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**WOMEN'S WORK,  
FOOD AND HOUSEHOLD  
DYNAMICS**

**A CASE STUDY OF NORTHERN  
MOZAMBIQUE**

SARA STEVANO

Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in Economics

2014

Department of Economics

SOAS University of London

*A mamma e papà*

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## ABSTRACT

It is taken for granted that there is a clear relationship between women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities and household well-being, with food outcomes considered to be an important aspect of well-being. This study investigated the underlying assumptions of the theory of change linking women's access to cash incomes via paid work and household food dynamics. Women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities is often defined as one category, in opposition to non-participation, and seen as leading to uniform outcomes in terms of increased status and intra-household bargaining power. It is assumed that women cover a dominant, if not exclusive, position in the domains of food production, acquisition and preparation. It is assumed that mothers' food choices respond rationally and unconditionally to increased resources and nutritional education.

By focusing on the northernmost Mozambican province of Cabo Delgado, this study explores women's participation in paid work and their responsibilities in unpaid work, intra-household dynamics and food habits. An interdisciplinary approach – informed by political economy and anthropology – is used, in combination with qualitative and quantitative methods for primary data collection. In terms of method, the study illuminates the limitations of purely quantitative approaches. The case study shows that the aforementioned assumptions oversimplify and neglect issues that are crucial to understanding the effects of women's participation in paid work on household diets. It illustrates how intra-household relations of power, systems of food production and distribution, and labour relations determine food norms and diets, thus defining and constraining women's and men's roles within the food domain. In conclusion, it suggests that efforts to tackle food-related insecurity need to address (gender) relations of power within the context of structural patterns that underlie the production of food-related vulnerability.

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# ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS – ACQUIRED IMMUNODEFICIENCY SYNDROME

DF – DESTACAMENTO FEMININO (FEMALE DEATCHMENT)

DHS – DEMOGRAPHIC HEALTH SURVEY

EA – ENTITLEMENT APPROACH

FANTA – FOOD AND NUTRITION TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

FAO – FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANISATION

FCS – FOOD CONSUMPTION SCORE

FDI – FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT

FRELIMO – FRENTE DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE MOÇAMBIQUE (MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT)

GBP – BRITISH POUND

GDP – GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT

HBS – HOUSEHOLD BUDGET SURVEY

HDDS – HOUSEHOLD DIETARY DIVERSITY SCORE

HHM – HOUSEHOLD MEMBER

HHS – HOUSEHOLD HUNGER SCALE

HIV – HUMAN IMMUNODEFICIENCY VIRUS

IAF – INQUÉRITO AOS AGREGADOS FAMILIARES (HOUSEHOLD SURVEY)

IFPRI – INTERNATIONAL FOOD POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

IFTRAB – INQUÉRITO INTEGRADO À FORÇA DE TRABALHO (LABOUR FORCE SURVEY)

INE – INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTATISTICA (NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF STATISTICS, MOZAMBIQUE)

IOF – INQUÉRITO AO ORÇAMENTO FAMILIAR (HOUSEHOLD BUDGET SURVEY)

LSMS – WORLD BANK’S LIVING STANDARD MEASUREMENT STUDY

MDG – MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOAL

MICS – MULTIPLE INDICATOR CLUSTER SURVEY

MISAU – MINISTÉRIO DA SAÚDE (MINISTRY OF HEALTH, MOZAMBIQUE)

MZN – NEW MOZAMBICAN METICAL

NGO – NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION

NHE – NEW HOUSEHOLD ECONOMICS

OMM – ORGANIZAÇÃO DA MULHER MOÇAMBICANA (MOZAMBICAN WOMAN ORGANISATION)

SAGAL – SOCIEDADE AGRÍCOLA ALGODEIRA

SETSAN - SECRETARIADO TÉCNICO DE SEGURANÇA ALIMENTAR E NUTRIÇÃO, TECHNICAL SECRETARIAT OF FOOD SECURITY AND NUTRITION

SNA – SYSTEM OF NATIONAL ACCOUNTS

TIA – TRABALHO DE INQUÉRITO AGRÍCOLA (AGRICULTURE SURVEY)

UK – UNITED KINGDOM

UNICEF – UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN’S FUND

US – UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WB – WORLD BANK

WDR – WORLD DEVELOPMENT REPORT

WFP – WORLD FOOD PROGRAMME

WID – WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

## **NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY**

In the course of the thesis, some (Mozambican) Portuguese, Shimaconde and Macua words are used. English translation is provided for each of them in text, at least on their first appearance. In addition, a glossary is provided in Annex 5. With regard to orthography, a decision was made to adopt the Portuguese-modelled orthography for all words in Portuguese, certainly, but also Shimaconde and Macua. For instance, this means that Macua is spelt with 'c' and not with 'k'.

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This thesis has been inspired by the work of a number of scholars, most notably those who are distinguished for their radical voices in the study of women and gender, households and Mozambique. I have benefitted from the advice and expertise of many academics, in particular Ben Fine, Naila Kabeer, Anne Murcott, Carlos Oya, Chris Cramer, Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco, Emmanuel Codjoe, Ourania Dimakou, Elisa Van Waeyenberge and Arianna Huhn.

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Field research in Mozambique was possible thank to the work of Tissa, my research assistant and trustworthy companion. Countless hours of interviews, conversations, walks and travel around Cabo Delgado Tissa and I shared; we said we would write some stories about our trips in Cabo Delgado. I am deeply grateful to Tissa's work, dedication and companionship. During my stay in Mozambique, I have also enjoyed the support of IESE (Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Económicos), which offered me a working space in Maputo and the support of fellow researchers, who were always open to discussion and collaboration. Above all, I would like to thank the former Director of IESE, Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco, for his advice and stories.

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Although this work would have not been possible without all these persons, funders and institutions, I alone take responsibility for any errors or misrepresentations in this thesis.

# 1

## INTRODUCTION

### ARE WE GOING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION TO ACHIEVE EITHER GENDER EQUALITY OR FOOD SECURITY?

*Lucia took me to her sister's house for lunch. Everything was set and prepared for the arrival of guests: the entire family was sitting in the yard and chicken curry was been cooked. While I was assisting the cooking process, learning which ingredients are needed to make a good curry, Ana's brother-in-law returned to the house. He had been drinking at a house nearby where someone was selling ugwalua (a typical home-made alcoholic drink in Mueda) on that day. Ana looked at him and commented: 'One day we will be drinking out there while he cooks our meal here'. (Field notes, October 2011, Namaua, Mueda, Mozambique)*

Lucia's words express frustration at the unfairness experienced by women in not feeling as free as men to pursue their self-interest and having to carry out most of the reproductive work in their households. Certainly, women's disproportionate responsibility for reproductive work is a fact in too many places across the world and has represented an important area of concern in feminist debates on gender equality. In parallel, these debates have also considered women's participation in paid and productive work despite facing worse working conditions and more limited access to productive resources, relative to men. From *Women In Development* onwards, development policy has predominantly focussed on elements of the latter manifestation of gender inequality, namely the urge to recognise and appreciate women's participation in productive work and redress inequality in access to productive resources while the need to tackle gender inequality in reproductive work has remained somewhat underplayed.

Gender inequality in the use of productive resources and access to paid work has been prioritised because it is considered to be detrimental to economic efficiency. Indeed, instrumental approaches to gender equality have dominated policy debates. Current attempts to mainstream gender are based on two sets of functionalistic arguments to gender equality. First, gender equality is *functional* to

economic growth and, second, it is *functional* to enhancing the well-being of future generations. The latter, referred to as *well-being argument* in this thesis, originates from the *acceptance* that women hold predominant responsibility for reproductive activities.

The *well-being argument* applies to different aspects of well-being but it has mostly been considered in relation to children's education and nutrition. The theory of change predicts that women's increased access to education and/or productive resources translates into shifting household expenses in favour of food, house goods and education, with overall positive effects on well-being outcomes. It should suffice to think of the micro-finance and (conditional) cash transfer programmes in which cash is handed out to women to appreciate how influential and far-reaching this narrative has become. Yet, a growing body of literature has criticised this approach for relegating women to their roles of mothers and carers, thus contributing to reproducing the same gender norms that discriminate against women (e.g. Molyneux 2006; Chant 2007; Harman 2011).

This thesis focuses on women's access to cash incomes via paid work and household food outcomes as an essential aspect of well-being and takes a step back to reflect on the empirical evidence that proved the positive correlation between women's incomes and food outcomes. In the theory of change used as point of departure in this work, gender equality is portrayed as instrumental to food security on the one hand, and the achievement of food security is seen as dependent on women's increased access to productive resources, on the other hand. Is this the right direction to achieve either gender equality or food security? To address this concern, this thesis investigates the underlying assumptions of the theory of change linking women's access to cash incomes via paid work and household food dynamics. Women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities is often defined as one category, in opposition to non-participation, and seen as leading to uniform outcomes in terms of increased status and intra-household bargaining power. It is assumed that women cover a dominant, if not exclusive, position in the domains of food production, acquisition and preparation. It is assumed that mothers' food choices respond rationally and unconditionally to increased resources and nutritional education. Are these assumptions realistic?

Driven by the intention to distance itself from ahistorical, context-detached and purely quantitative approaches to this area of study, this work focuses on the northernmost Mozambican province of Cabo Delgado and adopts an

interdisciplinary approach – informed by political economy and anthropology – in combination with qualitative and quantitative methods for primary data collection to explore women’s participation in paid work and their responsibilities in unpaid work, intra-household dynamics and eating habits. It intends to address the following research questions, aimed at testing the underlying assumptions described above.

1. *What are the types of paid work and cash-earning activities women engage with? In other words, how do women access incomes?*

To start with, it is essential to document what kind of paid work or cash-generating activity women engage with to assess if it is sensible to treat women who engage with paid work and/or cash-earning activities as a homogeneous category opposed to women who do not work for cash.

- 2a. *Do women make decisions on how to use incomes in domains that are crucial to the household well-being (with a focus on the food domain – including food acquisition and preparation)?*

To establish if a focus on women’s decisions is appropriate and/or sufficient to address food-related issues, it is critical to investigate norms and practices that regulate intra-household decision-making in the relevant domains.

- 2b. *Does women’s participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities translate into increased decision-making power and capacity to control incomes within the household? And what are the implications for food expenses?*

Focusing on women’s decision-making power as a sub-set of empowerment, it is central to investigate whether their participation in work for cash is positively associated with their capacity to make decisions and, especially, what this means in terms of food expenditure.

3. *What are the factors that shape diets, food preferences and norms? What are women’s roles in such context?*

Given that it seems sensible to assume that shares of income spent on food is not the only determinant of food security, it is crucial to conduct a context-specific analysis of diets, food preferences and norms and investigate the roles played by women in such wider but context-specific scenario.

4. *What is the extent of household food insecurity and what are the determinants? What are women’s roles in the achievement of household food security?*

Similar to the rationale of the previous research question, assessing whether women can play a crucial role in ensuring food security to their households requires an analysis of the extent and determinants of food insecurity in the studied context.

A reflection on the underlying assumptions offers the possibility to bring context-specific evidence at a higher level of generality and draw observations on the formulation of theoretical and analytical frameworks in this area of study. The case study shows that the aforementioned assumptions oversimplify and neglect issues that are crucial to understanding the effects of women's participation in paid work on household diets. It illustrates how intra-household relations of power, systems of food production and distribution, and labour relations determine food norms and diets, thus defining and constraining women's and men's roles within the food domain. The thesis concludes that efforts to tackle food-related insecurity need to address (gender) relations of power within the context of structural patterns that underlie the production of food-related vulnerability.

The thesis begins with a composite review of the literature, developed in chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 2 is dedicated to a critical consideration of the instrumental arguments for gender equality – the efficiency and well-being arguments – and to the review of selected strands of literature on women's decision-making power and participation in paid work, the nature of the household and intra-household dynamics. Chapter 3 starts off with a discussion of the theory of change that links women's access to productive resources and household food security and then presents a broad review of the literature on dietary practices, food and nutrition security. The exposition of scattered streams of literature reflects the scarcity of efforts to bring these themes together and approach them holistically. Overall, these chapters serve two scopes. First, they are aimed at describing the simplistic theory of change that is used as a point of departure in this thesis. Second, they are intended to lay the theoretical grounds upon which the theory of change can be addressed critically.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to a detailed discussion of the methodology, a central issue given that one of the contributions that this work attempts to make is to illuminate the limitations of purely quantitative studies in this area of research and possibly offer a viable alternative. The chapter begins with a discussion of the meanings of interdisciplinarity across the disciplines of economics, with attention paid to political economy, and anthropology and then addresses method-related and thematic issues.

Chapter 5 introduces the reader to the northernmost Mozambican province of Cabo Delgado. It begins with an overview of today's Cabo Delgado, focussed especially on the three research settings where the empirical research was conducted. Then the chapter makes use of a combination of secondary and primary material to retrace some of the processes of change that concerned the province of Cabo Delgado and were of particular relevance to women's roles in society and households.

Chapters 6 to 9 are the analytical chapters and are predominantly based on primary data collected in Cabo Delgado. The chapters are organised by theme and each of them is developed around one or two of the research questions indicated above. Qualitative and quantitative evidence is used in an integrated fashion to substantiate the analysis. Points of contrast or complementarity between different methods are highlighted in the course of the analysis.

Chapter 6 addresses research question 1 and looks at issues of women's paid and unpaid work. The overarching objective of the chapter is to provide evidence to reject overly simplistic and dichotomous approaches to women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities. The sources and elements of diversity within the umbrella category of 'work for cash' are described and analysed in the chapter, with a particular focus on trajectories of social differentiation. The chapter also looks at the gendered allocation of labour in unpaid work and analyses some of the implications in terms of men's presence in women's work.

Chapter 7 looks at household and intra-household dynamics, thus answering research questions 2a and 2b. It starts with a discussion of the nature of the household and the characteristics of inter-household economic links across space. It then moves within the household to look at intra-household decision-making practices and arrangements of income management. Overall, the chapter is aimed at showing that clear-cut gendered norms may not necessarily and accurately reflect actual intra-household practices. Given these complexities, it is not clear that specific income management practices – e.g. a woman controls the use of her earned income – will always have positive effects on food expenses.

Chapters 8 and 9 address the food theme from two different but interconnected angles, answering research questions 3 and 4. Chapter 8 looks at diet composition in Cabo Delgado and processes of food selection, acquisition and preparation, attempting to highlight some of the determinants of food preferences

and norms. It aims to show that a narrow focus on shares of income spent on food and individuals' food choice is at best insufficient and at worse misleading to understand the essential characteristics of eating habits in a given context. Chapter 9 looks instead at the production of food vulnerability. Beyond offering a descriptive account of household food insecurity in Cabo Delgado, the chapter addresses some of the sources of food insecurity that emerged through qualitative and quantitative evidence. By reflecting on the possible structural determinants of food vulnerability, the chapter questions what role women and men can play in such context to improve their households' food security.

Finally, chapter 10 presents the overall conclusions by bringing the key messages and findings together and concludes by providing indications for future research in this field of study.

## 2

# WOMEN, WORK, HOUSEHOLD AND WELL-BEING

## A COMPOSITE REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

*'For those programmes focusing on specific households, it is usually necessary to choose one adult as the person actually to receive the benefits of the programme. The choice of the beneficiary will depend on the programme objectives, but most cash and food-based transfer programmes now give priority to the responsible female in a household. This concept, which has become conventional wisdom in the development arena, is based on empirical evidence that females spend income differently than men. In particular women are more likely to spend own-earned income on nutrition and children's health and education while men are more likely to allocate income under their control to tobacco and alcohol [...] (see, for example, Haddad, Hoddinott and Alderman 1997)' (FAO Right to Food Guidelines 2006)*

*'[...] Eliminating gender discrimination to promote women's autonomy and their participation in decision-making throughout Latin America and the Caribbean will have profound and positive consequences for the survival and well-being of children, as stated in a newly-published report from UNICEF in the year of the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the organisation' (Panama, 11 December 2006, Unicef 2006)*

*'Extensive research done by IFPRI has shown that improvements in household welfare depend not only on the level of household income but also on its control. Women tend to spend their income disproportionately on food and other family needs. Thus women's incomes are more strongly associated with improvements in child health and nutrition. Further, ensuring nutrition security of the household through a combination of food, health care and child care is almost exclusively the domain of women. Technology is urgently needed to increase the productivity of women' (UN ACC/SCN Nutrition Policy 1998)*

*'Greater control over household resources by women leads to more investment in children's human capital, with dynamic positive effects on economic growth. Evidence from a range of countries (such as Bangladesh, Brazil, Côte d'Ivoire, Mexico, South Africa and the United Kingdom) shows that increasing the share of household income controlled by women, either through their own earnings or cash transfers, changes spending in ways that benefit children.' (WDR 2012)*

The fragments above show the pervasiveness of the rhetoric that pictures women as the chief agents to escape poverty and achieve well-being. These narratives represent the starting point of this thesis. In particular, this work is concerned with the arguments that see gender equality as functional to achieving well-being outcomes.

The chapter describes instrumental approaches to gender equality and then draws on different strands of selected literature to set the basis upon which the narratives that see women's empowerment as functional to well-being can be questioned.

Section 2.1 critically reviews functionalistic approaches to gender equality, with a focus on the quantitative studies that proved that women channel greater resources into food, education and house goods. Section 2.2 looks at issues of women's participation in paid work and gains in decision-making power. Section 2.3 reviews economic and anthropological conceptualisations of the household and concludes by looking at the determinants of intra-household bargaining power. Section 2.4 concludes and states the first two research questions, arising from the literature reviewed in the chapter.

## **2.1 GENDER EQUALITY AS SMART ECONOMICS**

From *Women In Development* (WID) onwards, there have been widespread attempts to demonstrate the economic efficiency of gender equality. The World Bank (WB) summarised this line of thought in the motto 'gender equality is smart economics'. It is true that gender equality as smart economics comes after 'gender equality matters in its own right' (WDR12). Yet, the key arguments in favour of *mainstreaming gender* revolve around the economic benefits of greater gender equality in the three domains of gender equality, as identified by the WB: endowments, economic opportunities and agency.

In the WB's framework, two sets of arguments support gender equality as smart economics. First, gender equality derives from expanded economic opportunities for women and their participation in paid work and equal access to productive resources has positive effects on economic growth. Second, women's participation in paid work and increased access to cash (earned or unearned) incomes has positive effects on the well-being of future generations. This section is

dedicated to a review of evidence and key debates on the two sets of arguments: gender equality for economic growth (2.1.1) and gender equality for well-being (2.1.2). As the latter is the starting point of this research, it is discussed in greater detail.

### **2.1.1 THE ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY ARGUMENT**

Does gender equality promote economic growth? A recent review of the bi-directional relationship between gender equality and economic development (Kabeer and Natali 2013) concludes that evidence on the economic contributions of gender equality is more robust than evidence on the contributions of economic growth on gender equality. Here I focus on the direction that interests this work – how gender equality contributes to economic growth. The economic efficiency of gender equality has long been investigated within the neoclassical framework, which sees women's increased participation in education and productive work as a positive contribution to economic growth via increased human capital and more efficient use of resources in the economy (e.g. Klasen 1999; for a critique see Braunstein 2007; O'Laughlin 2007). Evidently, demonstrating that gender inequity is a barrier to the maximisation of output and hence economic growth has been and continues to be instrumental to encourage policy makers to take gender into account (O'Laughlin 2007).

Nonetheless, several empirical studies have proven the association between economic growth and different domains of gender equality, most notably education, and labour-market outcomes. Indicators for gender equality are several. In particular, the range is wide for economic outcomes and includes gaps in labour force participation or wages and occupational segregation (Bandiera and Natraj 2013; Kabeer and Natali 2013). Less variation is registered in the measures of economic growth, which are normally approximated by changes or levels of per capita GDP (Kabeer and Natali 2013). The common denominator resides in the methodology used: cross-country or panel regression analysis.

Reviews of empirical evidence – mostly macroeconomic studies – suggest that the wealth of studies looking at the relationship between gender equality in education and economic growth find strong positive correlation, although it may vary depending on the education levels considered (see Braunstein 2007; Kabeer and Natali 2013; Bandiera and Natraj 2013). Instead, evidence on the relationship

between gender equality in labour-market outcomes (measured in a variety of ways), appears to be thinner and more mixed (Kabeer and Natali 2013). In particular, when the focus is on wages, the leading scholar in the emerging field of feminist macroeconomics Stephanie Seguino (e.g. 1997; 2000; 2010) has shown that the persistence of the gender wage gap may be instrumental to export-oriented economic growth. Seguino (2012) explains that women's increased educational attainments combined with persistent lack of bargaining power to demand higher wages favours employers. Her findings challenge neoclassical positions sustaining the economic efficiency of gender equity. In more general terms, Seguino (2012) criticises the *efficiency argument* for focusing on the positive effects and neglecting the potential costs associated with those circumstances under which persistent gender inequality contributes to economic growth.

Although neoclassical approaches have been dominant in influencing policy prescriptions, feminist contributions have importantly shaped the academic and intellectual debates on these issues. Feminist scholars have not uniformly countered the conclusions on the economic benefits of gender equality (see the recent work by Naila Kabeer,<sup>1</sup> for example), however, the feminist theoretical framework is fundamentally different and represents a major improvement, if compared to the neoclassical theorisation of gender (inequality). As Braunstein (2007: 6) puts it, the exclusion of *power* from the neoclassical framework, leaves us '*with the only language of market imperfections to explain and argue against gender inequity*'. In her overview of neoclassical and feminist investigations of the economic efficiency of gender equality, Braunstein (2007) argues that feminist political economy makes two crucial contributions. First, by placing *power* relations at the centre of the analysis, it treats women and men as groups of people with different preferences due to their different institutional position in the economy. As a result, power relations can render (gender) inequality profitable and economically efficient. Second, it considers the existence of the reproductive sector as independent of but also intertwined with the productive sector. Therefore, by explicitly addressing the reproduction of labour rather than taking it as a given, feminist analysis makes unpaid work and unequal relations of power visible.

