Agricultural Productivity, Land Access and Gender Equality

Based on a minor field study conducted in Zambia 2013
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Abstract

Africa’s agricultural productivity is the lowest in the world. At the same time the largest proportion of poor people live in rural areas where they are dependent upon agriculture for their survival. Agriculture is thus an essential to consider when fighting poverty. Women make up 70-80 % of the labour force in the agricultural sector and produce about 80 % of the food for the household. Women are at the same time dependent upon their husbands for access to agricultural land and financial resources. Despite the important role of agriculture for poverty reduction, the sector continues to lack attention from both governments and international organizations, and the fact that gender discrimination is a cause of poverty is rarely raised.

This thesis aims to investigate, through a field study in Zambia, which conditions and circumstances that create low agricultural productivity, based on how the peasants themselves perceive it. The paper aims to problematize the question of low agricultural productivity by looking at the issue of land access and gender equality. This thesis takes its methodological point of departure in a qualitative ethnographic field study with semi-structured interviews. In order to analyze the peasants situation Sustainable Rural Livelihood has been used as an analytical framework.

The result of this thesis shows that peasants’ productivity mainly is hampered by the fact that they lack access to productive and financial resources. The overall difficult macro-economic situation in Zambia, together with the fact that investments from the government in the agricultural sector and in rural development is small, contributes to a situation that hinders peasants’ opportunities to increase productivity with other means than just working harder. Furthermore, the result shows that women experience gender discrimination in accessing land, credits and education. The difference between men and women is structural and is the result of unequal access to resources, which have given men more power and influence. Hence, women have become dependent upon their husbands to gain access to land and financial resources, implying that women become both vulnerable and isolated. Access to land would strengthen women’s economical dependency and give them the possibility to control the income and investment made in agriculture.
Keywords: Zambia, agricultural productivity, land access, gender equality, Sustainable Rural Livelihood.
Abstrakt

Afrikas jordbruksproduktivitet är lägst i hela världen, samtidigt som den största delen av fattiga människor bor på landsbygden där de är beroende av jordbruket för sin överlevnad. Jordbruket är därmed en central fråga för att kunna bekämpa fattigdom. Kvinnor utgör 70-80% av arbetskraften inom jordbrukssektorn och producerar cirka 80% av maten till familjen. Samtidigt är kvinnor beroende av sina män för tillgång till jordbruksmark och finansiella resurser. Trots jordbrukets viktiga roll för fattigdomsbekämpning fortsätter sektorn att bli åsidosatt av både regeringar och internationella organisationer, samtidigt som bristen på könsdiskriminering som en orsak till fattigdom sällan tas upp.


Resultatet av denna studie visar att bönders produktivitet framförallt hindras av det faktum att de saknar tillgångar till produktaiv och finansiella resurser. Den övergripande svåra makroekonomiska situationen i Zambia, tillsammans med att investeringar från regeringen i jordbrukssektorn och landsbygdsutveckling är små, bidrar till en situation som hämmer böndernas möjligheter att öka sin produktivitet på andra sätt än genom att endast arbeta hårdare. Vidare pekar resultatet av denna studie på att kvinnor upplever könsdiskriminering vad gäller tillgången till land, krediter och utbildning. Skillnaden mellan män och kvinnor är strukturell och bottnar i en ojämlik tillgång till resurser, vilket gett män mer makt och inflytande. Detta har gjort att kvinnor i nuläget är beroende av sina män för tillgång till land och finansiella resurser, vilket innebär att de blir både sårbara och isolerade. Tillgång till land skulle stärka kvinnors ekonomiska oberoende och ge dem möjligheten att själva kontrollera intäkterna och investeringarna i jordbruket.

Nyckelord: Zambia, jordbruksproduktivitet, tillgång till land, jämställdhet, Sustainable Rural Livelihood.
Abbreviations

ABF Agri-Business Forum
ACF Agricultural Consultative Forum
ASIP Agricultural Sector Investment Programme
CAZ Cotton Association of Zambia
CF Conservation Farming
CFU Conservation Farming Unit
DFID Department for International Development
Et al Et alia (and others)
ESAAANet The East and Southern Africa Agribusiness Network
FAO Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations
FDI Foreign Direct Investment
FISP The Farmer Input Support Program
FRA Food Reserve Agency
HIV/AIDS Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IC Information Centre
IDA International Development Association
IFAD International Fund for Agricultural Development
IMF International Monetary Fund
MACO Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives
MFS Minor Field Study
NGO Non-Governmental Organization
OECD Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OECD-DAC Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development – Development Assistance Committee
PDFA Petauke District Farmers Association
PRA Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRSP Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SAP Structural Adjustment Programme
SRL Sustainable Rural Livelihoods
UNDP United Nations Development Programme
USD United States Dollar
ZLA  Zambia Land Alliance
ZNFU  Zambia National Farmers Union
WFC  Women for Change
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1. Introduction

In this section the outline of the study will be provided through an introduction and a presentation of the research problem. Thereafter the purpose, research question and the scientific debate for the topic will be presented. The chapter ends by providing the relevance of the study, delimitations and the disposition of the report.

1.1 Introduction

About 70% of Sub-Saharan Africa’s poor people live in rural areas, where they are dependent upon agriculture for food and livelihoods (IFAD\(^1\), 2014a). Africa’s agricultural productivity is the lowest in the world. Many are not able to feed themselves, leaving them vulnerable to shocks, while domestic food production growth has remained low, about 2.7%, which is barely above the population growth rate. At the same time food imports have progressively continued to increase during the last decades. Africa’s food trade deficit, emerging in the early seventies, has grown fast and exceeded 13 billion USD\(^2\) in 2005. Food imports consist mainly of food desires for the growing middle class. This is a severe problem, especially for cash-strapped countries, since the increase in food imports removes money from other development projects without resolving food insecurity for the poorest (Rakotoarisoa, et al\(^3\), 2011: 1-5). Since the largest portions of food insecure people live in rural areas, sustainable poverty reduction will be a remote goal to reach, if living conditions are not transformed.

IFAD and FAO\(^4\) write that agriculture-led development is considered to be the sector that can generate the highest improvements for poor people, generating economic growth and reducing the burden of food imports. However, since the eighties, aid to agricultural development assistance, aiming at long-term poverty reduction, has fallen by about 50%, implying a clear neglect of the sector (IFAD, 2014a; FAO, 2002a). A study from OECD\(^5\) (2009: 11) shows that nearly half of all agricultural aid is given in loan form, at the same time as the aid is not well-targeted to countries with highest malnutrition.

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\(^1\) International Fund for Agricultural Development  
\(^2\) United States Dollar  
\(^3\) Et alia (and others)  
\(^4\) Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations  
\(^5\) Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
After the economic crisis in the late seventies, most African governments were forced to take structural adjustment loans from IMF\(^6\). One of the requirements of the SAP\(^7\), was that poor countries were no longer allowed to subsidize their agricultural production, something that is broadly used in the western world (Gordon & Gordon, 2007: 87). No country has ever experienced mass poverty reduction without a broad focus on the agricultural sector. When China, for example, increased their spending on agriculture, productivity increased and poverty dropped sharply (Chapoto, 2010: 5-6).

Zambia, a landlocked country in central Africa, has high potential for agriculture production, although a situation of stagnation and low productivity is prevailing. In 2010, about 64 % of Zambia’s population worked within the agricultural sector. At the same time the rural poverty is significant, with a poverty rate at 77 %, especially among households headed by women (IFAD, 2013b). Zambia’s PRSP\(^8\), adopted by the government in May 2002, recognizes agriculture as a key priority for poverty reduction. However, agricultural development has remained a low concern for the government’s spending (IMF, 2007: 23). Government spending on agriculture decreased from 6.1 % of the total budget in 2012, to 5.8 % in 2013 (Kuteya, 2012: 3). The issue about funding to the agricultural sector is prominent, although, aid to the agricultural sector in Sub-Saharan Africa has declined by 43 % since the eighties (OECD-DAC\(^9\), 2011: 1).

### 1.2 Research problem

Women make up 70-80 % of the labour force in the agricultural sector and produce about 80 % of the staple crops that mostly are used for household consumption, and half of all cash crops (Gordon & Gordon, 2007: 300). The major responsibility for food production, hence the food security for poor households, are carried by women. In spite of women’s important role in agricultural production, women are still held in the background.

Many studies show that gender equality is important for overall development, as well as development within the agricultural sector for food security. Reports and research about how to support women is not lacking, but despite this, progress is excessively slow and women’s

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\(^6\) International Monetary Fund  
\(^7\) Structural Adjustment Programme  
\(^8\) Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper  
\(^9\) Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development – Development Assistance Committee
own opinion is heard and listened to far too rarely. Society’s patriarchal structures tend to disfavor women, and are additionally reinforced with the foreign paragon that men are owners or have the right to land (We Effect, 2011: 9). The question of land access is an important issue when discussing agricultural productivity, although it is at the same time a highly controversial question. A number of different definitions of land access are used, often in conjunction with each other, despite their different meanings. More neo-liberal proponents often argue that private ownership of land is vital for productivity since it encourages investment. FAO (2002b: 2) argues that ownership of land is important when increasing agricultural productivity, since it works as a collector of other assets such as bank loans, water and electricity. Important to recognize is that access to land both can imply private ownership and the right to use the land.

We Effect argues that control over land, which imply the right to use land and not exclusively ownership of land, is vital for women’s economical independence since land is the basis of producing food and gaining an income. Following customary laws, where men are regarded as the head of the household, women in Zambia do not enjoy the same right to land as men do (We Effect, 2011: 8). The question of why there is such a low productivity in the African female dominated agricultural sector is of interest in order to reverse this situation. Within the question of productivity, the question about what impact land access has for productivity is of interest in order to decrease the number of poor households.

1.3 Aim

The aim of this thesis is to achieve a broad understanding of the conditions and circumstances creating low agricultural productivity, as the peasants¹⁰ themselves perceive it. To uncover the issue of low agricultural productivity, this study aims to problematize the issue of increased productivity by looking at aspects such as access to land and gender equality.

1.4 Research question

The aim of this field study leads to the following research questions that will guide this study:

¹⁰ In this thesis the word peasant is used since it often indicates a person who cultivates a small-scale area. The word farmer more often refers to a person who cultivates a larger area and has farming as a professional and salary-paid occupation.
1. Which conditions and circumstances influence women’s possibilities to increase productivity?

2. Are women more restricted from land access than men, and what are women and men’s thoughts on this issue?

3. What impact does land access have for productivity from the actor’s own perspective and could it increase food security, hence be a means of poverty reduction?

1.5 Literature review

There are different arguments to why the situation of low agricultural productivity persists, but one of the main arguments is the issue about land access. Gordon and Gordon (2007: 300) argue that in many African countries, women have low access or control of land. Several studies, as for instance from FAO (2011: 3-5) and the World Bank (2008: 2-3), conclude that private ownership, as often advocated by the World Bank, constitutes one of the most important aspects when increasing agricultural productivity and farm income. Private ownership of land makes land to a commodity that can be traded. The argument for secure land access is advocated since it is considered to encourage investment. FAO (2002b) writes that:

Throughout history, land has been recognized as a primary source of wealth, social status, and power. It is the basis for shelter, food, and economic activities; it is the most significant provider of employment opportunities in rural areas and is an increasingly scarce resource in urban areas. Access to water and other resources, as well as to basic services such as sanitation and electricity, is often conditioned by access to rights in land (FAO, 2002b: 3).

Quisumbing and Pandolfelli (2009: 2) argue that women often are disadvantaged in both statutory and customary land tenure systems, which put the women at a highly vulnerable position. The argument about land ownership should be understood in contrast to what Gordon and Gordon (2007: 298) write about the damaging colonial land policies that was introduced to ensure private ownership in western commercial terms, while the African land
tenure system that ensured everyone’s access to land now become replaced with private ownership. When ownership rights were redefined in more western commercial terms, it meant that men could take decision and gain profit from sale or acquisition of family property. Women now had to work for their husbands since they had no rights to own wealth-producing property.

One can understand that Gordon and Gordon’s (2007: 298) argument is that land access is crucial for survival, but instead, that private ownership has increased patriarchal structures from Europe and reinforced gender inequality. Ghezae et al argues in line with Gordon and Gordon (2007) and writes that with the neo-liberal reforms with SAP, privatization has become advocated strongly, which “has been criticized, on both social and economic grounds, with the evidence increasingly challenging underlying Western legal assumptions about land” (Ghezae et al, 2009: 40-41).

Following this argument one can conclude that access to and control, but not ownership, of land becomes a more central question. Gordon and Gordon (2007: 298) argue that the colonial time introduced unequal gender and family structures, which has undermined women’s opportunities for economic well-being. The low productivity within Africa’s female dominated agriculture could be seen within a framework of unequal gender structures. The question of low agricultural productivity would, in this wider perspective, be if more equal gender structures, hence more equal decision-making and participating of women, could lead to increased productivity. An isolation of land access as the focus could become a too narrow perspective in order to understand the full scope of the circumstances, conditions and structural background factors that influence women’s possibilities to increase productivity.

Cooper (2012: 642) stresses that feminized poverty often point at women’s low access to assets and resources. Women’s ownership of land is considered to lead to improved productivity and increased living standards for the whole household, as well as more gender equality – an argument that has become supported by international development strategies. Åkesson and Reisenfeldt (2009: 1) explain that economic empowerment of women is one of the single most important factors contributing to more equal gender relations. Control of land should be seen as a mean to increase economic empowerment of women since it “can serve as collateral for credit and as a means of holding savings for the future”, but not as an end in itself, Åkesson and Reisenfeldt (2009: 1) further explain.
With this in mind, two main arguments about Africa’s low agricultural productivity could be distinguished. The low productivity within the agriculture appears to be based upon two, at least, interlinked aspects beyond the unequal gender structures in the society. One, being the issue of land ownership in general, and the other being how and why women are restricted in access, control, and management of land.

