration of participants' views and experiences are in accordance with the underlying principles of PAR which state that participants' views and experiences are valuable and should be included in the research.

Participants knew what the questions on the interview checklist were and thus what the main questions were that I was going to ask during the interview. The initial interview checklist was prepared taking into consideration what Kvale (1996: 129) refers to as a thematic and a dynamic dimension. A thematic dimension refers to questions having to relate to the topic of the interview, to the theoretical conceptions at the root of the study, and to the subsequent analysis. In order to do this I consistently asked myself why I was asking a specific question and what I was planning to do with the information. In terms of the dynamic dimension I tried to make the questions easy to understand, short, and without academic jargon so that the participants would feel encouraged to talk and a conversational atmosphere could be kept (Kvale, 1996: 130).

The interview checklist was divided into different sets of questions which allowed the research objectives to be met. For example, there was a set of questions on access to and control over land and a set of questions on the division of labour and a set of questions on the association. After I developed the interview checklist, I discussed it with the participants. In a group, the questions I had prepared were read and translated to participants. Participants were then encouraged not to answer, but only to decide whether a particular question was good or not and whether I should ask it in the interview or not. Participants were also encouraged to think of new questions that I could ask them during the interview to better portray their lives in Catembe.

I felt that the group discussion was a success in that it made participants feel less anxious about the actual interview. However, participants did not really recommend any changes to the interview checklist. The changes I made after the group discussion were those I felt were necessary. For example, I reduced the number of questions substantially as I felt there were too many questions as well as some overlapping questions. The wording of some questions was also changed to make them easier to understand.

The actual individual interviews took place in September 2006. Participants were selected in the first week of September and it was also during this week that that the group discussion, in which the interview schedule was discussed, took place. Interviewing was scheduled for 13 and 14 September. Three interviews, which lasted approximately forty-five minutes each, were conducted each day. The interviews were conducted in the morning, between seven-thirty and twelve o' clock, inside one of the buildings at Caminos de Victoria. Participants were briefed before and after the interviews.

The individual interviews were recorded on tape, with the permission of participants, and then transcribed[2]. Detailed recording is a necessary component of interviews and forms the basis for analysing the data. I listened to the tapes after the interviews and wrote a verbatim account of everything that was said. Notes were also taken during the interviews in which I described participants' body language and the overall tone of the interview and noted key responses. In the article *Overview of qualitative methods and analytic techniques* (2006) it is stated that the major advantages of this transcription method are its completeness and the opportunity it affords for the interviewer to remain attentive and focused during the interview. The major disadvantages are the amount of time needed to produce complete transcriptions and the inhibitory impact tape recording has on some respondents.

After the interviews were transcribed and to some extent analysed, missing information and information that needed further clarification was identified. These were addressed during two focus-group interviews.

4.2.3.3 Focus-group interviews

Sue Wilkinson (2005:177) defines focus group interviews as "…a way of collecting qualitative data which involves engaging a small number of people in an informal group discussion, focused on a particular topic or set of issues." The key advantage of a focus-group is that it provides a way of collecting data relatively quickly (Wilkinson, 2005:177). The group discussion is usually informal and based on a series of questions.

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[2] Transcripts of the interviews are included in Appendix 4

In this case, these questions centered on missing information and information that needed further clarification. For example, participants were asked more in depth about how many pieces of land they had access to and how they got this land. Group members were also asked to elaborate, for example on, what the difference was between being married and living with your husband, if it bothered them that their husband did not help them with farming and housework and if divorce was very common in Catembe. The researcher generally acts as the facilitator, by asking the questions, keeping the discussion flowing and ensuring that group members participate fully. According to Stewart and Shamdasani (1990:16) focus group interaction also "allows respondents to react to and build upon the responses of other group members, creating a synergistic effect." That is, focus group discussions often lead to more elaborate and detailed orientated accounts than are generally generated by individual interviews. This was found to be true particularly when the topic of housework was explored in more depth.

Focus group interviews took place on 11 and 17 October 2006. The meetings were arranged beforehand and once again took place in the morning at Caminos de Victoria. Maggy Sitoi acted as translator and group proceedings were taken down through notes. The group session took about an hour and was attended by participants as well as some other members who were present at the farm on the days the focus-groups took place. The latter's responses were, however, not included in the study. The purpose of the focus group session was explained and then the missing information and the information that needed further clarification were used as points of discussion.

4.2.3.4 Observation

In terms of data collection methods, observation was primarily used in the beginning of the study to familiarize myself with the area and gain a better understanding of the context and situation of women living in Catembe. This familiarity in turn helped with the design of the interview checklist and the analysis and interpretation of the data.

Observation can also be used as a primary data collection method but then it becomes a highly technical and time consuming data collection method. The most fundamental distinction between various observational strategies concerns the extent to which the observer will be a participant in the setting being studied (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:259).

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:259) "...the degree of participation varies from complete involvement in the setting as a full participant to complete separation from the setting as an outside observer". Whatever the degree of participation, the aim is to directly observe the phenomena under study and describe it in field notes in as much detail as possible in an unbiased way. These observations are then subsequently analysed. Observational research methods are most appropriate when the focus of the study is on actual behaviour. Babbie and Mouton (2001:259) write that "...observing behaviours is often valuable because they are more telling than verbal accounts." However, for this study the emphasis was on participants' views. As such, semi-structured interviewing was used as the primary data collection method.

4.2.3.5 Review of secondary data

The review of secondary data was considered a further supplementary data collection method. The aim of reviewing secondary data was similar to that of observing the setting in which the study was located. The review of secondary data helped to gain a better understanding of the context and situation of women living in Catembe. Thus, by the time the interviews were conducted, I was already quite familiar with the group and their context. Information on Catembe and the situation of the women living in the area was obtained via the NGO Imagine which has been working in Catembe over the last six years. I also reviewed the 'Volunteer International' file on Caminos de Victoria. During my visits to the association and the ensuing conversations with the women I also wrote down information I considered relevant to the study. This material as well as the pictures I took of the area was all later reviewed as secondary data. After this, the process of analysing the data became the main focus.

4.2.4 *The Analysis of the data*

The process of analysing the data could roughly be divided into four steps. These steps included: reading through the interview transcripts to get a feel for the data, classifying the data by identifying associations, describing the results and interpreting the findings in terms of the literature review and theoretical background of the study. The method I followed was rather eclectic. The steps included elements of Ian Dey's work on

qualitative data analysis *Description, classification and making connections;* Strauss and Corbin's *Grounded theory;* Kvale's *Meaning condensation* and Znianiecki's *Analytical induction.*

The process of analysing the data started with reading the interview transcripts a number of times. I also read through my observations and reviewed what I wrote about the secondary data. It is stated by Miles and Huberman (1994) that this process helps the researcher make initial and intuitive sense of the data.

After gaining initial and intuitive sense of all the data, the interviews were analysed one by one. Each interview was taken and its content was broken into smaller pieces in order to classify it by means of labeling it according to a meaningful category. The process of classification consisted of various levels of complexity. It started with open coding which according to Strauss and Corbin (cited in Babbie & Mouton, 2001:498), refers to "…the development of categories pertaining to certain segments or bits of data." The categories function as organizing tools. They help to reduce the amount of data into smaller manageable pieces that fit together. At this stage the categories are, however, only preliminary. I would read through a paragraph or response and ask myself what the main idea of this paragraph or response was. For each interview transcript I read, the emergent categories were written on a list. After reading through all the interviews and developing a list of categories I went back to the beginning. The interviews were read through once again and codes were attached to the appropriate segments of text and I tried to determine whether new categories had emerged.

The next step involved axial coding. Axial coding meant working with each of the categories created in the open coding phase more intensively. Strauss and Corbin (cited in Babbie & Mouton, 2001:498) write that in axial coding the focus is on "specifying categories in terms of the conditions that gave rise to it, the context in which it is embedded, the interactional strategies by which it is handled, managed, carried out and the consequences of those strategies". Axial coding is thus aimed at making categories more precise and reaching a higher level of classification (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:498). For example, new categories were sometimes created and categories were subdivided or subsumed under more theoretical categories.

It is important to remember that classification is not a neutral process. While categories can emerge from the data, the way in which I classified the data was very much influenced by the objectives of the research and the literature review and theoretical background of the study. In Grounded theory for example, axial coding is followed by selective coding. Selective coding, according to Strauss and Corbin (cited in Babbie & Mouton, 2001:499), "…is the process of selecting a core category which is the central phenomenon around which all the other categories are integrated and then showing systematically how the core category and the other categories are related." In this study, I started off with a conceptual framework. In other words, at the beginning of the research I already had a core category and a conceptual framework to which I later linked all the other emergent categories. The central phenomenon in my study was gender equality which I intended to examine in terms of access to and control over land and the division of labour. I thus brought an existing classification scheme to bear on the data. The way in which I classified the data was also influenced by the fact that I wanted to know if participants thought that informal agricultural associations can be used to promote gender equality. Stated differently, I classified data with the research objectives in mind.

The breaking down of data into smaller pieces and classifying it is considered to be an important part of data analysis. It is important because without it, it becomes difficult to know what you are analysing and by sorting the information into different categories comparisons between cases can be made more effectively (Dey, 1993:30). In chapter five I describe and discuss the research results. The two objectives of the study provide the overall framework for the discussion. Themes that emerged from the data are discussed under the relevant research objectives with reference to direct quotes from participants.

Classification and description are, however, not ends in themselves; they form the foundation for making new connections between all the different pieces of data. Coffey and Atkinson (1996:27) maintain that the crux of qualitative research is to establish valid linkages between codes, data categories and concepts. There are different ways of doing this. Ryan and Bernard (2000:783) suggest comparing and contrasting themes and concepts. Glazer and Strauss (1976:101-116) refer to this as the "constant comparison method," and it is similar to the contrast questions Spradley (1979:160-172) suggests

researchers ask. In chapter six, I aim to connect all the research data and bring it back together again in a valid new way. The research results are interpreted in terms of the literature review and the theoretical background of the study. I attempt to indicate similarities, gaps and anomalies and provide reasons for the latter. Whenever I had to provide explanations I tried to follow the process of analytical induction. Ryan and Bernard, (2000:787) describe the process of analytical induction in the following way: "First, define the phenomenon that requires explanation and propose an explanation. Next, examine a case to see if the explanation fits. If it does, then examine another case. An explanation is excepted until a new case falsifies it. When a case is found that does not fit, then, under the rules of analytical induction, the alternatives are to change the explanation so that you can include the new case or refine the phenomenon so that you can exclude the nuisance case".

Throughout the process of data analysis I used data displays and analytical memo writing. Data displays are pictorial representations of the data. According to Huberman and Miles (1998:190) data displays make it easier to see patterns and to make comparisons across cases. It also makes it easier to see what further information is needed (Huberman and Miles, 1998:190). A lot of the time for example, I placed participant's responses in a table and then drew arrows to indicate similarities or differences or to see where I was missing information. Analytical memo writing in turn entailed writing down the different categories that emerged from reading the interview transcripts on paper and my thoughts about the coding process. This was found to be helpful when I tried to link the research findings with the literature review and the theoretical background of the study.

4.3 The quality of the data collection, analysis and interpretation

In order to ensure the quality of the data collection, analysis and interpretation, Lincoln and Guba's notion of trustworthiness (cited in Babbie & Mouton, 2001:274-278) was kept in mind. Trustworthiness is a term that can be used to describe a qualitative study of high quality. It means that the research is credible, dependable, confirmable and transferable (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:274-278).

Credibility means that the research should "ring true" (Rubin and Rubin, 1995:85-91). In other words, it should accurately reflect the lives of participants. Rubin and Rubin (1995:85-91) write that "the portrait of the research arena that the researchers present should feel real to the participants and to readers of the research report". Credibility can be enhanced in many ways. For example, by staying in the field until data saturation occurs, making use of triangulation and going for "peer debriefing" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:276). I mainly used member checks. Member checks are actually one of the key principles for conducting PAR. The research findings were taken back to participants in November 2006 in order to verify the conclusions of the study. Another reason why the research findings were taken back to participants is because it is believed that in the end the research findings belong to the participants. It is hoped that participants can use the new knowledge, which was based on their views and experiences, to improve their social condition.

According to Lincoln and Guba (cited in Babbie & Mouton, 2001:274-278), if a study is credible it follows that the study is dependable as well. Dependability, the second characteristic of a trustworthy qualitative study, means that if the study were to be repeated with the same or similar respondents in the same context its findings would be similar (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:274-278). Lincoln and Guba (cited in Babbie & Mouton, 2001:274-278) argue that if it can be shown that a study is credible, it is not necessary to show that it is dependable as well. However, if a researcher would like to demonstrate dependability, this is possible by means of an "inquiry audit".