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<sup>1</sup> See Naila Kabeer's blog providing a critique of the recent work by Esther Duflo on the relationship between women's empowerment and economic development: <http://feministeconomicposts.iaffe.org/2013/12/19/esther-duflo-on-womens-empowerment-and-economic-development-a-must-read-for-feminist-economists/>

A particular strand of literature that constituted the empirical basis of the *efficiency story* is represented by country-specific studies that looked at gendered access to productive resources for farming and its effects on agricultural productivity. Such evidence has influentially shaped (rural) development policies aimed at providing women with more resources, thus making them more productive and efficient (for a critique see Kandiyoti 1990; Jackson 1996; O’Laughlin 2007). Duflo (2012: 1069) summarises the key findings of one of the most influential studies in this strand as follows:

‘Udry (1996) shows [...] Many more inputs are being used on the men’s plots, so that, after controlling for the year, the characteristics of the plots, and the type of crops produced, men’s plots are much more productive than women’s plots, mostly because much more fertilizer is applied to these plots. Because the effectiveness of using fertilizer declines steeply with how much is used, it would make much more sense to use a little on both men’s and women’s plot. This, however, is not what households seem to be doing in most cases. Overall, household production might increase by 6 percent just by reallocating the same amount of fertilizer and labour.’

For Duflo (*Ibid.*), Udry’s study makes a strong case in favour of strengthening (women’s) property rights that, when weak as they were in Burkina Faso, create economic inefficiencies. Taking a radically different stand, O’Laughlin (2007) reflects on the validity of these arguments and relative policies in the context of poverty reduction in Africa. She also looks at Udry’s study in Burkina Faso and observes that his findings can be challenged on a number of grounds.<sup>2</sup> First, he focuses on agricultural work and disregards gendered division of labour in other productive activities households engage with. Second, his findings *abstract* from how different households arrangements shape options available to women and men. Third, and more generally, O’Laughlin criticises the ahistorical and homogenising approach, typical of neoclassical economics, taken in the analysis of poverty in African countries. In fact, she argues:

‘(Udry has nothing) to say about how gendered poverty relates to broad structural and contested processes of individualisation and commodification of productive resources in rural Africa. [...] Women’s decisions about the organisation of their labour have come to be shaped not only by relations with husbands, sons, in-laws, kin and friends but also by the terms of negotiation between migrant workers and employers’ (O’Laughlin 2007: 41)

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<sup>2</sup> O’Laughlin (2007) reviews critically Udry’s study in Burkina Faso and Jones’ study in Cameroon and Chad – Jones (1983, 1986). For the purposes of this discussion, I focus only on some reflections she made on the study conducted by Udry.

O’Laughlin’s insightful analysis explains that the efficiency argument is a *myth* that has been spun over time. The construction of the *myth* is also based on a number of corollary arguments, of which an influential one is that when women control household income or resources, it results in improved well-being outcomes for their families and children. This argument constitutes the other side of the *smart economics* story as investing in women is considered to be a channel to improve the lives of future generations.

### **2.1.2 INVESTING IN WOMEN TO IMPROVE THE LIVES OF FUTURE GENERATIONS? A DISCUSSION OF THE *WELL-BEING ARGUMENT***

*‘Smart economics seeks to use women and girls to fix the world’* (Chant and Sweetman 2012: 563)

The complementary use that has been made of the *economic efficiency argument* and what I call *‘well-being argument’* can be illustrated in relation to gender equality in education, for instance. We know from section 2.1.1 that several studies have found positive correlations between gender equality in education and GDP per capita. The arguments in favour of gender equality in education are also backed by another set of studies that look at the relationship between mother’s education and various aspects of well-being, commonly child health. Again, several cross-country and panel regression studies have found positive correlations between mother’s educational attainment and child health (see Kabeer and Natali 2013). However, Duflo (2012: 1065) warns *‘evidence is not as strong as is commonly believed’*. In fact, she explains that evidence is biased in that women who are more educated also come from richer families and marry richer and more educated men. Also, it is not clear that women’s education is much more critical than men’s education. Her more general point is on the *traps* of regression analysis – methodological problems will be addressed in more detail below. This goes to show that even when evidence is presented as robust, there is room for further investigation.

A growing strand of literature points to the problematic nature of theoretical arguments as well as policy interventions aimed at reducing poverty and/or improving particular aspects of the household well-being by directing resources to women. For instance, Sylvia Chant (2008) talks about the emergence of the *‘feminization of poverty alleviation’* phenomenon, Maxine Molyneux (2006) refers to *‘mothers at the service of the new poverty agenda’* in her assessment of the cash

transfer programme in Mexico, Sophie Harman (2011) critically evaluates the use of cash transfers to girls to reduce HIV transmission in Malawi and Tanzania. The common line of criticism derives from the realisation that in the just recognition of the important role played by women in many instances of reproductive and productive work, there is a re-confirmation of their roles as mothers and carers, thus leading to the *justified* reproduction of social and gender norms that discriminate against women and girls.

Chant and Sweetman (2012) argue that the smart economics agenda is exclusively focussed on women's agency and leaves boys and men out of the picture. Moreover, I add, smart economics leaves *structures* out of the picture such as relations of production between capital and labour, and fails to address the tension between productive and reproductive responsibilities, which lies at the roots of gender inequality.

#### *Discussion of the Empirical Evidence*

A number of studies have shown that women's control of cash incomes or productive resources tends to translate into better well-being outcomes, via channelling of greater resources into education, food and household goods. For instance, Doss (2005) found that in Ghana women's increased shares of farmland are associated with higher budget shares spent on food and education and lower budget shares spent on alcohol, durable and non-durable goods. Quisumbing and Maluccio (2000) test the relationship between wife- and/or husband-controlled resources and household budget shares in Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Indonesia and South Africa and observe that *'the most consistent finding across countries'* is that assets controlled by women tend to increase household expenditure on education in all countries but Ethiopia. Duflo (2003) shows that, in South Africa, pensions received by women improved the nutritional outcomes of girls but not those of boys. Lépine and Strobl (2013) find that women's bargaining power is a strong determinant of child nutrition in Senegal.<sup>3</sup>

To make some reflections on this set of empirical studies in relation to the purposes of this work – focussed on the *food domain* – I look in more detail at two key studies that address the relationship between women's status and food expenditures and/or nutrition: Thomas (1990, 1997) and an IFPRI study authored by

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<sup>3</sup> Other studies commonly cited to support the *well-being argument* are the following: Hoddinott and Haddad (1991) on Côte D'Ivoire, Lundberg, Pollak and Wales (1997) on the UK, Thomas (1990, 1997) on Brazil and Smith et al. (2003).

Smith et al. (2003). It will be explained later on that the points raised on these two particular studies can be used in relation to other studies in this strand. These studies were selected because, beyond being very widely cited – especially Thomas (1990, 1997) – they are conducted at different levels of analysis: while the studies by Thomas are conducted at the country level (on Brazil), the study by Smith et al. covers 36 countries in three regions of the developing world and is the broadest study on the effect of women's status on child nutrition.

Thomas published a number of papers between 1990 and 1997, most of which make use of the same dataset – the Household Budget Survey (HBS) conducted in Brazil between 1974 and 1975 – to test different relationships, within the more general aim to verify if the common preferences household model is compatible with the results or not. The HBS includes data on women's and men's wage and nonwage income. By treating nonwage income as exogenous, Thomas runs different regressions to test the effects of mother's and father's nonwage income on a) per capita intakes of calories and protein (at household level), b) number of children born and survival rate (for each mother), and c) height-for-age (long-term measure of nutrition) and weight-for-height (short-term measure of nutrition) for all children under eight years old.

Smith et al. investigate the relationship between women's status and child nutrition by using Demographic Health Survey (DHS) data from 36 countries in three regions: South Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean. Drawing from this datasets, they construct their sample with particular restrictions – for instance, they exclude all the children of women who are not married. This serves the construction of two indexes of women's status: women's relative decision-making power and societal gender equality. The former is calculated on the basis of four household-level dimensions of gender (in)equality: whether a woman works for cash or not (operationalised as a dummy variable), women's age at first marriage, percent difference in the woman's and her partner's age and difference in the women's and her partner's year of education. Instead the latter is based on three societal-level dimensions: difference in wasting between boys and girls under 5 years old, difference in vaccination score between boys and girls under 5 years old and difference in years of education of adult women and men.

Their estimation model has two dimensions: that of the individual child and the country; this means that they can measure the 'country fixed effects', which is to be considered an improvement, in relation to standard cross-country regression

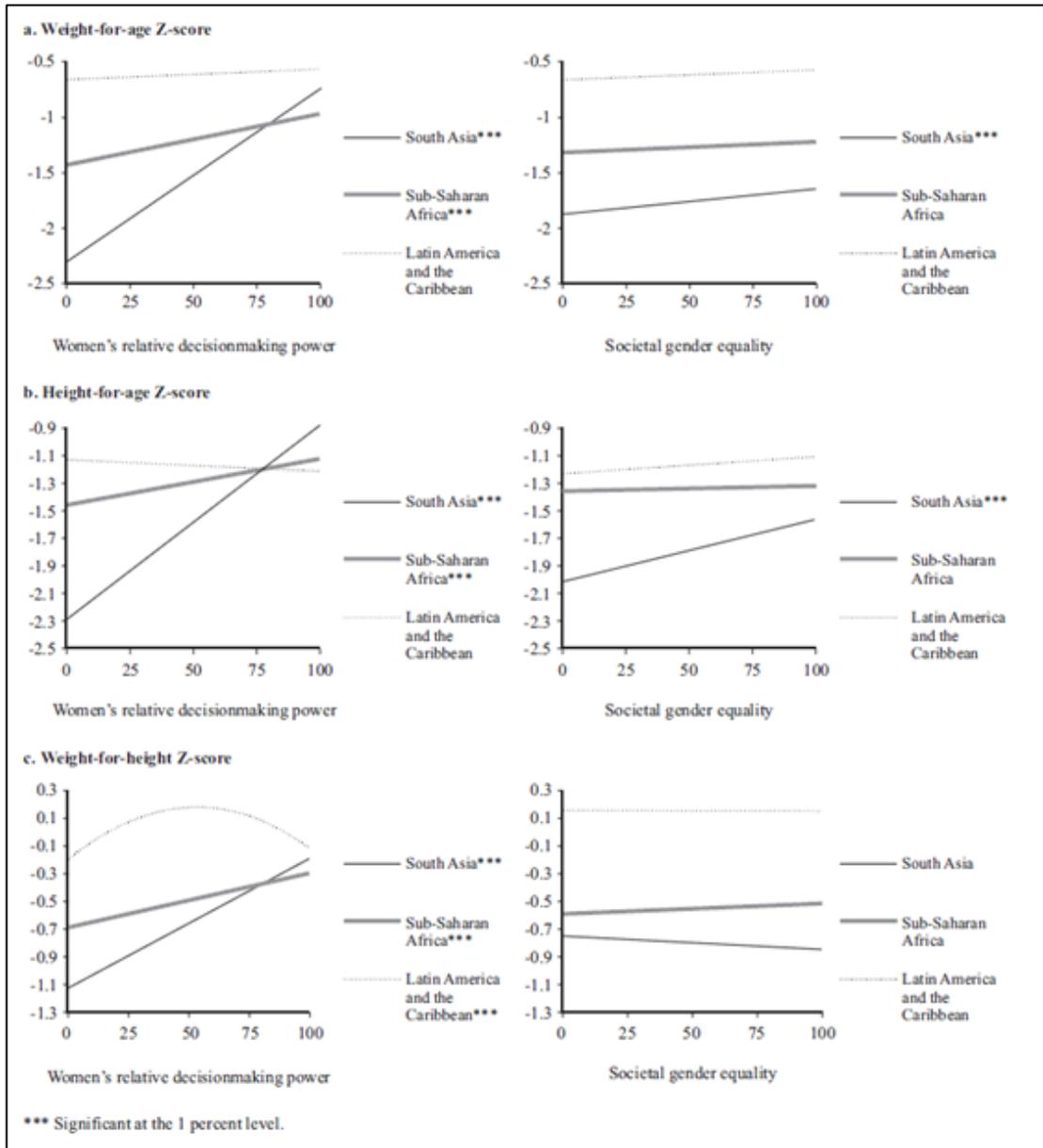
analysis. In the estimation model they include a number of independent variables, such as household characteristics and characteristics of the woman and her partner. They run numerous regressions to investigate the effects of women's status on a) short- and long-term measures of child nutrition, b) women's body mass index and prenatal care and, c) child feeding practices.

I use two lines to reflect on the evidence presented in these studies: one revolves around interpretation of the evidence and the other one addresses the robustness of the evidence, so it is concerned with methodological issues.

With regards to the interpretation of the evidence, both studies tend to conclude that women's status or women's income have positive effects on child nutritional status and most of the other variables of interests. When looking at their findings in more detail though, it is noticeable that the evidence presented in Smith et al. appears to be more mixed, than the conclusions may suggest.

By looking at the global model, in which Smith et al. test the effects of women's status on child nutrition, it can be observed that evidence is not that clear-cut. The graphs reported below show that the relationship is strong in South Asia but very weak in Latin America and, generally, much weaker when using the societal gender equality index, relative to the women's relative decision-making power index. If the actual regressions are observed, it is quite visible that the country fixed effects are very significant, thus indicating that there is a high degree of variation across countries, determined by a set of unobserved factors. A similar reasoning can be applied to many of the other regressions run: there is variation and Latin America stands out as the region where results are different, especially in relation to South Asia.

**FIGURE 2.1A PREDICTED CHILD NUTRITIONAL STATUS Z-SCORES, BY INDEXES OF WOMEN'S STATUS**



SOURCE: SMITH ET AL. (2003)

This variation tends to be mentioned throughout the entire paper, but conclusions appear to be stronger than the evidence suggests in most cases. So here there are two sets of issues.

The first is that variation in the results needs to be highlighted and, possibly, investigated. In fact, especially, if it is believed that the results are true for South Asia, then the question that should emerge is how can the Latin American anomaly be interpreted and explained? Does this mean that women's status is important to

child nutrition in South Asia, still important but to a much lesser extent in sub-Saharan Africa and not important in Latin America? Or does it tell us that the indexes of women's status are appropriate in some regions and not in other regions, for instance? If this was the case, then there would be some methodological issues that would need to be investigated.

The second issue has to do with simplification and generalisation of the evidence. When particular bits of evidence are arbitrarily given more importance than others, then this exposes the studies to simplistic understanding. Can we really make a universal claim that women direct more resources than men to children's nutrition? Over-generalisation may be an issue even when evidence appears clear-cut, as in the case of Thomas (1990), which is a country case study so the results may apply to Brazil but not to other countries or regions.

I now turn to discuss selected methodological points.

In Thomas's study, the regressions include as independent variables nonwage income, dummy variables for the education of parents, whether or not a mother or a father exists, and a dummy variable for each of the 15 Brazilian states. However, the regression does not include a variable on the nutritional status of the woman (e.g. body mass index), which could be an important unobserved factor driving the correlation between women's nonwage incomes and child nutrition.

In addition, although nonwage income was used to overcome the endogeneity problem of wage income, the methodological issue is only partially addressed as nonwage income results from assets and past work-related experiences (Doss 2005; Duflo 2012). Thomas also notices that nonwage income is subject to measurement errors, thus pointing to the need to think back about primary data collection, which is a crucial issue in methodology. For instance, we know that collecting data on income and consumption is very difficult for a number of reasons, including memory bias and lack of accuracy (due to lack of common measurement units – monthly income, for instance). But also, especially when trying to disaggregate data between women and men, it is possible and likely that answers are driven by norms: if women are expected to buy food, it is likely that they report to do so while concealing other forms of consumption – these issues will be expanded in subsequent chapters.

With regards to the Smith et al. study, there is a set of critical points that can be made on cross-country/panel analysis, such as comparability of the 36 DHS

datasets used in the study. General criticism on the use of cross-country regression revolves around the important problems of *reverse causality* and *omitted variables* (Bandiera and Natraj 2013). Although statistics offers tools to circumvent some of these issues – e.g. instrumental variables to address reverse causality – it is empirically difficult to obtain impeccable results (*Ibid.*). Importantly, a general question remains open on the uses made of regression analysis: is this methodology used to address the *right* questions? Recognising the limitations of this methodology is instrumental to avoid confusion between *correlates* and *causes* of nutrition and understatement of the *mechanisms* that lie at the basis of the correlations run.

To address one important detail, I look at one indicator used to construct women's relative decision-making power index: *whether a woman works for cash or not*. First, that a woman works for cash does not necessarily mean that she controls that income – access to and control of income need to be considered as separate (Kabeer 1997). Second, this indicator is operationalized as a dummy variable (1 if she works, 0 if she does not), which is highly problematic. Especially in developing countries, where economic informality and multiplicity of occupations tend to be widespread, and even more so in the case of women, who are likely to have access to less formal employment opportunities than men, the diversity in type of work, regularity and cash returns implies that a simple distinction between a woman who works for cash and a woman who does not is likely to tell us almost nothing about her status.

Besides the critical issues highlighted so far, these studies and all of the others in this thread have made some important contributions. This literature made women central actors in our accounts and understanding of the reality, thus moving away from male-dominated or male-filtered perspectives. Placing women at the centre of investigation also has some interesting methodological implications. With regards to respondent's selection in household surveys for instance, having female respondents or two respondents may lead to different answers, thus providing different perspectives on intra-household practices and beyond (Cantillon and Nolan 2001; Bardasi et al. 2011).

This evidence has proven that households are not unitary and cannot be treated as *black boxes*, but they are instead composed by members with different roles and needs. Households are sites where inequalities along the lines of class,

gender and age are reproduced and, therefore, deserved to be looked into (O’Laughlin n.d.; Kandiyoti 1998).

Although these studies affirmed the relevance of addressing intra-household issues, they draw ahistorical and context-detached configurations of intra-household practices. In relation to collective conceptualisations of the households, which emerged from the overcoming of unitary ones, Kandiyoti (1998: 137) notes

[...] collective models thus describe the household as a group of individuals with their own preferences among whom collective decision processes take place. This approach remains totally agnostic about the actual forms that intra-household relations may take’.

In fact, different intra-household arrangements do shape gender roles within the household, spending decisions and, consequently, nutritional outcomes. Intra-household analysis is crucial in this field of study and literature on these issues will be discussed in section 2.3.

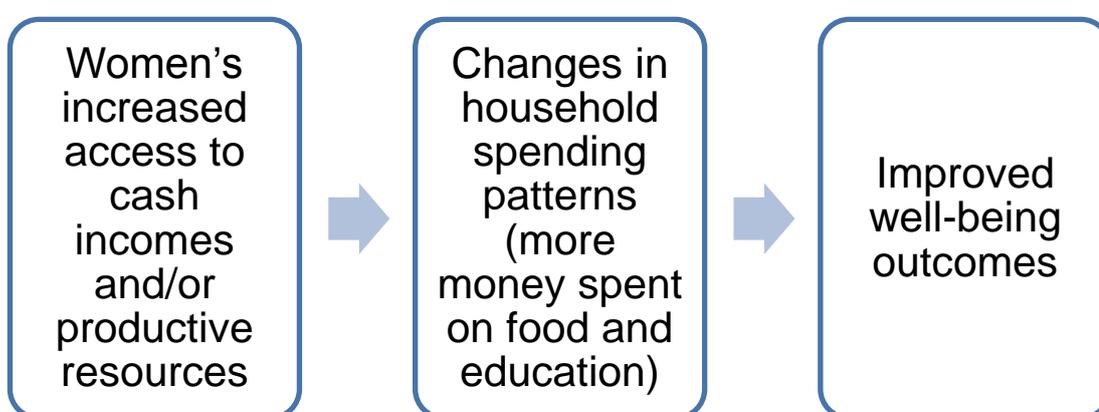
Kabeer and Whitehead (2001) warn against ‘*gender-stereotyping of welfare preferences*’ as this obscures uses of men’s incomes other than selfish. There is evidence showing that men’s incomes are spent on domains that are important to ensure *well-being*, such as clothes, food and health costs (Moore and Vaughan 1994; Whitehead 1998; Pfeiffer 2003). Kabeer and Whitehead (2001) also argue that richer data sets than those used for quantitative analysis are needed to control for other factors that may determine family’s welfare and thus strengthen observations on gendered preferences and spending patterns. Reflections on methodology as well as use of possible alternatives in this area of study are mandatory and will be discussed in chapter 4.

I have focused on two particular studies to make some general reflections on the evidence that supports the *well-being argument*. The literature of which the discussed studies are part is criticised for its implications – reproducing gender unequal roles – and for the methods used – mostly quantitative and based on regression analysis, which suffer from a number of problems. Also, it can be argued that evidence is more mixed than it is commonly assumed. For instance, in looking at the relationship between mother’s education and child mortality, Duflo (2012: 1066) concludes that:

‘While more needs to be learned about this, the automatic presumption that female education is more important than male education for child mortality and for other children outcomes may need to be revised: it seems that both matter.’