1.6 Relevance of the study in the context of Zambia

The relevance of this research problem is interesting in the case of Zambia. Zambia has been a peaceful country since the independence and has a huge potential for agricultural production with one of Africa’s best land and water endowments, but still only 15% of the arable land is cultivated (Bonaglia, 2008: 14). Although, the economy of Zambia is one of the fastest growing economies in Africa, with a 7.3% growth in 2012, it is not benefitting the peasants in a sufficient degree, and little progress has been made in reducing poverty (World Bank, 2012). Zambia’s PRSP acknowledges land access for women as important for increased gender equality, but the result has been limited. Furthermore, the paper recognizes the need to diversify Zambia’s economy from merely mining and invest in agriculture through infrastructure development, subsidizing seeds and fertilizer. Although, the result from the PRSP has been limited and lack of funding prevail in the agricultural sector, especially for smallholder farms where women often operate (IMF & IDA\textsuperscript{11}, 2004: 5-9).

In present time, there seems to be a division in the debate between large, commercial farms and small subsistence farmers/peasants and which one of these the government should invest in. In a wider perspective, the question of land ownership could be seen as a debate between liberalization where the issue of privatization and open market is of importance, while others highlights a more state-led development with development from within the country followed by investment in agriculture that could make the country independent from food imports. Furthermore, the debate about the Africans living in poverty seems often to focus on governments and their development strategies, and how to efficiently use the donor community. Research about gender equality and land access as a means of poverty reduction often seem to stop as recognized as needed but not furthermore evaluated, especially not among the grassroots actors themselves, something this thesis will provide additional knowledge about.

\textsuperscript{11} International Development Association
1.7 Delimitations

As this thesis is an original work, no chapter explicitly aiming at giving the reader a literature review will be provided. The literature review in the introductory chapter however gives the reader an overview of the contemporary research about land access and agricultural productivity. The focus for this thesis is to evaluate the aspects reproducing low agricultural productivity from the perspective of the peasants themselves, together with views from organizations and government institutions in Zambia. Research is obviously limited by time and resources, which is the case for this study as well. Even though it would be relevant and interesting, no comparison with other countries will be done. This study is carried out in a limited number of villages with restricted numbers of interviews, due to the limited amount of time available for the field study, which moreover will be a limitation, especially within a cultural and demographic diverse country as Zambia. This study will not assess economic or political reforms per se, but rather assess the impact economic and political processes have on the agricultural sector and the individual farmer. When analyzing economic and political processes, the emphasis will not be on the process of the on-going development within Zambia, but rather the outcome and the implication for the small-scale peasants.

My aim is to create an understanding of a social structure. However, social structures do not exist by themselves, but are partly identified by the researcher. Aspers calls material that is created directly from primary data first-order constructions. First-order construction is the notions and perceptions that I as a researcher see and uses in the field when interacting with my stakeholders. Second-order construction is the researcher’s efforts to understand the empirical material collected (Aspers, 2011: 46-49). Out of this, the delimitations will thus be that the result is limited to my own interpretation.

1.8 Disposition

The report is divided in six main chapters. The first three chapters include the introduction, a description of the methodological point of departure and a presentation of the analytical framework. Chapter four is the main part that presents and discusses the research result from the field study. That chapter is divided into two subchapters. These results are then brought together for an analysis in chapter five. The last chapter concludes the study with conclusions and recommendations.
2. Methodological design

In this section the point of departure for methodological design of the research procedure for this study will be explained. The method used in the collection of data as well as an account of the interview technique will be presented. Lastly, the validity, reliability and the limitations of this study will be elaborated and presented.

2.1 Method

The methodological point of departure for this research is a qualitative ethnographically inspired method, anchored in semi-structured interviews with mainly female and male peasants. A semi-structured interview technique has been used since it is suited for a bottom-up approach when collecting information from stakeholders. The field study will have the women, who are living in rural areas with low access to land, as primary stakeholders. The point of departure for the interviews will hence, as Mikkelsen (2005: 89) writes, be ‘chains of interviews’ with different key individuals.

Working directly with stakeholders, as this study aims to do, is well described in the method PRA\textsuperscript{12}, which can be explained as a set of techniques one can use when gathering information in rural settings (Mikkelsen, 2005: 62-63). Semi-structured interviews, triangulation, learning from the stakeholders and a review of secondary sources, are techniques following PRA and are used in this study. In this study, triangulation implies that the research results from the field study will be analyzed within the analytical framework SRL\textsuperscript{13} and supported by secondary sources. A critical approach to previous research is of great importance when doing a secondary analysis for the study's validity and reliability (Bryman & Bell, 2012: 237-238).

This field study focuses on dynamic questions of how the low productivity and access to land for women is hampered and restricted, in order to be able to make an analysis of structural questions, during both my field study and in my thesis, of why this situation of low productivity and low access to land for women are reproduced (Mikkelsen, 2005: 36). The problem focused on will lead to a micro-level study, but it will be linked to, what Mikkelsen (2005: 49) explains as, both meso- and macro-level structures and problems.

\textsuperscript{12} Participatory Rural Appraisal
\textsuperscript{13} Sustainable Rural Livelihoods
The main reason for this choice of method is that I am interested in how the actors on the grassroots level themselves perceives their situation, and I want to make an analysis that is based on what is perceived to be the “reality” for the stakeholders. Taking my starting point in SRL as a conceptual framework and an abductive approach I intended, as Danermark et al (2002: 91) explains “to observe, describe, interpret and explain something within the frame of a new context” and to “develop a deeper concept of it” (Danermark et al, 2002: 91). Abduction does not intend to give a true or a false answer, thus my interpretation of the conditions and circumstances creating low productivity within Zambia are only one way of understanding the situation.

The process for this methodological point of departure is close to a hermeneutic philosophy, implying that as the study proceeded, it matured and developed, gaining more information, knowledge and experience, meaning that better interview question could be asked\textsuperscript{14}. A hermeneutic approach takes its point of departure that a single event is a part of the ‘whole’ and must be understood in its context (Mikkelsen, 2005: 142). This implies that the analysis will be shaped by the interpreter’s own assumption and pre-understanding, though, the interpreter will be as open minded as possible (Danermark et al, 2002: 159-160).

An ethnographic approach is a research process where the researcher integrates with the groups and societies in their natural environment (Aspers, 2011: 21). It is of importance to mention that ethnographic discovery builds on an understanding of people’s perceived reality. Moreover, this implies that generalizations are difficult to entail with an ethnographic approach. Nevertheless, similarities and patterns can still be compared to other sceneries.

Considering what is ‘reality’, this thesis takes it point of departure that reality is socially constructed and constructed within a certain power relation (Danermark et al, 2002: 25-27). Hence, reality is nothing given and instead Danermark et al explain that the scientific work is to “investigate and identify relationships and non-relationships, respectively, between what we experience, what actually happens, and the underlying mechanism that produce the events in the world” (Danermark et al, 2002: 21). For this reason, observations and reflections from field transcriptions are entangled with the interview answers to get a more in depth analysis since reality cannot be limited to the spoken words.

\textsuperscript{14} Interview guides with questions that has been guided this thesis is provided in appendix.
2.2 Research procedure

This study is based on a MFS\textsuperscript{15}, conducted in the Eastern-, Northwestern and in the Lusaka-provinces in Zambia between the beginning of April and the middle of May 2013. There are three main types of interviews: individual interviews, focus groups and interviews with organizations/institutions, and in addition to this participation in seminars for female leadership training for peasants\textsuperscript{16}. Both men and women from different age groups have participated in the interviews to ensure gender balance. In total, about 30 interviews have been conducted\textsuperscript{17}, lasting between 40 to 140 minutes depending on the available time. The interviews have been based on semi-structured techniques with key and open-ended questions to leave room for conversation, although still being controlled and structured, and to allow the interviewed person to feel as free as possible to express their own concern and feelings. Interview guides have been used as question support, but the guides have, similar to the study, followed a hermeneutic approach and matured during the fieldwork. Different interview guides were used to fit the actors interviewed. When making interviews with single individuals, or focus groups, the same interview guide was used to get more comparable information.

The procedure for the interview, to a large extent, always started with more informal discussion about who I am and my reason for the visit, followed by the purpose of the study and then a move towards a more formal interview. Snowball sampling method, where the interviewed person is let to suggest who to talk to next, was used since it has the advantage that the confidence that is built with the first person can be transferred to the next person when referring back to the recommendation of the previous person (Aspers, 2011: 95-96). Furthermore, during my time in Zambia, informal discussions became a usable source of information. It should be mentioned that the informal discussion has been used to get a broader understanding of the actors’ own perspective about issues relating to my research question. Informal discussion as a source of information has many flaws, as what is “fact” or not, own opinions or misunderstandings (Ewald, 2011: 80). However, I often used informal discussion to check arguments and statements I received during the interviews. Anyhow, it is important to be clear about the reason of the informal discussion since it occurred with me as

\textsuperscript{15} Minor Field Study
\textsuperscript{16} A list with possible stakeholders, which was done before the study, is provided in appendix.
\textsuperscript{17} See appendix for interview list.
a researcher and thus all persons engaging in this type of discussion was informed about my visit to Zambia.

2.3 Validity and reliability
To increase the validity and reliability, but also to put my findings in a broader context, triangulation is used between my interview result, previous research from various sources and disciplines and own reflections. In order to increase the validity and reliability of the study, a literature study with secondary sources was done before, during and after the fieldwork to double-check all facts, but also to get a more holistic and cross-disciplinary perspective.

2.4 Methodological and scientific limitations
Resources naturally limit research and this study has only been conducted in field over a period of six weeks, and during these weeks the research was future limited by trouble with the extension of my visa. Many available reports about agriculture and land access are based on statistics that for natural reasons are insufficient, since Zambia is one of the world’s poorest countries.

The greatest challenge has been to conduct the field study since my inexperience in doing interviews made it difficult to be fully aware of bias and avoid common mistakes. Mikkelsen (2005: 176) explains common mistakes to be failure to judge answers, repeating and asking vague questions. The situation when the interviews was conducted has to be taken into consideration since the situation can have influenced the way the answers, but also how my own questions, was presented. Concrete problems as noisy environments and, sometimes, interrupted interviews may have had an influence on the interviews. The interviews have not been recorded since the times I asked to record the conversation people looked very skeptical and uncomfortable. However, I did not consider it a problem to take correct notes or quote people during the interviews.

My status as an interviewer also effects the way the interviewee responds to my questions. Age, sex and ethnic origins of the interviewer are some factors influencing the interviewed person’s answers and what the interviewed person is willing to reveal (Mikkelsen, 2005: 177). Even though I did not feel that this prevented me, except on a few occasions, it is important
to consider, since it may have influenced the responses I received during my interviews. The cultural context, both formal and informal structures, is very different compared to the western world, and Zambia is a huge country with variations between the areas in climate, language, and demography.

One of the greatest challenges conducting the interviews was the language issue. Zambia has seven major languages, and 73 local languages, but English is used as the formal language. However, English is not often spoken in the rural areas. Thus, the largest challenge was my field study in the rural areas and the interviews at individual and group level. These interviews had to be done with an interpreter, which I often found to be a big challenge and constraint. The answer from the interpreter was much shorter than the answer from the interviewed, often a summary, implying that facts and reflections from the interviewed person was distorted or even lost. In addition, the interviews become much longer, which can be boring and hinders a more conversational dialogue with more follow-up questions. Since English was neither my, nor the interpreters native language, there naturally was a language barrier that has to be considered in the validity and quality of this study.

It should also be mentioned that this thesis inevitably has been guided by my position in regards to predetermined beliefs or various theories. My social position as a white, young, middle-class woman, and feminist, makes me choose some interpretative models over others. Furthermore, this thesis can be criticized since it uses a number of value-laden concepts such as development and developing countries, ownership, and poverty alleviation, which often is considered to be Eurocentric. However, as Mikkelsen explains (2005: 48), the use of these concepts is somehow impossible to avoid, and instead the importance lies in being transparent about how they are applied in the text.
3. Analytical framework

The aim of this chapter is to provide an introduction to the analytical framework that has been used as a tool to interpret and re-contextualize the empirical material and to reach a deeper knowledge about my research questions, as well as a description of how it was applied in the study.

3.1 Sustainable Rural Livelihood

Since the research questions aim at achieving a broad understanding of how women’s productivity is hampered this study will have its analytical base in SRL. This framework is based on Robert Chambers work in the mid-1980s about poverty as ‘clusters of disadvantage’. As this thesis intends to interpret the situation as the stakeholders themselves view it, SRL is a suitable framework for structuring and analyzing the research. SRL is holistic and based on stakeholder analyses that promote people-centered development. The model does not put emphasize on resources as such, but rather on people and their livelihoods, something that is of importance for the aim of this thesis. The model stresses the importance of an overlap between various existing perspectives such as social, institutional, economic and environmental. To fully understand the households’ situations, this study also intends to uncover a sector broad analysis (DFID\textsuperscript{18}, 1999). DFID explains that the framework “provides a way of thinking about the livelihoods of the poor people” (DFID, 1999) and it starts by looking at people’s situation in a context of vulnerability. As interference logic, abduction will guide this thesis, and SRL will thus be used as a point of departure when interpreting the research results where the intention is to try to see something new and develop a wider understanding of the problem with low agricultural productivity (Danermark et al, 2002: 80).

People exist in an external environment, explained as the vulnerability context, and a socio-economic and a political environment, called policies, institutions and processes in the model, which affects the livelihood assets, represented as the pentagon in the model, see figure 3.1, for the household. Poor people have, within this context of vulnerability, assets of which there are five ‘capital assets’. These are explained in the box below and represented as the pentagon in the picture of the model. The capital assets are determined in a broader context than monetary terms and include for instance assets such as land, health, knowledge and social

\textsuperscript{18} Department for International Development
relationships (DFID, 1999). The capital asset is an important tool when interpreting the situation with low agricultural productivity. The context of capital asset, also known as poverty reducing factors, is an important point of departure of SRL and characterizes the framework, since it builds upon people’s strengths, thus everyone’s potential, rather than their needs. The degree to which a household has access to the “capitals” is a crucial measurement of the household's capacity of improving its livelihood. The capital assets are interdependent and a decrease or increase of one asset might influence the other assets (DFID, 1999).

### 3.1.1 Capital assets

1. **Human capital**
   Is constituted by skills, ability to labour, good health and knowledge. The human capital is important to enable people to reach different livelihood strategies.

2. **Natural capital**
   Natural capital comprises of resource flows such as land, water, environment, wildlife, clean air, and biodiversity.

3. **Financial capital**
   Financial capital represents the financial resources that are available for people as stocks of savings, like cash or livestock, and regular inflows of money as salary, pensions or remittances.