Lincoln and Guba introduced the notion of an inquiry audit which can be used to determine the dependability and confirmability of a qualitative study. The latter is the third characteristic of a trustworthy qualitative study. "It is the degree to which the findings are the product of a true examination and not the biases of the researcher" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:274-278). An inquiry audit which could be used to determine the dependability and confirmability of a study would entail an external person going through the field notes, interview schedule, the interview transcripts, the notes indicating how categories were developed and the summaries of the research findings in order to determine if the conclusion and interpretation can be traced to their sources and if they

are supported by the inquiry. The research findings were not submitted for an inquiry audit but the interview checklist and transcripts of the interviews are included in the appendices of the study. A detailed description of the interviews, the research methodology and the theoretical background used was also provided to allow judgments about transferability to be made by the reader.

Transferability is the last characteristic of a trustworthy qualitative study. It refers to the extent to which the findings can be applied in other contexts and to other respondents (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:274-278). Although qualitative research is not really aimed at statistical generalizations, Lincoln and Guba (cited in Babbie & Mouton, 2001:276-278) write that "...the researcher should still collect sufficiently detailed descriptions of data in context and report them so as to allow judgments about transferability to be made by the reader".

4.4 The ethical considerations in the study

The research process also included various ethical considerations. These included some obvious things such as not claiming credit for work done by other researcher and not changing the data and misrepresenting results. Participants' real names were also not used to ensure confidentiality and participation was voluntary. All efforts were made to accurately quote participants and be fair in interpretation. The concluding chapter also includes a section of the limitations of the study. Apart from these more obvious ethical considerations it had to be ensured that participants did not have any unrealistic expectations based on their participation in the study. By the time the interviews were conducted a good relationship was already established with the women. Because of this it was felt necessary to also explain to participants that a related aim of the study was academic. The relationships formed with the women at Caminos de Victoria were real and I also felt that they have come to relate to me as a friend. As such, I decided to continue relations with the women at Caminos de Victoria after the completion of the research.

Leaving the field is one of the more difficult ethical considerations in qualitative research. Taylor (cited in De Laine, 2000) believes that the researcher is indebted to people, especially vulnerable people, who have been encouraged to become close to the

researcher and depend on the researcher for the opportunities which research or contact with a researcher make possible. He argues that "as a general principle researchers have the responsibility to ensure that people are not worse-off for having us study them even if we cannot guarantee that their lives will improve" (Taylor cited in De Laine, 2000: 142).

This concludes the section on how the research was designed. To recap, in the previous chapters research findings relating to the two objectives of the study was presented and the theoretical position from which the research was undertaken was explained. In this chapter the way in which the research was designed was explained. This included a section of the principles of PAR, the selection of participants, the data collection and analysis methods, the quality of the data and the ethical considerations that formed part of the research. In the next chapter, a description of the research results is given.

Chapter 5: Research Results

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to give a description of the research results. The structure of the chapter is as follows: It begins with a description of the characteristics of participants in order to understand the nature of the research findings. This is followed by a description of the research results framed within the two objectives of the study. Lastly, the discussion is drawn together by highlighting the main research findings.

5.2 Description of the characteristics of participants

Six women were interviewed during the study: Amelia, Ana, Lisha, Gina, Matilda and Maria. All participants gave their ages as between thirty-five and fifty-seven years (with the exception of Maria, visibly the oldest, who said that she could not remember how old she was or when she had married). Participants described themselves as living with their husbands, but not married. According to them, living with your husband and being married is basically the same except that *"you do not have your name on the papers"* (group interview, 2006). Subsequent interviewing further revealed that being married meant that bridewealth was paid and that you had a big party to which you invited everyone, provided lots of food and took photographs. Most of the women interviewed had been living with their 'husbands[3]' for several years, except Lisha who was divorced from her former husband and had been living with her current husband for a year. Lisha also moved to Catembe only a year before whereas all the other women had been living in Catembe all their lives. All the women had children and were their husbands' only wife at the time. Amelia is a very short lady but extremely funny. Amelia's husband is the only one who does not have a 'piece job' apart from Ana's husband who is lame. Gina is very outspoken and seems to be a natural leader, although she is not the leader of the association. Matilda has a lovely three year old girl that always accompanies her and as mentioned, Maria appears to be the oldest member in the group. All the women

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[3] The term husband as oppose to partner is used for practical purposes although the technically correct term is partner. Husband is used because participants consistently referred to their husband and not their partner. As consequence the term husband was also used when questioning participants. However, it is important to note that participants are not legally married as the term husband suggests. In actual fact, participants are not even officially married according to their own custom because bridewealth was not paid.

interviewed had individual pieces of land belonging either to them or to their partner or to both of them and they were all members of an informal agricultural association, Caminos de Victoria. Four of the women had been members of the group for three years, one woman for two years and another for only a year.

As mentioned earlier, Caminos de Victoria was established in 2004. When the women first started planting their vegetables, there were between twenty to twenty-four members including two men. At the time of the interviews membership stood at fourteen. Members lived in close proximity to each other and described themselves as being friends. The relationships among the women and between the women and leader tended to be informal and personal. When the association was first established, there were two leaders, Flora José and Maria Candida (at the time of the interviews only Maria Candida was left.) The leader supervises all activities at the farm and engages in all negotiations with the owner of the land. These two women automatically assumed positions as leaders due to their strong connections to OMM (Mozambican Women's Organization) and their ability to speak Portuguese. Members of the association come to the farm approximately every second day from 05h00 to 11h00 in the morning. This depends in part on the availability of water. In Catembe, the availability of municipal water is determined by a schedule according to which water should be available at the farm every second day. When there is water, the women come to water the vegetables, remove weeds, and clear more land and plant more seeds as deemed necessary. The women had a ten year rent-free agreement with the owner of the land at the time of the research.

5.3 Description of research results according to the study objectives

The following section provides a description of the research results. The two objectives of the study provide the overall framework for the discussion. The research findings are discussed under the relevant research objectives with reference to direct quotes from participants taken from the individual and focus-group interviews. For example, under the first objective some of the participants' responses to questions concerning their access to, control over and the division of labour are discussed and themes that emerged are highlighted. In the second section, under the second objective of the study, participants' responses concerning questions about the association and its possible role in

promoting gender equality are presented. Participants were first asked about how the association operates and then why they joined the association and whether it could play a role in promoting gender equality. Similar to the first section, themes that emerged from participants responses are highlighted.

5.3.1 Objective One: to explore women smallholder agricultural farmers' view of gender equality in terms of access to land, control over land and the division of labour

Participant's view of gender equality was explored in terms of access to land, control over land and the division of labour. The literature reviewed suggested that Sub-Saharan African women mainly gain access to and control over land through kinship ties, particularly patrilineage. This seems to be applicable, to some degree, to the women interviewed as well. Participants' responses to questions concerning the inheritance of land revealed elements of a patrilineal inheritance pattern. When asked what would happen to their land when both they and their husband died, Lisha and Matilda replied that their land will be inherited by a son. Amelia, Gina and Maria replied more specifically that their land will be inherited by the 'youngest son'. Ana went on to explain that the reason why their land will be inherited by the youngest son is *"because the girl would marry and live with her husband."* Maria explained further that *"the girl may have the land but only when she does not marry because if she married she will live with her husband in his house."*

Interestingly however, only Ana, Lisha and Matilda mentioned that they were currently using land that their husband received from their father-in-law. In the follow-up group interview, Ana said that she was using one piece of land that her husband received from her father-in-law but that she also had access to three other pieces of land that she received from her own father. Lisha said that she was using two pieces of land that her husband received from her father-in-law and one she bought. Matlida said that she was using one piece of land that her husband received from her father-in-law and three pieces of land that she received from friends. The other three women, who are not using land received from a father-in law, mentioned the following ways of gaining access to land: Amelia and her husband received two pieces of land from the government and she bought another two

pieces of land. Similarly, Maria and her husband received two pieces of land from the government and she had managed to buy one extra piece of land. According to Gina she and her husband received two pieces of land from the government and she was using a further five pieces of land that she received from her father and another three she received from her mother.

Participants' responses imply that even though they follow certain aspects of a patrilineal inheritance or succession pattern, patrilineage does not exist in an absolute form. Participants do not acquire land primarily indirectly through marriage. Ana and Gina's statements further reveal the existence of inheritance patterns in which parents pass their resources on to their female children. What is more, in patrilineal societies widowed or divorced women run the risk of losing the possibility of using land that does not belong to them directly. However, all the participants seemed to feel relatively secure that they would have continued access to land in the case of widowhood.

The risk widows run of losing the possibility of using land that does not belong to them directly was revealed in Gina and Matilda's statements. However both these women remarked that they will not accept leaving their husband's land. Gina even said that she will go to court if she has to. She replied. *"...it depends on his family because sometimes when a husband dies they just come and tell you to go back to your parents house, this land belongs to us, but I could not accept that. I will go to the courts because the land belongs to us."* Matilda said that her husband told her that if something happened to him, she can not accept somebody telling her that she should leave the land. Lisha and Maria pointed out that in the case of widowhood their husband's land will continue belonging to them. According to Ana she will be able to stay on the land because she has children and the land belongs to them. Amelia said "...I *will stay on the land except if the government tells me to go."*

Similarly in the case of divorce, it was clear that five of the six participants did not intend to easily give-up access to land that they perceived as belonging to them and their husband. Amelia and Gina said that they will not leave. Ana explained that she might have to leave the land but it will depend on whose fault the divorce was. She stated *"...if we got divorced because of my fault I could leave the land and find any other place to stay but if we get*

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divorced because of his fault, I would go to the courts and try to solve the problem in order to have the land." Lisha also referred to the court, *"...if we get a divorce I will go to the court, it is for them to decide who will stay on the land or if my husband has to buy a new land for me."* Matilda in turn said that she will talk to her husband: *"I cannot leave the land. I will talk to him first because when we got married he had nothing so I can't just leave the land. He will have to buy a house or something for me."* The only response that was somewhat different form the above-mentioned was that of Maria. Maria simply stated, *"...if we get a divorce I will have to leave the land"*. There is, in other words, the possibility that the women might lose access to land that does not directly belong to them in the case of divorce, particularly if it is *"their fault"*. But it would be no straight forward matter. It also has to be remembered that the women are unlikely to initiate divorce. Maria for example later on mentioned that *"...even if I have to suffer I will stay with him."*

In the follow-up group interview the women explained that divorce[4] was not an option for them because women who initiate divorce are not respected in the community. They would go out of their way to preserve their relationship with their husband. Single women are not respected in the community. This includes women who initiate divorce and women who do not marry. Widowed women are respected as long as they stay in their husband's house or on their husband's land. One woman was quite forward: *"If you don't have a husband in your house, there is no respect for you"* (group interview, 2006).

The importance of being respected in the community was a theme that emerged again when participants were asked what they regarded as the advantages of being married. Four of the women interviewed mentioned respect. Ana said *"being married makes people respect me and no-one will accuse me of trying to steal another woman's man."* Lisha replied *"... I am respected because I am married. The advantage is because if you do not have a husband many people may think that you have a bad life and if a married woman sees you talking to her husband she may think that you are to take him from her."* Similarly, Matilda said that the advantage of being married is *"...married women*

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[4] It is important to note here as well that although participants use the term divorce, this is not the technically correct term because participants are not legally married and thus, in terms of formal law, do not receive the same protection as married women. Nonetheless, for all practical purposes participants consider themselves married.

are respected and has a name because of her husband." Maria also said that if a woman is not married, she is not respected. The other two interviewees, Amelia and Gina, mentioned being taken care of as the advantage of being married. Amelia replied in the following manner: *"God says that you can't steal. If you have a husband you won't do that because you will have somebody to look after you."* Gina said that marriage is important because you will have someone to look after you, especially when you are sick.

When participants were asked what they thought the characteristics of a 'good wife' were, respect and obedience towards your husband were emphasized by four participants. Amelia and Matilda said that a good wife must be obedient and respectful. Ana said that a good wife obeys and respects her husband and *"...when she talks to her husband she can not talk in a loud voice."* Lisha elaborated on the obedient and respectful theme stating that a good wife has to what her husband asks her to do. The other two participants, Gina and Maria, emphasized that a good wife must take care of her husband particularly in terms of preparing food and keeping his clothes clean.