Nonetheless, policy makers have often embraced the more simplistic and optimistic stories, which tell us that giving more education and more money and/or productive resources to women will result in better well-being outcomes – see the diagram below for a visual representation of this narrative, which constitutes a theory of change. It should suffice to think of the pervasiveness of micro-finance and (conditional) cash transfers programmes that target women as the beneficiaries on the basis that women manage resources *better* than men to realise how influential these narratives have been and continue to be.

**FIGURE 2.1B THEORY OF CHANGE THAT LINKS WOMEN’S CASH INCOMES AND PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES WITH WELL-BEING OUTCOMES**



In the remainder of the chapter, I review different strands of literature, purposely selected to provide background to the different pieces of the story. The following themes are addressed in turn:

- Issues of decision-making power (as a subset of empowerment) and women’s access to cash income via paid work, and
- Household and intra-household issues.

The next chapter will focus on food outcomes – food security, nutrition, food consumption patterns – as part of the theory of change introduced here and beyond. Food outcomes represent in fact the particular aspect of well-being this work is concerned with.

## **2.2 PAID WORK AND WOMEN’S DECISION-MAKING POWER**

Although the *well-being argument* draws indistinctly from studies of cash transfers and access to (un)earned income and assets, it is important to distinguish different

ways through which women access incomes and/or productive resources as the well-being implications are likely to change accordingly. This work is concerned with women's access to cash incomes via paid work and/or cash-generating activities, therefore this section focuses on paid work and its potential links to women's decision-making power, which can be considered as a *subset* or *pathway* of empowerment.

In the first section (2.2.1), I selectively draw from the empowerment literature to establish a few key links between paid work and decision-making power. Section 2.2.2 confronts different, often opposing, strands of literature to investigate the reasons and the ways in which women engage with paid work.

### **2.2.1 THE POWER TO MAKE DECISIONS**

The *empowerment language*, in its nebulosity, has been appropriated by donors and development agencies in ways that instrumentally serve the efficiency and well-being arguments and the pursuing of the market-driven development agenda (Kabeer 1999; 2012). Although the definitions of empowerment are several, the majority tends to incorporate an economic aspect, which therefore assumes intrinsic links between women's empowerment and access to productive resources, including paid work (*Ibid.*). It is beyond the scope of this work to look into the debates on how to conceptualise and measure empowerment, rather, I draw selectively from the *empowerment literature* to illustrate arguments that are functional to the scopes of this thesis. This work is mostly interested in understanding the linkages between women's access to earned cash incomes and intra-household decision-making power.

In a review of the literature on empowerment, Rogow (2013) notes that *power* (together with *choice* and *agency*) is a key notion embodied in different definitions of empowerment. She explains that in the literature there are four general conceptualisations of power: a) *power over*, which refers to the ability to coerce others, b) *power to*, which is concerned with ability to make decisions, c) *power with*, ability to exercise collective power and d) *power within*, defined as individual power and personal consciousness. In the context of empowerment, notions of power need not be static but entail a *process of change* to emphasise the acquired ability to make choices (Kabeer 1999).

For the analysis of the linkages between women's access to earned cash incomes and intra-household decision-making power, it seems that two of the forms of power listed above are especially relevant: women's *personal consciousness* and *ability to make decisions*. They are addresses in turn.

Power as personal consciousness refers to the debate on women's ability to pursue self-interest. For example, Thorsen (2002) found that in Burkina Faso women's contributions to the household budget were ignored by men, but also by women themselves. Women's agricultural work on their husbands' plots was predominantly considered as an obligation, but not equally valued as an important contribution to the household's welfare. As noted by Kandiyoti (1998), this debate is shaped by the prominent positions of Amartya Sen, who argues for women's biased perception of self-interest, which manifests itself in prioritising someone else's well-being before one's own, and Bina Agarwal, who instead documents women's awareness of and ability to pursue self-interest. Agarwal (1997) documents women's *hidden* actions, such as secretly engaging in income-generating activities and hiding parts of agricultural produce from the husband, and uses this evidence to claim that women do not passively accept intra-household inequalities. Clearly, what women's self-interest *is* or *should be* has been largely shaped by instrumentalist approaches to gender equality, as explained by Pearson (1998: 182):

'[...] in the enthusiasm for placing women in income-generating projects exercised by many development agencies there has been little agonising about the assumed connections between women's earned incomes and empowerment. In much of the academic and policy discussions women's interests are defined purely in terms of their ability to ensure the survival of their households, particularly in households which are not supported (adequately) by male breadwinners. The possibility that women may seek wage employment or other forms of income generation to liberate themselves from their families, to pursue alternative futures – education, training, migration – or to establish alternative households has had little consideration'.

Although engaging with the empowerment debates is beyond the scopes of this research, exploring the implications of re-conceptualising women's empowerment as detached from the family realm – as suggested by Pearson (2007) – would certainly open up interesting venues in the literature. Indeed, the limited interest in pushing the debate in this direction reflects poor consideration for redressing the gender imbalance in reproductive work. Instead, the *status quo* is used as the basis upon which building women's empowerment in the organisation of production, thus problematically failing to address the intertwined nature of production and

reproduction (see Pearson 1997 for a gender analysis of the 1990s Cuban crisis in production and reproduction).

The question of women's self-interest is related to other two key themes: women's reasons for participating in paid work and/or income-generating activities – which will be discussed below – and perceptions of (economic) contributions. On the latter theme, Agarwal (1997) explains that there can be a divergence between one's (economic) contributions and perceptions about her or his contributions. She attributes the understatement of women's contributions to the invisibility of and lower value given to domestic work, relative to paid work. In this framework, women's access to paid work would be expected to increase their bargaining power by making their contributions more visible.

I now turn to power as ability to make decisions. As Pearson (2004: 117) explains, in the study of women's engagement with paid work a strand of feminist economics has been concerned with intra-household relations and decision-making as a lens through which looking at *'variations in (mis-)match between the amount of paid and unpaid work women do, and how – and by whom – income from work gets spent by and on behalf of different household members'*. The debate revolves around positions that stress women's increased options via access to paid work (e.g. Kabeer 2012) and those that are more concerned with women's increased burden and lack of symmetry between ability to earn incomes and capacity to control it (e.g. Elson and Pearson 1981; Elson 1999; O'Laughlin 2007). Issues of increased burden will be discussed in more detail in relation to food security and food consumption practices in the next chapter. For the scopes of this chapter, it should suffice to clarify that this debate tends to be nuanced, rather than polarised, scholars have addressed expected benefits and lack of in relation to particular jobs, sectors and contexts. For instance, the Pathways of Women's Empowerment research programme found that the nature of work determines variation in the empowerment outcomes.<sup>4</sup> Formal and semi-formal jobs, which provide higher levels of job security and wages, were found to be more effective than informal jobs in generating positive effects on women's empowerment in Bangladesh, Egypt and Ghana (Kabeer 2012). Yet, relations and tensions between paid and unpaid work do remain a central theme in this area. Relations between production and reproduction also forces us to reflect on the root causes of gender inequality: do they lie in the

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<sup>4</sup> Empowerment was measured using a range of indicators that assessed self-perceptions, agency, knowledge of rights and participation in community and politics – see <http://www.pathwaysofempowerment.org/index.html>

lack of job opportunities available to women or in the disproportionate responsibilities women hold in reproductive and unpaid work? And what does this mean in a global context of increasing informalisation of (women's) work?

### **2.2.2 VOLUNTARY ENTREPRENEURS VS CONSTRAINED (WAGE) WORKERS**

Whether women's access to paid jobs increases their decision-making power or not, we then need to question the reasons why women participate in paid work. Why do they participate if gains are low? Why do many women remain outside paid work if it is promising route for empowerment?

'It is clear that poverty is a major factor driving women's labour force participation rates' (Kabeer 2012: 19)

Such statement, which I take as a starting point, is supported by empirical evidence across the world, although there is regional variation (Kabeer 2012).<sup>5</sup> In African countries, women's participation in paid work and cash-earning activities is seen as resulting from decreasing (male) employment opportunities due to the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes and associated processes of livelihood diversification (e.g. Meagher 1995; Bryceson 1999; Whitehead 2009). These processes have been theorised in different ways: livelihood diversification literature, de-agrarianisation theory and political economy of rural development – it is beyond the scope of this work to present an overview of this literature here (see Mueller 2011 for a review of the literature), I will draw from the political economy of rural development literature (more on which below) to inform the analysis. In relation to women's participation, many authors studying Africa and other continents have documented two parallel and intertwined processes: feminisation and informalisation of the labour force (e.g. Meagher 1995; Pearson 1997; Seguinto 2000; Pontara 2001; Ghosh 2002; Pearson 2007). Meagher (2010) explains that the *feminisation of informality* is especially pronounced in sub-Saharan Africa, where 84 per cent of women work in the informal economy.

For some neoliberal economists, people *choose* to participate in the informal economy as a way to circumvent the bureaucratic complexities of formal work and, by the same token, women find in the informal economy more flexible forms of

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<sup>5</sup> For instance, the association between household poverty and women's labour force participation is stronger in South Asia and much less so in Latin America and Africa. However, it is sensible to assume that a sizeable percentage of women work out of necessity (Kabeer 2012).

employment that allow them to manage their domestic responsibilities (see work by Hernando de Soto, e.g. de Soto 2000). These positions have been strongly criticised on a number of grounds. In particular, growing empirical evidence shows that gender inequalities are replicated, if not exacerbated, in the informal economy and women tend to concentrate in *survivalist* activities, which cast doubts on the potential for women's economic empowerment via small-scale selling and trading activities (Meagher 2010). These stances appear to be in line with findings reported above on the greater empowering effects of formal jobs, relative to informal ones. It is important to underline that the distinction between formal and informal work is slippery, especially in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa. Theorists of economic informality have documented the interconnectedness of formal and informal economies and criticised theoretical approaches that treat them as dichotomous (Meagher 1995; Pearson 2007).

Another route to counter and problematize choice-driven theorisations is to look at the constraints that women face to participate in non-domestic productive activities (Kabeer 2012). In his study of Mpumalanga (South Africa), Sender (2002) finds that many of the married women in the sample reported that their husband did not allow them to look for wage employment. In rural Mozambique, Oya and Sender (2009) find that married women are more likely than divorced or separated to be employed in *bad jobs*, which they explain as a possible result of husbands' reluctance to allow their wives to travel and seek employment in larger enterprises and farms.

These constraints partially explain women's participation in paid work. In fact, overrepresentation of divorced and separated women among on-farm and off-farm workers is also to be seen as linked to lack of access to male incomes (Sender and Smith 1990; O'Laughlin 1998; Sender 2002; Sender, Oya and Cramer 2006; Johnston and Sender 2008; Cramer, Oya and Sender 2008; Oya and Sender 2009). In their study of Lesotho, Johnston and Sender (2008) observe that absence of male incomes can be due to male unemployment or male unwillingness to pool their incomes. Not only does this literature demonstrate how (gender) relations of power regulate women's access to paid work, it also highlights how structural dynamics such as migration and pervasive unemployment shape women's participation in paid work. By focusing on rural wage workers, this strand of literature renders rural labour markets visible.

We have seen how *choice-based* approaches to women's participation in paid work, especially in informal types of work, have been challenged from different angles. First, poverty and necessity are the key drivers of women's engagement with paid work. Second, women encounter constraints that limit and, at times, annihilate their free choice. Third, structural processes that determine poverty dynamics are also to be considered when looking at women's participation in paid work. *Choice-focussed* approaches have also welcomed and, in fact, embodied narratives that depict women as a homogeneous group of small-scale self-employed (subsistence) farmers or entrepreneurs. Are women in developing countries self-employed farmers or entrepreneurs?

Although donors and development agencies appear to be moving towards greater recognition of employment and wage work – see World Development Report 2013 on Jobs and its gender companion, 'Gender At Work' (2013) – the narratives that see women as subsistence farmers or self-employed entrepreneurs are resilient and continue to shape policy practice. In fact, those stories continue to be influential in accounts of rural societies that are not characterised by expansion of export-oriented industry and hence conceived as reliant on small-scale farming and entrepreneurial activities. Popular micro-finance programmes and poverty reduction strategies, none of which are aimed at creating employment opportunities, are a symptom of the direction taken by policy practice, which neglects rural labour markets, especially in Africa (Amsden 2010; Oya 2010a; 2010b; 2013).

'Influential policy advisors who emphasize the growth of smallholder agriculture and self-employment in rural micro-enterprises as offering a feasible exit route from poverty [...] should take account of the large gap that exists between their vision of the possibility of increasingly prosperous rural entrepreneurs and the effective realities currently faced by the poorest rural households' Sender (2002: 10)

A strand of empirical research concerned with the analysis of the political economy of agrarian change has targeted purposive samples of wage workers in several African countries and documented the existence of rural labour markets and, importantly, the pervasiveness of (agricultural) wage work among rural residents. Evidence was collected in Tanzania, Mozambique, South Africa, Lesotho and a research project is currently being conducted in Uganda and Ethiopia (Sender and Smith 1986; Sender 2002; Sender, Oya and Cramer 2006; Johnston and Sender 2008; Cramer, Oya and Sender 2008; Oya and Sender 2009). This literature has also investigated the possible causes of rural labour markets' long-standing neglect

and found in the methodology used to collect data on labour some of the reasons for biased accounts of rural societies (Oya 2013) – methodological issues will be discussed in chapter 4.

Importantly, this set of empirical studies on wage work in Mozambique, Tanzania and Lesotho also uncovered that those who are more likely to work as wage workers tend to be in the poorest strata of the population (Sender 2002; Sender, Oya and Cramer 2006; Johnston and Sender 2008; Cramer, Oya and Sender 2008; Oya and Sender 2009). It results that policies aimed at creating and increasing employment opportunities and improving the working conditions of wage workers should be more effective to reduce poverty than those fostering small-scale agriculture and entrepreneurship. For instance, Sender (2000) notes that, in Mpumalanga (South Africa), income from self-employment in small-scale agriculture is generally not sufficient to ensure household survival.

In addition, these studies have documented a high degree of variation in rural labour markets and working conditions. According to Oya (2013: 264), this is due to marked *labour market segmentation*:

‘Evidently some of the differences found in working conditions and wages have much to do with the specific activity, task and crop involved. [...] In agriculture, significant differences in wages and working conditions (including forms of payment) between crops and by task were observed particularly in Mozambique, but also in Mauritania, where labour-intensive crops, especially horticulture, normally commanded higher wages for equivalent tasks than staple cereals. Reasons for these crop-specific features could be the type of employer involved in each crop and the significant differences in productivity across crops, locations and among employers, which results in differential ability to pay higher wages’.

Within such diversity, female wage workers are often found to be poorer than their male counterparts (Sender, Oya and Cramer 2006). However, there are also some exceptional stories of women who managed to obtain more decent jobs, which represented a route out of poverty and, in some cases, a path towards greater economic independence (*Ibid.*). Therefore, creating *more* and *better* employment opportunities for women is seen as an effective way to escape poverty.

If we take account of strands of literature that are more sophisticated than the *voluntary small-scale entrepreneurs narrative*, it becomes clear that women’s employment histories and experiences need to be removed from the homogeneity box and analysed in their differences and similarities.

## **2.3 HOUSEHOLD AND INTRA-HOUSEHOLD ISSUES: ECONOMIC AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES**

Many times so far I have mentioned 'household models' and 'intra-household' dynamics. These issues are central in strands of literature concerned with management of incomes and/or productive resources and its implications on spending patterns. This section retraces scholar developments around the conceptualisation of household and analysis of intra-household practices. Economists and anthropologists more than others have shown interest in exploring these issues. The two disciplines converge on the household (or domestic unit) as the site where basic allocational activities meet relations of marriage, parenthood and kinship (Kabeer 1994). Anthropological and feminist critiques of economic models of the household have been crucial to develop theorisations of the household and intra-household practices.

Section 2.3.1 looks at economic and anthropological perspectives on the nature of the household. Section 2.3.2 reviews the developments of economic models of the household – from unitary to collective – and relative criticism. Section 2.3.3 looks at some of the determinants of intra-household bargaining power, with a focus on social norms.

### **2.3.1 THE HOUSEHOLD**

The concept of household is a long-standing one in economic theory (Roberts 1991). The idea of the household as a unit of economic activity can be traced back to Chayanov's study of Russian peasantry, published in 1926 (Haddad, Hoddinott and Alderman 1997). In economic terms, the household is 'a domestic unit with decision-making autonomy about production and consumption' (Roberts 1991: 60). Economists' reluctance to describe the household in greater details conferred a character of generality and universality to the concept. However, the presumption of universality failed to acknowledge the socio-cultural influences of the context where the concept was coined. It did, in fact, assume that the *household* is identified with Western ideas of *nuclear family*, headed by a man.

As such, early economic notions of the household were used in other geographical contexts, including African countries. Economists saw the African household as the basic unit of agricultural production and consumption; this

enterprise operated independently under the constraint of a given labour base and the domination of a single head, usually a patriarch (Mackintosh 1989). Guyer (1988) reports that when family budget surveys were used in Africa, only households with wage-earning heads were included in the survey and women were considered only in the '*traditional European role of stretching the wage*' (Guyer 1988: 157). The importance of making gender relations explicit has been the cornerstone of a long-standing debate within economics and beyond, which will be discussed later on.

In anthropological work, the concept of household is rather more recent. In fact, anthropology has been traditionally concerned with *domestic domain* as the unit of daily production, reproduction and residence (Roberts 1991). Since anthropology is interested in looking at human behaviours from both *etic* and *emic* perspectives,<sup>6</sup> it finds in the household the site where the discrepancy between the outsider's and the insider's perspectives materialises (Gittelsohn and Mookherji 1997). Local ideas of household are generally different from the concept of household elaborated by the outsider and, for this reason, any *a priori* characterisation of the household has to be considered potentially misleading (*Ibid.*).

In terms of functions, anthropologists would define the household in the same way economists do, as the basic unit of the society where activities of production, reproduction, consumption and child-rearing occur (Roberts 1991). However, anthropological perspectives on the household may differ from that of other social sciences in two ways. First, anthropology does not presume that such a unit exists in indigenous categories or language or that what could be described as household necessarily brings together all the aforementioned functions (*Ibid.*) For instance, in polygamous societies, consumption, reproduction and production practices may take place in different residential units or, in matrilineal societies, the married couple may not live together although there may be cooperation in production and consumption (*Ibid.*). Second, anthropology recognises that households may not be formed only by people linked by kinship ties or marriage contract (*Ibid.*) For example, in some African societies, people providing labour may be treated as members of the household (*Ibid.*). Therefore, the concept of household is likely to vary according to cultural and social dynamics, thus making it hard to find a universal definition of it.

It is evident that the idea of household is problematic. Yet, the main alternative would be to move the level of analysis onto individuals, thus risking falling into the

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<sup>6</sup> *Etic* refers to the interpretation of human beliefs and behaviours from the outsider's perspective; *emic* refers to the interpretation of human beliefs and behaviours from the insider's perspective (Gittelsohn and Mookherji 1997).

conundrum of methodological individualism (Kabeer 1994; Kandiyoti 1998). A focus on individuals would lead to a poorer understanding of '*networks of inter-dependence and distribution, both within and beyond domestic units*' (Whitehead 1981: 98). Especially in systems where the law and the market play a limited role, such as some African settings, explanation of individual choice requires the analysis of other institutions (Berry 1984 in Whitehead 1981). Empirical evidence suggests that it is in the household that daily decisions over resource allocations are taken, indicating that the household has a '*certain facticity, despite its shifting guises*' (Kabeer 1994: 114).

Furthermore, households are important to feminist analysis as they are the *natural units*<sup>7</sup> (Harris 1981) where women's domestic and reproductive labour occurs and gender inequalities are produced (Kabeer 1994). Abandoning the concept of household altogether does not seem to be a reasonable choice, rather, widening the range of methods and frameworks through inter-disciplinary work appears to be a promising channel to improve our understanding of households.<sup>8</sup>

### **2.3.2 FROM UNITARY TO COLLECTIVE MODELS**

The household has represented a major obstacle for neo-classical economic theory since its collective nature escapes the methodological individualism on which neoclassical economics is based. The problem was posed overtly by Samuelson (1965) who asked: how can individual preferences collapse into an aggregate one for the whole household, so that it could fit neoclassical economic models? His solution to the problem was to assume that the household is an altruistic unit and household members behave *as if* they are maximising their joint welfare function.

Years later, Becker (1981a) attempted to address this dilemma in greater detail by founding the New Household Economics (NHE). The NHE conceptualised the household as '*both a producer and a consumer in the market place*' (Evans 1991: 51). The couple comes together in marriage contract driven by the necessity

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<sup>7</sup> Harris (1981) finds that, even though a universal conceptualisation of household is misleading, households are always the site of reproduction activities and gender subordination is produced and re-iterated in the domestic sphere because of the role women cover in reproduction activities.

<sup>8</sup> Guyer (1986; 1997) has done pioneering work on these issues – she argues that employment of a range of different methods drawn from different social sciences is the way forward to reach improved an understanding of the household.

of biological reproduction (Kabeer 1994) and behaves as a single entity, maximising a joint welfare function, under the constraint of the household production function.

The NHE departs from orthodox economic theory in two ways. First, the household replaces the individual as basic unit of maximisation (Evans 1991). Second, the household is a unit of production and consumption (*Ibid.*). The critical assumption is that the household allocates productive resources, including family labour, according to the principle of comparative advantage to maximise the home production of goods and services (e.g. Kabeer 1994). In particular, the division of labour between home production and labour market follows this principle too, thus implying that, due to wage differentials between men and women, a household in which women work in the household while men participate in the labour market maximises joint welfare. (e.g. Evans 1991).