4. **Social capital**
   Stands for social resources such as social networks, access to wider institutions, memberships of different groups and relationships of trust. These social resources can accumulate livelihoods.

5. **Physical capital**
   Means basic infrastructure such as water, shelter, affordable transport, and communication systems. Physical capital also includes producer’s goods that enable people to reach higher productivity.

*Table 3.1 Capital assets (DFID, 1999)*
3.1.2 Policies, institutions, livelihood strategies and outcomes

Transforming processes and structures shape livelihood assets and operate on all levels of society. The different levels of the public and private sector that implement policies and legislation compose structures. Processes account for law, policies, cultures and institutions. Processes regulate the way structures and individuals functions. Livelihood strategies are the choices that people make in order to reach the object of their livelihood, which for instance can be methods used to increase productivity or investment strategies. To understand strategies, an understanding of the factors that lie behind people’s choice of livelihood strategies is important to investigate. Livelihood outcomes are the realization, or outcome, of livelihood strategies (DFID, 1999).

Sustainable rural livelihood framework

Figure 3.1 Sustainable rural livelihood framework (DFID, 1999).19

3.2 Practical and strategic gender needs

The research question of this study aims to problematize the issue of productivity with a gender aware analysis. To reach a further understanding of the low productivity within the female dominated agriculture, a gender analysis that uncover the dynamics of gender differences will be complemented within the analytical framework of SRL. DFID explains: “the starting point of gender analysis is that there is a distinction between the livelihoods of

19 Livelihood asset is the same as capital assets.
men and women” (DFID, 1999). In order to include a gender aware analysis, I will theoretically take a point of departure in the reasoning of Chant and Gulman (2000: 14), who makes an analytical distinction between practical gender needs and strategic gender needs. Practical gender needs can be said to represent changes in the day-to-day life of women, and strategic gender needs concerns more long-term needs of change. Satisfaction of practical gender needs can be a step towards a higher degree of satisfaction of strategic gender needs. Both men's and women's thoughts have to be listened to when you want to create an understanding of gender structures within the society. A change in women’s lives implies change also in men’s lives (Chant & Gulman, 2000: 9-14).

3.3 Applying sustainable rural livelihood, practical and strategic gender needs

As the framework is composed by three main components: the vulnerability context, the livelihood assets and the transforming structures and processes, this study also follows these themes when identifying the sources of the low productivity in Zambia. Part one and two will be included in the research result. Livelihood strategies and livelihood outcome will be included in the analysis section. Each part will have its base in a gender aware analysis. The table below gives an overview of what each subchapter describes.
### Part one
Livelihood assets and vulnerability context

- Description of the socio-economic situation for the households by using the five capital assets and how it influences the agriculture production with a gender aware approach
- Identifying the vulnerability context for the households in Zambia hampering the productivity with a gender aware approach

### Part two
Transforming processes and structures

- Societal structures influencing the agriculture and especially women and their agricultural production
- Traditional and customary laws influence the agriculture and especially women and their agricultural production
- Identify important processes within political, institutional, public, private and civil society

### Part three
Livelihood strategies

- Identifying prevailing strategies and options taken by the household given the prevailing conditions with a gender aware analysis

### Part four
Livelihood outcomes

- Identifying outcomes and results of the prevailing situation with a gender aware analysis

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**Table 3.2** Description of each subchapter
4. Research result

In this chapter the findings from the interviews will be presented through the framework of SRL together with a gender aware analysis. This chapter is divided in two subchapters. Part one evaluates the household’s livelihood assets and vulnerability context, while part two evaluates transforming processes and structures.

4.1 Part one: Livelihood assets and vulnerability context

To give prominence to the strengths and weaknesses of the five capital assets they are evaluated simultaneously with the vulnerability context. The livelihood assets look a bit difference between the peasants in Petauke (Eastern district) and Solwezi (North-Western District) regarding demographic, geographic and climate composition, so where there is a main difference this will be highlighted.

4.1.1 Natural Capital

Natural capital is a major and primary source of living for people in Zambia, since it is used to produce food, houses and works as a source of income. Land is often considered to be the primary and most important natural capital as it is the source of human survival (FAO, 2002: 3). Often, Zambia is considered to have abundance in land (Bonaglia, 2008: 14), which does not correspond with the interview results. Instead, people were concerned about the lack of land and the low quality concerning the low fertility leading to a reduction of the productivity.

In Petauke the peasants have been growing crops on the same land since 1934. Headwomen Kalimba explained: “We can put seeds in the ground and weed but nothing grows!” (Interview Headwomen Kalimba, 2013). Peasants explained that land within a reasonable distance from the village and the families’ homes are occupied, not arable land or preserved area. The continuous degradation of the soil lowers the productivity simultaneously as the working hours stay the same. Many peasants experienced that the output in relation to the workload had decreased (Group Interview women, village Kalimba, 2013). Lower fertility of the soil demands higher investment in fertilizers and peasants often experience high restrictions of cash inflow. Peasants considered that the price of fertilizers had increased faster than the price of their cash crop.

20 Interview list over interviewed person, groups and organizations are provided in the appendix.
The food production, or the food security for the household, relies directly on natural capital, with no protection, and is thus creating a situation that is highly vulnerable. Natural capital is easily affected by external factors such as drought, floods, and climate change, which the households often cannot influence. Agricultural production is object to adverse weather conditions and peasants where highly anxious about the rain period, which during the last decade had begun to be increasingly irregular. The tropical climate makes food production prone to pest and other diseases (Interview Katonga for CFU\textsuperscript{21}, 2013). As mentioned in chapter one, Zambia are endowed with one of Africa’s best water accesses (Bonaglia, 2008: 14) but possibilities to use the water is low since socio-economic infrastructure is underdeveloped and is expensive to build in such vast areas that Zambia possesses. None of the peasants interviewed had irrigation systems and peasants living a long distance from water access could not make use of gardens in the same extent since gardens required much water (Interview Mudimina, 2013). Only 46 % of Zambia’s rural population has access to improved water sources such as as boreholes (World Bank, 2013a).

Access to natural capital is highly restricted, or asymmetric, among different socio-economic classes. However, regardless the socio-economic class, women are highly restricted in land access since women cannot control land. Women explained that this meant that they did not enjoy equal access to the economic profit the yield provides. Households belonging to a higher socio-economic class were considered having abundance in land regarding the fact that they could not take use of all the land while some people, belonging to a lower social class, was lacking land. Diakonia, an NGO\textsuperscript{22}, was working to encourage people having abundance in land to lend or lease it to people lacking land. However, this implies an extra cost for those who already did not have any land (Interview Nana for Diakonia, 2013).

Nowadays, the access to natural capital is changing rapidly, especially with the inflow of more foreign investors that have big financial funds to appropriating land. Especially in Solwezi, land is becoming more and more individualized and a marketable asset. Both in Petauke and Solwezi it appears that the social order with customary system is transforming. Peasants felt that their access to the resources they are dependent upon for food production, such as land and water, was threatened. This is important to consider since Zambia already is facing problems with food security.

\textsuperscript{21} Conservation Farming Unit
\textsuperscript{22} Non-Governmental Organization
Deforestation was an urgent problem in both Petauke and Solwezi, that concerned people in two major ways. First, with the high population growth, people felt that the access to firewood had decreased during the recent years. This meant an increased workload for women who have the primary responsibility to collect firewood. Women had to compromise between collecting firewood and the time working on the fields, affecting the food production for the household. Second, since no planting of new forest occurred in the area where the interviewed people lived, all peasants where concerned and aware about the increased soil erosion leading to depletion of the soils fertility, when the nutrition are flushed away and the risk of flooding increase, which affected the agricultural productivity (Group interview, village Shilenda, 2013).

4.1.1.1 Legislation
Since colonial time, Zambia has maintained a dual legal system where statutory and customary legal systems are jointly working together. The statutory law should be superior to customary laws. However, the majority of people are assigned to customary laws implying that women and girls are subjected to men regarding marriage, child custody and property rights including land access (FAO, 2013). Chiefs allocate land almost exclusively to men, since men are regarded as the head of the household (Interview Kamanga for ZLA, 2013; Interview Naks for WFC, 2013). Not a single women interviewed had title over the land or even knew someone in their neighborhood that had it. Instead access to land was allocated through their husbands, creating a dependency relationship between women and their husbands. Since women on their own do not have the same access to factors of production they could not make investments or productive decisions independently. How land access is directed was concerning women, especially considering what would happen if the husband died or decided to divorce them as the inheritance rights follows patrilineal customary practices, meaning that land is returned to the husbands family or relatives. Women then have to rely on relatives from their natal families and often have to move back to their natal families’ village (Interview Kamanga for ZLA, 2013). Inheritance rules are highly gendered in Zambia. Consequently, men keep women in a state of fear since a divorce leaves women in a severe situation.

The customary land inheritance practice implies that the land is shared between the family’s...

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23 Zambia Land Alliance
24 Women for Change
sons, leading to smaller and smaller farm sizes for each generation. Trends in high population growth together with the fact that Zambia has among the world’s highest number of young people with a dependency ratio\textsuperscript{25} of 99 % (UNDP\textsuperscript{26}, 2013: 50) are concerning people a lot. High population growth, in the long run, creates a vulnerability context for the family. Furthermore, the HIV/AIDS\textsuperscript{27} pandemic contributes to an increase of women and children that are left with no access to land since widows and orphans often lose the access to land, resulting in low possibility to engage in agricultural production, with the husband or fathers dead.

4.1.1.2 Gender

Men experienced it as a positive result that they today cultivated larger land areas than some years ago, while interview results from women pointed out the fact that larger cultivated areas had not increased the productivity, since the yield per hectare was lower since no inputs were used. Neither had larger cultivated areas increased the income to the household, which women explained was due to their husbands using the money to go to the bars and buy alcohol. Instead women felt that their workload increased with expanded cultivated areas (Group interview, village Msapukike, 2013). The value that households gain from the natural capital is low. Since all peasants produce the same products, markets are often overloaded with the same products, lowering the value when supply exceeds demand. “There is a lot of waste of what we produce. You can sit on the market a whole day without selling anything. For example, all peasants sell tomatoes so no one wants to buy that” (Interview Mudimina, 2013).

In Zambia, the staple crop is maize. Charman (2008) writes that since their independence, the government has regarded maize as the primary objective for achieving food security. Maize is tied to the national crop market system where the price of maize is fixed. Consequently, maize has become a highly political concern where maize has become a political debate. Women have traditionally grown maize, but as maize was tied to the market, the government started to subsidize hybrid maize and fertilizer allied with extension service, and the ownership of maize become transferred to men. Depending on how maize is produced, it is a

\textsuperscript{25} Dependency ratio is the ratio of people younger than 15 or older than 64 in relation to the working age population, the population between 15-64 (World Bank, 2014).

\textsuperscript{26} United Nations Development Programme

\textsuperscript{27} Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
highly gendered crop. When maize is produced as a cash crop, men are in charge, while when it is produced for household consumption women have the major responsibility. FRA\textsuperscript{28} is a government strategic food reserve marketing board, which aim is to buy maize at a price exceeding the market price (Charman, 2008: 5). However, peasants said that the price government paid for maize was lower than the market price and a black market had therefore emerged (Interview H. Kangwa 2013; Interview Kangwa, 2013). In recent years, there has been a decline in the cultivated areas for maize since diversification of other crops, such as cassava, has been encouraged. Many peasants said that the production of maize fluctuates widely with the rainfall, but since maize production is encouraged from the government many peasants continues to grow maize (Interview Ntambo, 2013).

We Effect writes that men have more access to productive resources, such as land, than women. Men also own bigger livestock such as cows, while women have the responsibility for smaller livestock such as chickens and goats. Even though women account for the largest agricultural labour and are responsible for the production of food crops, at the same time as they help their men on the fields where cash crops are produced, their control over the resources are marginal (We Effect, 2011: 8). Young people have almost no access to natural capital. Young women have it especially difficult to gain access to land due to the fact that they belong to a marginalized group within the society as women, furthermore constrained by the fact that they are young, giving them less respect (Group interview women, village Msapukike, 2013). Gender relations strongly influence decisions over natural capital. Men are the decision makers regarding how much land should be allocated to cash crop or food production, and what crops are to be grown. In a larger extent, women lack resources to develop the available natural capital and improve the productivity with resources such as draft animals and technological methods. Although statutory laws recognize women’s right to access land, women face pressure from the village to not independently try to get access to land (Group interview women, village Shilinda, 2013).

4.1.1.3 Summary natural capital

Women are highly restricted in access to natural capital, meaning that they have low opportunities for improving the productivity and at the same time they end up in a dependency relationship with men. As the households rely directly on natural capital this

\textsuperscript{28} Food Reserve Agency
creates a vulnerable situation simultaneously as peasants have low possibilities to develop and invest in their agriculture production, due to lack of financial resources and inputs.

4.1.2 Human capital

Human capital is often considered as a key factor contributing to increased productivity (Andersson & Thulin, 2008: 7). In Zambia human capital and the health status of people are low. In order to increase the productivity and take advantage of technological advances human capital is vital together with access to physical capital.

4.1.2.1 Gender

Interview results suggest that there is a high distinction between human capital between men and women. However, it is also a distinction between what type of human capital that is more valid, where specific human capital and knowledge often representing females is regarded having less value. Social norms and patriarchal structures hinder women to fully contribute with their human capital or gain new human capital. This hampers increased productivity since women cannot fully contribute with their knowledge and labour force and hinders an inclusive political and economic system. Many women lack access to family planning which results in recurring pregnancies that often risk their life, lower the available time for working as well as make the work physically tougher.

The male interpretative prerogative allows even poor men to gain access to the male privileges. Although these poor men otherwise are powerless in relation to more powerful and richer men, they can still exercise their power in their local area, such as within the household or the village. Unequal power relations within every part of the society, from households to institutions, imply that male preferences gain the greatest impact. This could explain the lack of attention when it comes to resources for reproductive health for women, increasing girls school enrolment rate, or labour saving techniques that could benefit women in reproductive tasks, which directly affects and lowers the agricultural productivity. Naks for WFC explains that the low educational and health status of the population in Zambia undermines the society’s collective effort to reduce poverty and fight hunger. Therefore it is reluctant to believe that fighting poverty would be possible if women are held back to develop their human capabilities (Interview Naks for WFC, 2013).
4.1.2.2 Health and education

Interview results show that the socio-economic background and initial financial assets are crucial for an individuals’ access to education, leaving many poor families with no other options than not letting their children go to school or taking their children out of school. Families lack financial assets to pay for their children’s education, at the same time as work opportunities after graduation is lacking to pay of education.