Contrary to what was expected, the women appeared to have relatively strong control over the land they had access to. The partial existence of a patrilineal inheritance pattern alongside the apparent importance of being married and the women's comments about what constitutes a good wife created at first the impression that they would have few land rights. However, it appears that this is not the case. Participants' relatively strong control over the land they had access to was revealed in responses to questions about who would make decisions about selling or borrowing land, who makes operational decisions on the farm and who controls the income generated from farming.

In terms of who would make decisions about selling or borrowing land, the women's responses seemed to indicate that such a decision would usually be made only after some discussion and negotiation. Two of the women said that they would decide together with their husband. Ana said *"...me and my husband will talk about it and decide together."* Likewise, Maria replied that she and her husband *"...will decide together."* Two participants said that their husbands would decide, but that they would talk about it first. For example, Gina remarked that *"...my husband will decide if we may sell it or borrow it but we will talk about it first."* According to Matilda her husband will decide but they

will first talk about it. Lisha seemed willing to talk to her husband about it, but would not accept it if he wanted to sell or borrow the land and it seemed that Amelia would make the decision about selling or borrowing land herself. She stated *"...my husband doesn't work, he hasn't the right to decide about anything at home."*

In terms of who made the operational decisions on the farm, it was clearly the women with the possible exception of Matilda who said that she had to discuss with her husband first. The majority of the women said that they make their own decisions on the farm. This included Ana and Maria as well as Amelia who said *"...I make my own decisions because sometimes it may happen that I am on the land and my husband doesn't even know where that land is."* Participants sometimes discussed operational decisions with their husbands, if they were considered important. When decisions were discussed with the husband the emphasis appeared to be on information sharing. Lisha for example explained that *"...I don't have to tell him everything, only what I think is important. But he does not decide about anything about my farming. I just tell him to know, not because he had any decision in my farming."*

Furthermore, it appeared that the women had control over the income they generated from farming. All the women said that they themselves decided what to do with the money they made, except Ana who said that she and her husband decided together. Matilda for example stated *"...I don't give him the money and I don't ask his opinion- I do what I want with the money, I buy clothes for me and the children."* Lisha, Gina and Maria said that they either showed or told their husband about the money they made, but they decided themselves what to do with their money. Lisha said: *"...I have to tell him about the money but I decide what to do."* Gina replied: *"I show him the money but he doesn't take it, I decide what to do with the money."* Likewise Maria said: *"If I win some money I will show him but I can decide what to do with the money."* Lastly, Amelia declared that: *"I just show him the money, not on the table, I just keep it in my hands. And sometimes he may ask something for him and if I am happy I give him something and if I am not I don't give him."*

In the follow-up interview, the women explained that generally income is not pooled. The women will often tell their husbands how much money they make, but they do not

give it to him. The reason being that the husband might then use all the money instead of buying the things he promised. This suggests gendered spending patterns. Participants also said that they sometimes lie about how much money they make otherwise their husband might not give them money or he might tell them to use their own money to buy things. When asked what the things were that they usually bought with their own money, the women said: bread and sugar followed by tomatoes and onions and then *capalanas* (Group interview, 2006). *Capalanas* are brightly coloured pieces of material that the women use primarily as skirts but which also function as pieces of cloth, towels, and blankets.

The fact that the women are making use of opportunities beyond patrilineage to access land might be one of the reasons for their relatively strong control over the land they have access to. Beyond patrilineal ways of accessing land, two participants mentioned that they had received land from their own parents, three mentioned that the government had given land to them, one mentioned having been given land by friends and three had bought land. In the latter case the documents which were used for purchasing land were informal documents. During the interviews, Lisha, Gina and Matilda said that they had papers for their land, but subsequent interviewing revealed that none of the women had official papers for their land. *'Papers'* were considered important but difficult to obtain. This is reflected in the following three quotes. The first two quotes are from Ana and the last quote is from Gina:

> *"It is difficult because we have been trying to do this for too much time and also because they want money in order for you to get this papers."*

> *"That is the law. The government says we must have these papers. If something happens to the land for example, in case that the government needs the land, if I have this papers they will have to give me another land but if I haven't it, I may lose the land."*

> *"It is important to have the papers because sometimes you may live in the land that belongs to your parents' family line and then one day somebody appears and say this is my land you have to give it back to me*

> *and in that case they can't do anything, they have to leave the land because they have no papers that say the land belongs to them."*

Participant's views of gender equality was further explored in terms of the gendered division of labour. Ana and Lisha felt that their husband worked harder than they did. Ana felt that her husband worked harder because he worked in the mines in South Africa and had become lame. Lisha felt that her husband worked harder because he worked night shifts as a security guard. The other four participants felt that they worked harder than their husbands. Amelia and Matilda simply stated that they worked harder than their husbands. Gina and Maria gave more elaborate answers. Gina claimed that she thought that women worked harder because they have to get up early in the morning and do all the things that men do not want to do. Along the same lines Maria replied "…*I work harder than him because I wake up very early to do house work while he is still sleeping. It is not easy to find water here."*

Housework was predominately the domain of the women. Sometimes children and sisters helped but typically the women did all the housework themselves. The women defined housework as: cooking, fetching water, pregnancy, taking care of the children, cleaning, washing clothes and fetching wood. Lisha stated that she does everything alone. So did Gina. Amelia replied that her husband does not do anything; *"he just eats."* Matilda declared *"…I do all the housework alone even if he is at home and even if I am sick he says I have to work because I am there for that."* Ana indicated that her children sometimes helped with the housework and Maria in turn said that she sometimes received help form her younger sister.

Although participants did not include emotional work in their definition of housework, subsequent interviewing revealed that it was the women, not their husbands, who took primary responsibility for the emotional well-being of their children. The women replied that they are the ones who usually ask their children what is going on when they can see that their child is angry or sad. Gina explained in the following way: *"When I see that that is not the face I know, I ask what is happening. At first my child might say nothing,*

but then I ask again and usually I succeed and he tells me what is going on" (Group interview, 2006).

Participants had a variety of views on the characteristics of a good mother. This included that a good mother should take care of her children. For some of the participants taking care of your children meant that they can approach you when they have a problem and that you would help them. Amelia for instance said *"A good mother must look after his children. Take care of them. If your child has a problem he may feel that he may talk to you about everything and that you would always be there to help."* Lisha said that when her children have a problem, they always phone her and then she goes to stay with them. Ana in turn said that she talks to her husband to help her children find a solution to their problem. Ana also felt "…a *good mother is not selfish"*. Maria and Gina emphasized the idea that a good mother should talk to her children, teaching them about appropriate behaviour and encouraging them to learn. Maria said that she talks with her children about the bad and good things of life and what their behaviour should be. Gina replied *"…a good mother has to talk to her children and tell them that they must learn something to survive because today you have parents but tomorrow you won't have them so you have to be prepared to live."* Matilda emphasized the point that a good mother should also take the time to joke with her children.

In terms of the gendered division of labour, four of the participants thus felt that they worked harder compared to their husbands. All participants took primary responsibility for the housework including the well-being of their children. Participants also took primary responsibility for farming. Apart from Ana's husband who can not help her because he is lame, all the women interviewed indicated that they farmed alone and did not receive any help from their husbands. Lisha simply stated that she works alone. Gina and Maria explained that they farmed alone but that this was in part due to their husband's work. Gina's husband works in a hotel and Maria's husband is a fisherman. Matilda' husband works at a restaurant but she went on to say *"…I farm alone and even if he is on holiday he doesn't help me."* Amelia's husband was the only one who did not help her and also did not work. When asked why her husband did not help with the

66

farming when he did not work elsewhere, Amelia explained: *"My husband couldn't accept to come here to see what I do so I think it is impossible to help him because he doesn't want to do farming."* The fact that her husband did not want to do farming Amelia explained in terms of farming not being a lucrative business: *"Men think that farming is not work for men because here he won't get money, he will only get vegetables and he might think well: 'I am going to work and at the end of the day I will return home with vegetables...what is that? Men who really work have to return with money."*

The theme of women's unremunerated labour emerged throughout the interviews. For example, Amelia further mentioned in her interview, *"...because men like money, they can't accept to do this kind of work. But I am farming and I am doing what I can to survive. And men are not able to do that. They are at home all day waiting for women to bring her money to the house."* Similarly, on the topic of unremunerated labour, Ana mentioned that: *"Women are superior because they will do anything in order to help her children and her husband."* This particular theme also came to the fore when participants were asked why there are no men working at the association. Lisha and Ana did not know, Matilda attributed it to laziness and Amelia, Gina and Maria felt that it was because the men did not earn anything from working at the farm. Gina for example said, *"...When I came to the group there were two but they are no longer here because they thought that they will win money or rice but as they did not get it they decided to leave."* The research findings thus also seem to suggest that smallholder agriculture is not considered to be financially rewarding and, to a large extent, it appears to be considered as women's work.

In the follow-up interview, the women were asked more specifically whether or not it bothered them that they did not receive help from their husbands with farming and housework. The general response was that it did bother them. However, although the women said that it bothered them that their husbands did not help them with farming, complaints were mostly about housework. It seems that whereas the women regard farming as important and enjoy doing it, they are dissatisfied with having to take primary responsibility for house work. The women complained about having to get up earlier

than their husbands and about returning home from farming to find that the bed has not even been made. They complained about *"having to run after everything"* and about *"picking up clothes"* and *"having to know where everything is"* (group interview, 2006).

The women further complained about not being able to say anything about the way labour is divided. Apparently, if a woman was to ask her husband to help her with housework, people in the community would *"start to talk too much."* The woman might be accused of being *"cheeky"* or she might be accused of giving her husband *"korrovela"* (*korrovela* means that you make your husband seem stupid). Interestingly, when asked whether it might be easier for women with their own money to ask their husband to help with, for example, washing the dishes, the response was that it would not be easier. Participants did not think that having your own money necessarily increased your bargaining power at home. Gina for instance said that her husband would simply laugh at her and tell her: *"you with your money and your dishes go away"* (group interview, 2006).

The second objective of the study, which is the focus of the next section, was to explore participants' view of the role of informal agricultural associations in promoting gender equality. Participants were asked why they joined the association, how the association worked and whether the association could play a role in promoting gender equality. Similar to the first section, themes that emerged from participants responses are highlighted.

5.3.2 Objective Two: to explore women smallholder agricultural farmers' view of informal agricultural groups in promoting gender equality

The six women who were interviewed and who were members of Caminos de Victoria felt that the main benefit of membership was that they could earn some money. Amelia said *"...we receive money"* and Maria stated *"...we sell vegetables we grow here and that is good for us because we have money and that money we use at home."* Along similar lines Ana replied *"we have money so now we are benefiting from the money."* Lisha claimed *"...now I can get some money from selling the vegetables we produce there."* Gina elaborated a bit more stating *"...I am happy being part of this group because we can get*

68

money to buy something for our house. And the group now is different because we have benefited from this. Other times we use to grow the vegetables and steal it because we couldn't get money but now we do not need to do that. We just sell it and take the money." Matilda said, *"...this year we are having some income but in the other years we have nothing; we were just working but we didn't succeed to get anything."*

While the main benefit of membership might currently be defined in terms of earning some money, being a member of the association also has other benefits such as addressing their families' nutritional needs and social support. When asked why they continue to farm both individually and collectively most of the interviewees mentioned that they are able to grow different crops on their own land compared to the associations' land. The main benefit of this appears to be that it allows the women to address not only their families' financial needs but also supplement their families' diet. Vegetables are seldom taken from the association, however, a piece of the farm is dedicated to collectively growing peanuts and maize which the women use for their own consumption. At home, the women generally plant couve (a type of cabbage), lettuce, onions, cassava and sweet potato. Ana for instance stated that *"what we produce is not enough for my eating so I have to farm at home also."* A somewhat different response to the question of why they continue to farm both individually and collectively was that of Lisha who mentioned social support. Lisha responded *"I want to have the friendship because I think that I do not have family here so these people here will help me in case of emergency."*

Another possible benefit of membership, although this was not mentioned by any of the participants, is that the associations' links with other organizations might provide members with information and resources. As members, three of the women had been provided with the opportunity this year to attend two workshops organized by Volunteers International. The topics discussed at these workshops included: HIV/AIDS, nutritious meals, water purification products, registering businesses and leadership skills. At these workshops the women were also provided with the chance to buy mosquito nets at low prices. Business ideas such as selling mosquito nets and rat traps were discussed and the women were provided with the chance to meet other women who are also members of

small women's groups. Volunteers International has also donated farming equipment, a table and chairs and studying material to Caminos de Victoria (Volunteers International's file, 2006).