The assumption of altruism was ideated to overcome the problem of non-comparable individual utilities – household members are willing to subordinate their individual preferences to the household welfare (e.g. Becker 1981b). Yet, the hypothesis of altruism does not suffice to explain how household welfare can represent all members, and whether the members contribute equally to it (Evans 1991). Then, Becker (1981b) introduced the idea of the *benevolent dictator*, the altruistic household head who cares about the other members and distributes resources to them. *'Efficient outcomes are thus achieved through paternalistic manipulation, rather than through brute force or perfect consensus'* (Hart 1997: 15).

#### *Theoretical Shortcoming and Contradicting Empirical Evidence*

Although unitary models provide a simple framework to look into the household – e.g. they offer some insights on the intra-household division of labour (Schultz 1999) – it is evident that these models are not equipped to describe intra-household dynamics. The NHE suffers from a number of theoretical shortcomings and is severely contradicted by empirical evidence. I address some of the critical points in turn.

An issue that has been considered particularly problematic by feminist scholars is that the concepts of joint welfare function and *benevolent dictator* exclude the possibility of conflict or inequality in the household allocation of resources (Folbre 1986; Elliss 1988 in Evans 1991). The NHE framework also ignores that individual preferences may not be formed freely by all household members (Evans 1991). Displays of *maternal altruism* and intra-household

oppression challenge the NHE's theoretical assumptions. Many have criticised unitary models for being gender-blind, which has been attributed to '*theoretical preconceptions that have blocked both the perception and the acknowledgment of material dimensions of inequality within the household*' (Folbre 1986: 249).

In addition, the aggregation of individual preferences into one joint welfare function constitutes a problem termed fallacy of composition. While partially breaking through the principles of methodological individualism, the NHE attempts to treat a collective of individuals as grouped into one, thus falling into the mistake of considering groups as the simple sum of individuals (Kabeer 1994).

The household depicted by NHE is a distinct socio-economic unit defined by clear boundaries that separate it from the outside world. The household is the *locus* where production, consumption, distribution and co-residence take place. This image of the household is challenged by anthropological evidence, mainly from sub-Saharan Africa, which found that households are often flexible and changing structures whose confines may be hardly distinguished (e.g. Evans 1991). For instance, Guyer (1986) reports that in many Ghanaian family systems based on matriliney the functions of production, consumption and co-residence do not indicate membership to the same group. Husband and wife may not live together but the wife may send food to the husband every day and expect a contribution for the education of their children from her husband (*Ibid.*). While the incompatibility between neoclassical formulation of the household and real forms of household may be particularly evident in matrilineal societies, it is not limited to such societies.<sup>9</sup>

'The concept of household as a single legal union and a unified economic entity submerges important information about variations in household composition – by gender, age and kinship – and intra- and inter-household household resource allocation and distribution' (Evans 1991: 54).

Moreover, the notion of *household* may be absent in a given context or change in its meaning. Leach (1991) reports that socio-economic surveys conducted in Sierra Leone were based upon two categories (the residential household and the farm household) which were not reference groups for local populations, thus producing misleading understanding of inter- and intra-household dynamics. 'Developmental cycles' of domestic groups should also be taken into

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<sup>9</sup> This problem is acute in polygamous societies too – due to the separation of decision-making units on production, consumption and, sometimes, co-residence activities (e.g. Evans 1991; Guyer 1986).

account – the neoclassical household model is not equipped to describe societies characterised by high rates of divorce or low rates of marriage (Guyer 1986: 95).

NHE had the merit to recognise that labour time is an important resource for the household and that family labour can be allocated to multiple uses, namely market and domestic production, and leisure (Kabeer 1994).<sup>10</sup> What are the rules that govern the allocation of family labour? It is assumed that family labour obeys the principle of comparative advantage, which implies that family labour is a perfectly substitutable factor of production (Evans 1991). Therefore, women tend to specialise in domestic work because of wage differentials between women and men in the marketplace but, if women's market wages increase, then they will increasingly participate in the labour market. However, family labour is differentiated by gender, age and status. This differentiation is a barrier to mobilisation of labour to various forms of farm and non-farm activities. The most frequent form of rigidity is the extent to which male labour replaces female labour in domestic work (Kabeer 1994). Studies conducted in the Philippines found that increased women's market participation is accompanied by reductions in their labour time (Folbre 1984 in Kabeer 1994). One consequence of gender-related rigidities of allocation of labour within the household is that women are at risk of facing increased time constraints. Especially in sub-Saharan Africa, where women are often responsible for agriculture, food production and preparation,<sup>11</sup> it is likely to observe that women's working day is longer than that of men (Kabeer 1994).<sup>12</sup>

NHE postulates that the joint welfare maximisation can be achieved only if all the resources at disposal of the household are pooled. The resources are then allocated according to the principle of Pareto-optimality, meaning that no one in the household can be better off unless someone else is worse off (Kabeer 1994). However, once again, empirical evidence has contradicted this assumption. Resources are not always pooled, rather, they are distributed according to gender and age lines. For instance, Fapohunda (1988) found that among the Yoruba people of West Africa the majority of the married couples do not practice any form of pooling. Not only, many spouses claimed that they ignored their partner's earning

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<sup>10</sup> Previous neo-classical models assumed that household or individual labour supply was allocated between wage work and leisure, thus failing to recognise the importance of domestic work (Kabeer 1994).

<sup>11</sup> In sub-Saharan Africa, women are responsible for approximately 60 per cent of agricultural production and 80 per cent of food production (Kabeer 1994).

<sup>12</sup> This phenomenon – that women tend to work longer hours than men – is not limited to sub-Saharan Africa, but it is observed also in other developing countries (e.g. Sen and Sen 1985 in India) as well as developed countries (e.g. Jagger in the US) (Kabeer 1994).

and expenditure behaviour (*Ibid.*). Fapohunda (*Ibid.*) also suggests that non-pooling incomes may be economically rational too: women's financial independence allowed them to invest in extended family relations and social networks, through which they could improve their bargaining position within the household.

In sum, the NHE is flawed theoretically and empirically. The set of empirical studies discussed in section 2.1.2 were primarily aimed at disproving the validity of unitary models of the household by showing that the gender of the household member that controls cash income and/or productive resources does matter in the allocation of resources. Therefore, earlier anthropological and feminist critiques of the unitary household (overviewed in this section) found support in later empirical studies (discussed earlier) to finally determine the end of unitary models of the household and paved the path for collective models of the household.

#### *Collective Models of the Household: The Way Forward?*

Early versions of collective household models – classified as *collective* for conceiving the household as a collection of individuals – applied game theory to model bargaining between household members (e.g. Manser and Brown 1980). These models rest '*firmly within the neoclassical paradigm*' (Hart 1997: 15). In fact, the assumption is that the household is composed by selfish individuals who bargain through conflict as well as cooperation. The bargaining power of each member is defined in terms of fall-back positions, which reflect how well-off (s)he could be if cooperation fails (Agarwal 1997; Hart 1997). If a person's fall-back position improves, then this person will enjoy a higher degree of bargaining power within the household (Agarwal 1997).

Within the bargaining approach, there are cooperative and non-cooperative models. The former relaxed only the assumption of common preferences, while maintaining income pooling and Pareto-optimality in resources allocation. This implies that inefficient outcomes can be hardly understood and, consequently, corrected through well-targeted interventions (Johnston and Le Roux 2007). The latter, instead, weakened the assumptions of income pooling and Pareto-optimality. Non-cooperative models allow not only for different individual preferences, but also for individual decisions over production activities and asymmetry of information between the household members (Agarwal 1997).

It is important to acknowledge that collective models, even those that rest within the methodological individualism framework, may be capable to explain

gender differentials as the by-product of structural rather than individual inequalities (Folbre 1986). Yet, even these models have been criticised on a number of grounds. An agreement has not been reached yet on which model, if any, should be applied in order to capture intra-household dynamics appropriately (Johnston and Le Roux 2007).

Some scholars have highlighted that non-cooperative models are capable to draw the rules governing intra-household decision-making and resource allocation from the household survey data, rather than establish the rules *a priori* (Quisumbing and Maluccio 2000). However, it has been argued that large-scale survey data collection is *per se* based on some pre-determined beliefs and assumptions on intra-household dynamics (Hart 1997). '*At best, therefore, the rules that are recovered are likely to be those that were assumed in the first place*' (*Ibid.*: 17). This echoes Kandiyoti's critique (reported above) that these models fail to address variation in intra-household configurations.

Household dynamics will also be influenced by extra-household processes affecting intra-household gender and age-based relations of power. For instance, Carter and Katz (1997) include a 'degree of patriarchy' in their model – defined as the set of '*attitudes, mores, and opportunities exogenous to the household*' – however, it is hard to capture and model such a variable, which has implications for the functioning of the household (Hart 1997). I now turn to address social norms and extra-household factors that determine intra-household decision-making practices.

### **2.3.3 DETERMINANTS OF INTRA-HOUSEHOLD BARGAINING POWER**

'[We still need] to think beyond the restrictions imposed by fully specified models, and move toward a less restrictive formulation which incorporates qualitative aspects and greater complexity' Agarwal (1997: 6)

Although the idea of the household as a site of bargaining through cooperation and/or conflict is generally shared by feminist economists and anthropologists, many are still concerned with the *economistic formulation* of the bargaining models (Hart 1997). For instance, it has been pointed out that while the formation of fall-back positions or 'degree of patriarchy' occur mainly outside the domestic unit, only a few studies explicitly analyse the determinants of members' relative bargaining power (Agarwal 1997; Folbre 1986).

According to Agarwal (1997), an individual's relative bargaining power is determined by both quantifiable – such as economic assets – and non-quantifiable factors – such as community-based support, social norms and institutions, or perceptions about contributions and needs. In a rather tautological way, ownership of assets has been used as a measure of women's intra-household bargaining power (e.g. Quisumbing and Maluccio 2000; Doss 2005). Does asset ownership really translate into increased bargaining power? Doss' answer is that it does because, in her study on Ghana, she found a significant correlation between women's asset ownership and household spending patterns.

Agarwal (1997) stresses the importance of taking account of non-quantifiable and extra-household factors to understand intra-household bargaining. For instance, she considers social norms to be an important determining factor for a number of reasons. First, social norms define the boundaries on the resources on which bargaining is *socially accepted*. For instance, in a land occupation site in South Africa, women who were farming land owned by their husbands did not consider asking for a change in land titles because customary norms did not envisage such a possibility (Agarwal 2003). Second, social norms can constrain bargaining power. For example, intra-household inequalities in food distribution limit the bargaining power of the disadvantaged members to obtain greater shares of food. Or social norms that constrain women's participation in extra-household paid work may act as a constraint also to their intra-household bargaining power. Third, social norms dictate people's behaviour and hence possibilities of bargaining. This is described by age-based relations of power that grant older women greater freedom or, as another example, different obligations assigned to co-wives in polygamous societies (Guyer 1986). Finally, social norms are not exogenous because household members can also bargain over social norms. Membership to social groups is considered especially effective in fostering this type of process (Agarwal 1997; Hart 1997).

To achieve greater complexity in analyses of intra-household dynamics, Kabeer (1994) suggests that some dichotomies embodied in economic modelling should be overcome to enhance our understanding of what households are and how they function. First, methodological individualism should not lead to the exclusion of methodologies concerned with social structures. Second, the separation between *economic* and *cultural* should be abandoned. Third, the dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative analysis should be overcome. In other words, despite significant improvements in the economic modelling of the households, methods

and analyses that allow for higher levels of complexity and variation should guide studies of intra-household decision-making practices.

## **2.4 CONCLUSIONS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

To those concerned with gender equality, gendered distribution of resources within the household and beyond has assumed central importance in itself and for functionalistic reasons, namely economic efficiency and well-being outcomes. Indeed the strand of literature that has investigated gendered access and use of resources has challenged the validity of unitary models of the household, showing that households are sites where different members may have different preferences.

The last section of the chapter showed that the concept of unitary and self-contained household has also been convincingly criticised in anthropological literature and some feminist work. So, although these strands of literature have different nature and aims, both quantitative and qualitative evidence has questioned the usefulness of early conceptualisations of the household. Yet, quantitative studies have been especially concerned with proving that women's access to productive resources and/or cash incomes has positive effects on different aspects of well-being, thus creating gendered stereotypes of preferences and ignoring other lines along which preferences can be shaped such as class, age, nationality.

By looking at two key studies in this strand of literature, the chapter has questioned the robustness of this evidence based on the interpretation of the evidence itself and on some methodological issues to which quantitative studies are exposed. Overall, it seems that although this evidence has been widely used as if it were universally applicable, there are reasons to treat it as context-specific at the best, and to be hesitant about its strong conclusions on fixed gendered preferences and behaviour at worst. In particular, an enriched theoretical and methodological approach to look in greater depth at each component of the theory of change introduced in section 2.1.2 can be a way forward to assess the linkages between women's access to cash incomes and well-being outcomes.

To start with, the question on how women access cash incomes needs to be addressed. This work focuses on women's access to cash incomes via participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities. In the chapter, some of the debates on women's empowerment through paid work were reviewed. Some see in economic

opportunities for women a chief channel to empowerment while others are more concerned with growing tensions between paid and unpaid work, also resulting with not-so-clear-cut positive effects on women's decision-making power associated with their engagement with paid work. Concerns have also been raised on the overly functionalistic approaches to women's empowerment and participation in paid work.

Indeed by moving away from choice-based approaches and theorisations of women's participation in paid work, it can be observed that women are often forced into paid work and their engagement with paid work and/or cash-earning activities is subject to a number of constraints dictated by gender relations of power that disadvantage women. Choice-focussed approaches present ahistorical and homogenising understandings of women's participation in paid work as self-employment, although there is literature showing the existence and pervasiveness of wage employment and social differentiation even in agrarian societies in sub-Saharan Africa.

From the composite review of the literature presented in this chapter, it seems that the hypotheses underlying the theory of change that links women's incomes to well-being outcomes need to be investigated. Starting with issues of work and household dynamics, three research questions arise:

1. What are the types of paid work and/or cash-generating activities women engage with? In other words, how do women access cash incomes?
- 2a. Do women make decisions on how to use incomes on domains that are crucial to the household well-being (with a focus on the *food domain* – including food acquisition and preparation)?
- 2b. Does women's participation into paid work and/or cash-earning activities translate into increased decision-making power and capacity to control incomes within the household? And what are the implications for food expenses?

Question 1 will be addressed in chapter 6, which is dedicated to issues of female participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities and unpaid work. Questions 2a and 2b will be answered in chapter 7, which discusses household and intra-household dynamics in the studied context.

# 3

## **CHANGING DIETS AND PERSISTENT FOOD INSECURITY**

### **ARE WOMEN THE KEY TO FOOD SECURITY?**

Are women the key to food security in a global context of dietary change? A strand of literature suggests that a more equal distribution of resources in favour of women contributes to improved food security. Could women's contributions be offset by time constraints and increased burden? Could women's contributions be constrained and/or enabled by the underlying determinants of dietary practices and food insecurity?

The chapter is aimed at presenting the optimistic narrative and, at the same time, suggesting the lines along which it can be assessed critically. In fact, taking an instrumental approach to gender equality does not only have implications on gender equality but also on the conceptualisations of household food security because it is seen as dependent on gender equality.

The first section (3.1) reviews the key literature that advocates women's empowerment as a preferential channel to achieve food security, questions its theoretical underpinnings and addresses time issues as a critical factor in the underlying theory of change. The second section (3.2) is instead aimed at moving from the level of the narrative to address the wider context and especially the determinants of dietary change. Section 3.3 concludes and sets the last two research questions that arise from the review of the literature presented in the course of the chapter.

### **3.1 WOMEN AND FOOD SECURITY**

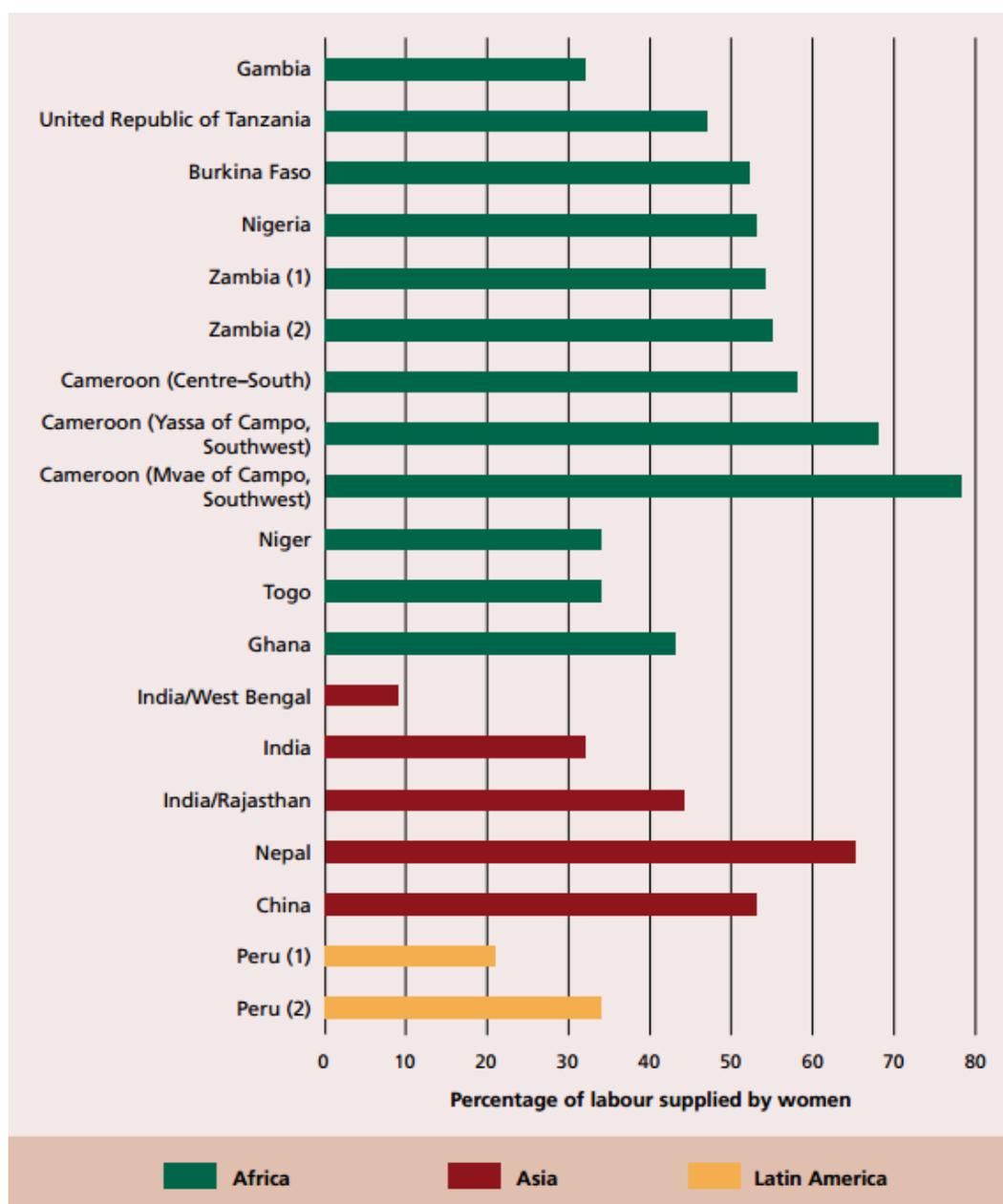
Women are seen as key players in the food domain – from food production, to acquisition and preparation. A strand of literature combines these stylised facts with arguments that women direct more resources to food, relative to men, to suggest that women can play a central role in the achievement of food and nutrition security. These *optimistic* accounts do recognise that women's increased access to productive resources via participation in paid work can give rise to increased burden and time constraints, which may overturn the hypothesis supported by the positive story.

This section is dedicated to the critical review of approaches to women and household food (in)security (3.1.1) and to addressing issues of time use (3.1.2).

#### **3.1.1 A DISCUSSION OF THE OPTIMISTIC STORY**

Literature that indicates women as the *key to food security* – 'Women: The Key to Food Security' is the title of an IFPRI report authored by Quisumbing et al. and published in 1995 – takes the efficiency argument (discussed in Chapter 2) as its foundation and complements it with the recognition that women, especially those living in rural (and farming) households, play crucial roles in food production and household food and nutrition security. Women make up 40 per cent of the agricultural workforce in developing countries, with the sub-Saharan African region showing the highest percentages of women's participation in agriculture (approximately 50 per cent) (FAO 2011). Data on female farmers is poor and dubious as it is difficult to separate farming on own or family's fields from other types of housework (*Ibid.*). Yet, employment statistics show that high proportions of employed women in developing countries work as wage workers in the agricultural sector – in sub-Saharan Africa, over 60 per cent of the employed women work in agriculture (*Ibid.*). Overall, women's contributions in the agricultural sector are substantial – see figure 3.1A below.