Gender bias can be seen in education and health status, for example in lower education and health status for women and girls. In all age groups, women have a lower literacy rate than men, especially in rural areas where only 48 % of women compared to 76 % of men were literate in 2002. Only 43 % of the women in Zambia give birth in health clinics or hospitals (Ministry of Health Republic of Zambia, 2005: 18-31). Women are the major victims of HIV/AIDS. However, it is mostly men’s sexual relationships that allow the infection to be spread (Group interview women, village Kalimba, 2013). The investment made in the health sector falls short since water quality is poor. Many pointed out diseases from the water as a harsh problem, often making children sick in diarrhea. Headwomen Kalimba explains: “No we don’t have any boreholes, we drink just from the lake, and we drink the same water as the animals!” (Interview Headwomen Kalimba, 2013). Lack of boreholes also increases women’s workload as they spend many hours each day walking to and from the rivers to fetch water.

My result from the interviews are similar to Mwaniki’s argument that diseases such as malaria and HIV/AIDS reduce the available man-hours available for agriculture, but it also gets harder for the household to acquire food as the inflow of cash stops. The effects of malnutrition and the food security are worsened since ill persons are in a need of more nutritional food (Mwaniki: 4-5). Women felt that they could not demand access to health care, mainly due to the fact that their husbands was in charge of the household’s budget and the cost of health care, such as medicine, was considered high in respect to the household’s budget. The clinics are few, and it is a long way walking to and from them. This made it difficult for women to set aside time for visiting the clinics, since they were in charge of reproductive tasks, such as childcare and cooking, while also working on the fields.

Since more women are illiterate, they become more isolated, meaning that they have less power and become less independent. Women often said that it was hard to read contracts but
also, being illiterate meant that you felt more insecure to participate in, for instance, extension services or becoming a member of different groups with unknown people. Many women were afraid of participating in meetings and groups since they feared that their husbands would become angry and divorce them. In addition, women were overloaded with reproductive tasks and could because of this not participate in meetings or in agricultural advisory services (Group interview women, village Msapukike, 2013). Being divorced as women was seen as a severe problem, much due to the fact that during a divorce women lost their access to land. A divorced woman is considered having lower social status, which isolates her even more.

Poor countries’ high birth rates and high child mortality is to a large extent a consequence of insufficient healthcare and social institutions. Families give birth to many children to ensure that they have sufficient family members to support the household when the parents get old. The lack of social security from the state makes the family functions as insurance for the future instead. Access to health care institutions reduces infant mortality, increases efficiency and productivity since people are healthy and can work. When infant mortality rate decreases and families become smaller, they can invest more in their children's education. Reading and writing skills would increase peasants’ agricultural productivity, as this would give peasants more confidence to participate in extension services. With increased confidence from reading and writing skills, peasants also become more aware of their rights and could thus demand more from societal institutions.

Omwami (2011: 15) findings from the education system in Kenya correspond well to my findings in Zambia: change to empowering women to benefit from the education and health sector are pursued within limits, or bounds, of patriarchy, paternalism and poverty and thus the outcome of projects often fall short. Poor people, especially women are handicapped by the lack of education and do not know the official rights they have. The customary laws that are followed in practice deny women’s equal rights and opportunities. Even if women knew their official rights, social pressure from the village or family prevented them from taking advantages of these rights.

Education plays a key role in the ability of a developing country to absorb modern technology and to develop the capacity for self-sustaining growth and development (Todaro & Smith,
2011: 359). This becomes clear during an interview with CAZ\textsuperscript{29}. “It is hard for the peasants to understand when the world market price change, we try to explain but they become worried and that is why so many drop off last year when the price declined so much” (Interview Moyo for CAZ, 2013). Hence, low educational status weakens people’s capacity to make informed choices about their livelihood strategies and participate in the information age. Furthermore, to gain new human capital takes a long time, but there is not enough time, and resources are few for people in Zambia. When the risk of making the wrong decision is so high, one becomes suspicious of new information. Lack of human capital regarding agriculture and productivity is especially connected to lack of knowledge about sustainable farming methods and profitable and sustainable soil management, which instead creates soil degradation (Interview Katonga for CFU, 2013).

4.1.2.3 Summary human capital
The education status of peasants, especially for women, is low, leading to isolation where it is hard for peasants to make informed decisions and to have the confidence to participate in extension services, which results a lower agricultural productivity. If the health status is low, it lowers the productivity and puts the household at risk of food insecurity as the inflow of financial asset decrease.

4.1.3 Social capital
All local communities and villages visited during the field study have received some sort of training in how to organize themselves in groups. Most people were members of several groups, such as women or men clubs, religious groups, farmers groups, and crafts groups. All interviewed people described this as very positive, often referring to a feeling of more security when their social network expanded, and that they were able to diversify their production. However, the interview results suggest that social capital was limited to people within the same village, since people lacked access to wider institutions within the society.

Social capital was described as important if someone ended up in a severe situation. One example of this was if a family ended up in food shortage. Then they could always lend from another family they knew. Increased social capital was also considered good regarding access to land through an increased contact net when looking for good fertile land. In these responses

\textsuperscript{29} Cotton Association of Zambia
it also becomes clear that social capital is restricted to people living in the same village or area. In Petauke many people were organized in IC\textsuperscript{30}. Through IC, members could gain seeds, fertilizers, loans, and access to education in agriculture. Members of IC themselves regarded their agriculture productivity to have increased after they became members. Members of IC decided the membership fee themselves, so that everyone felt that they could manage the cost in regards to the household’s economy. However, a membership fee implies that people in an already severe situation cannot become members since the household’s economy already is under pressure, leaving them outside this possibility, isolating them even more.

Zambia lacks a strong civil society. Many civil society groups lack capacity and are small, and thus peasants’ interests are often not reflected in legislation or budget propositions. Government spending on agriculture decreased from 6.1 % of the total budget in 2012, to 5.8 % in 2013. In addition, households receiving the greatest share of FISP\textsuperscript{31} are the households with a farm the size of 10-20 hectares, while the largest proportion of households have about 1 hectare (Kuteya, 2012: 3). Peasants that were members of the ZNFU\textsuperscript{32} had managed to escape the isolated position to some extent. ZNFU was such a developed organization that they had more power to influence decisions since they were well connected beyond the community and with wider institutions of the society. The membership fee was however quite high in regards to many household situations. However, peasant members of ZNFU often had higher productivity and had managed to develop their farming into a business (Interview Florenz for ZNFU, 2013).

Undermining the social capital is the increasingly difficult situation with chiefs, who are tribe leaders or traditional leaders of a geographical district called chiefdom. In Solwezi this situation appeared severe due to the influence of foreigners. People explained that it had become so much more expensive to set up a meeting with the chief since you should always bring a gift: “Before I could bring a chicken but now all the companies give the chiefs expensive gifts, like computers and even cars sometime, so I can’t afford to meet the chief!” (Interview Nkunejamina, 2013), and “Chiefs are afraid of losing power and they are afraid of a change, especially the chiefs who have not been in school” (Interview Kamanga for ZLA, 2013).

\textsuperscript{30} Information Centre
\textsuperscript{31} The Farmer Input Support Program
\textsuperscript{32} Zambia National Farmers Union
The progress many experience with increased social capital have its expansive limits in regards to contacts with institutions of society. Societies’ different layers are poorly interconnected, leaving many groups in an isolated position, and with the increased distance people experience with the chiefs gap becomes even wider. Chambers (1983: 113) explanation of isolation corresponds well to my findings from the interviews: isolation also means lack of contact with political leaders. However, important to mention is that the interview results show that people rely on and have a bigger trust in relatives, family, people within the village, headpersons and chiefs than societal institutions. Lack of social trust between individuals and societal institutions hampers the countries’ collective effort to fight poverty and create development. Gärtner (2014: 189) explains that lack of social trust is an essential factor for the implementation of sociopolitical redistribution. High inequality will furthermore have a negative effect on social trust.

4.1.3.1 Gender

Women expressed that they felt empowered when they organized themselves in groups. Group solidarity was a key factor for empowerment. However, many grassroots groups did not challenge the sexual division of labour as poor women experience a too vulnerable situation to feel the confidence to challenge these structures. National women organizations are instead controlled by more educated and richer, often middle-class women, who have a different agenda and different goals in contrast to rural poor women. Poor rural women face inequality and poverty that is on a much different level than that of the more privileged women, leaving the poor rural women with little help to bring their agenda forward. At the same time, Gordon and Gordon (2007: 309) write that elite women are crucial to be able to reach gender equality in both economic and political issues as they have knowledge of politics and the ability to mobilize women.

Social capital also means relationships of trust. The interview results indicate that there is low trust and confidence between husband and wife. During a group interview with women this was clearly expressed: “If we do something that our husbands don’t like he will divorce us, there are more women in this village so he can just marry someone else!” (Group interview women, village Msapukike, 2013). Regarding doing something that the husband would not like, women mentioned asking the husband for something such as help with the reproductive task, asking too spend money on different things. However, men stated: “As a
A difference between women and men’s social capital could be indicated, where women social networks were closer linked to social relationships. Men’s social networks appeared to be closer linked to economic resources, making them stronger given structural power. This also made it easier for men to expand their agriculture into businesses and increase their productivity. According to the interview results, women are excluded from decision-making, even though the decisions affect them to a great degree.

Many NGO’s, such as Diakonia, worked to organize women and men in different groups. Diakonia explained that they worked together “with men to encourage their wife to participate in meetings and groups”, as many men otherwise hinder their women from participating (Interview Nana for Diakonia, 2013).

Advisors are often biased against women since they have the perception that women do not cultivate the soil or that the husband will automatically share their knowledge. It is also more difficult for women than men to leave home and children, and sometimes it is not considered appropriate for women to participate in meetings with unknown men, which limits their participation in courses and trainings. Lack of education for women also means that they cannot read the written course materials or other information (Interview Florenz for ZNFU, 2013). Åkesson writes: “There is a tendency for extension work to favor the peasants who are most able to absorb a new technical message” (Åkesson, 1996: 49). Peasants hope to improve their situation by hard work, although, hard work does not guarantee better productivity, but many are aware of the need to importance to develop new skills (Åkesson, 1996: 49). My interview results show that most peasants do not want to experiment with new methods but want to stick to safe and known practices while they also hope to improve their productivity. However, some peasants with a better socio-economic situation, which mainly were men, were more open to trying new methods and making investments in their agriculture, even if the outcome was uncertain.
4.1.3.2 Summary social capital

Since peasants lack social capital that is linked to wider societal institutions, the aim of increasing productivity is restricted to support from the village or local institutions that often are weak and lack financial assets. As men’s social capital is more linked to economic resources, men had more opportunities to increase their productivity. Women’s social capital was more linked to social relationships, implying that women had less flexibility to gain access to advisors and productive resources. In addition to having little economic resources, women were considered having less social status.

4.1.4 Physical capital

The lack of physical capital is evident and present for peasants in Zambia. Zambia is a vast country and investments in infrastructure are expensive and require maintenance costs. The long distances between villages imply not only expensive costs for building infrastructure, but also difficulties for people accessing public services such as schools, hospitals and markets. The Government started the first phase of The Road Sector Investment Programme in 1997 (IMF, 2007: 81). However, people considered the infrastructure program to be aimed at industrial development and the mining sector, although they could benefit from it, the demand is not lead by the rural population (Group interview women, village Shilenda, 2013). The power sector has been concentrating on emphasizing the mining industry while electricity to households is about half compared to other countries endowed with resources (Africa Infrastructure Knowledge Program, 2011). The Government has established a Rural Electrification Authority to work with electrification of rural areas. However, the electrification of rural areas is going slow (IMF, 2007: 132). Only 18.8 % of the population in Zambia has access to electricity (World Bank, 2013b). Despite the low numbers of people having access to electricity, Zambia exports most of its electricity to neighboring countries (Palin, 2012: 15). Households considering having a better economic situation could afford solar power or sometimes even electricity, other used paraffin for lighting (Interview Ilunga, 2013). Lack of electricity decreases the available hours for working, or study time for both children and adults.

Transportation costs were expensive for the local inhabitants, but with limited choices people did not have any other alternatives. Both Petauke and Solwezi have few draught animals, however, Solwezi has fewer animals due to higher disease burden. Up until year 2002, the
government ran a program with veterinary services, although since that program stopped the death of animals have increased (Interview Namwinga for MACO33, 2013). In Solwezi, one farmer said that the district had five tractors available for hire, but all of them were broken and they were so expensive to borrow that it was not an alternative for him or peasants in similar situations (Interview Ntambo, 2013). Hiring a cart with oxen was especially expensive during harvest season. With expensive transportation costs people get isolated from better markets and access to services and information often available in the cities.

Households with houses built by bricks are considered to belong to a better socio-economic group. Today, more and more houses are built by bricks in Zambia, which both women and men regarded as an improvement for the household situation. Most people have access to mobile phones, and 61 out of 100 people in Zambia had access to a mobile phone between 2008-2012 (World Bank, 2013c). However, Internet use is very restricted and the connection is slow (World Bank, 2013d). Most households had access to a radio through which they have access to community information. In Petauke the local radio station planned to start a special program about farming (Interview Lunguo for PDFA 34, 2013). However, access to newspapers in rural areas is restricted. This decreases peasants’ possibilities to make informed decisions about productive investments in their agriculture.

4.1.4.1 Gender

Both female and male peasants often expressed wishes for more physical capital such as intermediate goods to agriculture, such as fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, and tools for agriculture work in order to increase production. Men often use and have more access to physical capital than women. One female farmer explained that despite the fact that agricultural tools were owned jointly, women only got access to the tools after the men had been using them (Group Interview women, village Shilinda, 2013). This implies that female productive work decreases. Households headed by men use more fertilizers and better seeds than households headed by women. In a larger extent, women lack resources to develop the available natural capital and improve productivity with resources such as draft animals and technological methods. One woman stated that it is often a conflict between women and men regarding what to spend the household’s income on, where men had the final say (Interview Mwianaute, 2013). This response indicates that women and men have different preferences on

33 Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives
34 Petauke District Farmers Association
consumption and investments. Furthermore, this answer indicates an unequal power relationship within the household, where male preferences are viewed as most important.