In order to further explore the existing linkages that the association has with more formal organizations such as Volunteers International, participants were asked which organizations from outside have come to visit them. All participants mentioned that they had been visited by government officials. Only Amelia and Matilda also mentioned people other than government officials. Amelia referred to Volunteers International who she said donated watering cans. Matilda referred to 'other groups' who did not keep their promises. However, it was not clear who these groups were. Participants appeared to have a slightly negative attitude towards the administration. The administration was viewed as not giving anything; making promises that they do not keep; only talking to the leader and not providing the necessary support.

Interestingly, when asked what they thought the problems were in the association, all the women emphasized that they had no problems in the association. It was interesting that participants emphasized that the association had no or very little problems when in actual fact mid 2006 was the first time since the inception of the group, almost three years previously, that all members earned money from working at the association (which they consider to be the key benefit). Only Ana mentioned that the group had experienced problems with the way money was divided. She stated *"...we have no problems but sometimes we have arguments because of money when we sell the vegetables in how the money will be divided."*

At the time of the interviews the women had a system in place whereby a portion of the money they received from selling the vegetables was to be reinvested in the farm, a portion was to be used for paying their debt (this included outstanding water bills and the salary fees of a teacher that was employed) and the rest of the money was divided between the fourteen members. This particular way of dividing the money had only been in place since June 2006. From informal conversations it became apparent that previously, the money had been kept by the leaders. Only Amelia mentioned this in a

hushed tone during her interview, *"...the leaders kept the money but it disappeared."* This implied that the division of money in the association had been a problem and to a certain extent still was. The later system necessitated that somebody in the association take responsibility for keeping the money in order to buy, for example, seeds, repay the debts and divide the remaining money between the members. With the exception of the leader, members did not like to take this responsibility. This was due to various reasons. Apparently, news quickly spreads in the community about who has money in their house, people might then either steal the money (most members live in houses without doors that can lock) or people might borrow money for a family crisis and never pay it back. Members were also scared of being accused by each other of stealing. It is not possible to put the money in the bank because the group is not registered and therefore cannot open a bank account. The division of money was also complicated by the fact that the majority of the members were not numerically literate (field notes, 2006).

Another problem, though this was not mentioned by participants, is that the association struggles to have a constant, high quality supply of vegetables. The reason for this appeared to be that insufficient money was reinvested in the farm. At the same time, there is not a big market for selling vegetables in Catembe. Vegetables in Catembe sell for 10 MTN (R3) a kilogram. In Maputo vegetables may sell for more than double that price, but it is difficult (in terms of transport and time) to get vegetables to Maputo. Furthermore, access to formal vegetable markets in Maputo is limited and informal rules and regulations govern vegetable selling on the street. There is also a psychological component. Maputo is perceived as a big city and, to a certain extent, as a threatening place particularly because of the women's lack of language and numeric proficiency (field notes, 2006). With the help of Volunteers International members of the association are now selling their vegetables to a restaurant in Maputo. On average the women make between 20 and 60 MTN (R6 to R18) profit each a month after they have subtracted the money that is supposed to be reinvested in the farm and the money for the debts they have accrued.

When asked how decisions were made at the association, the women were divided. Three of the participants said that the leader made the decisions. Amelia for example

said *"the leader, she is who decides"*. Likewise, Lisha and Matilda claimed that it is the leader who makes decisions at the farm. In contrast, Ana, Gina and Maria said that the group decided what to do. Ana said during her interview, *"…we meet and talk about it and decide what we can do with the vegetables and at what price we can sell the vegetables."* Gina simply stated that the group decides and Maria claimed *"…it is the group leader but if we are not happy with her decisions we have the opportunity to say that."*

Despite differences in opinion in terms of who makes the decisions at the farm, participants nonetheless all said that if they had a complaint or a problem or if they were unhappy about some decision the leader had made, they talked about it in a group. When asked what they did when they had a complaint or a problem or when they were unhappy about some decisions the leader had made Amelia, Ana, Gina and Maria answered that that they talk about it. Lisha claimed, *"…we have to come here and talk to our leader"* and Matilda stated *"… if we are not happy with her decisions we have the opportunity to say that."* However, when participants were asked for an example of a complaint or a problem having been discussed, nobody was able to provide such an example. It appears that such situations are dealt with informally and sometimes without success, but this cannot be said with certainty. Maria for example said *"…but when we talk to people who do wrong things and they do not change their behaviour we leave them and continue working"* Similarly, Gina remarked during her interview that *"…in that case we try to talk to them but if they don't accept it we just leave them."*

In addition, in the follow-up interview participants explained that previously they had been to the court in Catembe to complain about the leaders who were keeping the money. The court did not do anything and the women claimed that as a result they did not trust the courts in Catembe. One lady said that *"the court means nothing for us"* (Group interview, 2006). The current leader had also been accused of being lazy, treating the women badly and stealing the seedlings (Group interview, 2006). The group had asked Volunteers International to intervene in this matter, but nothing had been done up until the time of the interviews.

Regardless of any problems that there might have been in the association, it appeared that the women felt they benefited from this association in one way or the other. The association provided some income, additional food and a measure of social support. When asked more specifically about the role of Caminos de Victoria in promoting gender equality, participants seem to think that Caminos de Victoria can be used as a forum to discuss gender related issues. Participants were asked after the discussion of the division of labour whether they thought that an association like Caminos de Victoria can help women in this regard. Participants felt that the association can mainly help in a socio-emotional way. Maria for example said that they could *"talk about it."* Ana elaborated a bit more stating that they can talk about it and also share experiences. This she thought could be *"…useful because if maybe one or two women may have the same problem and in the group we could be able to discuss it and get a solution."* Ana and Gina also felt that talking and sharing experiences could help them find appropriate solutions. Ana said, *"...these groups can help because when we have problems, social problems, we can come here and talk to the other colleagues and they somehow help us to say what we have to do and what we can't do."* Likewise, Gina replied, *"...yes, we can come here and discuss our problems and try to find solutions".* Gina however went on to point out *"... a problem that may happen is that people might talk too much and your husband can hear that you say bad things about him."* Amelia also pointed out that an important consideration is that men will have to want to change. She explained *"…the most important is that a person must have a will to work. If he doesn't want to work, even if you call him and say you may come and work here if he doesn't want, he won't do it."*

5.4 The main research findings

The following is considered to be the main research findings. In terms of exploring participants' view of gender equality in terms of access to land, control over land and the division of labour, it appears that participants perceive a lack of gender equality most in terms of the gender division of labour and not so much in terms of access to and control over land. Participants accessed land in a number of ways. One of the ways was via a patrilineal inheritance pattern. This system was accepted even though it prescribed that sons not daughters inherit land, based on the fact that daughters would move to their

husband's land. However, it is clear from the research findings that patrilineage does not exist in an absolute form. Only three of the women interviewed used land they acquired from a father-in-law. Land was also accessed in some instances via the women's own families, via friends, via the government and through purchase. In all land transactions the research findings seem to indicate that the documents used were informal papers. Official papers were deemed important, but the process of obtaining them was considered difficult and expensive. Title deeds were not common.

As mentioned, the women interviewed exercised a fair amount of control over the land they had access to, this despite the partial existence of a patrilineal inheritance pattern and patriarchal discourse such as the importance of being married and obeying and respecting your husband. The majority of the participants felt that they would have a say in discussions surrounding the selling or borrowing of their land. The majority of the participants also made their own operational decisions when farming and had control over the income they made. Even in the case of widowhood and divorce, most participants felt relatively secure in their access and control over land, even land that did not directly belong to them. Participants seemed willing to put up a fight to keep their land and three of the women even mentioned going to court. Claims about going to court however, appeared to be at odds with participants' later claims that they did not trust the courts.

The partial existence of a patrilineal inheritance pattern, patriarchal discourse such as the importance of being married and obeying and respecting your husband plus strong norms governing what was considered to be men's and women's work, seemed to have a determining effect on the gendered division of labour. This was the sphere of participants' lives that they perceived as lacking most in gender equality. Although the majority of participants stated that it bothered them that they did not receive help from their husbands with farming and housework, complaints were mainly about housework. This might be due to the fact that participants seemed to consider farming important and enjoyed doing it. Housework was defined as: cooking, fetching water, pregnancy, taking care of the children, cleaning, washing clothes and fetching wood. It was established that 'emotional work' also formed part of housework. However, women seemed to strongly

identify with their roles as mothers. Dissatisfaction was mainly about having to take primary responsibility for cleaning the house and organizing the household.

The promotion of gender equality was not a consideration for women when they joined the association. Membership had little if any influence of the level of gender equality participants experienced in their personal lives. The association was primarily used to access some income and food and it appeared to have a social support function. Interestingly, members did not feel that having access to money increased a women's bargaining power at home. When asked more specifically about the role Caminos de Victoria could play in promoting gender equality, partcipants said that it could function as a place were they could discuss and collectively find solutions to the problems they experienced with men. The point was highlighted that such a function of the association might be undermined if men should perceive it as a threat. At the same time it should be kept in mind that using such an association as a forum to discuss gender related issues in it self does not necessarily facilitate gender equality.

The research findings also indicate that within informal agricultural associations the division of resources can be unequal. This might be exacerbated if the association were to be linked to more formal organizations providing access to additional resources without first examining how resources are distributed within the association. In this case the unequal division of resources within the association does not only undermine its ability to successfully secure income and food security for its members, but it may also undermine the association's ability to act as a forum for discussing gender related issues. It is unlikely that women will discuss gender-related issues in a climate not characterized by trust.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to draw together the literature review, the theoretical background of the study and the main research findings. Making the connection between the data or showing how the research results relate to literature and theory is considered an essential step in research. As mentioned, Coffey and Atkinson (1996:27) describe it as the crux of qualitative research.

The structure of the chapter is as follows: In the first section, the research findings are discussed in terms of the literature reviewed in Chapter Two. Similarities and differences are indicated as well as reasons provided for the latter. In the second section, the value of the Empowerment approach to the field of women, gender and development is explained by referring to the research results. This is followed by a section on the larger significance of the study. Some recommendations regarding further research are made and the limitations of the study are highlighted.

6.2 Discussion of the main research findings in terms of the literature reviewed in Chapter Two

The literature reviewed in Chapter Two suggested that most women in Sub-Saharan Africa, including women in Mozambique, gain access to and control over land through patrilineage. In patrilineal societies fathers pass their possessions and status on to their biological sons and couples usually reside at the home or on the land of the husband's family. Accordingly, the right to make operational decisions on the farm and the rights to hand down, sell or lend the land remains in the hands of the husband. Women tend to have few land rights in these societies, examples of which have been found in parts of Kenya, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Lesotho, among others. Waterhouse (2001:66) also described the existence of a patrilineal inheritance and succession pattern in the Marracuene district in Maputo as did Tique, (2001:112) in the Manica province of Mozambique.

In the Catembe district it appears that the women interviewed also endorse elements of a patrilineal inheritance pattern. In contrast to the above mentioned areas however, the interviewed women appeared to have relatively strong informal land rights. Firstly, direct access to land was possible as opposed to access only through marriage. Secondly, participants rejected the notion of the decision about selling or borrowing land being made exclusively by their husbands. Thirdly, operational decisions on the farm were mainly made by the women and lastly, participants had control over the income they generated from farming. What is more, in the case of widowhood, participants felt relatively secure about their continued access to land. Similarly, in the case of divorce it was clear that participants would negotiate and challenge the possibility of losing access to land that originally belonged to their fathers-in-law. This stands in contrast to descriptions of patrilineal societies in which women do not own land in their own right, cannot make decisions about ownership and where income control rests solely in the hands of husbands.

As mentioned, participants' relatively strong control over the land they have access to was unexpected. It was surprising because of participants' acceptance of elements of a patrilineal inheritance pattern and patriarchal discourse reflected in the importance of being married and obeying and respecting your husband. The fact that participants have relatively strong land rights irrespective of this, lends legitimacy to the argument of Richard (cited in Braga 2001:201). Richard has argued that neither matrilineality nor patrilineality exist in absolute form. Rather these systems exist in negotiated forms. This is evident in the fact that participants only accepted elements of a patrilineal inheritance pattern as oppose to fully endorsing it. In turn participants' acceptance of only elements of the patrilineal inheritance pattern accounts in part for them having more land rights compared to women who live in societies where more elements of the partrilineal inheritance pattern are endorsed. Richard maintains that the particular form that patrilineality takes depends on class and family circumstances. It seems reasonable to add to this the way women negotiate and challenge their land rights within the family and it might also be that in Catembe the particular form that patrilineality has taken, has been influenced by Catembe's close proximity to the capital city Maputo were a modern land tenure system prevails.