**FIGURE 3.1A PROPORTION OF LABOUR IN ALL AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES THAT IS SUPPLIED BY WOMEN**



NOTE: ONLY THE SURVEY FOR INDIA IS NATIONALLY REPRESENTATIVE

SOURCE: FAO (2011: 11)

Quisumbing et al. (1995) explain that women have roles of responsibility in each of the three *pillars* of food security: food availability (or food production), economic access to food, and nutrition security, which is also linked to child care, health care, access to clean water and sanitation. However, women carry out their roles with *inadequate resources*, where the inadequacy is measured against men's access to resources. Persistent inequalities in access to productive inputs (for

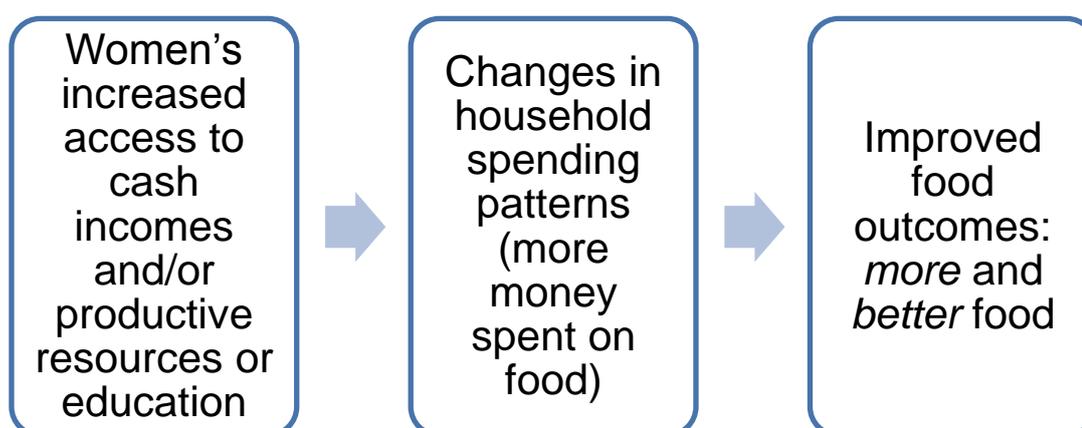
farming, for instance) and economic opportunities (to acquire greater control of incomes) determine women's disempowerment, which is seen as being detrimental to the achievement of improved food and nutrition outcomes (Quisumbing et al. 1995; Quisumbing and Meinzen-Dick 2001; De Schutter 2012).

As a result, policies should be aimed at *empowering women to achieve food security*, which is the title of another IFPRI pamphlet edited by Quisumbing and Meinzen-Dick and published in 2001. The collection of essays makes a case for improving women's access to natural and physical capital (land, water, houses and infrastructure, for instance), human capital (education), social and financial capital (micro-finance groups), legal rights to legitimise women's access to all relevant assets. Within this list, education is considered particularly important:

'Improving women's education is probably the single most important policy instrument to increase agricultural productivity and reduce poverty. Women's education also leads to lower fertility and child mortality, as well as better health, nutrition and educational outcomes for children' (Quisumbing and Meinzen-Dick 2001, Policy Brief 1)

In this framework, ensuring more equal access to key assets is expected to trigger a virtuous cycle leading to improved food- and nutrition-related outcomes. Ultimately, this narrative is very similar to that discussed in Chapter 2 but different in that it is focussed on one particular well-being outcome. Again, it can be visualised in the diagram below.

**FIGURE 3.1B THEORY OF CHANGE THAT LINKS WOMEN'S ACCESS TO PRODUCTIVE RESOURCES WITH HOUSEHOLD FOOD OUTCOMES**



Although this story is based on the just acknowledgement of some important roles played by women and rightly advocates greater gender equality in particular domains such as access to resources, it rests on neoclassical and neoliberal

principles because it treats women as undifferentiated agents who respond rationally to incentives. By giving more (economic) incentives to individuals – namely cash, resources, education and legal rights – they will make better decisions. In her work on the use of cash transfers to lower the risk of HIV transmission, Harman (2011: 17) notes:

‘Conditional cash transfers reflect the liberal underpinnings of such an approach in their emphasis on individual responsibility and the need for levelling-up of welfare and state-based incentives as a means of providing better health outcomes for all. Individuals are seen as malleable with behaviour change programmes, that with the right kind of education and knowledge they will rationally choose to enhance their own self-interest.’

In her study of the role economics in shaping HIV prevention policies, Johnston (2013) shows that neoclassical economics has failed to recognise the root causes of HIV transmission by focussing on individuals as agents who are free to make rational choices on their sexual behaviour. In fact, policies aimed at tackling HIV transmission by educating individuals did not succeed in limiting the expansion of the HIV/AIDS epidemics. Although analyses of food and nutrition insecurity certainly differ from those of HIV/AIDS, neoclassical theorisations (and relative policies) of these problems present some striking similarities that justify the use of analogous lines of criticism in the two fields.

What is missing in the story that sees women as the key to food security is consideration for differences between groups of individuals, contexts in which (groups of) individuals exercise their agency and, importantly, how structural factors and processes determine the boundaries of the options available to individuals and shape their preferences. For instance, in her reflection on the WID agenda that targets women as the recipients of training and credit, Kandiyoti (1998: 138) notes that

‘the explicit or implicit assumptions inherent in development interventions may get translated into material and symbolic resources which may be capitalised upon by some local actors, sometimes to the detriment of others’.

In other words, existing (and changing) socio-economic configurations characterised by power imbalances between groups of individuals, interact with development interventions and hence shape their outcomes. The assumption that existing socio-economic configurations do not matter and therefore *one size fits all* has produced fallacious policies and hence needs to be rejected.

Following these streams of criticism, I intend to critically address the assumptions on which the *women and food security* narrative is based – the research questions used to guide this exercise will be listed and explained in the last section of this chapter. The next section is dedicated to the discussion of the issue of time constraints as a mediating factor between women’s choices and activities and the achievement of food and nutrition security.

### **3.1.2 ISSUES OF INCREASED BURDEN, TIME AND LABOUR ALLOCATION**

While identifying the pathways between women’s increased shares in productive resources and reduced food insecurity, the advocates of the *women and food security story* pointed out the importance of trade-offs and time constraints as critical issues to the functioning of the optimistic story. In fact, women’s increased burden and time constraints, other than being problematic *per se*, can be especially detrimental to food and nutritional outcomes.

In ‘Women: The Key to Food Security’, Quisumbing et al. (1995) explain that women’s time allocation is a critical factor for the achievement of nutrition security. Time is considered to be scarce especially for women in developing countries – relative to men – due to their responsibilities in agricultural and domestic production and reproduction. Time scarcity would have negative effects on care practices, which in turn affect nutrition by limiting the time that can be devoted to a) feeding and cooking practices and b) health and hygiene practices (Quisumbing et al. 1995). Evidence shows that food preparation is one of the most time-consuming activities (Barrett and Browne 1994; Hyder et al. 2005). Therefore, time issues are of special concern to this strand of literature because they are seen as potentially disabling the optimistic narratives:

‘The rapid pace of urbanisation in many countries and increased female labour force participation imply even greater demands on women’s time. Women turn to processed foods and *street foods* to save time and try to find substitutes for child care so they can participate in the labour market. Increased time spent in income-generation activities (translated into higher food expenditures) and in using health and education facilities can improve child nutrition, but the loss of direct time spent in child care may offset this.’ (Quisumbing et al. 1995: 13)

Both men and women in low-income countries are affected by time constraints but men are seen as being more able to perform their activities

sequentially while women may have to pursue their paid and unpaid work simultaneously (Blackden and Wodon 2006), thus facing more severe trade-offs between reproductive and productive activities, or between productive activities of different kinds. Due to women's duties in agricultural production and high workload, time constraints in sub-Saharan Africa are considered to be especially severe (Kes and Swaminathan 2006).

Kes and Swaminathan (2006) explain that there are currently two approaches to define and collect data on work – used as a proxy for time. The first, codified in the System of National Accounts (SNA) and used to calculate the GDP, defines work as formal and informal market work and subsistence production of goods and excludes production of services for own consumption. The second makes use of a broader notion of work, which includes (formal and informal) market work – production of goods and services for the market – and non-market work – subsistence production, reproductive work, and volunteer work. Time use surveys have served to collect data on this wider definition of work.

For sub-Saharan Africa, the existing national-level time use surveys describe a gendered division of labour that sees men as more involved in market work and women as more engaged in non-market work and generally working longer hours than men.<sup>13</sup> Kes and Swaminathan lament that these surveys did not collect demographic and economic information, which curb the opportunity to analyse gendered time allocation patterns. For instance, household composition is recognised to be an important determinant of time and labour distribution among household members (Blackden and Wodon 2006; Kes and Swaminathan 2006).

As noted by Jackson and Palmer-Jones (1998; 1999), a reductionist approach to time burdens has the advantage to make women's unpaid work visible but it remains on an abstract idea of work that does not adequately consider effort and fatigue. Time use studies have narrowly looked at the gendered allocation of working hours and envisaged women's adoption of time-saving technologies as the most effective way to free up women's time. Yet technical solutions to time-use imbalances are not sufficient to address women's disproportionate domestic and caring responsibilities, which instead need to be carefully considered and overturned (Hull et al. 2013). Jackson and Palmer-Jones criticise the common tendency to use time as a proxy for work, especially in contexts of high work

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<sup>13</sup> Kes and Swaminathan (2006) refer to time use surveys conducted in Benin, South Africa, Madagascar and Mauritius.

intensities, and call for more sophisticated conceptualisations and analyses of work and time. There are different ways in which time has been studied in more comprehensive ways. For instance, advancements can be found in studies that have looked at time through its interactions with consumption poverty (Bardasi and Wodon 2010) and with seasonality (Wodon and Beegle 2006). I illustrate these approaches in turn.

Time-use data are normally collected at the individual level, which is considered to be easier than collecting individual income data (Bardasi and Wodon 2010). Yet, how *individual time use* can translate into *time poverty* has been underexplored in existing literature (Kes and Swaminathan 2006). In other words, establishing who is *time poor* and when *time poverty* occurs is less clear-cut than it is commonly believed. Though it is clear that time poverty, varyingly defined, is especially problematic when combined or interacting with other forms of poverty or deprivation (Kes and Swaminathan 2006; Bardasi and Wodon 2010).

In a study of Guinea, Bardasi and Wodon (2010) look at the interaction between time and consumption poverty. They make a distinction between people who work long hours because of *need* and people who work long hours because of *choice*, which allows them to apply the following definition of time poverty:

'the need to spend long hours working (in either the labour market or domestic work) because the alternative would be (even deeper) consumption poverty.' (Bardasi and Wodon 2010: 45)

After establishing a time-poverty line,<sup>14</sup> they classify individuals in four groups: a) *time and consumption poor*, b) *neither time nor consumption poor*, c) *overworked but not consumption poor* and d) *consumption poor but not time poor* (underemployed). The time poverty figures without the consumption poverty constraint suggest that 43.7 per cent of all adult households in Guinea are time poor. The time poorest are rural women while the least time poor are urban men. When the consumption poverty constraint is considered, figures change substantially. In fact, 20.4 per cent of all adult households are time and consumption poor. For both women and men, time and consumption poverty is higher in rural areas but it is overall higher for women, relative to men. These comparisons suggest that

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<sup>14</sup> One of the caveats highlighted by Bardasi and Wodon (2010) is that the definition of a time-poverty line is more arbitrary than that involved in the definition of consumption-poverty lines. Bardasi and Wodon set the time poverty threshold at 50 hours per week.

expanded approaches to time-use data can help delineate different types of deprivation by residence (rural/urban) and gender, for instance.

In their study of Guinea, Bardasi and Wodon are silent on potential movements of individuals (and households) among the four identified categories. For instance, some households could be underemployed at particular times of the year, and time-consumption poor at other times. Studies that look at the interaction of labour demand, time use and seasonality shed light on such swings in time allocation patterns.

Seasonal variability in time and consumption poverty is a crucial matter. Hauenstein Swan et al. (2010: 111) argue that seasonality is *the most neglected dimension of poverty*. In addition, seasonality is especially relevant in agrarian societies and hence should be adequately considered when looking at (women's) agricultural work and food security. For instance, Wodon and Beegle (2006) document the incidence of seasonal labour shortages amid widespread underemployment in Malawi. Wodon and Beegle find that gender-based and seasonal variation in time use during the year is more pronounced among rural households, relative to urban ones.

Such expanded approaches to the utilisation of quantitative time-use data do uncover dynamic aspects of time and labour distribution that would otherwise be overlooked or ignored. Nonetheless, earlier and contemporary ethnographic and anthropological contributions have thoroughly addressed issues of time allocation using qualitative evidence. Many of these studies – some of which will be mentioned below – have taken conceptualisations of time to a much more refined and sophisticated analytical level. Issues of time appear in these narratives as embedded in practices of production and social reproduction, which offer insights into the understanding of time or lack of it as deriving from the structural organisation of productive and reproductive activities.

For instance, in a study of women traders in Kumasi (Ghana), Clark (1994) documents some tensions that arise between trading activities and other female tasks such as cooking and child care. Clark explains that in Kumasi meal preparation and consumption follows specific time patterns, which tend to clash with trading activities at the marketplace. Importantly though, she reports that wealthier traders manage to minimise these problems by hiring maidservants. This example is telling of the interaction between time and wealth but it also sheds some light on the sources of time constraints. It links a particular type of paid activity performed by

women and investigates its interactions with other paid and unpaid activities normally carried out by women.

Hull (2013) uses her work on rural northern Kwa-Zulu Natal to highlight the importance to move beyond a narrow focus on time constraints and embrace multi-dimensional approaches to time that allow for consideration of time *use* other than time *loss* only. Hull explores temporal horizons in relation to management practices of food and money. She explains how different types of food are subject to different time-related acquisition strategies that are in turn determined by particular processes of provision of different food items. This gives rise to sophisticated mechanisms of food purchase and gifting, which in turn govern localised forms of accumulation and redistribution of wealth. Hull observes that in the context of rural South Africa, characterised by high levels of unemployment and underemployment, there may be abundance and not scarcity of time.

In northern Zambia, Moore and Vaughan (1994) reconsider one of the conclusions reached by Audrey Richards in her earlier ethnography. Richards (1939) indicated the absence of male labour as a key determinant of malnutrition. Moore and Vaughan instead shift the focus from men's to women's labour in the context of male presence as heads of cash-cropping households. The interviewed women in Zambia draw explicit connections between nutrition-related problems and types of activities performed at particular times of the year:

'Mothers notice these problems (malnutrition and wasting) when it is time for *citimene*<sup>15</sup> and harvesting because there is a lot of work to be done and less attention is given to children' Interview with a woman in northern Zambia, Moore and Vaughan (1994: 197).

Moore and Vaughan see in the introduction of hybrid maize cultivation a triggering factor for increased agricultural and house work. For instance, they explain that production of hybrid maize for commercial use requires more post-harvest labour in the form of shelling, bagging and transporting the produce. Ultimately though, the analysis should be targeted at the processes of change that the introduction of hybrid maize has sparked:

'The combination of increased on-farm work and increased domestic labour puts severe pressure on women's time. The pressure is not felt equally by all women in all types of households, and not all of it is simply the result of the introduction of hybrid maize. It can be seen instead as the outcome of complex changes in diet, cropping patterns, and technology

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<sup>15</sup> *Citimene* is a complex horticultural system that involves mixed cropping (Vaughan and Moore 1994).

that interact with the socioeconomic status and the development stage of the household' (Moore and Vaughan 1994: 200).

All of these contributions show that analytically-enriched approaches to time offer valuable insights on how time use (whether scarce or not) regulates food acquisition and consumption practices. Considering time regimes as deriving from material structures of production in the economies is an effective route to understand time and labour allocation patterns along the lines of class, gender, age and nationality. The links between structures and temporal systems should be explored to analyse the origins of time scarcity and the sources of inequality in time and labour distribution.

In the remainder of the chapter, I look more broadly at nutrition transition and persistent food insecurity and malnutrition to then address the underlying determinants of dietary change and malnutrition.

### **3.2 PERSISTENT FOOD INSECURITY AND DIETARY CHANGE**

One of the well-known characteristics of the current food and nutrition landscape in middle- and low-income countries is the odious persistence of food insecurity and under-nutrition while obesity is on the rise. Certainly, food security and nutrition are different concepts and this work focuses on food, not nutrition. Yet, food remains an important aspect of nutrition and looking at the existing analytical frameworks to conceptualise nutrition security and dietary change helps contextualising issues of food insecurity and dietary habits in a broader context. By exploring some the underlying determinants of food (in)security and dietary change, the aim of the section is to broadly delineate the context in which women's roles in relation to household food outcomes need to be considered.

In this section, I first introduce the concepts of food and nutrition security and explain why looking at food practices is a reasonable choice, especially at present (3.2.1). The reminder of the section describes the nutrition transition story (3.2.2) and provides a list of some of the major determinants of dietary change, as identified in the literature (3.2.3).

### 3.2.1 PERSISTENT HUNGER: FOOD AND NUTRITION (IN)SECURITY

Although the achievement of MDG 1 – halve the proportion of people who suffer from hunger by 2015 – seems to be within reach, concerns about under-nutrition remain current as the number of undernourished is still disturbingly high. It is estimated that 842 million people worldwide are undernourished (FAOSTAT). The highest prevalence of hunger is found in sub-Saharan Africa, where it is estimated to be approximately 30 percent (Watson and Pinstруп-Andersen 2010).

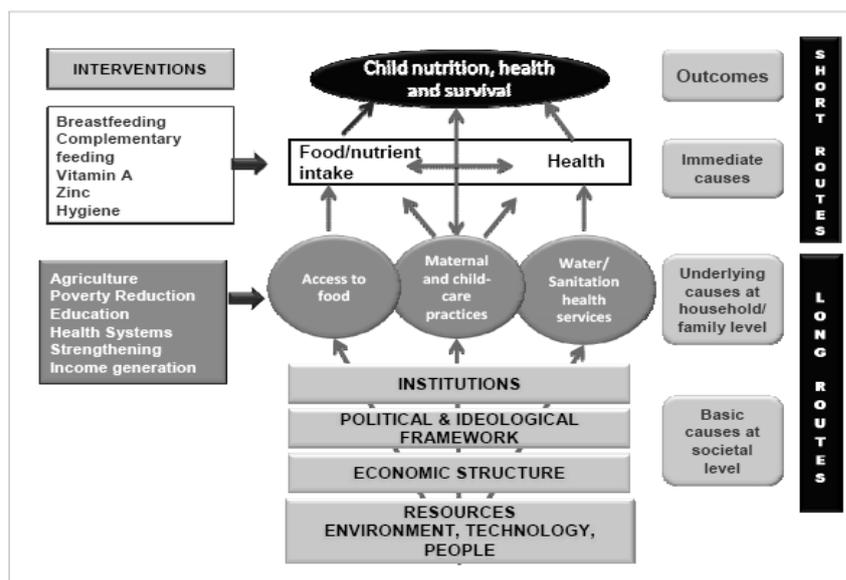
Early thinking considered under-nutrition as a food supply problem and, consequently, advocated national food self-sufficiency as the most suitable way to address and prevent under-nutrition (e.g. Franklin & Harrell 1985). Although policies aimed at increasing food production are still implemented especially in sub-Saharan Africa (Gladwin *et al.* 2001), the emergence of the Entitlement Approach (EA), elaborated by Sen (1981), led to a rapid shift of development discourses and policy practice from food availability to food security, which refers to ‘food supply and access, safety and cultural stability’ (Maxwell & Slater 2003: 532). Notwithstanding its limitations (not discussed here – see Fine 1997; Devereux 2001 for a critique), the EA had the merit to recognise the importance of mechanisms to access food, thus moving the focus from food supply to food demand (*Ibid.*). Food security has been given several definitions, among which a widely used is that adopted by the WB:

‘Access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life. Its essential elements are the availability of food and the ability to acquire it’ (World Bank 1986: 1)

Although the concept of food security has been and continues to be influential in scholarship and policy practice, it is not sufficient to ensure the achievement of nutrition security. Based on the acknowledgement that nutritional statuses are shaped by immediate and underlying determinants, the concept of *nutrition security* was developed by UNICEF in 1990 to widen analyses and interventions to achieve better nutritional outcomes. Practical measures to reduce maternal and child under-nutrition in the short-term (‘short-routes’) should be accompanied by ‘long-route’ interventions aimed at addressing political, institutional, socio-economic and environmental issues to improve access to food, maternal and

child care and access to water, healthcare and sanitation in the long-term (UNICEF 1990).<sup>16</sup>

**FIGURE 3.2A SHORT AND LONG-ROUTES FOR IMPROVING CHILD NUTRITION**



SOURCE: RUEL 2008: 22, ADAPTED FROM UNICEF (1990)

The nutrition security framework also accommodates consideration for the role played by women. Arguments that stress the importance of women’s contributions to the achievement of nutrition security rest on the assumption that women channel greater resources into children’s education, nutrition and health (see Ruel 2008). Women are seen as key actors at the household or family level (see figure above) for their influence on the ways households access food and on maternal and child care practices.

The nutrition security framework is certainly more comprehensive than that of food availability and food security. Yet, the 2007-08 food crisis and the current upward trends of food prices have partially shifted the focus back onto food availability. Some studies found that countries that were less reliant on food imports experienced milder increases in food prices (Hauenstein Swan et al. 2010; Omilola and Lambert 2010). These findings raise concerns on availability of food and make

<sup>16</sup> The distinction between short- and long-route interventions has been introduced by the World Bank *Repositioning Nutrition* (World Bank 2006). Short-route interventions are aimed at tackling under-nutrition in the short term while long-route interventions are aimed at addressing the problem in the long-term. The short-term measures, *short-routes*, are commonly focused on pregnant women and children under two years old and include, for instance, support of exclusive breast feeding, vitamin A and zinc supplementation, hygiene enhancement and, generally, interventions to compensate the deficiency of micronutrients (Pridmore & Carr Hill 2009).

a case for reduction of food imports via increased agricultural production. Raising and volatile food prices *must* impact food consumption patterns and nutritional outcomes. Yet, whether these effects are positive or negative depends on a number of factors that will be discussed in the next section. For the purposes of this section, it shall suffice to underline that in the current global context there is a renewed interest in quantity and quality of food produced, available and consumed driven by fluctuating food prices at the global level.