My findings coincides with We Effect’s study about gender equality and agriculture. We Effect (2011: 11) explains that households headed by men use more fertilizers and better seeds than households headed by women. This is explained by the fact that women have less access to land, extension services, education, labour and credits. Furthermore, the district chairperson for Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperation stressed the problem with storage damaging the harvest and leading to waste (Interview MACO District Office Petauke, 2013). When more technical and physical capital was made available, for instance using a cart and oxen to fetch water, men could be involved in typical female tasks, while women continued to use old methods since they did not have the same access to new equipment that could increase the productivity (Interview Nana for Diakonia, 2013).

4.1.4.2 Summary physical capital
Since men have more access to physical capital, it gives them more possibilities to expand their agricultural productivity. Often women’s only possibility to increase productivity is to work harder and longer, and as time is scare for women this possibility is virtually non-existing.

4.1.5 Financial capital
The economy in both Petauke and Solwezi was primarily based on subsistence farming for the interviewed people. Households relied solely on the production from their farms for an income. The most important crops are maize, cassava, beans, cashew nuts, tomatoes, pumpkin, and sorghum. All interviewed persons, except two men who worked as craftsmen, were dependent on their agricultural production for an income. This means that the only available resource for people is their own man-made labour and the investment they can make is to work longer and harder. The introduction of conservation farming methods aimed at making peasants more independent from external inputs so their food security and financial capital could increase. The major problem with the financial capital is the unregularity and uncertain inflow. Some peasants could sometimes have an inflow of money from a relative having a salary paid work, but often the money was transferred to the husband. The pension system is poorly developed in Zambia and was not available for any of the interviewed
peasants, so elderly people had to rely on children and relatives.

Diversification was seen as an important source to get financial inflow to the households, such as blacksmithing, knitting, gardening, mine working (Solwezi) and livestock. Most households hold savings in livestock such as pigs, goats and chickens, which was seen as a good source of income all year around. The poorest household often had to search for an extra income by working on other people’s farms where they got paid in cash or food, since they often did not have access to land.

The local purchasing power was considered low both in Petauke and Solwezi and restricted the household from investing and turning farming into a business. A lack of buyers, both from inside and outside the village, hindered the peasants from selling their supplies, bargaining about the price and making a good profit. However, peasants were often in a bad bargaining position when selling livestock or surplus production since the need of financial assets was often urgent. The urgency of financial assets put the peasants in a vulnerable position, where they sometimes had to sell productive assets. This reduced the subsequent food supply and stable income for the household in the future. As the market is flooded with the same products this also decreases the price, as supply exceeds demand. January to March were the most severe months for the peasants since these months were just before harvesting. Peasants were often forced to use their capital to buy food, which also was most expensive during these months.

4.1.5.1 Gender

Credits are often necessary for peasants to be able to make investments in seeds, fertilizers, school fees and more. A relationship in both Petauke and Solwezi could be seen between women having more access to credits and better status of nutrition, health and education among their children. According to statutory laws, women should have equal access to bank accounts and ability to lend money from the bank as men. However, in practice and following customary laws, this had to go through their husbands, as the husband had fixed assets such as land. Some women also said that the bank wanted you to be married in order to register. Hence, young single women experience a very difficult situation when it comes to accessing financial capital. If the woman is not married, a relative, such as a brother, is often in charge of her finances (Group interview, village Kalimba 2013). Thus, women are often experiencing
a legal obstacle to get access to loans, and furthermore an obstacle due to customary laws. Many women also stated that they felt disregarded if they went to the bank. For example, the employee did not care much about them because they knew (since they saw on their clothes) that they were poor. Despite this, all interviewees stated that they trusted the bank if they could take a loan. One way to increase the inflow of cash could be for women to have a better access to good markets where they can sell their products. Furthermore, neither women nor men had any type of insurance. Additionally, the process of taking a loan for women are handicapped by the fact that they lack identity documents, which none of the interviewed men did. Moreover, the distance between villages and the cities where the banks are located complicates the process. Instead, there are often NGOs that woman can lend from to get access to credits. The loan was then processed through local savings and loan groups. Peasant members of ZNFU or IC were offered help from the organization to get access to loans.

4.1.5.2 Summary financial capital
With lack of financial capital, it is difficult for peasants to make investments in their agriculture in order to expand production. Peasants’ income from their yield is low, due to low purchasing power and underdeveloped markets. As men are in charge of the household budget, women lack financial assets and are excluded from decision-making regarding the household budget. Lack and urgency of financial assets often put peasants at risk of selling productive asset.

4.2 Part two: Transforming processes and structures
In Zambia modern and traditional structures interact together, but in reality tradition certainly serves as an important basis for structures and processes for people. District authorities working in Petauke and Solwezi had both political and legal power. However, religious leaders, chiefs, and headpersons also have a legitimacy based on their social prominence and power. The field study found that traditional leaders have a significant and important role for people. Traditional leaders could often work as a facilitator when a project should be implemented. However, they could also prevent people from participating in projects.

Since the end of colonial rule, Zambia has maintained a dual legal system. Statutory law is superior to customary law, although local court system is separated from statutory law and follows customary laws. Statutory laws call for equality for all citizens and acknowledge both
women and men’s right to have the title over land and other property. However, the majority of people is subjected to customary laws in the areas of marriage, child custody, property rights, succession and forbids women to enter into contracts, such as applying for title over land or own other property, without their husband’s or other male relatives’ agreement. Customary laws were introduced during the colonial time to reflect what was regarded to be African customs. Women and men experience unequal conditions before customary laws and give men power and privileges over women. Statutory and customary laws are thus in odds with each other (Gordon & Gordon, 2007: 310). However, it appeared as the capacity, will and wish to implement statutory laws in rural areas were low, especially from the elite and those in power in the villages, since they benefit from the customary system.

In 2003, the official constitution was reversed and a land policy document developed, that to a larger extent recognize gender equality, women’s right to inherit and own assets such as land (FAO, 2013). However, as explained above, due to the dual system and lack of legitimacy and implementation of statutory law, women’s rights are restricted to customary laws. The lowest judicial courts in Zambia are the local courts, following customary law, and the highest is the High Court and Supreme Court following statutory law (FAO, 2013).

### 4.2.1 Government policies

Public development sectors experience a big capacity constraint partly due to limited budget funds (IFAD, 2004: 8). Subsistence peasants rely mostly on private sector actors that provide different type of services such as micro-loans. During the interviews it becomes clear that advisors primarily turned to peasants belonging to a better socio-economic class. During the nineties private institutions such as ZNFU, ABF35 and ACF36 emerged with the particular goal to make farming into a business through, e.g. cash crop production (ZNFU, 2013), (ESAANet37, 2007), (ACF, 2013). Although women engage in cash crop production, it is men who are considered responsible for the production and who gain the income from the selling of cash crop. Furthermore, the expansion of cash crop often happened at the expense of production for the household, which women are in charge of, often putting women and children at risk of higher food insecurity.

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35 Agri-Business Forum  
36 Agricultural Consultative Forum  
37 The East and Southern Africa Agribusiness Network
Institutions that are providing financial services to the rural people have decreased and are very few, especially since the closure of the government lead program ASIP\textsuperscript{38} (IFAD, 2004: 9). The focus of the agricultural sector from the government’s side has been to expand large-scale farms since this, according to the government, will contribute to employment opportunities for the rural people (IFAD, 2004: 8). Peasants themselves instead said that only the poorest people where those who worked at other farms since they were the ones that did not have access to land. The expanding of large-scale farms were concerning peasants since this could mean that they lost their land, and thus their source of income. The second concern for the government is to provide affordable technologies, input and output markets and financial services to smallholders. The government states that public-private partnership will be the best way to reach these goals (IFAD, 2004: 8).

For the maize market the government in Zambia has perused an interventionist policy. Since the eighties the Zambian government has perused urban bias policies that have led to investments being shifted away from agriculture to mining and manufacturing sectors (Hanjra & Culas, 2011: 551). The government spends considerable money on sectors such as mining and tourism, sectors that have a low spillover effect to the masses of people (Interview Ram for Swedish Embassy, 2013). Maize is tied to a fixed price and maize production and fertilizers are subsidized to guarantee a low food price for the urban population. As a result, areas that are not even suited for maize production are now growing maize (Hanjra & Culas, 2011: 551). Women who grow maize for household consumption cannot benefit from these types of subsidies since a requirement to get subsidized maize and fertilizers from the government is that it is sold back to the government (Interview Naks for WFC, 2013).

\subsection*{4.2.2 Land rights}

The land law in Zambia is the Land Act from 1995, under which all land is either state land, which only accounts for 6 \%, or customary land (traditional land). Chiefs hold customary land from which they distribute land and give titles to people. A person who holds land under customary tenure can convert the land to a lease (state land) that cannot exceed 99 years. However, a person cannot sell land without the consent from the president (FAO, 2013). The Land Act does not make specific references to women’s right to hold land and it is furthermore recognized customary law to be legal under clause (11) (FAO, 2013). Since

\textsuperscript{38} Agricultural Sector Investment Programme
chiefs, trusted to allocate land by the Land Act, by tradition and culture allocate land to men because men are regarded as the head of the household, women become excluded from access to land due to existing ownership rights and power relations (Interview Kamanga for ZLA, 2013). Chiefs often allocate land to headpersons who then distribute the land between the villagers (FAO, 2013).

Market forces have a big impact in Zambia, and land policies are influenced by the international economy. Interviews point in the direction that land is becoming more individualized, when land is becoming a marketable asset, driven by macroeconomic policies. Many TNC dealings with agricultural productions are starting to recognize Zambia’s large potential for agricultural production and are appropriating more and more land. Interview results show that the inflow of private investors has a prominent impact on people’s livelihood. Peasants often felt that since these big companies had a lot of money they could easily get access to the most fertile land. Peasants with a lower socio-economic status, especially women, thus end up in a vulnerable situation since they already have difficulties in gaining access to land.
5. Analysis

In this chapter the research result is analyzed with the research question through the framework of SRL to reach a deeper understanding of the situation with low agricultural productivity. This chapter is divided in two main parts, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes.

During the field study and the work with this thesis, it has become clear that much of the low agricultural productivity belongs on the macro level, such as economic and political problems, creating a complex problem where different actors are trying to pursue their individual agendas. Lack of political will together with greed and self-enrichment among politicians and various agencies seem to have created a situation where good governance is hard to form.

The problem of coordination failures between institutions, and public and private actors is very obvious, especially within the link between macro and micro level. During this study it became clear what a complex situation that occurs on the grassroots level when agendas, goals and different ideological starting points from the different independent stakeholders, as companies, aid agencies and governmental agencies, influencing the peasants, has to be taken into consideration. This coordination failure prevents projects from reaching their full potential and withholds a larger societal development.

However, describing poverty on a macro level often ends up in “Poverty but no poor”39 (Nauckhoff, 2004: 29), which only describes poverty based on certain, often economic, aspects. This could be an explanation why studies rarely try to find and explain who the poor actually are, which then end up in a situation where it is hard to fight poverty. Furthermore, sensitive discussions are then hidden, as the conflict of interest between men and women, implying that gender is seen as a separate question when discussing poverty. It also became clear during this study that the connection to men’s power and privileges are far too rarely made when gender aspects is included in the research.

Rural people’s knowledge is seldom considered, implying that people’s strengths are lost and knowledge is not taken into consideration. Using SRL has shown to be successful when describing, on a grass-root level, both who the poor are and how they experience their

39 Freely translated from ”Fattigdom men inga fattiga” (Nauckhoff, 2004: 29).
poverty. SRL has shown both how quite advanced peasants’ agriculture is. Peasants have managed to diversify their production, they have good knowledge of crops, inputs, animal husbandry and what they need in order to increase their productivity. Peasants are willing to change their way of working with the assets and possibilities they have in order to increase their productivity. At the same time the findings show how vulnerable poor peasants are through limited access to each capital asset, which furthermore are constrained through macro level structures and processes, putting many peasants at risk of ending up in an even more vulnerable position. As other societies, Zambian communities are societies with different social stratification where many peasants are facing difficulties, sometimes on different grounds. During the study it was observed that many peasants mainly faced problems with increasing their agricultural production with other tools then just working harder, while profits of surplus production was low.

The question of land access is complicated. The process of transforming land to private ownership occurs through pressure from IMF and World Bank. Although the process is slow, it should still be taken into consideration. The study found that in the current situation, private land ownership would increase patriarchal structures, where men would gain more power and political and economic influence as they gain access to productive and important resources. Chambers (1983: 129) writes that the vulnerability for a household increases when the assets that can become disposed are big and productive, such as land. As land becomes privatized it becomes a tradable good, and if land is the only capital supply to a peasant, lack of financial assets in a situation of urgency can result in the land being sold. However, the interview results suggest that secure control over land could decrease the vulnerability context facing the peasants. In order for peasants to have secure control over land this has to be supported by legislation where peasants and outsiders have to be aware of these rules. The question about secure control over land becomes increasingly important with the inflow of FDI. Together with weak institutions, lack of knowledge about of ones own right, unclear legislation, and self-enrichment of the chiefs, the small-scale peasants are in the risk of losing their occupied land. Hence, secure land control can provide a starting point in order to make investments in livelihood assets that are needed to increase the productivity. Control over land should not be seen as an end in itself, but has to be viewed in the context of unequal gender structures. Structural factors hinder women’s possibilities to increase productivity, hence, hampering the

40 Foreign Direct Investment
households and the societies’ efforts to collectively fight poverty and improve the socio-economic situation.

With population increase many families experience a reduction of available and arable land. Together with the increasing difficult situation with chiefs, already disadvantaged families face an increasing vulnerable situation, where powerful families instead can take advantage of the situation. This increases the importance of families and person’s socio-economic status to be able to succeed, which, especially in the long run, will have a deprived impact on the overall development within Zambia. However, poor people’s lack of food security will not be solved merely through increasing agricultural production. As long as poor people lack purchasing power or their own agricultural land to cultivate, food security will continue to be a problem.