Participants' relatively strong land rights can be attributed to various factors. Firstly, it may be due to the flexibility of the land tenure system operating in the area. A second reason that participants might have a lot of control over the land they have access to might be because most of them live close to their own families. Kuper (cited in Bryceson, 1995:264) argued that the closer a woman lives to her own family the more land tenure security, status and authority she has. A last explanation however, might be that participants have substantial control over the land they have access to because they grow mainly food crops as opposed to cash crops. The fact that women have substantial control over food crops has been well documented by other researchers (Gulliver, 1995; Arnfred, 2001; Braga, 2001). However, this situation usually changes when land becomes more valuable or when food crops are replaced by cash crops. In the literature review chapter, Moore and Vaughan's (1994:210) study was mentioned in which they describe how "garden land" that was previously controlled by women is no longer under women's control because it has been reclassified as ibala gardens for the production of staples that belong to men. The authors argued that this relabeling strategy is common when the value of land changes. It is therefore not unlikely that this might happen in the future if land becomes more valuable in Catembe.

On the topic of obtaining title deeds and going to court, the research findings indicate that this is not a common way for participants to negotiate and challenge their land rights. None of the participants were in possession of a title deed for their land. One participant mentioned that they had been trying to get official papers for their land, albeit the money needed and the process involved in doing this acted as a hindrance. Other scholars including Arnfred (2001:166), Daniel (2001:193) and Tique (2001:114) have also argued that the titling of land is not very common in Mozambique particularly amongst (rural) Mozambican women.

The research findings also lend some validity to the arguments of Tripp (2004) and Bonate (2006). Both these authors have argued that women in rural areas perceive locally elected courts in a negative light. Participants in this study did not say that they thought the courts were corrupt but they did say that they did not trust the courts. At the same time however, the research findings on this particular point are somewhat

ambiguous. On the one hand, three participants said that in the case of divorce they would go to court. On the other hand, participants said that they did not trust the courts.

As mentioned, none of the participants considered themselves as officially married, not even in terms of their own customs. Other researchers have also documented this phenomenon. Mbilinyi's (1997:3-26) arguments might have some bearing on Catembe seeing that the reason participants gave for not being officially married was lack of money to do so. When participants were asked during the follow-up interview whether they thought that not being officially married made it easier for a husband to force his wife off his land, the response was that they did not think so. However, as indicted in the literature review chapter, researchers have established that unofficial marriages significantly reduce women's land rights and security.

One of the main research findings was that participants perceive a lack of gender equality predominantly in terms of the gendered division of labour. It is widely documented that the division of labour in terms of reproductive work and smallholder agricultural production favours men rather than women. Studies throughout Sub-Saharan Africa, including Mozambique, have shown that women tend to work for longer hours than men, that women take primary responsibility for housework and that agricultural tasks and responsibilities are gendered (Wambugu, 1999:9 and Cloud, 1989:26-30). In this study, complaints were mainly about housework although the majority of participants (with the exception of Ana whose husband is lame) stated that it bothers them that their husbands do not help them with farming and housework. The reason why complaints were mostly about housework as opposed to farming might be due to the fact that participants seemed to consider farming important and enjoyed doing it. Drawing on the work of Oakley (1974) it can be stated that, whereas participants identified strongly with their role as farmer and mother (in the sense of taking physically and emotionally care of children), they were dissatisfied and derived very little job satisfaction from housework.

Due to the women farming alone, Cloud's (1989:26-30) possible arrangements for agricultural tasks and responsibilities: separate crops, separate fields, separate tasks and shared tasks could not be applied to the study. Waterhouse and Vijfhuizen's (2001:235)

work, however, was relevant to the study. These authors mentioned again and again in their study that, while access to land is very important for women, the ability to use the land is just as significant. The fact that participants have no or little assistance with housework and farming significantly reduce their ability to use their land.

In the literature review chapter, three theories were put forward for explaining the gender aspects of the division of labour: the social norm theory, the unitary household theory and the bargaining household theory. This was followed by a discussion of Whitehead's notion of maternal altruism (1994:46-49). Most relevant to the research findings appears to be the social norm theory and Whitehead's notion of maternal altruism. It has been stated that maternal altruism is a culturally constructed ideology. According to Whitehead (1994:48-49) it is a set of values that influence men and women's behaviour, specifically their sense of self-interest and altruism. Whitehead argues that in any particular culture men and women are exposed to this ideology and are socialized into being self-interested and altruistic in different ways and to different degrees. In effect, maternal altruism is a set of ideas held by people about what is appropriate behaviour for mothers and fathers. It seems reasonable therefore to subsume Whitehead's notion of maternal altruism under the social norm theory.

The social norm theory holds that the gendered division of labour is sustained by informal norms. There are various responses of interviewees that can be used to substantiate the claim that social norms influenced in particular the gendered division of labour. These responses include some of the participants' answers to the questions about what constitutes a good mother and wife. The strict boundaries between what is considered to be men and women's work respectively was highlighted in particularly by the 'punishment' women would receive for overstepping these boundaries. Participants explained that a woman who complains about having to take primary responsibility for housework would be gossiped about, she might be accused of being cheeky or of giving her husband *korrovela*.

The other two theories that were put forward to explain the gender aspects of the division of labour included the unitary household theory and the bargaining household theory.

According to the unitary household theory, husbands and wives are "partners in a production and consumption enterprise" and husbands and wives pool all their resources to maximize their joint welfare (Kevane, 2004:73). In contrast, other scholars argue that resources are not altruistically pooled between husbands and wives (Whitehead, 1994:48). The latter, the bargaining household theory, was confirmed in the study. The majority of the interviewees said that the decision about selling or borrowing land would be based on negotiation. Furthermore, participants mentioned that money was not pooled in the household. The reason being that the husband might then use all the money instead of buying the things he promised. Participants also said that they often lied about how much money they made otherwise their husband might not give them money or he might tell them to use their own money to buy things. A good example exemplifying the bargaining household was this quote from Amelia: *"I just show him the money, not on the table, I just keep it in my hands. And sometimes he may ask something for him and if I am happy I give him something and if I am not I don't give him."* Clearly participants acted in their own self-interest. At the same time, however, the extent to which participants acted in their own self-interest was mediated by social norms.

In terms of the role of informal agricultural groups in promoting gender equality, the research findings indicated that Caminos de Victoria had little if any influence on the extent of gender equality that members experienced in their personal lives. Membership was mainly instrumental in obtaining some income and food and to a lesser extent social support. Participants did, however, think that the association could potentially have an effect on gender equality if the association is used as a forum to discuss gender related issues. Participants said that it could function as a place were they could discuss and collectively find solutions to the problems they experienced with men such as the unequal division of labour. This particular role for informal agricultural associations as a medium for the exchange of views was not mentioned by the authors examined in the literature review chapter and it could potentially be added to the lists of ways in which informal agricultural associations can function as a vehicle of empowerment. However, it is important to remember that even though participants think that using

81

informal agricultural associations as a forum to discuss gender related issues will effect gender equality, it is unlikely that this activity by it self will.

In the literature review chapter, several researchers were mentioned whose work suggested that informal agricultural associations can act as a vehicle of empowerment by improving women bargaining power at home and helping them to: gain access to land; gain control over farm operations; gain access to and control over extension services, credit and other inputs; gain control over the use of crops; gain control over income generated from crop sales and gain confidence. In the case of Catembe, these findings did not appear to be applicable. Participants stated that income did not increase their bargaining power at home. At the same time, participants already had relatively easy access to land and relatively strong control over the land they had access to. The association did not really provide any access to extention services and credit. Other inputs such as the fact that members could attend workshops or receive seeds from Volunteers International were not mentioned by participants.

An important finding that emerged from the research was that member benefits were not equally distributed. The crudest example of this being that the income generated from farming was kept by the leaders of the association for some time. Simultaneously it is unclear to what extent participants have equal access to group decision-making procedures and avenues of grievance. Participants said that they discuss problems and grievances in a group but this appears to be contradicted by the fact that complaints about the current leader have not been addressed. The research findings thus suggest that women who join informal agricultural associations do not necessarily gain more control over farm operation and income. What is more, the unequal division of resources within the association suggests that Caminos de Victoria, in its present state, can not be successfully formalized. According to March and Taqqu (1986:22) it is only possible to establish effective formal ties with active informal associations in which member benefits are equally distributed. The formalization of Caminos de Victoria will most likely exacerbate the existing unequal distribution of member benefits. Furthermore, the introduction of more formal leadership structures and regulations could further skew the relationships among members particularly when the outside organization, in this case the

administration, is already not trusted. Turning Caminos de Victoria into a more formal economic organization might also erode some of the associations' salient purposes such as its instrumental value in securing food and its social support function. An important issue also would be to what extent formalization would increase the women's workload.

6.3 The relevance of the Empowerment approach

The study accentuated the value of the Empowerment perspective in discussions on women, gender and development. Firstly, the Empowerment approach was found to be valuable because of its comprehensive nature and its emphasis on the fact that empowerment in one area do not necessarily translate to empowerment in other areas. As mentioned, the Empowerment approach links micro-level activities at grassroots to a macro-level perspective. It draws attention to the fact that gender inequality results not only from a woman's relationship with her husband but also from imbalances of power which result from macro social, economic and political processes.

The claim that empowerment in one area does not automatically translate to empowerment in other areas was substantiated by the research findings. This issue is of immense importance because what it implies is that WID and WAD's almost exclusive emphasis on women's productive lives is not enough to facilitate gender equality. In order to facilitate gender equality, a more comprehensive approach, such as the Empowerment approach, is necessary. For example, the research findings indicated that women's productive lives were influenced by the gendered division of labour. In fact, participants experienced gender inequality most in terms of the gendered division of labour and in particular complained of having to take primary responsibility for housework. The exclusive focus on the productive aspects of women's lives without a thorough understanding of women's reproductive labour might simply lead to a further increase in women's workload rather than gender equality. What is more, participants felt that the income that could be generated from increased productivity would not necessarily increase their bargaining power at home. This suggests that the women's bargaining power is not only influenced by economic factors. The research findings, for example, suggested that participants' social position was significantly influenced by social norms that dictate what is considered appropriate behaviour for men and women.

Secondly, the Empowerment approach was found to be valuable because of its emphasis on the importance of collective action. According to DAWN, collective action in the form of women's organizations play a central role in women's empowerment. In the literature review chapter the various ways in which informal agricultural groups can be empowering to women were listed. In the case of Caminos de Victoria the association's ability to act as a vehicle of empowerment was limited. However, if the division of member benefits were more equitable, it seems reasonable that the association could have an empowering role by creating alternative resources and conditions for members. Participants also felt that that the association could be used as a forum to discuss gender related issues. This particular role for informal associations is in line with DAWN's emphasis on consciousness raising, popular education and political mobilization.

The value of collective action is also mentioned by two other theoretical positions on women namely WAD and GAD. Small-scale women-only projects are quite popular amongst WAD proponents. However, the theory is considered to be inappropriate not only because it focuses mostly on women's productive role but also because it could potentially strengthen stereotypes as it advocates opting for approaches that celebrate 'women's culture'. GAD in turn also stresses the need for women to organize in order to improve their position vis-à-vis men. In actual fact, there are many similarities between the long term goals of GAD and the Empowerment perspective. However, GAD has been hampered by its "modernist roots" and "Western-centered notions of development" (Hirshman cited in Parpart, 2000:5). In contrast the Empowerment appraoch actively tries to develop a new alternative development paradigm.

Thirdly, the Empowerment approach was found to be valuable because of its emphasis on the value of Third World women's views and experiences. As mentioned earlier, the empowerment approach wants development to be embedded in the practical experiences faced by women in LDCs. The views and experiences of poor women in the LDCs are regarded as central in the development of this more culturally responsive grassroots approach to development. Although it is debatable whether the views and experiences of poor women in the LDCs should be the sole foundation on which to build this more culturally responsive grassroots approach to development, women in LDCs have some

important contributions to make to the field of women, gender and development. Participants for example provided useful information on land tenure arrangements, housework and the way in which informal groups operate. They mentioned that informal agricultural groups can be used as a forum to discuss gender related issues and that these discussions should take place in a constructive manner and not alienate men. The Empowerment approach in actual fact constitutes an attempt to give women in LDCs a say in the type of society they want to live. It regards women in LDCs as active agents in the development process. This agency of women was substantiated by the research findings. Despite being hampered by gendered power structures participants negotiated and challenged their land rights and had valuable contributions to make to the field of women, gender and development. The Empowerment approach depiction of women in LDCs as active agents as oppose passive recipients is an important step away form the often negative representations of poor women in LDCs. WID, WAD and to a lesser extent GAD are often criticized for they way they represent Third World women. Third World women are characterized as a singular homogeneous group on the basis of shared oppression irrespective of class, race and culture. Moreover, this homogeneous group of Third World women is often depicted as "...powerless, tradition bound and vulnerable victims in need of help from Western development experts" (Mohanty, 1997:79). Such depictions are over-simplistic and do not portray an accurate picture of the lives of the six women interviewed in Catembe.