Although this work recognises that the nutrition security framework takes a more holistic approach to understanding nutritional outcomes, it is interested in investigating one important aspect of nutrition that is concerned with *what* foods are produced, acquired and consumed and the determinants of food consumption patterns and preferences. Raising food prices and global drivers of dietary change justify the intention to look at household food consumption practices, which will be defined the following chapter.

### 3.2.2 NUTRITION TRANSITION

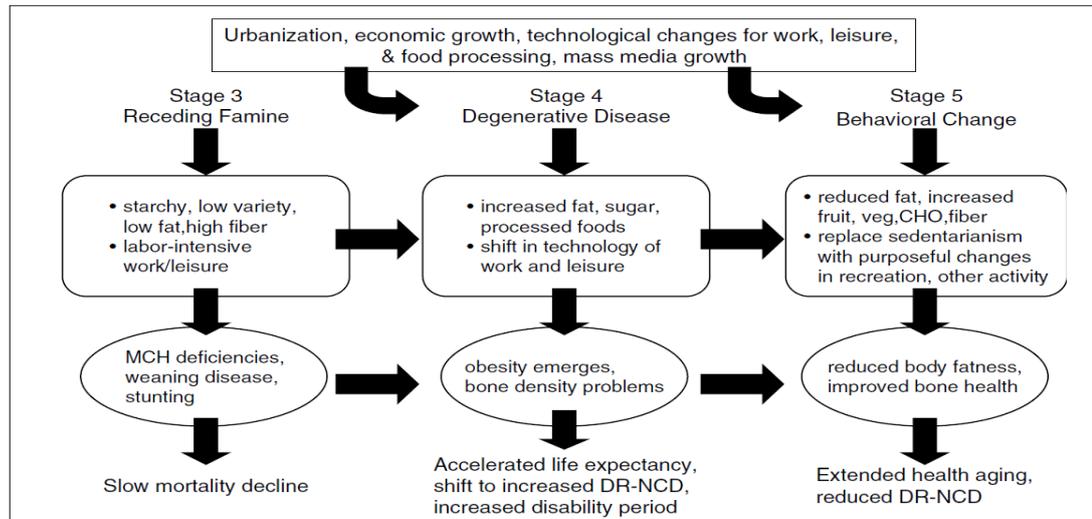
*Nutrition transition* is a concept coined by Barry Popkin (e.g. 1998; 2003) to describe the dynamic and mutable nature of diets. The current stage of nutrition transition is accompanied by two other processes: demographic transition – defined as the shift from patterns of high fertility and mortality to ones of low fertility and mortality – and epidemiological transition – denoted as the shift from high prevalence of infectious disease to one of chronic disease (*Ibid.*).<sup>17</sup> The theory of nutrition transition refers to changes in diet and physical activity, which are dragging developing countries towards a *Westernisation* of their diets and lifestyles, characterised by higher consumption of fat- and sugar-rich foods and lower levels of physical activity (*Ibid.*).

The nutrition transition is constituted by five stages (Popkin 1998). The first stage is that of hunters and gatherers. The second stage is that associated to frequent occurrence of food shortages and famine. Then, the last three stages are receding famine, degenerative disease and behavioural change, which can be observed in the figure below.

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<sup>17</sup> Prevalence of infectious disease is associated with conditions of under-nutrition, famine and poor sanitation, while prevalence of chronic and degenerative disease is associated with 'urban-industrial lifestyles' (e.g. Popkin 2003: 581).

**FIGURE 3.2B STAGES OF THE NUTRITION TRANSITION**



SOURCE: POPKIN AND GORDON-LARSEN (2004: S3)

While developing countries seem to be moving, to different extents, from stage three to stage four, the *Western* world appears to be shifting from stage four to stage five. Although these different periods succeed in chronological order, the transition to the following stage may not involve the complete abandonment of the previous one (Popkin and Gordon-Larsen 2004). Precisely, it is the fact that many low- and middle-income countries lie in between two stages that raises major concerns about nutrition and health. It is unacceptable that excessive consumption co-exists with hunger. Moreover, from a policy perspective, this paradoxical situation makes the scar of malnutrition extremely wide and diverse and, therefore, difficult to tackle. By discussing the industrialisation of the process of making *tortillas* in Mexico, Pilcher (2002: 235) poses this problem:

'While this half-baked globalisation allowed people to retain elements of rural, often-indigenous identities by entering and leaving modernity, many paid a high nutritional price, suspended between traditional and modern diets, eating the worst of both worlds'.

It has been pointed out that there are also nutrition- and health-related gains, other than exclusive negative effects (Hawkesworth *et al.* 2010). In fact, it is important to investigate whether people's diets and health are differently influenced by these changes. In other words, are there winners and losers? Although the mechanisms that influence nutrition largely operate at a global level, their effects are context-specific: '*homogenizing processes can have very heterogeneous effects*' (Hawkes 2006: 2). For instance, globalisation processes are likely to have different effects on people who suffer from under-nutrition relative to those at risk from over-nutrition; on

people living in rural areas relative to those living in urban settings, and on the poor relative to the rich (*Ibid.*).

In terms of diets, what is observed is not only *dietary convergence*, as predicted by Popkin's theory, but also *dietary adaptation*. Hawkes (2006) explains that dietary convergence denotes increased consumption of meat, dairy products, edible oil, salt and sugar, as well as reduced reliance on fibre and varieties of staple grains. Instead, dietary adaptation refers to greater consumption of processed, branded and store-bought foods. In fact, multinationals operating in the global food system compete on low priced products for the mass markets but are also likely to increasingly compete on high-valued *healthy* products for market niches, thus impacting differently wealthy and less wealthy people (*Ibid.*). Hawkes illustrates this point by looking at the soybean oil market. Due to global increased production of soybean oil, multinationals such as Monsanto, Cargill and DuPont are developing new types of soybean with reduced *trans* fat content, which, being costlier, will probably attract segments of the market willing to pay a premium for the *healthier* product. Therefore, people will globally purchase and consume greater quantities of processed foods, *'but different types of people eat different types of these foods bought from different types of stores and (possibly) influenced by different types of marketing techniques'* (Hawkes 2006: 14).

The theory of nutrition transition, although useful to illustrate the dynamic nature of diets at a glance, fails to capture the locally-differentiated character of dietary change, which seems crucial to understand how the interaction between global patterns of change, nutrition and health works. I will now discuss the main factors intervening in and determining food consumption and dietary change.

### **3.2.3 DETERMINANTS OF FOOD HABITS AND DIETARY CHANGE**

A variety of disciplines have engaged with the study of diets formation and change and their implications for food and nutrition security. A strand of literature has mostly been concerned with global changes, commodities and food regimes (see for instance Friedmann 1982; 1993; Popkin 1993; McMichael 1994; Lang and Heasman 2004; Hawkes 2006; Nestle 2007). Instead, another stream of studies have investigated country- or commodity-specific patterns of (production and) consumption and their determinants (see for instance Fine et al. 1995; Warde 1997; Murcott 1998; Fine et al. 1998; Dowler and Spencer 2007; West and Domingos

2012). Both strands of literature offer valuable insights into the understanding of dietary habits and change. Yet, there are some gaps in the detailed study of context- and commodity-specific dietary practices in low- and middle-income countries, relative to the high-income counterparts. Indeed there are limitations in the extent to which theories of food consumption in high-income countries can be analytically useful for other areas of the world. How are food preferences formed in rural and urban areas of developing countries? What foods do people consume and how do they acquire them in a low-income country? Do different groups of people consume different types of food?

In the attempt to draw some guidelines for addressing the questions above, I selectively draw from different strands of literature - although they may not be focussed on developing countries - to list a number of factors that are considered important in shaping food habits and dietary change. Addressing each (potential) driver separately is an artificial exercise that is used for exposition purposes. It should be clear though that food habits and dietary change are determined by the interaction of the factors and processes discussed below, and beyond. I conclude the section by illustrating Ben Fine's theory of *food systems of provision* as a way to bring together material structures and associated cultural values of food, which determine consumption practices.

### *Income and Wealth*

How does increased income translate into food consumption practices? Evidence suggests that calorie intake tends to raise less proportionally than income (e.g. von Braun 1995). This may happen for two reasons. First, as income increases, there seems to be a propensity to purchase more expensive calories. Second, as income increases, households seem to re-direct a greater share of expenditure on non-food items, at the expense of food (von Braun and Kennedy 1994). This phenomenon is known as Engel's law, which states that the share of income spent on food diminishes as total income increases (Timmer *et al.* 1983).

However, the validity of Engel's law is challenged by the documented fact that people tend to buy more expensive foods, when incomes increase.

'Engel's law is simply a rough-and-ready empirical account of expenditure on food with little conceptual care taken on how food is understood' (Fine *et al.* 1998: 25).

The quality of food consumed, obscured by data on calorie intake, has instead to be taken into account. It is not sufficient to look at shares of income spent on food but it

is important to investigate if increased cash incomes are spent on *different* types of food and relative changes in nutrient intake. It is also useful to study how *new* foods enter existing diets and shape food acquisition strategies and dietary habits. For instance, it has been found that by disaggregating food items Engel's law holds for some items but not for others (Ryan *et al.* 1982 in Fine 1998). In general, assessing whether increased levels of income positively affect diets and nutritional outcomes is a complex exercise that requires moving beyond Engel's law as fully explanatory of such relationship.

In addition to levels of income, evidence suggests that who controls income matters, as discussed above. For instance, Kennedy and Peters (1992), while challenging the myth that female-headed households are poorer than male-headed households, found that pre-schoolers in female-headed households, even the poorest and, at times, especially in the poorest, show better nutritional statuses than pre-schoolers in male-headed households, in Kenya and Malawi. The lowest level of pre-schooler morbidity was observed in Kenya, among the poorest group of female-headed households, and explained on the basis that these households consumed cheaper food which had to be prepared through a 'safer' procedure that reduced the likelihood of bacterial contamination. They conclude that although gender does not seem to be associated with wealth, it does play a role in the proportion of income spent on food. It is sensible to be sceptical about overgeneralisations of this argument but it rests that issues of intra-household income management are crucial to investigate the relationship between income and food habits.

#### *Agricultural Commercialisation*

A strand of literature has looked at the food- and nutrition-related effects of agricultural commercialisation. Processes of agricultural commercialisation are generally expected to have three main effects that directly or indirectly shape food and nutrition outcomes: a) farmers' access to increased cash incomes, b) changing balance in the production of food and cash crops and c) renegotiations of gender roles whereby men tend to appropriate cash earnings.

When agricultural commercialisation leads to increased incomes, then the general considerations discussed above on the relationship between income and food consumption apply. Turning to the interaction between food and cash crop production, it has often been addressed as a tension between producing one or the other. However, the trade-off hypothesis has been challenged by evidence showing

not only that food and cash crops may not be mutually exclusive but shifts to cash cropping can be followed by expansion in staple food production (e.g. von Braun and Kennedy 1994). Moreover, even if commercialised agriculture led to a decline in food production, its effects on food consumption would need to be assessed by taking account of the effects of increased cash incomes.

In terms of changing (gender) relations of power, with women losing out *vis-à-vis* men, there is evidence suggesting that some forms of renegotiations can occur. For instance, in a study of rice cultivation in The Gambia, von Braun (1988) found that the introduction of irrigation technology moved the control of rice production from women to men. However, even in this case, generalisations may be incautious.

In general, evidence on the nutritional impact of agricultural commercialisation is mixed and controversial, with some studies suggesting an overall positive effect and others finding a negative one (see Dewey 1981; Madeley 1985; Kennedy and Cogill 1987; De Walt et al. 1990; von Braun 1995). This indicates that the relationship is likely to be mediated by a number of factors such as time allocation, household composition, technology, access to market and income distribution. An important mediating factor that is often overlooked is employment creation for women and men through increased agricultural commercialisation, which in turn influences levels of income and associated food consumption practices.

### *Urbanisation*

Phenomena of rapid urbanisation are widespread, especially in low- and middle-income countries. According to Popkin (1993; 1998), urban diets significantly differ from rural ones in the preference for rice or wheat over corn or millet, and in higher consumption of fat, sugar, animal products and processed foods. This is interesting for its health-related effects and its implications on food systems, especially on the ways food is produced and consumed. On the one hand, processes of urbanisation create incentives on further industrialisation of agriculture and increased production of certain foods (e.g. superior grains and meat). On the other hand, greater consumption of processed and away-from-home meals influences the sociality (or individuality) of food consumption, people's tastes and notions of desirable foods.

## *Food Price*

The occurrence of the 2007-08 food crisis and the current upward trends in food prices have sparked interest in the impact of high and fluctuating food prices on food consumption and malnutrition. In a study of the short- and medium-term effects of high food prices, Dorward (2012) reviews economic tools to assess such effects. He draws a parallelism between food importing/exporting countries – at the macro level – and food deficit/surplus households – at the micro level. Dorward reports that orthodox microeconomic theory (see Timmer et al. 1983) predicts that price changes generate a *substitution effect*, which determines reduced consumption of the goods whose price has increased and increased consumption of the goods that are relatively cheaper, and an *income effect*, which determines a decline of relative incomes. Similarly, price changes influence production decisions via a) shifting resource allocation to produce competing products and b) changing input use according to price variation.

The distinction between producers and consumers is an important starting point to identify winners and losers. In fact, all food price fluctuations have varying effects on household welfare depending, to start with, on whether households are net sellers or net buyers of food. To be more precise, what needs to be considered are not food prices *per se* but terms of trade: the value of what households produce in relation to the prices of foods purchased (Hauenstein Swan et al. 2010; Dorward 2012). The neoliberal agenda takes the notion that higher farmgate prices are desirable for poverty reduction and economic growth as one of its foundations (see Oya 2007). In other words, conceptualisations of the rural poor as net food sellers have long shaped agricultural and trade policies in developing countries and especially in sub-Saharan Africa with the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programmes. Yet, there is growing evidence that poor households, in urban and rural areas, are food deficit (Dorward 2012).

Studies on the impact of the 2007-08 food crisis on food consumption and nutrition suggest that high food prices led to reduced food consumption but the implications on food insecurity and acute malnutrition were milder than expected (Hauenstein Swan et al. 2010; Dorward 2012). In fact, poor households tend to be net food buyers but their ability to cope with fluctuating food prices also depends critically on availability of substitutes – e.g. seasonal replacement of maize with cassava, known as the ‘food security crop’ (Rose et al. 1999). The nature of substitutes is critical for assessing the nutritional consequences of high food prices.

High food prices have an impact on both quantity and quality of foods consumed: not only may households purchase less food but reduced consumption of more expensive foods may translate into fewer nutrient-rich foods, depending on the nature of diets and types of food consumed/replaced (Brinkman et al. 2010). Once more, these observations point to the need to move beyond budget shares spent on food onto more sophisticated conceptualisations of food(s) that take food quality and diet composition into account.

In addition, Hauenstein Swan et al. (2010) warns that high food prices may have less serious nutritional effects in the short-term but more pronounced ones in the long-term as micro-nutrient deficiencies manifest themselves with a certain lag. Hauenstein Swan et al. also argue that the effects of raising food prices need to be studied in combination with other factors such as seasonality and labour demands. In sum, findings that the short-term impact of high food prices on food insecurity and malnutrition is less severe than expected should not lead to understatement of the importance of food prices but rather to enriched analyses that complement orthodox economic ones in assessing such effects.

#### *Trade and Food Industry*

Hawkes (2006: 3) suggests that globalisation shapes nutrition primarily through three processes: a) *'the production and exchange of goods in the form of agricultural production and trade'*, b) *'the flow of investment across borders in the form of foreign direct investments'*, and c) *'the global communication of information in the form of the promotional food marketing'*. Following Hawkes' framework, I briefly address each process in turn.

The integration of agricultural markets and the advent of free trade, due to liberalisation policies, led to increased trade of a greater number of food varieties, raising foreign investment and expansion of transnational food companies. In the developing world, food imports as a share of GDP more than doubled between 1974 and 2004 (FAO 2004 in Hawkes 2006). Friedmann (1990) argues that the increase in the Third World's food imports has been mainly driven by US food aid policy, a fact that poses some doubts on the nature of *free* trade. Africa, Asia and South America were the recipients of almost half of the world's imports of American wheat in 1971 and imported 78 per cent of it in 1978 (*Ibid.*). Moreover, transnational food companies are becoming increasingly important actors in shaping the global agri-food system, as their enlargement, both in terms of size and influence, is made possible by global vertical integration and global outsourcing, as well as *quasi-*

monopoly power on agricultural innovation and research. Food production, trade and transnational companies influence the ways in which food is supplied and acquired. For instance, the global expansion in the production of vegetable oil – considered one of the primary causes of raising fat intakes – is justified only partially by increased demand. In fact, it is explainable especially in terms of supply-side policies implemented in Brazil, China and India.

Foreign direct investment (FDI) is an important driver of multinational companies' expansion, especially in the food processing sector – FDI increased more than six-fold between 1990 and 2000, in developing countries. FDI shapes the market for processed food and increases its availability for more people.

Finally, food marketing undeniably contributes to food preferences' formation and dietary changes. Promotional marketing of food influences consumption habits by inducing desires for certain food products and, consequently, creates demand for those foods. The importance of food marketing suggests that nutritional changes may be partly explained by the simple association between economic growth and food-related behaviours, but importantly also by state policies, multinational food companies' production and distribution strategies and food marketing.

#### *Food Norms and Food Systems*

In an early review of *anthropological perspectives on diets*, Messer (1984) highlights some distinguishing features of food such as being classified according to its taste and other sensory attributes, being assigned particular symbolic values and associated with different forms of identity. Socio-cultural values attributed to food do shape food preferences and consumption practices. However, addressing the socio-cultural drivers of food habits needs not to undermine socio-economic factors such as food availability, affordability and structural characteristic of the food system(s) of interest. As an illustration, consider the Freidberg's (2002) study on the consumption of fresh vegetables in Bobo-Dioulasso region, Burkina Faso.

Fresh vegetables, introduced to the area by the French colonisers, were forcedly produced during the colonial time, but entered local diets gradually and peculiarly. The local diet followed the *core-fringe* structure, whereby the *core* is based on millet or other starches, such as yams, sorghum, fonio and maize and the *fringe* is the sauce – typically made with baobab leaves or a local spinach-like vegetable, shea butter, salt and sometimes fish or game meat – that accompanies the core and makes it more nutritious and tasty. The production of fresh vegetables

did not alter the *core-fringe* structure of the diet, but did change the composition of the *fringe*, as vegetables started being used to prepare the sauce.

Why did this happen? Freidberg indicates three main factors or processes. First, the production of garden vegetables increased as men dedicated more land to the cultivation of vegetables. Colonial officials wanted more food for the growing urban population but also a stable peasantry. The production of vegetables became profitable and respected since the earnings allowed farmers to buy bicycles and tin roofed-houses, and to pay for the education of their children. Second, the expansion of commercial production led to increased women's participation in the local food market, as traders and consumers. On the one hand, women started gaining economic independence through their engagement in income-generating activities. On the other hand, demand for garden vegetables increased as both men and women were increasingly eating away from home. Third, the cultivation of garden vegetables transformed the ecological environment, thus making it difficult for women to gather those foods that they used to collect from the bush to prepare the typical sauce.

In turn, the penetration of garden vegetables into the local systems of production and consumption has led to shifts in the definition of what a *good sauce* should be. In other words, the cultural and symbolic values attached to the *fringe* food altered as a consequence of the other socio-economic changes briefly described above. Dietary changes are evident, according to Freidberg, however they cannot simply be described as *westernisation* of local diets. In fact, certain typical foods, such as millet or maize, remain fundamental in the daily meals. In addition, particular *traditional* dishes consumed on special occasions remain socially and culturally important for reasons beyond affordability. Freidberg's main argument is that changes in food choices cannot be entirely explained unless the *geography of provisioning* is carefully analysed.<sup>18</sup>

Placing a similar emphasis on the notion of *provision*, Fine et al. (1998) put forward an analytical framework that sees food as a system of provision as an alternative to (food) choice theory grounded in neoclassical economics. A *system of provision* is defined as:

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<sup>18</sup> 'Geography of provisioning' refers to the transformations of spatial and ecological conditions of daily and seasonal work of men and, especially, women. These geographical transformations are to be understood as a consequence of urbanisation (Freidberg 2002).

'An integral or unified set of structures and processes that determines the way in which consumption is socioeconomically and culturally organised' (Fine et al 1998: 2)

or, in a more recent definition, it is described as:

'The inclusive chain of activity that attaches consumption to the production that makes it possible' (Fine 2002a: 79)

Differently from orthodox economics, this framework describes an approach to consumption practices that can draw from different social science disciplines. In their study of the UK, Fine et al. (1998) take *food norms*, defined as systematic patterns of consumption, as their starting point. They conclude that food norms need to be understood through their roots in the structures and functioning mechanisms of the food system(s) they refer to. In fact, Fine (2007: 250) explains that each system of provision has its own *cultural system*,

'which derives its content from each and every material aspect of the system of provision, although it does so in ways that are not predetermined.'

In other words, the structural characteristics of the system of provision – i.e. material aspects of commodified production and organisation of distribution – interact with and determine wider cultural processes related to class, gender and nationality, which in turn regulate food consumption norms. The study of (food) consumption norms as linked to particular systems of provision provide a third way to think about consumption, which is alternative to post-modernist theorisations of consumption whereby cultural meanings assigned to consumption goods determine consumption patterns, on the one hand, and neoclassical conceptualisations of consumption as utility maximisation, on the other hand (Fine 2002a).