5.1 Livelihood strategies
During this study the importance of agriculture becomes clear. Agriculture forms the basis of the entire rural economy. Small industries and trade is dependent of the agriculture. Increasing peasants’ income or investing in small-scale agriculture will have a spillover effect leading to increased employment and decreased poverty.

CF\textsuperscript{41} methods were an important strategy adopted by many peasants and were beneficial since it increased the productivity, mainly by the fact that the soil fertility increased, leading to less dependency on external inputs and factors such as fertilizers, as well as a reduction of labour inputs. Increasing soil fertility of peasants’ available land is important since this lead to a decreased need of new land. However, many peasants faced obstacles when implementing CF methods, mainly due to lack of knowledge about the method, implying that many peasant felt insecure about how to implement the method. There is a lack of specialists and advisors who teach and follow up the implementation of CF methods. With the lack of advisors and specialists, the strong social capital many communities possessed could be used when transferring knowledge and teaching children at school about CF methods, as well as cooperation with other organization working with the peasants as ZNFU.

\textsuperscript{41} Conservation Farming
Women and children are mainly responsible for weeding, and lack of pesticides implies that women and children have to put in a lot of labour efforts to weed the fields. Children, mainly girls, thus have to be taken out of school, which put them at risk of becoming isolated and powerless. Some households had also managed to increase their productivity with help from other people working at their farms. However, the payment to day workers is low and thus comes at the day workers expenses. Although the smallholders would be able to increase their productivity, the question of where the markets are and what would happen to the prices remains. Markets are often available, but with an excess of supply of the crops produced by practically all peasants, the demand is low, creating a low price while the price of other commodity goods has increased. Many peasants choose to sell their supply of maize on the black market instead of selling it to parastatals.

As households are trying to expand their production it is often women who take responsibility for what was regarded as typical male tasks, such as preparing the land for cultivation and building houses, while men often showed unwillingness to take responsibility for female tasks, such as cooking, child care, weeding, fetching water or collecting fire wood. Underneath this explanation the gender power relations must be highlighted, where female and female tasks are regarded having lower value.

Many peasants are seeking to increase their production by enhancing the production of cash crops, which happens at the expense of the household food production. The income from the sale of cash crops automatically goes to the man, even if it is the woman who in practice does most of the work, both with the cash crop and the household’s food production. Men rarely consult with their women on economic issues. Since women are not entitled to any productive resources they have difficulties when trying to get access to some form of credit in order to improve their living conditions or enhance agricultural productivity.

Diversification of crops was a strategy that all peasants regarded as a good strategy to increase food security, and which they all tried to develop. Many peasants used mixed cropping, a method that has been known since their ancestors and implies that two crops, sometimes several crops, are cultivated simultaneously in the same land. Mixed cropping increased the yield and decreased peasants’ vulnerability since it gave some support against crop failure. Planting different crops on the same field increases soil fertility as “nitrogen-fixing plants fertilize non-nitrogen fixing plants” (Chambers, 1983: 86). As different crops
have different deep roots, cultivating two or more crops on the same field implies that different levels of the soil can give nutrition to the crops (Chambers, 1983: 86). Agricultural advisors should give greater consideration to the knowledge peasants possess about this method.

Crop rotation is another method used, where different crops are cultivated on the same land different years to decrease the spread of weed and pest. Shifting cultivation was used to increase soil fertility and implies that before cultivated areas were left in fallow. This restores the nutrition to the soil. However, as land becomes a valuable asset and land scarcity increases, e.g. when land has to be divided between family members, fallow periods tend to become shorter. Furthermore, animal husbandry was considered to be an important complement to agriculture in order to gain an income and increase food security. Animals were held as financial capital, and were a good source of income. Within livestock ownership, there was also a distinct gender distribution. Men were responsible essentially for large cattle, which was used as draft animals within the agriculture for e.g. ploughing and transportation and enhanced the agricultural productivity. Women were responsible for smaller animals such as goats, chickens and pigs used for the family's own consumption or to sell in local markets. Often the greatest importance was put on the large cattle in terms of agricultural advising and veterinary subsidies. This was done despite the fact that smaller animals are vital to the family's poverty reduction, diversification and nutrition.

5.2 Livelihood outcomes

The interview results suggest that productivity is especially low due to lack of physical capital, since the available human capital is not sufficient to increase the productivity within the hand-made agriculture, as well as low quality of the available natural capital in form of extremely low fertility of the soil. Lack of physical capital goes hand in hand with lack of financial capital, as the inflow of money to the household is not sufficient to contribute to increase the physical capital creating a situation where the move from traditional to modern production techniques is slow and limited. Lack of natural capital in form of extremely low fertility of the soil is correlated to a lack of human capital, not solely by the peasants but also by stakeholders influencing the peasants. Many peasants have little control over factors influencing their livelihood strategies such as economics and political policies, fluctuating commodity prices, infrastructure and changing climate that create a vulnerability context that
is difficult to influence. In regard to the numbers of fields with exhausted soils many peasants where facing, the practice of CF methods was still low even though the need of it was evident. The substitution program of fertilizers to small-scale peasants from the government worked very poorly according to the respondents, with coordination failure hampering the project’s aim. The Zambian government conducts the road infrastructure program to enhance national economic growth. Although this project is aiming to create infrastructure development to attract foreign direct investment, it is not directly aiming at creating better infrastructure for the rural population even though they can benefit from the new infrastructure to some extent.

As cash crop is mostly emphasized when agricultural production is considered, from agricultural advisors, NGOs and researchers, the importance of production for household consumption, carried by women are diminished. This increases gender segregation in the division of labour between women and men in a way that is a disadvantage for women. The gender division of labour today implies that women work almost the double amount of time in comparison to men, which gives men a significant welfare benefit.

As land becomes a valuable asset, women will continue to experience difficulties in accessing land as long as patriarchal structures exist and women’s access to land is mediated through their husbands. Furthermore, women working within the agriculture find it much harder than men to gain access to valuable agricultural inputs, which would enhance their agricultural productivity and decrease their working hours. Lack of assets creates vulnerability but also isolation and powerlessness, since power is directly linked to access and property. The unequal distribution of power between the sexes within the family makes it even more difficult to achieve equality through support from the outside, particularly if they lack a power and gender perspective. A necessary step for gender equality is to eliminate all legal barriers for women to access productive resources, as well as improving education. Both informal and formal barriers must be taken into consideration.

Changing relative prices, which the liberalization following SAP and PRSP aims at, comes with both pros and cons. The aim of changing relative prices is to increase the prices of tradable goods in relationship to non-tradable goods. This could increase employment for both women and men but an evaluation of the division of labour and control of income can show negative aspects. In Zambia, the man controls the cash crop, and an increase of the production of cash crop will happen at the expense of agricultural production for the
household, mainly managed by women. The terms of trade within the household will then be changed even more to the benefit of the man. A coherent poverty strategy therefore requires addressing the skewed gender power relations in all sectors.

An increase in food prices affects men and women differently. Poor households are often net food buyers and normally it is the women who have the major responsibility to sustain their families with food. As the man controls the money from the sale of surplus production, the effects of a price change will affect women as consumers, and men as producers differently. This will also worsen the situation for the children, as many studies show that women spend more money on the family, children, education and medical care, while their lack of time will worsen.

As the conditions already are different for man and women in the starting position, there is a high probability, as shown in e.g. Zambia’s PRSP, that an inherent negative bias against women will appear. If the aim of gender equality should be reached there is a need of applying a gender aware analysis before the macroeconomic policy is set, not afterwards.

Lack of human capital must be seen in the light of insufficient and underdeveloped public institutions. The presence of structural inequality implies that social norms, patriarchal structures and initial financial resources determine individual’s possibilities and opportunities to develop. Regarding access to land, social position is a determinant factor for secure control over land where households or individuals of a low socio-economic position are at higher risk of losing their land. Privatization occurring in Zambia will put women at a higher risk, since women to a greater extent lack capital in comparison to men to take advantage of the opportunities privatization offer. This regards everything from land privatization to privatization of firms dealing with agricultural inputs.

Religion and tradition favors men, but despite this, both religion and tradition provides a duality for women, on the one hand it can be a source of power that makes it possible to endure poverty, but at the same time it hinders the efforts to empower women. Many women are regarded and regard themselves as unworthy, especially when women are bought (as property) through the bridal bargain. Social expenditure, such as funerals, bride wealth and marriages often put households at high risk of debt and the selling of productive assets. Sickness not only lowers the productivity, but also like social expenditure, it puts the
household at risk of becoming indebted. However, medicines are often subsidized from the government so it is rather the effect of sickness, such as lower productivity or the selling of productive resources, that puts households at risk of ending up in a vulnerable situation, since it results in income and food supply being reduced for the household.

Poverty and vulnerability look different for women and men in different contexts. In terms of economic vulnerability, women are affected to a greater extent, because they rarely have access to land independently, often work in the informal sector and eat less when food is scarce. Social vulnerability affecting women is their lack of time, that men make the decisions about loans and other issues that affect the whole family, and women's vulnerability to violence in the family, school and society.

Although, women wished to access land, mainly because they did not want to feel restricted and dependent upon their husband and organizations such as ZLA worked to increase women’s land access. But women’s struggle to gain access to land challenges customary land rights and is seen as negative by others in the village. For especially women to challenge customary rights is seen as an attempt to unsettle gender relations and the order within villages and society. Gender discrimination in the justice system, both customary and statutory, is probably an important reason why men and women experience poverty differently. The solution to give women and men equal opportunity should follow non-discriminating interventions instead of special initiatives for women only. As long as customary land distribution or reliance on market solutions follow the prevailing gender and social stratification this will create a context of vulnerability for poor peasants, especially women, that will continue to be reproduced. In a society where individuals’ socio-economic belonging is determent for the individuals’ life prospect, poor people such as poor peasant, mainly women, will often be too isolated and too powerless to benefit from cooperatives, agricultural advisors and markets. Chamber explains, “Local elites stand as nets between poor people and the outside world, in the sense that they catch and trap resources and benefits” (Chamber, 1983: 131). Power is a relationship between people and groups of people, and must be analyzed with the understanding that it is in power structures that the core of inequality exists.

High birth rates are concentrated to poor countries. Poor families find it difficult to invest in their children's education, which means that these countries have a large concentration of low-
skilled workers. This leads to the investments being made in the country take place in industries and sectors that require only low-skilled workers. This gives rise to a low-wage economy and a vicious circle is created when families, although working, still cannot invest money in their children's education.

Law is a critical starting point, yet not enough, in securing women’s access to land. As peasants feel more confidence in social institutions connected to the village, existing local structures could be used to secure women’s access to land. This implies that customary rules has to be transformed and updated but do not have to be replaced. As Daley and Englert explains, “In the pursuit of women’s land rights, we can thus seek to build on what is already there while simultaneously seeking to change it” (Daley & Englert, 2010: 8).
6. Conclusion

Peasants’ productivity is hampered by the fact that they lack access to productive resources and financial resources. For women this implies that they end up in a dependency relationship to their husband or other male relatives, putting them at a vulnerable and isolated position. Women’s lack of access to land is influenced by the social stratification, such as norms and customary laws as well as the legal statutory system where men have more power and privileges. Access to land would strengthen women’s economical independency since land works as a collector for credits, and is besides that linked to social status and power. Those peasants, who have a more secure and stable life, which rarely are women, have more power and confidence to contact and work with advisors, implement new methods and raise their voices, which is important when increasing productivity.

Gender discrimination must be considered as a cause of poverty and it halters the countries collective effort to fight poverty. Our definitions of poverty are mirrored through what we consider to be causes of poverty. It is thus a political option to include or not include gender issues when defining poverty. Women experience gender-based discrimination considering access to land and other property, credits and education. Due to their gender women are excluded from decision-making on all levels of society and often become isolated in the household. The difference between men and women is structurally conditioned and is the result of an uneven access to resources, which has been translated into an uneven power relation between men and women. This uneven power relation are then reproduced within the household, local authorities, institutions, laws, banks, and schools. Because of the gender discrimination, women and men experience poverty differently. For example, women are often overloaded with reproductive tasks, which implies that women rarely get any spare time.

As indicated during the interviews, the family structure is linked to and reflects other rules and norms of society, which limits the individual's freedom of action. This is a form of power that is hidden and rooted in the fact that men are seen as primarily head of the family or household, which also gives men control over resources. This implies that men and women do not experience the same starting position in life, and have thus different opportunities to improve their living conditions. Empowering women should not be about disempowering men, although this often seemed to be the perceived perception from men.
Access to land may not solely be the resource that can improve women’s economic situation, but it can be a starting point for providing security and food. Women are highly dependent on their male counterparts in the access of resources. This creates a power advantage for the male and leaves the women subjected to men. The way marriage are contracted in Zambia, as well as in many other African countries, implies that women’s access to critical productive resources such as land, money and machinery, is mediated through a male kin and in the event of death of the male partner or divorce these resources are withdrawn. Women interviewed had a fear of opposing their husbands due to the threat of divorce. There is a strong sex-role stereotyping between men and women on all levels of society, and women often feel that land ownership is a male issue while men feel that their role as a head of the household makes the land issue a male reserve. The benefit women gain from the household does not commensurate what they bring in as input to the household. The conclusion out of this study is that privatization of land would in the current situation reinforce gender discrimination. It would also increase the vulnerability context for the households, as the household could then end up in a severe situation where the only possibility is to sell productive resources such as land.

It is difficult for peasants to get enough financial resources from their yield to invest and develop their farming. In addition, the government’s and donors’ financial spending on agriculture and investment in rural development is low, creating a situation where the overall macroeconomic situation provides little support for rural peasants. This contributes to a situation where peasants are dependent upon networks limited to the family and to the closets area.

6.1 Concluding remarks of the research question

Women’s conditions and circumstances to increase productivity are perused within limits of patriarchal structures, where women collectively are discriminated and men collectively are privileged. Women are highly restricted in land access in comparison to men, due to gender discrimination where men are seen as the head of household, hence the owner of productive resources. Secure access to land is vital when considering the question about productivity. Secure access to land would increase the flexibility and choices female peasants have when choosing their livelihood strategies. Secure access to land would
increase women’s social status and promote and increase possibilities for women to engage in income-generating strategies.