Taken together, there is no one correct approach or theory when attempting to tackle issues surrounding gender equality. All the theories have some valuable insights. However, in this situation, the Empowerment approach was found to be particularly useful. Its bottom-up approach allows a great amount of flexibility and allows development practitioners to gauge the relevance of different theoretical positions on women in a particular situation. This in turn facilitates the design of effective development strategies.

6.4 The larger significance of the study

It appears that the government of Mozambique is opting for a more positive view on the future of smallholder agriculture in the light of globalization and market liberalization. Several steps are being taken in order to ensure that smallholder agricultural farmers can adapt to the new economic environment. Efforts to develop the smallholder agricultural sector appear to be growth-orientated an in line with neo-classical economics. The steps as mentioned in the literature review chapter, include: (1) providing access to financial services; (2) infrastructure development; (3) stimulating markets; (4) providing access to agricultural technology and advice; (4) promoting farmers' associations; (5) creating a enabling environment for the development of agricultural business.

Part of the effort to develop the smallholder agricultural sector includes the promotion of gender equality. At present it seems that the Gender unit within MADER is opting for a "mainstreaming gender approach" in which they aim to "integrate gender" into the existing program for developing the smallholder agricultural sector *("ProAgri"* 2003). While such an approach may have some benefits for women, the overall effect it will have on gender equality is debatable. It is suggested that the Gender unit within MADER adopt an approach that draws more on the Empowerment perspective. It is believed that using an Empowerment framework within which more precise goals can be set and changed over time will be more effective in improving the quality of life of the vast amount of women involved in smallholder agriculture in Mozambique. The current steps for developing the smallholder agricultural sector will thus constitute one goal within a broader empowerment framework in which attention is also paid to other aspects of women's lives. This is necessary because only focusing on creating a favorable economic environment and increasing women's productivity will not by itself increase gender equality. Women might, for example, not be able to take full advantage of the favorable economic environment because of their reproductive responsibilities and existing workload. The income women receive might not belong to them and even if they have control over the income they generate, this income does not necessarily improve their social and political position in society.

Another important consideration is with regards to the establishment of 'farmer's organizations'. As mentioned, one of the strategic actions to be taken to develop the smallholder agricultural sector include the formations of 'farmer's organizations'. However there seems to be no clear definition of what a farmer's organization is or what exactly this process will entail. Furthermore, while exiting informal agricultural associations can sometimes be used as a foundation for building more formal associations, it can not be assumed that all informal agricultural associations are suited for such a transition. It is necessary to pay attention to how formalization will effect the distribution of member benefits as well as how it might affect any salient purposes of the informal agricultural association.

6.5 Recommendations regarding further research

It is believed that more in depth research is needed specifically on the topic of unremunerated housework amongst rural women in LDCs, how it affects their lives and possible strategies for addressing power imbalances in this sphere of women's lives. In addition more research is needed on informal associations. More specifically, it would be interesting to know whether it is possible to transform associations in which member benefits are not equally distributed into association which are more equitable. A further two topics for future research in the context of smallholder agricultural is gendered spending patterns and men's view of gender equality.

6.6 The limitations of the research

As mentioned earlier, the principles underlying PAR could only be realised to some degree in this study. Perhaps the most crucial element in PAR is that action should follow from the research and that this action should "emancipate" the people involved (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 323). The fact that the research was not carried out on behalf of any development institution nor formed part of any development program made this extremely difficult. Even if afterwards I would give the research results to the NGO working in the area, it is not possible to say whether they would read it or do anything about it. The study was in other words limited in the degree to which it complied to the principles underling PAR. A further important limitation of the study is that

generalization and strong causal and structural explanations cannot be made due to the small number of cases involved.

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92

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Appendix 1: Maps indicating the location of Catembe
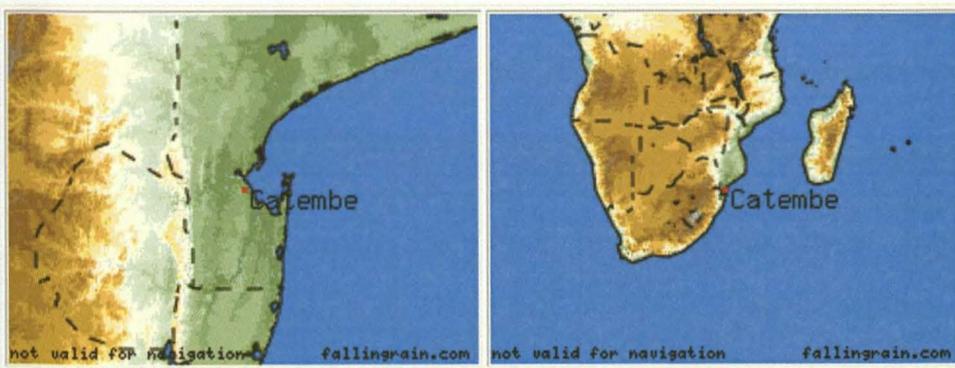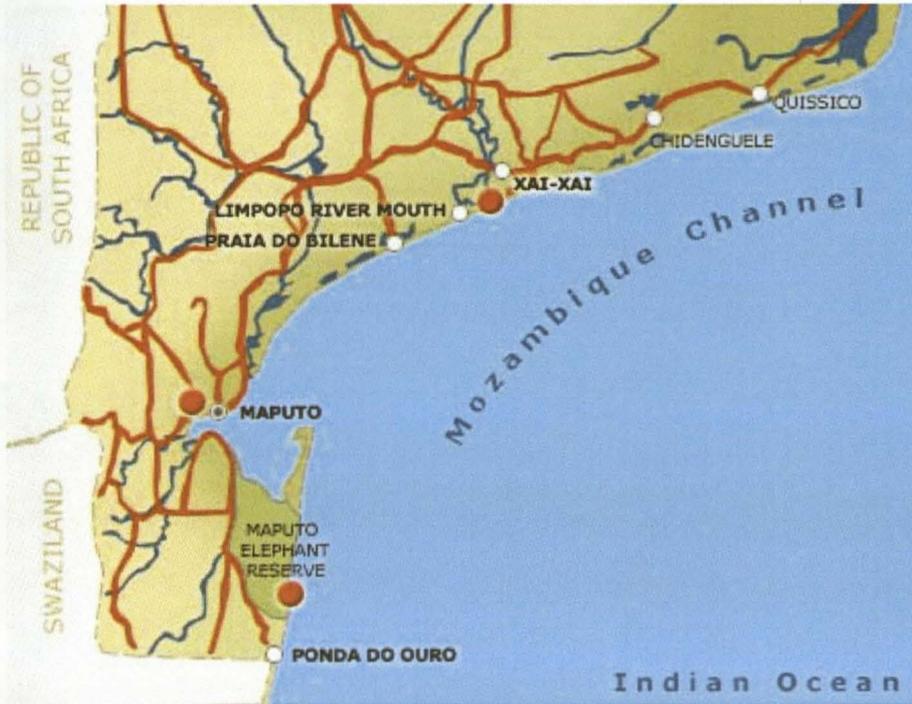
Appendix 2: Photos taken at Caminos de Victoria

Appendix 3: Individual Interview Checklist

Set 1	Access
Where did you and your husband get the land you farm on?	
Do you and your husband have papers that state the land belongs to you or not? (probe whether or not papers are considered important)	
What will happen to the land when your husband dies?	
What will happen to the land when both you and your husband die?	
What will happen to the land when you and your husband get a divorce?	
What will happen if somebody from outside came and said that they want your piece of land?	

Set 2	Control and division of labour
Who would make the decision to sell your land to somebody else?	
Who would make the decision to borrow your land to somebody else?	
Tell me a bit about your farming at home… (probe who makes operational decisions on the field and how labour is divided both on the field and at home)	
Do you and your husband make decisions about money together or do each of you decide about your own money?	
Do you feel that you and your husband work equally hard or not?	
Do you think that groups like Caminos de Victoria can help women or not?	

Set 3	Association

How did you become a member of the group?

What were the reasons you joined the group initially?

Now that you have been a member of the group for some time, what do you think are the main benefits of being a member?

Do you think that there are any problems in the group? (If yes, probe nature of the problem)

What are the things that you do when you come to the farm?

How are decisions made on the farm? (probe how operational decisions are made including pricing of vegetables and avenue for grievances)

How does the group manage the money that comes in from selling the vegetables? (Probe whether resources are equally distributed)

How does your husband feel about you being a member of this group?

What do you think other people in the community think of the group? (Probe influence of membership on relationship with other people)

What organizations from outside, if any, have come to visit the group? (probe links with more formal organizations).

If you are a member of a agricultural group, why do you continue to farm individually?

There are no male members in the association, is these a specific reason for this or not?

Set 4	General
What things are important to you in life?	
What do you think are the characteristics of a good mother?	
What do you think are the characteristics of a good wife?	
What do you think are the advantages of being married?	
What do you think are the disadvantages of being married?	

Appendix 4: Transcript of Interviews

1. Interview one: Amelia

Amelia, how long have you been living in Catembe?

I was borne here.

Can you remember in what year were you borne?

In 1949

How long have you been living with your partner?

From 1975

And children...

Six

How long have you been a member of the group now?

Three years

Can you tell me, how did you become a member of the group?

I was a member of a dancing group there and I heard about a group in a meeting with OMM.

A dancing group?

Yes

In Maputo or here?

Here

So the dancing group was in Catembe and it was a OMM group?

Yes

What were the reasons you joined the group initially?

We were talking about it in that meeting that we were having in the OMM when we were there dancing. At this meeting we decided that we have to create a group like this in order to try to solve our problems. We wanted to create chicken.

Okay, I see. Tell me…now that you have been a member of this agricultural group for some time what do you think are the main benefits of being a member?

I benefit from the vegetables we grow here. I sell it or I take it for my house.

Is that the only benefit?

Yes. We receive money.

Okay then, do you think that there are any problems in the group and if so, what are they?

There are no problems.

No problems…What are the things that you do when you come to the farm?

It depends on the water source. When there is no water we come only to cultivate. When there is water we come only to irrigate.

How are decisions made on the farm? For example, who decides about what vegetables have to be cultivated?

The leader she is who decides.

And if the group members have a complaint, about something they do not like, what procedure do you follow?

They talk about in a meeting.

Can you give me an example of something you talked about in the past?

We have not yet talked about something.

How have you managed the money that comes in from selling the vegetables before Maggy and I came here?

The leaders kept the money but it disappeared.

How does your husband feel about you being a member of this group?

I talked to him and he accepted.

And what do you think other people in the community think of the group?

People think that they couldn't come and work here because they don't receive money.

I see. Have any organizations from outside come to visit the group?

People from the administration. They don't give anything but here was a white women who visit to help us with the can water and the other equipment.

Princess…the American lady?

Yes

I see there are no men in this group, is there a specific reason for this or not?

We had men when we started working in the group. But they could not work without earning money. Men always want money so they decided to leave the group. Because men like money, they can't accept to do this kind of work. But I am farming and I am doing what I can to survive. And men are not able to do that. They may…they are at home all day waiting for the women to bring her money to the house.

Okay. Do I understand you correctly, men will only work if they get money while women will work sometimes even if they don't get money?

No. What happens is that maybe he… Men think that farming is not work for men because here he won't get money he will only get vegetables and he think well: "I am going to work and at the end of the day I will return home with vegetables…what is that? Men who really work have to return home with money.

Okay, I understand. Tell me, what things are important to you in life?

It is farming.

And what do you think are the characteristics of a good mother?

A good mother must look after his children. Take care of them. If your child has a problem he may feel that he may talk to you about everything and that you would always be there to help.

What do you think are the characteristics of a good wife?

A good wife must obey and respect his husband. And also a husband must pay attention to what his wife has to say.

What do you think are the advantages of being married?

God says you can't steal. If you have a husband you won't do that because you will have somebody to look after you and to protect you.

And what do you think are the disadvantages of being married?

There are no difference even when you are suffering you have to stay there and be with your husband and your children.

I see. I would like to ask you a couple of questions about your piece of land you farm on at home. Where did you and your husband get the land you farm on?