Food choice theory utilises demand analysis to explain food consumption, whereby food choices depend on income and price effects, given fixed preferences. Fine et al. (1998) question the usefulness of such analysis on the basis that changing food preferences are crucial to understanding consumption. They conclude that demand for food cannot be analysed as separate from changing food preferences and conditions of supply.

In their conclusions, Fine et al. underline the interconnected nature of food knowledge and food system(s). In fact, information and knowledge on food is dependent upon the food system itself. In addition, they point out the discrepancies between (healthy) food policy and agricultural policy, whereby the latter does not

provide UK consumers with those healthy foods that are recommended by the former. These points further challenge theories that portray food consumption practices as the result of choice rationally informed by income and prices.

What are the implications for the women as the key for food security narrative? Besides differences in the characterisation of food systems in low-income countries, the considerations that warn against the analysis of particular aspects of food consumption as isolated from other important factors that intervene in and constitute the system of provision can be widely applied. In this sense, analyses of women's roles in food production, acquisition and preparation should take account of the other factors that shape food systems and therefore determine women's and men's roles within it. In particular, women's food choices should be understood as part of the context where choices are formed. What are the factors influencing their (consumption) choices? What are the constraints to the options available? In this framework, the assumption that increasing women's access to productive resources and education results in improved outcomes appears simplistic.

### **3.3 CONCLUSIONS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

Tackling persistent food insecurity is an important objective of current development agendas. Yet, context-specific and in-depth studies of diets, food preferences and the key determinants of food insecurity in contexts stricken by hunger and food insecurity remain limited. In particular, the strand of literature that stresses the importance of women to achieve household food security is rather silent on the nature of food (in)security. The theory of change presented at the beginning of the chapter hinges on the assumption that food security can be achieved if more food is acquired, via women's channelling of incomes into food expenses, and if better food is purchased and fed to children, via women's increased education.

This stream of literature indicates women's time as a factor that could possibly hinder or overturn the positive correlation between women's incomes and household food security. A discussion of time-related issues has shown that expanded approaches to time use and constraints can illuminate important characteristics of food production, acquisition and consumption. Despite indications that time is a critical factor to household food security, the literature on food security does not seem to take account of time issues.

Therefore, two gaps can be noted in the literature. First, the literature that underlines the importance of women for household food security does not pay attention to the nature of food security or lack of. Second, the literature on food (in)security does not adequately consider time use and constraints.

Following Ben Fine's theory of food systems of provision, it was argued that the structural characteristics of food systems need to be taken as the starting point to study food consumption norms. In the event, women's (and men's) roles in contributing to and/or ensuring household food security are to be considered in such wider context. On this basis, I formulate two research questions aimed at exploring these issues:

3. What are the factors that shape diets, food preferences and norms? What are women's roles in such context?
4. What is the extent of household food insecurity and what are the determinants? What are women's roles in the achievement of household food security?

The last two analytical chapters, 8 and 9, are dedicated to the discussion of food-related issues. Chapter 8 develops an analysis of diets and food preferences and chapter 9 looks at the production of food vulnerability.

# 4

## METHODOLOGY

### INTERDISCIPLINARITY, MIXED METHODS AND THEMATIC ISSUES

*Indeed, I have argued that something akin to a revolution is taking place in or, more exactly, around economics as a result of its emphasis on market imperfections. Consideration of the latter has given rise to a new phase of what has been termed economic imperialism, the colonisation of other social sciences by economics [...] As a result, while still drawing upon a methodology of optimising individuals, it [economics] is able to suggest why economic structures might arise – as, for example, in the division between the employed and unemployed when the labour market does not clear. (Fine 2002: 2059)*

*First, the training of economists has to impart an understanding of the data-gathering process, the potential data biases and the role of qualitative methods in producing and complementing quantitative data. [...] Second, it is important to challenge models of research practice that maintain the current division of disciplinary labour and confine us to the application of quantitative methods to data collected by others. (Berik 1997: 124)*

Methodology is not a mere collection of research methods. It refers to ontological and epistemological positions on the world we live in and on how we wish to study and describe it. So methodology is an important component of any piece of research. In this work, methodological considerations and reflections occupy a central role because, to begin with, this is an empirical study and collection and analysis of primary data are given fundamental importance in the economy of the thesis. In addition, an enriched methodological approach – represented by a three-stage qualitative-quantitative-qualitative methodology – is one of the traits of originality of this work. The methodological approach derives, in turn, from the interdisciplinary nature of this research project, which uses a political economy perspective enhanced by anthropological insights.

The methodology was developed over time, indicating that some methodological choices were made prior to field research while others depended on

earlier phases of fieldwork and/or context-specific factors. So, in a way, it is impossible to discuss the methodology satisfactorily without anticipating some findings. Although the chronological sequence is made clear throughout the chapter, the reader should be warned about the juxtaposition of different temporal levels in the unfolding of the chapter.

The first section (4.1) addresses general considerations on doing interdisciplinary work with a focus on the methodological implications and the disciplines involved, economics and anthropology. The second section (4.2) is dedicated to a discussion of mixed methods and the research methods. Finally, methodological considerations associated with particular thematic issues that are central in this work are addressed (4.3). Section 4.4 concludes.

#### **4.1 METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF INTERDISCIPLINARITY**

The positive correlation between women's access to productive resources and well-being outcomes has mostly been proven by quantitative studies (e.g. Thomas 1990, 1997; Duflo 2003; Smith et al. 2003; Doss 2005). Yet, the review of relevant strands of literature has suggested that there is scope to study this relationship in more depth, looking in greater detail at the conceptualisation of some of the notions that are central to it – i.e. work, household and food. More sophisticated theoretical framework and methodology promise to shed some light on the complexity of the relationship. This intention provides a general basis for using an interdisciplinary approach, which shall help in the critical analysis of some core themes. This work is set to draw theories and methods from the disciplines of political economy and anthropology to investigate the underlying assumptions of the relationship between women's access to paid work and household food outcomes.

Although *interdisciplinary* sounds *good* and *desirable*, using an interdisciplinary approach is a complex exercise that presents a number of risks, other than opportunities. In this section, I first discuss the meanings of interdisciplinarity (4.1.1) and then address the possible interactions between economics and anthropology, with a focus on the methodological implications (4.1.2).

#### 4.1.1 WORKING ACROSS DISCIPLINES: RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Although it is increasingly recognised that *'thinking collectively about complex problems requires crossing boundaries both horizontally (across disciplines) and vertically (across experts, policy makers, practitioners and the public)'* (Klein 2004, in Lélé and Norgaard 2005: 967), the exercise of drawing on different disciplines entails thorough reflection as no ready-made solutions exist. Disciplines have been and remain reluctant to engage in conversation across the boundaries, and different intellectual queries, lexicons, methodologies and methods have proliferated *within* disciplinary boundaries. These often constitute obstacles to the practice of interdisciplinarity and their recognition constitutes the first step towards developing theoretical and methodological tools to overcome them.

According to Lélé and Norgaard (2005), there are four major barriers to interdisciplinary work. First, each discipline is concerned with particular, occasionally unique, sets of values, which are translated into specific questions of investigation, theoretical positions, key variables and research style. Second, disciplines may share an interest in studying certain issues but differ in the selection of theories and models used to explain them. Third, each discipline refers to a specific epistemology, defined as theory of knowledge, which consequently leads to the elaboration of different methodologies and research methods. Fourth, the creation of interdisciplinary knowledge, as any other form of knowledge, is subject to the ways in which the social discourses accommodate and shape academic inquiry, thus indicating that interdisciplinary knowledge may fail to fulfil expectations of greater objectivity and comprehensiveness, relative to discipline-based knowledge.

According to Schoenberger (2001), disciplines have their own *disciplinary cultures* that are grounded in epistemological and ontological assumptions about the material and the social world and how we act within it. Such barriers, which do not only separate different disciplines, may also create divides within particular disciplines and, in both cases, are serious impediments to interdisciplinary and/or collaborative-disciplinary work. What is then the way forward? Although acknowledging these constraints is crucial, the potential of interdisciplinary work resides in the fact that dialogue among researchers from different disciplines and/or reliance upon a wider range of theories and methods may uncover strengths and weaknesses of the various theories and methods used, enhancing both theories and methods. Building on the complementary nature of theories and methods across different disciplines may hold significant promise (Bardhan 1989). Yet,

generalist positions in favour of (or against) interdisciplinarity are neither sufficient nor useful. It is crucial to evaluate the desirability of using an interdisciplinary approach in relation to specific disciplines, theories and research questions.

In addition, interdisciplinary work is complex and ought not to be confused with *disciplinary reductionism or imperialism* (Schoenberger 2001: 374), which entails the simplifying and possibly misleading use of selected insights from another discipline with no understanding of the underlying debates. One discipline that has most expressed its *imperialistic* character is mainstream economics. According to Fine (2000; 2002b), economics has shown a tendency to dominate and colonise other disciplines, from Gary Becker's New Household Economics (addressed in chapter 2) to the New Institutional Economics. So instead of using insights from other social sciences to inform and improve economic theories, they are reduced to quantifiable variables swallowed by unchanged neoclassical economic models.

In an analysis of interdisciplinarity as applied to geography, Schoenberger (2001: 378) gives an example of the imperialistic use of economics in relation to the *new economic geography*, mostly associated with Paul Krugman and whose growing influence was attested by the World Development Report 2009 titled 'Reshaping Economic Geography' – it is worth reporting her words at full length:

'The commitment to methodological individualism and the search for determinate relationships among economic variables precisely exclude the social, the geographical and the historical, which many of us think is where the real story lies. They also, obviously, exclude social conflict and power relations, which are both mathematically and ideologically inconvenient. This kind of abstraction figures the 'economy' as a self-contained, discrete, epistemological category. The 'new economic geography', like the 'new environmental determinism', exchanges history for time intervals that contain path-dependent processes. It reduces geography to a spatial container for imperfect competition. [...] Its reduction to location eliminates any possible analysis of how space is produced, how the production of a built environment is connected with social and economic processes in the short and long run, how the characteristics of place are produced and how they enter productively into economic relationships, and so on.'

The dominant position of economics has thence confined other social sciences to ancillary roles. The supremacy of mainstream economics is based on the false promise that economic theories and models are the *best* tools to explain the economic, the social, the geographical, the historical and the political. Fine (2002b) argues that, due to its presumed superiority, economics has not been concerned with paradigm shifts in other social sciences – e.g. the rise of post-

modernism – and has undergone very little self-criticism. As a result, economic methods remain essentially unchanged as they are associated with ontological and epistemological assumptions that have in turn not been altered, despite having received systematic criticism from within the discipline itself and being exposed for their incompatibility with other social sciences. The process of expansion of economics to embrace factors other than *economic* has paradoxically not led to paradigmatic shifts within the discipline of economics (*Ibid.*).

This work takes the distinction between interdisciplinary work and disciplinary imperialism as the basis upon which building an interdisciplinary approach. This may result especially evident in the methodology used, which does not relegate qualitative methods to a subservient position in relation to quantitative methods. Before discussing the construction of the methodology, I address some general reflections on conducting interdisciplinary work across economics and anthropology.

#### **4.1.2 ECONOMICS AND ANTHROPOLOGY: IS DIALOGUE POSSIBLE?**

Anthropology and *mainstream* economics<sup>19</sup> have been perceived as particularly reluctant to speak to each other (Cosgel 2005). Dialogue has been very intermittent and scant but not completely absent. An important moment of contact happened in 1985, when the Social Research Council organised a workshop in Bangalore titled ‘Conversations between Economists and Anthropologists’, and continued in another workshop, ‘Qualitative versus Quantitative’, and in a special issue of *World Development* (Bardhan and Ray 2008). The scarcity of the dialogue can be attributed to the gap between the values upon which the two disciplines base their intellectual inquiry.

According to Bardhan and Ray (2008), there are three main dichotomies that separate mainstream economics and anthropology. First, while mainstream economics focuses on the autonomy of individuals, anthropology tends to emphasise the social embeddedness of individuals.

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<sup>19</sup> Although often mainstream economics is considered to be representative of the entire discipline, it is important to distinguish between mainstream economics and other branches of economics such as feminist economics and political economy, which make of interdisciplinarity and departure from neoclassical economic assumptions their cornerstones and distinguishing features.

'Individuals do have agency, say anthropologists, but they are situated, embedded beings rather than autonomous beings who view life as a series of constrained optimisation problems' (Bardhan and Ray 2008: 7).

Those economists who recognise the necessity of going beyond the hypothesis of autonomous, rational and optimising individuals, started employing the concept of norms, which, in contrast to preferences, cannot be held individually (e.g. see Agarwal 1997). Second, economics is mainly concerned with outcomes whereas anthropology is interested in processes (Lipton 1992). Anthropologists tend to acknowledge the importance of outcomes, but are preoccupied with the simplifying assumptions of economic models, which may undermine the social usefulness of the outcomes *per se* (Bardhan and Ray 2008). Finally, while mainstream economics privileges parsimony, anthropology pays more attention to complexity. The simplistic and universalistic nature of its models renders mainstream economics more influential in policy circles.

These divides may be generally useful to identify key aspects of divergence between economics and anthropology. Yet, they are limited to a comparison between *mainstream* economics and anthropology. Once other branches of economics such as feminist economics or political economy are taken into account, then these propositions regarding disciplinary incompatibilities may no longer apply. For instance, a political economy approach – which is used in this work – is very much concerned with processes as anthropology may be. In such case, the difference between the two disciplines may lie in the conceptual frameworks used to study processes. It is interesting to note that some barriers may be more visible and problematic within disciplines than across them. In this sense, understanding the on-going debates within disciplines is the basis upon which serious interdisciplinary work is to be built.

What are the methodological implications? Evidently, different methods are normally used by anthropology and economics, from participant-observations employed by anthropologists to periodic interviews conducted by economists or their trained enumerators. Problems may arise when different research methods yield different results. For instance, Bardhan (1989) reports that large surveys tended to overestimate poverty in rural India. However,

'if in connection with the poverty debate the macro data users in the early seventies were, by and large, showing a more gloomy picture than were micro observers, one can provide

examples of other cases of measurement where the bias seemed to be working in the opposite way' (Bardhan 1989: 2).

The central issue here is that the use of different methods in macro and micro studies can reduce their comparability. The lack of comparability can limit the possibility to use different research methods to uncover the weaknesses (and strengths) of others, thus making it unclear how different methods should be combined.

Srinivasan (1989 in Bradhan 1989) argues that there is nothing intrinsic in the large survey method that prevents it from yielding the same results of micro-level studies, given infinite resources, time and well-trained enumerators. However, the benefits of large survey methods depend remarkably on whether they are adequately informed by qualitative research.<sup>20</sup> If these surveys are inappropriately formulated, the errors cannot be easily corrected and, when not recognised, will persist in the results conveyed. Standardisation of concepts and categories is necessary for large surveys however this could lead to problems of interpretation of questions and systematic distortions (Bardhan 1989). Instead, anthropologists have the possibility to modify their categories and questions throughout the entire research process. On its own, this is not a promise for better results but it highlights the advantages of greater flexibility. What is certain is that large-scale (but also small-scale) surveys not informed by micro-qualitative research can yield misleading results. Yet, well-constructed surveys do have several benefits, which will be discussed later on in this and following chapters.

The differences in using methods that require greater or lesser standardisation is not limited to the phase of data collection but it extends to that of data analysis. In fact, disciplines determine specific ways to use and analyse data, which can allow for higher levels of nuance and complexity or, on the contrary, demand simplicity and identification of exact outcomes. What our discipline expects us to do defines our research questions and, in turn, methods used to address those questions and reach the expected outcomes. Once more, this reasoning is ascribable to the triad ontology-epistemology-methodology.

Maintaining the focus on primary data collection, an important aspect to consider is the relation between researcher and respondents. In this respect, Bardhan (1989) suggests that respondents may give different answers to an

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<sup>20</sup> This holds also for micro-scale surveys (Lipton 1992).

outsider and to a resident ethnographer. This is an important point for two reasons. First, when power imbalances between researcher and respondent(s) are mitigated by trust and confidence, it results in more accurate information. Second, an ethnographer or a researcher that spends longer time with respondents and their communities has increased opportunities to verify the accuracy of the answers and her/his own interpretations of them.

Reflections on the power relations between researcher and researched should also include a third and important element: research assistants. Temple and Edwards (2002) refer to the interaction between researched, research assistant and researcher as *triple subjectivity*. While they use the notion of *triple subjectivity* to place the emphasis on questions of reflexivity, the conceptualisation of those relations should be extended to include the *objective* position of researched, research assistant and researcher in relation to one another, which determine the power relations among them (Deane and Stevano 2013).

The great advantage of working across the boundaries of heterodox political economy and anthropology is that dialogue is facilitated by a similar interest in processes and complexity, as mentioned above. Methodologically, this is reflected in the absence of a prescribed set of research methods that a political economy approach expects a researcher to use – this grants greater flexibility and further assists interdisciplinary collaboration. In fact, heterodox political economy contains strong interdisciplinary traits in its own constitution. Yet, I chose to implement a small-scale household survey and therefore some of the general reflections on how to juxtapose and combine research methods that are ontologically different are relevant to this work and will be addressed below, also with reference to specific thematic issues.

Having mentioned some general methodological implications, I now turn to describe and discuss the methodological approach used in this work. The elaboration of the methodology evolved over time, thus taking the form of a process in which previous phases fed into later ones. For the integrated nature of the three-stage methodology used, the analytical chapters (6-9) are organised by theme and not by separating qualitative and quantitative analysis, as it is commonly done in the field of economics – this illustrates the earlier point on how the methods' selection shapes the entire research process, from primary data collection to data analysis, and beyond. In fact, it was also originally informed by and at the same time

contributed to shape the ontological and epistemological commitments to the material this work intends to study.

## **4.2 MIXING METHODS**

An interdisciplinary approach does not necessarily entail the use of mixed methods. However, this work though does employ a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. As generic justifications for the use of mixed methods should be refuted, I explain in this section the reasons why a mixed-methods-based methodology was considered appropriate to construct this research. I see a parallelism between economics' supremacy over other social sciences and a widespread *empiricist mathematics-fetishism* (Olsen 2004: 5) that assigns quantitative evidence a higher hierarchical position relative to qualitative methods and evidence. Similarly to the intention to avoid falling into the economic imperialism trap, quantitative methods shall also not be assigned a greater value.

I begin the section by looking at some of the intellectual debates on the use of mixed methods (4.2.1). Then I show how the methods selected are linked to the research questions addressed in this thesis (4.2.2) and finally I give an overview of the research methods used for primary data collection (4.2.3).

### **4.2.1 DEBATES ON THE USE OF MIXED METHODS**

Different academic positions have been taken on the use of mixed methods. The purists have rejected the applicability of mixed methods based on the belief that quantitative and qualitative methods respond to incompatible ontologies and epistemologies (see Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Olsen 2004 for a review). Instead, among the advocates of mixed methods are found the pragmatists and critical realists.

The pragmatic viewpoint – graphically summarised in the figure below – is concerned with the importance of pragmatic foundations for mixed methods and calls for a shift to a *new pragmatic paradigm* in social science research to overcome the ontology-epistemology-methodology paradigm (Morgan 2007).

**FIGURE 4.2A PRAGMATIC RATIONALE FOR MIXED METHODS**

<b>A Pragmatic Alternative to the Key Issues in Social Science Research Methodology</b>			
	Qualitative Approach	Quantitative Approach	Pragmatic Approach
Connection of theory and data	Induction	Deduction	Abduction
Relationship to research process	Subjectivity	Objectivity	Intersubjectivity
Inference from data	Context	Generality	Transferability

SOURCE: MORGAN (2007: 71)

Instead, the critical realist viewpoint is committed to give epistemological foundations to mixed methods, following on a certain conception of reality that would need the use of mixed methods in order to be theorized and explained:

'Critical realists (Lawson 1997, 2003; Sayer 2000) reject the conception of society and the economy as closed systems, arguing instead that reality is a structured open system in which the realm the actual and the empirical domains are organically related. The real refers to the intransitive dimensions of knowledge, which exist independently of our understanding of the world, and in which actual structures and causal powers reside. The actual domain refers to what actually happens if causal powers are activated. [...] Thus, in the empirical realm, the real and the actual are observed and experienced.' (Downward and Mearman 2007: 88).

A comprehensive discussion of the philosophical and epistemological bases of mixed methods is beyond the scope of this work however I use the most prominent positions on the issue to contextualise the adoption of mixed methods. In fact, reflecting on pragmatic and critical-realist perspectives on mixed methods, it is sensible to believe that even the most *pragmatic* justifications for the use of mixed methods may carry with them specific ontological and epistemological notions of reality. In other words, the *new pragmatic paradigm* would originate from ontological ideas about reality that suggest that mixed methods are better equipped to capture and explain it. Yet, conceptions of reality that are different from critical realism – for instance historical materialism – can lead to similar methodological considerations. In sum, I take distance from purist methodological positions and, without ascribing to a critical realistic approach, I stress the occasional complementary nature of qualitative and quantitative methods, which, when it occurs, enhances our ability to explain the reality.

Exploring the parallelism between the supremacy of economics and that of quantitative evidence, it is interesting to note how little mainstream economics has been concerned with debates on social science research while instead other branches of economics have deeply engaged with such issues. For instance, Berik (1997) criticises the unfairly claimed superiority of economic research methods and argues that feminist economists need to counter this attitude by using qualitative data produced by other social sciences. In fact, she explains, household surveys contain a male-bias that can be eroded only by informing and complementing them with qualitative methods.