6.2 This thesis contributions to peace and development work

This thesis has brought additional insight about the link between agricultural productivity, land access and gender equality in the context of Zambia from the peasants’ own perspective. This has previously been an unexplored area in Zambia, and the findings from this thesis could be beneficial for organizations, NGO:s and governmental institutions working with poverty reduction strategies and development.

6.3 Recommendations

Lastly, based on the findings from this study, the recommendation is that development strategies must be based on the individual need of the poor, which the poor themselves must define. In order to strengthen poor people’s capacity, a focus on increasing poor people’s access to productive resources such as land is of importance, as well as giving them the possibility to develop their agriculture through better markets and agricultural inputs. As women and men’s needs differ, it has to be taken into consideration that women experience poverty due to gender discrimination and because of this they are denied access to land, owning property, bank account, health and education. Gender discriminating laws and traditions have to be reversed and poor people have to get information about their actual rights.
7. References


Chapoto, A. (2010) *Agricultural Productivity in Zambia: Has there been any Progress?*  

[Online] Available from:  


[Online] Available from:  


[Online] Available from:  


### 8. Appendix

#### 8.1 List over completed interviews

#### 8.1.1 Individual interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Headwomen Kalimba</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Headwomen</td>
<td>Petauke. Village: Kalimba</td>
<td>7 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmas Zulu</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>Petauke. Village: Chipiatila IC</td>
<td>9 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phauales Phioi</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>Petauke. Village: Chipiatila IC</td>
<td>9 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petronella Ilunga</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>Petauke. Village: Msapukike. IC: Chambale</td>
<td>10 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Nkumbwa</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>Petauke. Village: Msapukike. IC: Chambale</td>
<td>10 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glorias Mudimina</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Peasant</td>
<td>Solwezi. Village: Masulwila</td>
<td>1 May 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davison Chilenga</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Craftsman and peasant</td>
<td>Solwezi. Village: Masulwila</td>
<td>1 May 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ddnald</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Craftsman and peasant</td>
<td>Solwezi.</td>
<td>1 May 2013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kajimina  peasant  Village: Masulwila

John Kashimanga  Male  Peasant  Solwezi.  Village: Masulwila  1 May 2013

Mukalo Namwinga  Male  Peasant  Solwezi.  Village: Masulwila  1 May 2013

Johnson Ntambo  Male  Peasant  Solwezi.  Village: Masulwila  2 May 2013

Beauty Mwianaute  Female  Peasant  Solwezi.  Village: Masulwila  2 May 2013

Enice Mukazu  Female  Peasant  Solwezi.  Village: Masulwila  2 May 2013

Robby Nkunejamina  Male  Peasant  Solwezi.  Village: Masulwila  2 May 2013

Patric Hunter Kangwa  Male  Peasant, old politician  Solwezi.  Village: Masulwila  3 May 2013

Winnie Kangwa  Female  Peasant  Solwezi.  Village: Masulwila  3 May 2013

8.1.2 Group interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Sex</th>
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<th>Date</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>About 50</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Petauke.</td>
<td>9 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Village:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kalimba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
20  Men  Petauke. Village: Kalimba  9 April 2013

22  Women  Petauke. Village: Msapukike. IC: Chambale  10 April 2013

15  Men  Petauke. Village: Msapukike. IC: Chambale  10 April 2013

12  Women  Solwezi. Village: Shilenda  1 May 2013

8.1.3 Interviews with representatives from organisations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The representative name</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Henry Wamulwa</td>
<td>MACO District Office</td>
<td>Petauke</td>
<td>8 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patric Nana</td>
<td>Diakonia (NGO)</td>
<td>Petauke</td>
<td>8 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Kamanga</td>
<td>ZLA District Office</td>
<td>Petauke</td>
<td>8 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Moyo</td>
<td>CAZ District Office</td>
<td>Petauke</td>
<td>8 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Petauke and Newbwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence Nkumbula</td>
<td>ZNFU. Position: Single manager for</td>
<td>Petauke</td>
<td>8 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gender and Environment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwene Katonga</td>
<td>CFU District Supporter</td>
<td>Petauke</td>
<td>9 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josef Lunguo</td>
<td>PDFA. Position:</td>
<td>Petauke</td>
<td>10 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position/Office</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lumamba Chomba</td>
<td>Industry for Proceeding Sunflower and Groundnuts. District Farmers Association Petakue</td>
<td>Petakue</td>
<td>11 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sally Naks</td>
<td>WFC. Position: Program Coordinator</td>
<td>Lusaka</td>
<td>17 April 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukalo Namwinga</td>
<td>Ministry of Agriculture. Position: Agriculture extension office</td>
<td>Lusaka</td>
<td>2 May 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna Ram</td>
<td>Swedish Embassy</td>
<td>Lusaka</td>
<td>6 May 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dick Samie</td>
<td>IFAD</td>
<td>Lusaka</td>
<td>26 April 2013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.2 Interview guides

8.2.1. Interview guide about the village

Date:_________________

Province:________________ District:____________ Commune:____________

Interview with Mr:____________ With Ms:__________ With Mr and Ms:___________

The village/area’s history

1. Name of the village: ___________________

2. Is the name of the village old or new? Where does it come from and what does it mean?

3. What is the history of the area where this village is settled?

4. Why did they choose to create a village at this location?

5. How and where did the people live before they moved to this location? (Scattered, near their farmland, in another village, what kind of village was that?)

Geographic location of the village

6. Road network?

7. What type of infrastructure do you have access to in this area?

8. Number of schools, healthcare, hospitals, stores, storage buildings, mills, slaughterhouses, business, cottage industry, wells, houses built of cement / concrete house of local materials, the number of houses with roof of tiles, sheets or straw / palm leaves / grass?

9. Distance between different places and infrastructure?
Demographic

10. Number of population?

11. Number of household?

12. Population age structure?

13. Gender distribution in the population (balanced, unbalanced)?

14. Number of households in which alone man or woman is in charge of the family?

15. Number of persons per family?

16. Number of persons per household?

17. Number of orphans?

Families in the village and their origin

18. Is there internal migration? If so, what does it depend on?

19. Families who have recently arrived in the village, why have they done that?

20. Returning families, why have they returned?

21. Absent families, why and where are they?

22. What influence on the village, internal migration and resettlement of people?

Agriculture

23. In what areas are the farmland and pastures located?

24. Distance between home and the land, between the road and the land?

25. What crops are grown in the fields?
26. Different kinds of cattle, and the places they graze?

27. Cultivated area per family?

28. Land access? Lack, abundance, no restraints?

29. Is there still cultivable land not cultivated or is not occupied by anyone?

30. Where, if so, are these soils? Near the village, far away?

31. What is the current situation in relation to land access and how was it earlier, in the past?

**Holdings of arable land and/or pasture**

32. Are there differences between families, between women and men in holdings of land?

33. If there are differences, what is the explanation for these differences in the details?

34. Is there someone borrowing land from others for farming or grazing in this area?

35. Is there any paying (rent/lease) of land borrowing (cash or products)?

36. Are there sale and purchase of land?

37. If so, cost? Cheap, expensive, you pay in cash or products? (Note: This is a sensitive question if it is forbidden to sell land).

38. How does a family get access to land?

39. Are there families, women or men in the village who do not have access to land? Why is it so? Who are these families or individuals socio-economic terms? How do they solve their survival situation?

40. Are there any local rules for the allocation of land?
41. Who is responsible for the allocation of land? Property rights, farming rights, boundary markers, respect for who has the land and so on?

42. Have the rules changed over the years? If yes; in what why?

43. Are there land conflicts in the area / village?

44. How are these conflicts manifested?

45. What is the conflict about?

46. Who is regarded as the owner of the land? The woman, the man or both?

47. Can a woman own land or be regarded to be the one who has the management of the land?

48. What happens with the land if a husband or a wife die? Who will then inherit the land?

49. What happen with the land if a couple get divorced?

Use of the land

50. Have there been any changes in the use of land, and which land that is used in recent years (arable land, pasture land)? If yes, how and why in this way?

51. What are the different forms of water supply in the area? Wells, rivers, streams, ponds, lakes?

52. What is the distance between water sources and pastures and farmland?

53. What are the main crops used for catering in the area? Cultivated, indigenous/wild?

54. What is used for animal feed? Where do the people get their animal feed from?
**Economic activities in the village for men and women**

55. What are the main economic activities in the village for both men and women?

56. How important is each of them to the village, its people, for women and men?

57. Is there any type of animal husbandry? Cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, chickens, ducks or other animals to use in this area?

58. How do those who want to start breeding of animals do? Where do the animals come from? Buy, borrow a pair and then keep offspring inherits, or other forms?

59. Which draft animal uses in the area? To which agricultural chores are animal used? Transportation?

60. What type of farming occurs? Small-scale manually family farms, larger private farms, plantations, businesses, cooperatives, small organizations or groups of farmers, etc.?

61. Which crops are used in the various forms of agriculture?

62. Occur orchards, vegetable farms, harnessing of nature's fruits, plants and seedlings?

63. Occurs forestry or other use of the forest?

64. How does the availability of firewood look? Where is the firewood picked up? Distance and potential environmental effects of this?

65. Are there those who sell firewood? Where and what is it?

66. Is there any manufacturing of charcoal locally? By who? Which tree species are used? Who cut these trees? How is the sale of charcoal? Where are the sales? By whom, at what price and how it is transported?
67. Which local small industries and artisans in the village/area? Mills, sawmills, woodworking, pottery, tanks, sheet metal, thin sheet metal workers (containers, buckets, mugs, etc.), repair (bicycles, motors, gears, clocks, radios, etc.), tailor, shoemaker, baker, butcher, hairdresser, etc.

68. Are there those in the village who have employment/wage work permanently? Is there any difference between men and women? What kind of socio-economic group are these people representing? Where do they work? What do they do? Do they work far away from home or nearby? Wage relationships? Differences between men, women and children?

69. Is it normal to seek day paid work in this area? What type of day paid work in such cases? What makes (men, women, children, the poorest or other)? Why do they do this? What do they get out of it? How much they are paid per day (cash or products)?

70. Which works with herding and watching the cattle? Boys, girls, the family's own children, other children, adults? How is they paid?

71. Is labour supply a problem in the village/area? In what way? For who? How is the problem solved?

**Division of labour between the sexes and age**

72. Division of labour between women and men in animal husbandry, agricultural, other chores at home?

73. What is the situation of young people out? Access to work? What is the division of the youth (girls and boys)?

**Food situation**

74. During which period of the year population suffers food shortages?

75. Has it always been like that or has it changed over the years? How has it changed?
76. What is the food situation for different families? For different social groups of the population? Describe!

77. If there are differences in the food situation for families why are these differences there?

78. How to solve the their situation during these periods of food shortage?

**Which activity is the most important for the families in the village?**

79. Livestock, agriculture, crafts, sale of any product or service, paid work elsewhere, etc.?

80. Has this situation always looked the same? If not, how has it changed over the years?

81. Is hunting and fishing an important component of family income? What is the importance of these activities for the family's food situation, for its economy? Who engaged in this (women, men, children)?

82. Do the families use other products from nature that are not cultured? What? For what? Where do you find these? Is they found far away or close to the village? Does everyone have the right to pick, collect, retrieve these products (women, men)?

83. Are there forest management in the village?

84. What are the different use of the products from thee forest? Crafts, food, utensils, medicinal plants, manufacture of beverages (drinks), building materials, firewood, charcoal, shade, shelter, etc.?


**Commercialization of agricultural products, meat, milk, crafts, fruits, vegetables etc.**

86. What products are sold and where are they sold? Who sells (male, female)? Who is buying the products?
87. Terms of trade: What are the prices of the products that are sold and how has the prices developed?

88. How does the price they get out of their products to the cost/price of consumer goods?

**Employment and agricultural tools**

89. What tools are used? Where can you buy them? Is there any local manufacture? Is their good access to the tools? Is it difficult to get access to gears? Prices?

90. What are the opportunities for acquiring food and medicines for the cattle? Is there any access to veterinary if you have sick cattle?

91. What are the opportunities to get good seed, fertilizer and pesticides?

**Access to credit for women and men**

92. Are there any possibilities to get access to microcredit? Are there any differences between women and men?

93. Can both men and women take bank loans? What are the possibilities to get bank loans?

94. Are there traditional forms of loans? Are there any differences between women and men?

**Transportation**

95. What access to transportation does the people in the village have? Are their any differences for women and men? Bus, bike, car, motorcycle, draft animals, tractors?

96. What problems are in relation to the transport situation?

**Difficulties and possibilities**

97. What difficulties and problems or obstacles are related with animal husbandry and agriculture?
98. Why do these problems appear?

99. How can these difficulties be solved? Suggestions on what could be done?

100. Are there problems that are specific to women and men?

101. Which factor is the most critical to a farmer (man or woman) to feel motivated and able to improve their production (farming, animal husbandry), or their living situation?

102. Which factor is the most restricted?

103. What should or can be done to eliminate or reduce the meaning of this or these impeding factors?

Community work
104. What are the experiences in the village of various shared activities, collective work, voluntary work and community work? Exemplify!

105. How are these activities organized? Who is involved? Are there special activities for men and for women?

106. How was it back in the past? How is it today? Exemplify!

Health situation in the village
107. What are the most common diseases for children, adults, men and women?

108. How do those who are sick perceive that they get help with their illness?

109. How does the child and maternal health? Do all have access to this? If not, why?

110. Is there a vaccination program? Do all have access to this?
School situation

111. Do all have access to school? Are there any differences between girls and boys in access to school?

112. Is there any adult education? If yes; do both men and women have access to it? If not; why?

113. Is it many who are illiterate?

8.2.2 Interview guide – Individual interview

Date:__________________

Province:______________ District:______________ Commune:______________

Interview with Mr:__________ With Ms:__________ With Mr and Ms:__________

How many people does the household consist of:__________

Civil status: Married:_____ Single mother:_____ Single father:_____ Widow:_____
Other:__________

How many children do you have (at home):_____ Female:_____ Male:_____ Other children at your responsibility:_____ Female:_____ Male:_____

1. Are your children in school?

2. Those who are not in school, why?

3. Your own educational background?

4. Since how many years do you live here? Mr:_______ Ms:_____________
5. What is your house built of?

6. From where do you get clean drinking water?

7. Distance between water source and home? (m, km, minutes or hours)

8. How many meals do you prepare per day? For children? For adults (women, men)?

9. Paid work? What type of paid work? Mr:___________ Ms:_____________ How much are you paid per month?

10. How many fields does your family have? _________ Mr:___________ Ms_________ Mr/Ms:_____________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
<th>4th</th>
<th>5th</th>
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<tr>
<td>Distance to field (km, hours)?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Area?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of soil?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you produce on the field?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. Fertilizer? Price?