We got it from the government.

So in that case, does the land belong to you and your husband together or does it belong only to your husband or only to you?

The land belongs to both of us because we started living there together. When I first knew him he was still living with his father.

Did they give you any papers for the land?

No they didn't.

So what will happen to the land when your husband dies?

I will stay in the land except in the government tells me to leave.

And what will happen to the land if you and your husband die?

It will belong to the youngest son.

And if you were to get a divorce, what will happen then?

I wouldn't accept to leave the land.

What will happen if somebody from outside came and said that he wanted your piece of land?

If that person wanted to take our land, he would first have to find a place for us to live.

Who would make the decision to sell or borrow your land to somebody else? Will you decide or will your husband make this decision?

My husband doesn't work, he hasn't the right to decide about anything at home.

Okay, I see. Tell me a bit about how you farm at home...for example, who does what work?

I do the farming alone.

Can you do what you want or do you have to discuss with your husband what you want to do?

I make my own decisions because sometimes it may happen that I am on the land and my husband doesn't even know where the land is.

And what about the work at home?

He doesn't do anything, he doesn't help.

So what does your husband do?

He just eats.

107

And what now if you bring money, do you and your husband make decisions about money together or do you decide about your own money?

I just show him the money, not in the table I just keep it in my hands. And sometimes he may ask something for him and if I am happy I give him something and if I am not I don't give him.

Do you think you and your husband work equally hard or not?

I work harder than him.

Do you think that organizations like Caminos de Victoria help women?

It could help but I think that the most important is that a person must have a will to work. If he doesn't want to work, even if you call him and say you may come and work here if he doesn't want he won't do it. Because the problem with men is that they don't want to work, they just want to stay at home and think my wife will bring food and will give me money for drinking. My husband couldn't accept to come here to see what I do, so I think it is impossible to help him because he doesn't want to do farming.

2. Interview two: Ana

How long have you been living in Catembe?

I was borne here in 1953.

How long have you been living with your husband?

From 1970

And what about children?

Eight

How long have you been a member of the group?

Three years

What were the reasons you joined the group initially?

I heard about the group in a meeting of OMM and I decided to come here because my husband is lame and I wanted to help myself and my husband. I was expected to benefit from it because in that time they were talking about chickens and I though that it would be good for me to come here and work.

Now that you have been a member of the group for some time, what do you think are the main benefits of being a member?

We have money and we buy seeds with it. When we have the crops we sell it and we have money so now we are benefiting from the money.

Do you think that there are any problems in the group and, if so, what are they?

We have no problems but sometimes we have arguments because of money when we sell the vegetables in how the money will be divided.

And when you have something like this happening, what do you do?

We have a meeting and talk about it in order try to find solutions for the problem.

What are the things that you do when you come to the farm?

When we arrive here we take the seeds and sow them. We irrigate. We have to look at the seeds if they are good or not and to plant it and we irrigate.

How are decision made on the farm? For example, who decides who should take the seeds and sow them or who should irrigate?

We meet and talk about it and decide what we can do.

How did the group manage the money that came in from selling the vegetables before Maggy and I came?

We didn't have a lot of money. So last year we only had money to buy seeds that we used this year.

How does your husband feel about you being a member of this group?

He accepted it because he wanted me to work because he can't work.

What do you think other people in the community think of the group?

I don't know because people that were working here with us left it because they couldn't see the benefits from it. But I don't know what they really think.

What organizations from outside have come to visit the group?

Only people from the administration.

And what do they do when they are here?

They ask us if we want seeds. If we need help or not. They make promise but they don't come.

I see. What I do not understand is why, if you are a member of a agricultural group, you continue to farm individually as well?

I have to do that because what we produce here is not enough for eating so I have to farm at home also.

So at home do you also grow vegetables or something different than here on the farm?

I grow sweet potatoes and cassava.

Okay, I would like next to ask you some more general questions. What are the things in life that are important to you?

It is farming because I depend on it for living.

What do you think are the characteristics of a good mother?

A good mother is not selfish. When the children have problems she has to talk with her husband to find solutions.

What do you think are the characteristics of a good wife?

She obeys her husband. She has to respect her husband. When she talks to her husband she can't talk in a loud voice.

What do you think are the advantages of being married?

Being married makes people respect me and no-one will accuse me of trying to steal another woman's man.

What do you think are the disadvantages of being married?

He has to take care of you and when he doesn't do that you may think that it would be better if you weren't married. If he works and takes his money and give other women you may think that.

Okay, I see. The next questions are more about you and your husband's land...Where did you and your husband get the land you farm on?

The land belongs to my father-in-law.

Do you and your husband have papers that state the land belongs to you or not?

No we haven't.

111

Do you think it is important to have these papers or not?

I think it is important and I am trying to organize some papers but until now I didn't succeed.

Why…is it difficult to get the papers?

It is difficult because we have been trying to do this for too much time and also because they want money in order for you to get this papers.

Why do you think it is important to get these papers?

That is the law. The government says we must have these papers. If something happens to the land for example, in case that the government needs the land, if I have these papers they will have to give me another land but if I haven't it, I may loose the land.

Okay, I understand. Tell me, what will happen to the land when your husband dies?

I may stay in the land because I have children and that land will belong to them.

So when you and your husband die your children will get the land. Which child will inherit the land?

I don't know. I think we could talk about it and decide who would live there, because we may give it to the younger but he could say that he doesn't want to live here.

Will you consider both your sons and daughters or will the land go only to one of the sons?

We will give it to the boy because the girl would marry and live with her husband.

I see. What will happen to the land when you and your husband get a divorce?

If we got divorced because of my fault I could leave the land and find any other place to stay but if we get divorced because of his fault I would go to the courts and try to solve the problem in order to have the land.

Okay. So now tell me a bit about the farming at home...who does what work?

Now he is sick so he can't do farming.

Can you make your own decisions about the farming or do you have to discuss with your husband?

I can make my own decisions.

And if somebody wanted to buy or borrow your land, who will decide if this is possible, you or your husband?

Me and my husband will talk about it and decide together.

And what about money, do you and your husband make decisions about money together or do you decide about your own money?

I show him the money that we make and then we decide together what to do with this.

At home, who does what work in the house?

Me and the children, my husband does not work in the house.

Do you think that you and your husband worked equally hard or not?

He worked harder than me, he was working in the mines in South Africa were he did hard work. But I feel that I am stronger than him, emotionally, because I can have babies. I think that women are emotionally more strong because when they are ill they don't show that they are feeling pain and even if the husband is very sick, they cant leave him alone in that situation.

Do you think that groups like this can help women?

These groups can help because when we have problems, social problems, we can come here and talk to the other collogues and they somehow help us to say what we have to do and what we can't do.

3. Interview three: Lisha

How long have you been living here in Catembe Lisha?

Since last year.

In what year where you borne?

1964

And how many children do you have?

Three

How long have you been married?

Since this year.

And how long have you been a member of this group?

From this year.

What were the reasons you joined the group initially?

I came here because I wanted work. I lost my husband. I couldn't continue living in Maputo so I came here.

Where did you hear about this group?

My new husband told me about it but by that time he wasn't my husband he was still my boyfriend.

What do you think are the main benefits of being a member of a group like this?

Now I can get some money from selling the vegetables we produce here.

Do you think that there are any problems in the group and if so, what are they?

There are no problems.

Okay so tell me, what are the things that you do when you come to the farm?

We look if the things are growing up or not and irrigate.

How do you decide who does what work?

The leader is who decides but when she is not here we come and do what we think must be done.

Okay and what happens now in the group if somebody has a complaint or is unhappy about something, what do you do?

We have to come here and talk to our leader.

And have you done it in the past?

Since I have been here I haven't heard about any problems.

Before Maggy and I came, how did the group manage the money that came in from selling the vegetables?

I don't know.

Okay that is fine, I was just wondering. Tell me, what does your husband feel about you being a member of this group?

He is happy about it.

And other people...what do you think other people in the community think of the group?

I didn't hear anything.

Okay, what organizations from outside have come to visit the group?

They come but they are only members of Frelimo such as OMM and the administration of Catembe.

And what do they do when they are here?

They only come and talk to the leader not with us. I don't know what they talk.

115

I see there are no men in the group. I was wondering is there a specific reason for this or not?

I don't know.

Okay. Can you tell me if you have your own land, why do you also come to farm here at the association?

I want to have the friendship because I don't have family here so these people here will help in case of an emergency.

What are the things that are important to you in your life?

The most important for me is farming.

What do you think are the characteristics of a good mother?

I don't live with my children but when they need me, when there is any problem, they always call me and I go there to stay with them.

And a good wife?

A good wife must be respectful and obedient, she has to do whatever he asks her to do.

Okay. What do you think are the advantages of being married?

I am respected because I am married. The advantage is because if you haven't have a husband many people may think that you have a bad life and if a married woman see you talking with her husband she may think you are to take him from her.

And what in your opinion are the disadvantages of being married?

When there is no comprehension I may think that it would be better if I wasn't married because I will be alone and I will not have to discuss with him anything.

Okay. Now the next questions are about you and your husband's land. Where did you and your husband get the land you farm on?

It belonged to my father-in-law.

116

What will happen to the land when your husband dies?

It will continue belonging to me.

And if you got a divorce?

If we would get a divorce I will go to the court, it is for them to decide who will stay in the land or if my husband has to buy a place for me.

To what court will you go to?

I will go to the court here in Catembe.

And what will happen to the land if you and your husband die?

It will go to the children.

All of them or only one, for example the oldest or the youngest?

We will choose one of the children but I don't know of we could choose the oldest or the youngest.

Does it matter if it is a boy or a girl?

We will give to the boy.

Do you and your husband have papers that state that the land belongs to you?

We have.

You have. Okay, so tell me what will happen if somebody from outside came and said that they want your piece of land?

I would not accept it even if he talked about borrowing it or buying it because I have children and the children must gain the land.

Who would make the decision to sell or borrow your land to someone else?

I would not accept it if my husband wanted to sell or borrow the land to somebody else.

117

I see. Tell me a bit about your farming at home. Who does what work on the farm?

I do the farming.

And your husband, what does he do?

He doesn't do the farming because he works at Maputo

Can you do what you want on the farm or do you first have to ask your husband?

I have to discuss with him.

Do you have to discuss everything with him or only certain things?

I don't have to tell him everything, only what I think is important. But he does not decide about anything about my farming. I just tell him to know not because he had any decision in my farming.

So you just tell him to know?

Yes, just to inform him.

Okay and what about the money...do you and your husband make decisions about money together or do each of you decide about your own money?

I have to tell him about my money but I decide what to do.

So also just to inform him?

I have to tell him because he knows I win money and he must know something about it. I can not work and not tell him how much money I win.

Do you also know how much money your husband wins?

Yes I know.

I see. And at home, who does what work in the house?

I do everything alone.

Do you think that being a member of a group like this can help women?

I think that it can be helpful because we can talk about it and we can change experience and in that way it will be useful because if maybe one or two women may have the same problem and in the group we could be able to discuss it and get a solution.

That makes sense. One last question I almost forgot to ask, do you think that you and your husband work equally hard?

I think that he works harder than me because he goes to work at night.

4. Interview four: Gina

How long have you been living in Catembe Gina?

I was borne here in Catembe.

In what year were you borne?

In 1968

How long have you been married?

Since 1992

How many children do you have?

I have four children.

How long have you been a member of this group?

I started last year so only one year.

Where did you hear about this group?

I was invited by a friend.

What were the reasons you joined the group initially?

I joined the group only because of sewing. I wanted to learn sewing but when I came here they told me that I couldn't do sewing, it was farming and I accepted that.

I see there are no men in the group, is there a specific reason for this or not?

When I came to the group there were two men but they are no longer here because they though that they will win money or rice but as they didn't get it, they decided to leave.

So can anyone be a member of the group?

Yes, any women who want can come. But because some people in the group wish that they will have some income and they don't have it, they don't stay here for too much

time. They think they will get money or rice but they can't get it. Even in the case of chicken they promised to give them chicken but they didn't get it.

I see. Okay, so what then do you think are the main benefits of being a member?

I am happy being part of this group because we can get money to buy something for our house. And the group now is different because we have benefited from this. Other times we use to grow up the vegetables and steal it because we couldn't get money but now we do not need to do that. We just sell it and have the money.

Do you think that there are any problems in the group and if so, what are they?

We haven't many problems but some ladies do not want to work. And in that case we try to talk to them but if they don't accept it we just leave them.

How are decisions made on the farm?

When we have money each person can decides what he wants to work but when it is only one group in the association having the money, they go and buy things and after that they decide who is going to do what.