13. Pesticides or insecticides?

14. How do you get to your fields?

15. Do you borrow fields? If yes; how do you pay, money, products, etc.?

16. Do you use to hire people to work on your fields?

17. Do you use to work for others farmers? _______ Mr: _______ Ms: _______
During which months?

18. Do you sell any of your agriculture produce?

19. How much of your yield did you sell last year?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Prize</th>
<th>Where?</th>
<th>By whom?</th>
<th>Mr/Ms?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

20. Terms of trade: How has the prices developed?

21. Is your production enough to feed the family?

22. If it is never enough, in which months do you lack food?

23. Has it always been like that or has it changed over the years? How has it changed?
24. Are there differences between the tasks men and women have in agriculture?

25. What are these differences?

26. Do women and men grow different types of crops?

27. If yes, what type of crops is grown by women and men?

28. How does a regular working day look for a woman and a man?

29. Other economic activities you use to carry out? Mr: __________ Ms: __________

30. Income from these activities? Mr: __________ Ms: __________

31. Handicraft: Pottery, basketry, embroidery, tailor, art, construction work, blacksmith, mechanic, repair of bicycles, radios, watches or other activities? Mr: __________ Ms: __________

32. Fishing or hunting? Mr: __________ Ms: __________

33. Small scale business: Selling prepared food, bread, cookies, drinks, alcoholic drink, fruits, flowers, etc.? Mr: __________ Ms: __________

34. Selling firewood, coal, construction material, locally made brick, etc.? Mr: __________ Ms: __________

35. Other business activities? Which?

36. Income of the activities mentioned above (per activity if possible)?

37. What did you buy during the last month? Mr/Ms: (firewood, coal, petrol, batteries, foodstuff (what type), hygienic and cleaning products, things for your home, clothes, others)?
38. How much did you spend on these purchases?

39. Other expenses you had? Mr/Ms: (Medical assistance, medicine, traditional treatment, school costs including contributions and fees, transport costs, others)?

40. How much did it cost you?

41. Do you have any of the following belongings (indicate the number of each)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Radio</th>
<th>Hoes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wrist-watch</td>
<td>Machetes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bicycle</td>
<td>Axes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motorbike</td>
<td>Cutters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing machine</td>
<td>Beds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat, canoe</td>
<td>Tables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net for fishing</td>
<td>Chairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plough</td>
<td>Other furniture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42. Cart for animal traction?

43. Do you use any sort of credit or loan in your agricultural production or in your other economic activities? ____________ What sort of credit or loans?

44. Do you use to hire animal traction for ploughing or transport?

45. How much do you have to pay for it?

46. Do you have (in numbers)? Cattle: _____________ Water buffalos: _____________
   Goats: _____________ Sheep: _____________
   Pigs: _____________ Ducks: _____________ Chickens: _____________
   Rabbits: _____________ Other animal breeding: _____________
47. Fish breeding? ___________________ Shrimp breeding? ___________________
   Other?

48. If you have, what sort of fruit trees do you have?

49. Are there any systems for mutual help in practice in your community? Traditional as well as more recent systems, in agriculture, social support, or in other areas?

50. Do you participate in these systems of mutual help? Mr: ________ Ms: __________

51. How?

52. If not, why?

53. Do you participate in other community activities? Mr: ______________ Ms: __________

54. In which? (Groups, organizations, associations, religious congregations, agricultural extensions, meetings, other activities).

55. If not, why?

56. Are there any differences between women and men regarding their participation in local mutual help systems, community activities, school activities, local decision making?

57. If yes, in what way?

58. Why these differences? Why is it like this?

59. Are there differences between different social and cultural groups in the society or community regarding participation in community activities (socio-economic groups
such as poor, medium, better of, illiterate, literate, cultural background, ethnicity, disabled, age, women, men)?

60. If yes, in what way?

61. Why these differences? Why is it like this?

62. Do women and men have the same right to make decision on their own? Exemplify!

63. If not, why?

64. How could it be made possible for all in the community to participate in different community activities, in school activities, in local planning and in local decision-making?

65. Are all groups of families in the community interested in and willing to participate? Do they have the possibility and capacity to participate?

66. What do you like women, you like men if those organizations where only women are involved or in which only men participate?

67. How could one describe women and men’s situation in this village? Exemplify!

68. What are woman’s main problems? Exemplify!

69. What are man’s main problems? Exemplify!

70. Do women or men face some specific problem because they are women or men? Exemplify!

71. Have women and girls or men and boys situation changed during the last years? In what way? Exemplify (social situation, economic, political, HIV/AIDS, other diseases, conflicts, etc.)
72. The families that are poor in this area, what has caused their poverty?

73. Have there been any changes in the use of land, and which land that is used in recent years (arable land, pasture land)? If yes, how and why in this way?

74. Can woman and men inherit land or are their differences?

75. Are there any possibilities to get access to microcredit? Are there any differences between women and men?

76. Can both men and women take bank loans? What are the possibilities to get bank loans?

77. Are there traditional forms of loans? Are there any differences between women and men?

78. Are there differences between families, between women and men in holdings of land?

79. Are there families, women or men in the village who do not have access to land? Why is it so? Who are these families or individuals socio-economic terms? How do they solve their survival situation?

8.2.3 Interview guide – Poverty questions

1. Who are considered poor, middle or rich?

2. What does it mean to be poor, middle or rich?

3. How does one know that a family or an individual are poor, middle or rich?

4. How does one see or understand that someone is poor, middle or rich?

5. Why are some people poor, middle or rich?
6. Why do a family get poor?

7. What cause poverty?

8. What leads to a good life?

9. What does a good life mean? What does a good life characterize?

10. Which people are poor in this village from a socio-economic perspective?

11. Are there any differences between men and women with regard to poverty?

12. Are the gap/differences increasing between the poor and this village, area and society? If yes; why?

13. Are there families, who are at risk of facing a more vulnerable position than they are in now? If yes; why?

14. Which are these families in a socio-economic perspective?

15. To the person who is poor: how do you perceive your own situation?

16. Which different way out of poverty do you have?

17. Which possibilities and abilities do you have to solve your situation?

18. How could you escape poverty?

19. Which strategy do poor people choose to be able to organize their lives and their livelihood?

20. How do they act to escape poverty?

21. Public service; which meaning does it have for poor people?
22. Do poor people have access to this service? (Healthcare, education, schools, welfare, consultancy, credits, subsidies, etc.)

23. How to reach the poor people?

24. How have poverty looked in a historical perspective in this village? Are there some differences? Some traumatic events as natural disasters, epidemics, social conflicts, war situation, violence, etc.?

8.2.4 Interview guide – Questions for women and men

1. Which responsibilities and task do women and men have in agriculture? Differences?

2. Are there any differences between men and women in animal husbandry and animal breeding?

3. Are there a division of labour between men and women in other family domains?

4. Are there any distributions of tasks between the sexes?

5. Which are the work routines and different responsibilities for women and men? During the 24 hours, during each month and after the agricultural calendar.

6. Make a schedule of what men and women priorities. Example; economic activities, which crops etc.

7. What are women’s main problems? Place it in a hierarchal order.

8. What are men’s main problems? Place it in a hierarchal order.

9. Who can inherit land? Are there any differences between women and men?

10. Could you describe women and men’s situation in this village? Exemplify!
11. Are women in a more difficult situation than men? Exemplify!

12. Which specific problems do women face? Exemplify!

13. Which specific problems do men face? Exemplify!

14. Do they face problems just because they are a woman or a man? Exemplify!

15. Do women participate in all the economic activities in the village? Exemplify!

16. Do women and men participate in economic activities on equal terms? Exemplify!

17. In which activities do women not participate where men participate? Exemplify!

18. Why this division?

19. How take care of the small children when women work on the fields (or other work)?

20. How take care of the small children when men work on the fields (or other work)?

21. Which role do women have in the leadership in the village? Exemplify!

22. Which role do men have in the leadership in the village? Exemplify!

23. Do women have any role in the responsible structures (modern and traditional) in the village? Exemplify!

24. Do women become consulted in planning and decision making in the village? Exemplify!

25. Do women have the right to make decision on their own? Exemplify!

26. Do men have the right to make decision on their own? Exemplify!
27. Are there any organisations or associations where only women or men are members?

28. Which organisations or associations is this and what are they doing?

29. Why do only women participate in some activities?

30. Why do only men participate in some activities?

31. In which context do women and men act together? Exemplify!

32. What do you, as a woman, think of these organisations or associations where only women participate?

33. What do you, as a man, think of these organisations or associations where only men participate?

34. Have women and girls situation changes during the last years? If yes; how? Exemplify! (Social situation, economic situation, political situation, HIV/AIDS, other diseases, conflicts, etc.)

35. Have men and boys situation changed during the last years? If yes; how? Exemplify! (Social situation, economic situation, political situation, HIV/AIDS, other diseases, conflicts, etc.)

36. What is it that makes it hard or complicates for some women or some men to participate in certain activities?

37. What can be done to facilitate for women or men to participate in these activities?

38. Have social network for women, men or children dissolved up, likely to be dissolved or are they permanent? Exemplify!
39. Are some groups more vulnerable? Migrated women/men, widows, single mothers, single parents, orphans, small children, older women/men, sickly women/men, and disabled women/men?

40. Are there any specific obstacles or constraints for women to increase their productivity or production? Exemplify!

41. Are there any specific obstacles or constraints for men to increase their productivity or production? Exemplify!

8.2.5 Interview guide – Questions for activities

1. Do you know what ________ are doing?

2. Which type of activity is it? What are they doing?

3. Which activities are taking place in your village?

4. In which activities are you participating?

5. Are your wife or husband also participating?

6. In which activities are your wife or husband participating?

7. Do you benefit from that your wife or husband is participating? Which are the benefits?

8. The persons that are participating in the activities with ______, why are they participating?

9. The people that are not participating, why are they not participating?

10. The persons that are participating who are they in a social perspective? Which socio-economic group do they belong to?
11. The persons that are not participating who are they in a social perspective? Which socio-economic group do they belong to?

12. Which activities, could you, be able to participate in?

13. What are the benefits from participate in ______?

14. Which benefits should such an activity mean for you?

15. Do you want to participate in some activity? If yes; why? If not; why?

16. Do you have the possibility to participate? If not; why?

17. Should it be certain activities that are targeting women specifically? If yes; why? If no; why?

18. Which activities should this be?

19. It is few women/men that are participating, why is it so?

20. Why are women/men participating but not men/women?

21. If the men are participating do they manage to convey what they learn to their wives?

22. If the women are participating do they manage to convey what they learn to their husbands?

23. They families that are poor in this village, what has caused their poverty?

24. The persons that earlier participated in the activities with ______ but quit, why did they quit?

25. What do you believe are the cause of the change or non-change?
26. What do you believe should be done to get to a change in behaviour of ________?

8.2.6 Interview guide – Participation in groups and activities

1. Who are members of ________?

2. Who are responsible for ________?

3. How are the members elected into ________?

4. What are the funds used for?

5. How are the activities of _______________ organised?

6. How is the participation from the locals?

7. Is it accepted to participate with or without payment?

8. Are there some differences in the participation from women and men? If yes; which differences and why these differences?

9. Are there some differences in the participation from different socio-economic groups? If yes; which differences and why these differences?

10. How could one create possibilities for all people to participate?

11. Do all groups in the society or village have interest to participate?

12. Do all have the same opportunities or possibilities to participate? If not; why and who has not?
8.3 Stakeholder analysis

8.3.1 National level

- Ministry of Lands
- Zambia Agriculture Research Institute (ZARI)
- Zambia National Farmers Union
- Zambia Food Security Research Project (FSRP)
- Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (MAL)
- Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives Zambia (MACO)
- University of Zambia
- Conservation Farming Unit
- Agricultural Consultative Forum (ACF)
- International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)
- Indaba Agricultural Policy Research Institute (IARPI)
- SCC
- Zambia Land Alliance
- Cotton Association of Zambia
- Women for Change
- The Agricultural Support Programme funded by Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
- The Justice for Widows and Orphans Project
- Self-Help Africa. The Seed Entrepreneurship for Economic Development and Food Security (SEEDFS)
- NGOs

8.3.2 District level

- Regional government
- Health centre/hospitals
- Entrepreneurs
- Schools
- Banking systems
- NGOs
• Politics
• Labour unions
• Farmer organizations
• Veterinary
• Distributer of fertilizer, pesticides, seeds, etc.

8.3.3 Local level
• Male Chief of village
• Female Chief of village
• Local government
• Politics
• Castrol authority
• Local council
• Labour unions
• Farmer organizations
• Small industries (Mills, sawmill, carpentry, pottery, tanks, sheet metal, thin sheet metal workers, repair shops, tailors, shoemakers, bakers, butchers, hairdressers etc.)
• Responsible person for the allocation of land
• Schools
• Entrepreneurs (Craftsmen etc.)
• Herdsman (Boys, girls, women, men)
• Traders
• Business companies
• Credit groups
• Traditional saving groups
• Organizations in the village
• Banking systems
• Religious groups
• Private actors
• Extensions activity
• Associations organizations
• NGOs
• Female farmers (Poor, middle, rich)
• Male farmers (Poor, middle, rich)
• Farmer with Animal husbandry (Women, men → poor, middle, rich)
• Cooperation
• Forestry
• Traditional medicine women/men
• Storage
• Stores
• Markets
• Infrastructure responsible
• Gender office
• Commercial farms
• Employed farmers
• Merchants
• Ambulant sellers
• Transporters
• Association organisations
• Day labour
• Hunter/Fisher
• Community workers
• Volunteering
• Collective workers
• Adult education
• Immigrants to the village

Interviews should be conducted in preferable two villages and should also preferable be carried out with both genders from different socio-economics groups (poor, middle poor, rich) and different ages. The interviews will both take place through focus groups and individual interviews.