I don't understand, can you repeat that?

If a person has money here in the group he may buy any crops he want but if, in the association we are tied into groups, if only the one group have the money they will decide what crops to buy and to grow up.

So the group that has money will decide what to buy and grow up?

Yes they will buy and divide by the other group. In that case we will grow up what the other group buys.

Is it one person in the group who decides or does the group decide together?

It is the group who decides.

121

If there is something that you are unhappy about in the group, what do you do?

We talk about it and decide why it can't be this crop being growing up in that place and the other and we make a decision.

How does your husband feel about you being a member of this group?

I talked to him and he accepted.

So he has no problem with you being a part of this group?

No

What do you think other people in the community think of the group?

They think we are doing nothing because we won't get money so it is a kind of joke, we come here only to play…just to joke.

What organizations from outside have come to visit the group?

People from the administration of Catembe have come here to see what we do.

And what do they do when they come here?

They brought crops, carrots and cabbage

Is that all?

Yes

Okay. I would like to ask you a few more general questions. For example, what things are important to you in life?

It is farming because it helps me to provide food for my family.

What do you think are the characteristics of a good mother?

A good mother has to talk to her children and tell them that they must learn something to survive because today you have your parents but tomorrow you won't have them so you have to be prepared to live.

What do you think are the characteristics of a good wife?

A good wife has to take care of her husband, his clothes, food…

Okay, two more general questions. What do you think are the advantages of being married?

It is important because you will have someone to look after you and maybe when I am sick my husband may give me money or take me to the hospital.

What do you think are the disadvantages of being married?

When you suffer a lot because you may have a husband but he doesn't give you money and he doesn't give you food and clothes. In that case a person might think that it will be better if she was alone because when you are alone someone may help you but when you are married people look at you and think she has a husband so we don't have to help her.

Thanks Gina. I would also like to ask you a few questions about you and your husband's land. Where did you and your husband get the land you farm on?

We got it from the government.

Do you and your husband have papers that state that the land belongs to you or not?

We have. It is important to have the papers because sometimes you may live in the land that belongs to your parents' family line and then one day somebody appears and say this is my land and you have to give it back to me. In that case they can't do anything. They have to leave the land because they have no papers that say the land belongs to them.

I understand. What will happen to your land when your husband dies?

It depends on his family because sometimes when a husband dies they just come and tell you to go back to your parents' house, this is our land, but I would not accept that.

What will you do?

I will go to the court because the land belongs to us.

123

And if you got a divorce?

I will fight for the land, I will not accept to leave.

What will happen to the land when both you and your husband dies?

It will go to the youngest boy.

Okay, so tell me a bit about the land at home…who does what work there?

I do it alone because my husband works in the Polana hotel.

Can you make all the decisions on the farm or do you have to discuss with your husband?

I have to talk to him first but when there are things that I think are not important then I do without consulting him.

And at home, who does the housework?

I do all the housework myself.

How do you guys decide about money at home?

I show him the money but he doesn't take it, I decide what to do with the money.

If somebody wanted to buy or borrow your land, who will decide if this is possible or not?

My husband will decide if we may sell it or borrow it, but we will talk about it first.

Do you feel that you and your husband work equally hard or not?

I think that women work more harder than men. They have to get up early in the morning and do all these things that the men don't want to do.

Do you think that groups like this can help women?

Yes, we can come here and discuss our problems and try to find solutions. But a problem that may happen is that people might talk too much and your husband can hear that you say bad things about him.

Yes that makes sense. Thanks Gina. One last question, why do you work here on the farm and still have your own land?

I like farming here also because staying at home you get nothing. Here I can make money and the crops that I grow on my own land are different from the crops that we grow here.

5. Interview five: Matilda

How long have you been living in Catembe Matilda?

I was borne here.

When were you borne?

In 1971

How long have you been living with your partner?

For nine years.

And how many children do you have?

I have two.

How long have you been a member of the group?

For three years.

What were the reasons you joined the group initially?

I heard about it from my mother in law. They were talking about creating chicken and we knew we wouldn't win money but at the end of the month we will get something that could help us.

I see there are no men in the group, is there a specific reason for that or not?

We had two men but they were lazy. They didn't stay here for too much time.

Can any women be a member of the group?

Anyone can become a member of the group but if they don't get money from this other women do not want to come to here.

I see. So what do you think then are the main benefits of being a member?

This year we are having some income but in the other years we have nothing we were just working but we didn't succeed to get anything.

126

Do you think that there are any problems in the group?

We don't have any problems.

No problems...Okay, tell me what are the things that you do when you come to the farm?

Nothing specific. When we have to plant we come here and do that, we plant or we irrigate. After farming we always have a discussion.

And what do you talk about in these discussions?

We always talk about creating chicken because that is what we want. We are only farming because we don't have the chickens to create.

I see. How are decisions made on the farm?

It is the group leader. But if we are not happy with her decisions we have the opportunity to say that.

Can you give me an example of a decision in the past you were not happy with?

I don't know.

That's okay, I was just wondering. How did the group manage the money that came in from selling the vegetables?

Before you came we did not know what to do and how to do with the money.

And do you think it is better now?

Yes

How does your husband feel about you being a member of this group?

I talked with him and he accepted.

What do you think do other people in the community think of the group?

They think we are wasting time because we are not getting money here. But it is okay because what we grow up is good for us, we take it to our homes and our husbands.

What organizations from outside have come to visit the group?

We have visits from other groups but not from the administration. The person who helped us is the other administrator but he is not here anymore, we have a new one. When the other groups want to come here they tell them not to come because we are not working, we just stay here, we are lazy, we are doing nothing. And the other people come and promise things that they don't keep.

That is not nice…Tell me Matilda, if you belong to an agricultural group, why do you continue to grow your own stuff?

Because I don't grow the same crops. They are different. In my farm I can grow up whatever I want but here no. They are things that must be grown.

I see. Okay, I want to ask you a couple of general questions. What things are important to you in life?

It is working because if I work I don't have to steal things. I just work.

What do you think are the characteristics of a good wife?

A good wife must be obedient and respect her husband.

And what do you think are the characteristics of a good mother?

A good mother is a person who takes care of her children and her husband and takes the time to talk with them and to joke with them.

What do you think are the advantages of being married?

Married women are respected and has a name because of her husband.

128

What do you think are the disadvantages of being married?

The disadvantage is because you have to depend on your husband while that single women may do whatever they want. They may have business, they may prostitute themselves and that is a way of having money. Married women can't do that.

Yes I understand that, it makes sense. Okay, some last questions on you and your husband's land. Where did you and your husband get the land you farm on?

We got the land from his father.

What will happen to the land when your husband dies?

I will stay in the land but now when we talk he use to tell me that if something happens to him I can't accept somebody telling me that I should leave the land.

What will you do if somebody came to you and said but he wants the land?

It will be difficult. We would go to the court to talk about it and solve the problem.

What court will you go to?

I will go to the court in Catembe.

What will happen to the land when both you and your husband dies?

The land will belong to the children.

To the boy children or the girl children?

To the boy children.

To all of them or only one?

I don't know but I think that we could talk about it when the children grow up. They will decide who will stay in the land.

Okay. What will happen to the land when you and your husband get a divorce?

I can not leave the land. I will talk to him first because when we got married he had nothing and so I can't just leave the land. He will have to buy a house or something for me.

If somebody came to you and said that they wanted to buy or borrow your land, who will decide if you can do that? Will it be you or your husband?

He will decide, but we will talk about it first.

Do you have any papers that state that the land belongs to you?

We have

Okay, we are almost finished. Tell me a bit about how you farm at home, who does what work on the farm?

I farm alone even if he is on holiday he doesn't help me.

Can you then do what you want on the farm or do you first have to discuss with him everything?

I have to discuss with him first.

And money...do you and your husband make decisions about money together or do you decide about your own money?

I don't give him the money and I don't ask his opinion. I do what I want with the money. I buy clothes for me and the children.

And who does what work at home?

I do all the housework alone even if he is at home. Even if I am sick he says I have to work because I am there for that. I think women are superior because they will do any kind of work in order to help her children and her husband. They will work hard because they just want to help her husband and children.

So do you think that you and your husband work equally hard?

No, I work harder than him.

Do you think groups like this can help women?

We can talk about it and this could be a way of helping each other.

6. Interview six: Maria

How long have you been living in Catembe Maria?

I don't remember but it was before 1975

Can you remember in what year you were born?

I don't know.

How long have you been married?

I don't know because I didn't study I don't know about numbers.

That is fine, don't worry about it. It is not important anyway. How many children do you have?

Five

Okay and how long have you been a member of the group?

I have been a member for three years.

What were the reasons you joined the group initially?

I wanted help. I think that being a member of this group could help to fight poverty because sometimes they can donate food and that is good for me because ***

Where did you hear about the group?

I new about it because of the dancing group, they use to dance here so I heard about it.

Now that you have been a member of the group for some time, what do you think are the main benefits of being a member?

We sell the vegetables we grow here and that is good for us because we have money and that money we use at home.

Do you think that there are any problems in the group?
We don't have any problems at the moment but when we have problems we use to concentrate in one place and talk about it.

Can you give me an example of in the past when you did that?
We have never had any problems.

What are the things that you do when you come to the farm?
We plant the vegetables and we irrigate. We clear the land to grow more stuff.

How are decisions made on the farm for example who decides who does what work and what vegetables you have to grow and sell?
We have a meeting and decide for how much we are going sell and how we are going to do it.

I see. And before Maggy and I came, how did the group work with the money.
In the other years we have not been benefiting because we had thieves so what we grow up *** and take it. But this year we are having something.

If there is something in the group that you are unhappy about, what do you do?
We talk about it. But when we talk to people who do wrong things and they do not change their behaviour we leave them and continue working.

So you talk about it if there is something that you are unhappy about?
Yes

How does your husband feel about you being a member of this group?
I told him and he accepted.

What do you think other people in the community think of the group?
They think it is a kind of joke, we are playing here and we have nothing serious to do here.

133

And other organizations…What organizations from outside have come to visit the group?

The people that come here are from Frelimo.

What do they do when they are here?

They promised to bring chicken but up until now they didn't bring it. They just tell us to continue working.

Tell me Maria, why if you belong to a agricultural group, do you continue to grow your own stuff?

I am in the association because of money, they promised to help us when this association started. The money I get from my farm is not enough I have to come here also.

I see. I was also wondering why there are no men in the association?

There are no men here because they think that they won't earn anything from being members of the association.

Okay, now some more general questions. What are the things in life that are important to you?

I think farming is the most important thing I have.

What do you think are the characteristics of a good mother?

To talk with your children about what is good and bad things and how they must behave.

What do you are the characteristics of a good wife?

A good wife takes care of her husband.

In what way should she take care of her husband?

Give him food, keep his clothes clean…

What do you think are the advantages of being married?

It is important for me to have a husband because I am no longer in my parents' house.

Is it important then because he will take care of you, is that correct?

I don't care about that, even if I have to suffer with him I will stay with him because women who don't have a husband is not respected.

What do you think are the disadvantages of being married?

We only have some financial problems because there is no work. Our living is only based in farming.

Okay, thank you Maria. I just want to ask you some last questions about you and your husband's land. Where did you and your husband get the land you farm on?

We have it for a long time. We got it in that time before the Independence from the government.

What will happen to the land when your husband dies?

The land will be mine.

What will happen to the land when both you and your husband dies?

The land will be for my children.

Does the land belong to all your children, or only one of them?

Who will benefit from the land will be the younger if it is a boy.

And if it is a girl?

The girl may have the land but only if she does not marry.

What will happen to the land when you and your husband get a divorce?

If we get a divorce I have to leave the land.

And if somebody from outside came and said that he wanted your land?

We couldn't accept.

135

What will you do?

We may go to the courts….we have been living on that land for too much time.

Tell me a bit about how you farm, who does what work?

My husband does not work in the field, only me. He stays at home and goes to fish.

So can you then do what you want of the farm or do you have to discuss with your husband?

I don't have to ask him what to do.

And if somebody wanted to buy or borrow your land, who will decide if this is possible, you or your husband?

We will decide together.

And what about money, do you and your husband decide about money together or do you decide about your own money?

If I win some money I will show him but I can decide what to do with the money.

In the house, who does what work?

My husband does not work in the house…who helps with the children is the younger sister.

Do you feel that you and your husband work equally hard?

I think that I work harder than him because sometimes I have to wake up very early while he is still sleeping, because of the water. ***

Do you think that groups like this can benefit women?

Yes we could talk about it.

136