What methods are thence proposed by feminists as valid alternatives to dominant androcentric ones? Most feminists argue that any method can be used, but it is the way in which methods are employed that makes them different (e.g. Harding 1987; Thompson 1992; Berik 1997; Jackson 2008). For example, in her study of the economic impact of HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, Johnston (2008) argues that economic models could yield more accurate results by overcoming their gender bias. In fact, she shows, the economic effects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic are found to be much larger if the withdrawal of carers, typically women, from productive activities is taken into account. Gender-aware approaches, which not only incorporate gender analysis but also women's perspectives, are much needed in economic modelling. Moreover, Jackson (2008) explains that in interview-based data collection, the feminist researcher is concerned with who the informant is, how questions are posed, how meanings are interpreted and so forth. Hence, she concludes, the ways in which feminists apply mainstream research methods can potentially transcend the quantitative-qualitative divide and disciplinary boundaries, thus representing a viable route for interdisciplinary work.

In virtue of the interconnections between methods, methodologies and epistemologies, feminists claim that their epistemologies represent the distinguishing feature of their work and the means through which they can make a distinctive use of mainstream methods (e.g. Harding 1987; Thompson 1992; Berik 1997; Jackson 2008).

'Feminists have argued that traditional epistemologies, whether intentionally or unintentionally, systematically exclude the possibility that women could be "knowers" or *agents of knowledge*; they claim that the voice of science is a masculine one; that history is written from only the point of view of men (of the dominant class and race); that the subject of a traditional sociological sentence is always assumed to be a man. They have proposed alternative theories of knowledge that legitimate women as knowers' (Harding 1987: 3).

Thus, feminist epistemologies are constructed to counter male-biased accounts of the reality and include experiences of subordination and marginalisation in processes of knowledge creation. For some feminist scholars, this entails employing a *reflexive* approach to research that is concerned with gender-, class-, age- and language-based relations of power influence data collection (Jackson 2008).

In sum, feminist epistemologies offer a basis upon which quantitative and qualitative methods can be mixed and even economic quantitative methods can be expanded in ways that make them more effective to capture and describe realities – I will illustrate this point with specific examples in the rest of the chapter. I now turn to describe the links between research questions and methods in this work.

#### **4.2.2 NO GENERAL SOLUTIONS: LINKING RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODS**

As mentioned above, generic justifications for using an interdisciplinary approach and mixed methods tend to be meaningless if not linked to specific areas of study and most importantly research questions. The review of the literature led to the formulation of five research questions, which I re-state here:

1. What are the types of paid work and/or cash earning activities women engage with? In other words, how do women access cash incomes?
- 2a. Do women make decisions on how to use incomes in domains that are crucial to the household well-being (with a focus on the food domain – including food acquisition and preparation)?
- 2b. Does women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities translate into increased decision-making power and capacity to control incomes within the household? And what are the implications for food expenses?
3. What are the factors that shape diets, food preferences and norms? What are women's roles in such context?
4. What is the extent of household food insecurity and what are the determinants? What are women's roles in the achievement of household food security?

There are two overarching aims that cut across all of the research questions. First, each question is intended to investigate and test conventional assumptions

and, where necessary, move beyond dichotomies (e.g. working/not-working) and simplistic stories. Second, but intimately connected and functional to the first one, addressing each question is reliant on a more general understanding of the socio-economic context of interest, through its dynamics and processes of transformation, class formation, livelihood diversification and social differentiation. In broad terms, mixed methods appear better equipped to serve these scopes.

How can methods be mixed though? Textbooks offer general ideas, but there is no one-size-fits-all way to combine qualitative and quantitative methods (see Creswell 2009). In this work, a three-stage combination is used – qualitative-quantitative-qualitative. This type of combination is considered fairly powerful for probing answers and observations through the use of different methods and at different stages of the process. Thus, especially in contexts on which background data is poor, three-stage mixed methods may be more effective to collect the information needed to build a general understanding of the socio-economic and cultural setting of interest. The table below summarises the basic elements of the three-stage methodology in relation to specific research questions.

**TABLE 4.2A LINKING RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODS**

<b>Questions</b>	<b>Methods</b>
<p><b>Can women be treated as a homogeneous category?</b> (underlying question on wealth and social differentiation)</p>	<p>Qualitative investigation of potential determinants and signals of social differentiation: assets, pensions, education, capacity to hire labour, financial help, political connections</p> <p>Key elements translated into questions in the survey, sections A and B<sup>21</sup> on household composition and wealth</p> <p>Further interviews on financial links, labour relations</p>
<p><b>What are the types of paid work and/or cash earning activities women engage with?</b> (1)</p>	<p>Qualitative investigation of types of paid work available to women and critical aspects (e.g. child care and housework, economic contribution to the household, cash allowance)</p> <p>Section C in the survey on work</p> <p>Further interviews on labour relations (especially life and employment histories)</p>
<p><b>Do women make decisions on how</b></p>	<p>Qualitative investigation of gendered spending patterns and intra-household</p>

<sup>21</sup> Refer to Annex 2 to see the questionnaire used for the household survey.

<p><b>to use incomes on domains that are crucial to the household well-being? Does women's participation in paid work translate into increased decision-making power? (2a and 2b)</b></p>	<p>responsibilities (participant and observation and 'what do others do-what do you do?' approach because of sensitive issues) sections C and D in the survey on intra-household decision-making Further qualitative interviews on cash allowances and gendered roles</p>
<p><b>What are the factors that shape diets, food preferences and norms? What are women's roles in such context? What is the extent of household food insecurity and what are the determinants? What are women's roles in the achievement of household food security? (3 and 4)</b></p>	<p>Participant observations to understand what foods are consumed and by whom and how responsibilities for food production, purchase and preparation are shared + potential elements of vulnerability (time, seasonality) Section D in the questionnaire (standard tools mixed with context-specific questions to assess household food security, dietary diversity, consumption of particular foods and nutritional knowledge) Further qualitative interviews on (gendered) nutritional knowledge, cooking techniques, food habits</p>

The qualitative-quantitative-qualitative methodology was constructed in a highly integrated way. In fact, each stage of research was used to inform and shape the subsequent one. However, each phase was also intrinsically valued *per se* and not only as functional to build another one. In fact, it is common to note a use of qualitative methods and evidence to enrich and, importantly, improve quantitative methods. On the one hand, this unfairly confers a subservient role on qualitative research, in relation to quantitative one. On the other hand though, qualitative research has been widely used to highlight problems and weaknesses of quantitative methods, an exercise that is most welcome – the debates on the household are an illustrative example of this (see Chapter 2 and next section in this chapter); yet, quantitative methods have not been likewise used to expose the weaknesses of qualitative ones. This work attempts to utilise qualitative methods to inform quantitative ones and *vice versa*, without establishing a hierarchy between the different methods used. This approach manifests itself in the presentation of the findings in the analytical chapters (6-9), where qualitative and quantitative evidence is jointly (or separately, when needed) used to develop the analysis. Specific

examples and cases where different methods yielded contrasting results will also be highlighted and discussed in the rest of the thesis.

#### **4.2.3 A CLOSER LOOK AT THE RESEARCH METHODS USED**

*From focus groups ...*

What methods were used? In the earliest phase of field research, we (Tissa, my research assistant, and I) conducted a number of focus groups with women farmers and traders of agricultural produce and used them as an exploratory tool – see the focus groups' plan in Annex 1. The rationale of the focus groups was to gather general ideas on women's work in agriculture and food consumption. In fact, the original focus was to be placed on women's work in agriculture only but, after conducting the focus groups, it became clear that women engage with various forms of cash-earning activities and paid work and therefore it seemed difficult to isolate agricultural work from other types of work for the purposes of this research. As a result, the scope was expanded to include all forms of work that are paid in cash.

Focus groups are used in a variety of ways, on their own or in (different) combination with other methods (see Stewart et al. 2007 for a comprehensive analysis of focus groups as method for data collection). The decision to use focus groups in the earliest phase of primary data collection is justified by the widespread recognition that focus groups are effective tools to gather information of socially accepted knowledge and beliefs (see Kitzinger 1994; Morgan 1996; Stewart et al. 2007). In fact, questions on potentially sensitive topics such as income management and intra-household gender roles were excluded at this stage. While focus groups may not be the best method to uncover individual stories and differences its strength resides in the outcomes of collective interaction, namely how ideas publicly manifest themselves in a given context (Kitzinger 1994). As interaction among participants is a central aspect of focus groups, the selection of participants needs to be carefully considered to mitigate power imbalances among participants and facilitate their equal involvement. So, with this intention, we interviewed groups of women only and avoided including younger and older women in the same group.

Also, the focus groups served to select the research sites. The initial selection of research sites was based on secondary data but it was then adjusted and finalised on the basis of information collected through the focus groups and

other interviews conducted in the preliminary phase of fieldwork. The reader will be introduced to the research sites in the following chapter, for now it should suffice to mention that three different areas were selected: an urban, a peri-urban and a rural one. Although this choice has added layers of complexity to the processes of data collection and especially analysis, it was justified by the intention to understand the studied context through its underlying spatial dynamics, which emerged as particularly important to at least two central themes in this work: household dynamics and food strategies (I will explain in which ways in the following chapters). So looking at three different areas within a given province has provided a snapshot that, although imperfect, does shed some light on dynamics that are crucial to address the research questions. Interestingly, including urban and rural areas has also exposed some problems at the intersections of quantitative and qualitative methods, with the former being generally more rigid to accommodate the analysis of urban and rural areas as part of the same sample. For instance, measurements of wealth may need to be different for rural and urban households – I will discuss this below.

*... through participant observation ...*

The preliminary visit to the field sites was followed by a phase of qualitative research based on the use of ethnographic research methods, such as participant observation, defined by Dewalt and Dewalt (2002: 260) as follows:

'[...] participant observation is a method in which an observer takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions and events of the people being studied as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their culture'.

Although participant observation has been often associated with reflexive and post-modernist perspectives, it has been argued that its use has been so widespread so as not to be attached to particular theoretical and epistemological stances (Atkinson and Hammersley 1994). So the use of participant observation can facilitate reflexive approaches to field research but reflexivity can be considered to be the incipit, and not the end, of research, thus indicating that participant observation can, and in fact is, a tool to collect *positivist* observations (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002).

A few days were spent with a small number of women – one or two – and their families in all research sites. The focus was placed on documenting the organisation of reproductive and productive activities, use of time, household composition, intra-household decision-making and allocation of labour. The balance

between participation and observation was variable and depended on the type of daily activity taking place: participation was especially accepted in female-dominated activities, such as cooking, an example that underlines how gender relations of power between researcher and respondents shape the research process. Obviously, gender is just one of the lines along which relations of power develop and influence the research process. Consider this other occurrence, for instance. During this phase of participant observation, I also intended to keep some food diaries to record what types of food are consumed, at what times of the day and by whom but I soon realised that the presence of a researcher and her research assistant created a distortion in the foods prepared – i.e. people tended to prepare *food for guests* – and therefore abandoned the food diary method. This example shows how other types of power relations, determined by class and cultural notions of insider-outsider and/or host-guest dynamics influence the process of data collection.

This phase of fieldwork was crucial to build the bases for understanding the studied context and yielded valuable information and insights on some of the key themes explored. It was especially useful to familiarise with local languages – Macua, Shimaconde and Portuguese – and learn lexicon that was crucial to ask questions on particular issues. I will discuss some of the most interesting *semantic gaps* encountered in the analytical chapters. In addition, the amount of time spent with some families helped build a certain degree of trust and confidence with the respondents and their communities, which does contribute to increase the accuracy of the information collected. Importantly, it also represented an opportunity to forge the professional relationship between researcher and research assistant, which is a fundamental element in the process of primary data collection. According to Dewalt and Dewalt (2002), participant observation has the advantage to enhance not only the accuracy of data collected but also the researcher's interpretation of the data.

*... to household survey ...*

The material collected in the early stages of fieldwork served, together with secondary data and questionnaires used by other researchers, to inform the elaboration of the questionnaire that was used to implement the household survey – for the questionnaire see Annex 2. In fact, it needs to be noted, literature on household surveys is predominantly referred to general-purpose large-scale household surveys, which are essentially different from small-scale household surveys designed to investigate specific issues in circumscribed contexts. Possibly,

the most comprehensive literature on household surveys in developing countries is found in (and around) the WB's Living Standards Measurement Study, which are policy-oriented large-scale surveys (see Grosh and Glewwe 2000). Although some general instructions can be useful, designing a small-scale household survey is a rather different exercise and as such requires *ad hoc* planning, also in relation to the specific context where it is implemented. In this work, limited guidance in existing literature is also combined with scarcity of secondary sources of data in the studied context, which makes qualitative research essential to the design and implementation of a household survey. In this section I address only a few key issues on the household survey – a description of the sites where the household survey was implemented is provided in Annex 3.

In principle, qualitative methods on their own could have been used to conduct this work but, instead, a household survey was considered to be appropriate and effective for a number of reasons. First, the household survey is a tool that allows the researcher to collect data for higher numbers of respondents in a given amount of time, in relation to qualitative methods. The time-saving nature of surveys represents an advantage for time-constrained researchers. Second, the survey data provides a quantitative basis upon which simple statistics can be applied to the surveyed sample, thus offering some insights on the frequency of particular phenomena. It is important to note that the survey data will not be used to run linear regressions; in fact, one of the aims of this research is to counter beliefs that the relationship between women's access to work and food outcomes can be expressed in the form of a linear correlation.

I selected a random sample of 120 households across the three research sites.<sup>22</sup> In a comprehensive book on household surveys, Deaton (1997) explains that the typical household surveys take the national census as their sampling frame and then follow recommended statistical techniques to randomly select a number of households from the list. Yet, when a sample frame is not as clear-cut and time- and/or resource-constraints impede creating an up-to-date list of households in a given context, then the sampling technique needs to be different. The sample frame for the household survey is made of three districts, within which I chose a village (for the rural districts) and a neighbourhood (for the urban district). Each village/neighbourhood had similar population size, based on approximate measures of household numbers – see Annex 3 for detailed explanation. How were

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<sup>22</sup> The observations were divided equally across the three sites, so 40 households per site.

households selected? Research practice suggests that in absence of a full list of households in the selected community, it is possible to make a random selection of households, starting from a central point and then following a random direction, to cover the widest area of the community (e.g. Bennett et al. 1991). In this research, this technique was facilitated by the fact that each village and neighbourhood is divided in similarly-sized sub-units, from which similar numbers of households were selected.

The reason to select a random, instead of purposive, sample of households is that it was useful to have a panoramic overview on households containing at least a woman who had worked for cash in the year before the interview – to document diversity within this group – but also households that did not have a female member working for cash. As it will be discussed later, a broad comparison between *women working for cash* and *women not working for cash* does not function well in a context where the notions of *employed* and *unemployed* are loosely defined. However, having information on households not including a woman working for cash was considered to be functional to the research aims, one of which being that a dichotomous approach to women's participation in paid work is not analytically useful in the studied context. Thus, a random sample serves the scope to map a range of cash-earning activities performed by women and allows us to have an idea on how frequently women work for cash or not, at least in relation to the sample. The respondent's selection is discussed in section 4.3.1 below.

The design and implementation of the household survey has prompted reflection on a number of key concepts and highlighted how, relative to qualitative methods, the exercise of pigeonholing phenomena to particular categories (and codes) results in a loss of nuance and complexity. However, the process of implementation of the survey – in which each interview was conducted by the researcher – has uncovered several important issues. In fact, the practice of asking the same questions repeatedly to many respondents is an effective, possibly the most effective, way to understand why some questions and, most importantly the *categories* they are associated to, do not work. What is learnt by the researcher in this process is called by Kandiyoti (1999) *heuristic value*. In this sense, a small-scale household survey implemented by the researcher may really not be the central and ultimate method for data collection but an important mid-way method that creates the bases for further investigation of the reasons why some categories are not shared by the researcher and respondent, thus allowing the researcher to modify and/or replace those questions that did not work.

... and life histories and other in-depth qualitative interviews

Finally, the last three months of fieldwork were devoted to another phase of qualitative research, which was constituted by two methods: a) life histories with twelve women selected among the survey respondents<sup>23</sup> and b) collective in-depth interviews with groups of women performing the same type of economic activity and c) collective interviews with men.

Life histories have been used in combination with surveys to cross-check the validity of quantitative data collected, to enrich the analysis of survey data and explore elements of heterogeneity across respondents (Sender, Oya and Cramer 2006). This summarises the rationale for using life histories at the end of the survey. To select the twelve women to collect the life histories the following criteria were used:

- Representativeness – the interviewees presented some characteristics that conformed with more general patterns emerged in the research site where they resided (e.g. type of paid work and/or cash-earning activity performed)
- Diversity (within each site) – the interviewees were also very different from each other to document diversity and heterogeneity within each site (e.g. different socio-economic position, different marital status and/or household composition, different employment histories)
- Controversy – a few respondents were selected because there were contradictory elements emerging in the survey interview that could be further investigated (e.g. housing conditions and possessions not matching with employment status)
- Interest – the interviewees' stories presented particular elements of interest to our research (e.g. complex and varied employment history, peculiar intra-household decision-making dynamics)

The interviews were structured to explore four main themes. First, to further the study of household dynamics and inter-household economic exchange we (Tissa and I) questioned the respondents about meanings of *family* and family-linked economic obligations. Second, we looked at employment histories and meanings of (paid and unpaid) *work*, and allocation of labour between different types of productive and reproductive activities. Third, we investigated spending decisions and patterns with a focus on intra-household expenditure management

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<sup>23</sup> Four women for each research site.

and dynamics. Fourth, we looked at different aspects of food preparation and consumption, especially food preparation techniques, food-related beliefs, and respondents' perspectives on changes in food habits over time.

All of the interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. These interviews were crucial to deepen understanding on a number of key issues emerged throughout field research. In a sense, this phase of field research did not yield completely new information but it was essential to secure some important insights and to craft more solid analyses. Several fragments taken from these interviews will be used in the analytical chapters.

Motivated by similar objectives, other in-depth qualitative interviews were conducted with groups of women performing particular types of paid work and/or cash-earning activity. These interviews were used to further document and explore heterogeneity among women performing the same type of economic activity.

Finally, as part of this last phase of qualitative research, we also conducted a number of semi-structured collective interviews with men in all research sites. It has to be underlined that men, as women, cannot be conflated in one homogeneous category. The point made here is that although this research is focussed on women, it was not completely limited to interviews and research activities with women. Attention was paid to men's views and answers, although this was done in a much less systematic way. The major aim of these interviews was to investigate men's shared knowledge and ideas about intra-household decision-making dynamics, income management and spending decisions. Importantly, although many of the planned research activities intentionally targeted women, we had formal and informal conversations with men throughout fieldwork, both while using ethnographic methods and conducting survey interviews. In fact, the existing gender power relations meant that in many occasions speaking to a man was the first step taken for most research activities. For instance, the standard praxis to gain access to communities is to rely on local authorities, which are invariably formed by men. Therefore, exchanges with men on the researched topics took place throughout field research and at various levels and settings. In a sense, this set of interviews was an attempt to formalise and systematise some of the insights collected during the rest of field research. Interestingly, they exposed a *male version* of intra-household dynamics that is in some ways different from female accounts. These issues are discussed in chapter 7.

I have given an overview of the research methods used to conduct primary data collection. The key point is that a three-stage mixed-methods methodology is likely to be more powerful than other less-rich types of methodology to verify and cross-check the accuracy of data collected as it gives the researcher the possibility to reflect on the information collected from different angles and using different tools, in a given amount of time. I believe that this is an important strength of this methodology.

Certainly this methodology presents a number of limitations, many of which do arise at the intersections of qualitative and quantitative methods. For instance, a general one is that, for the purposes of qualitative research, it was justified to conduct fieldwork in different research sites (urban, peri-urban, rural) but this choice has created some issues in the construction and implementation of the household survey in those same research sites. When the set of questions used need to remain unchanged for all respondents, as it happens in a survey, it may occur that some questions work only (or better) in particular contexts. For instance, questions on land ownership/access and agricultural work are likely to be appropriate for rural households but not for urban ones. These and other similar issues pose questions on whether it is sensible to treat all the households as part of one sample. As a result, it may be necessary to split the sample when looking at questions that were adequate only for parts of it.

Yet, considering the restrictions in terms of time and resources, a three-stage methodology has offered a number of advantages – described above – and proven to be a powerful tool for primary data collection and analysis. It also represents one of the original traits of this research and therefore reflection and discussion of methodological issues will accompany the reader through the rest of the thesis. I now turn to discuss some key methodological points that are associated with a number of thematic issues relevant to this research.

### **4.3 THEMATIC ISSUES**

Since this work requires the use of particular concepts and notions that have been largely debated (see chapters 2 and 3), working definitions need to be set and explained. In doing so, I consider the methodological implications arising from the use of particular concepts in relation to four central thematic issues: household

(4.3.1), measures of wealth (4.3.2), labour (4.3.3) and food (4.3.4), which also reflect the composition of the survey questionnaire.

#### **4.3.1 HOUSEHOLDS**

As discussed in chapter 2, the household has been at the centre of a long-standing debate. Anthropological and feminist contributions on the nature of *domestic units* have been crucial to take the conceptualisation of the household away from early unitary models. The arguments for a re-conceptualisation of the household are grounded in two key empirical observations. First, households are not fixed units of production, consumption and reproduction but have *elusive boundaries* and, therefore, standard definitions of the households may not accurately represent the studied socio-economic units (e.g. Kandiyoti 1999; O’Laughlin 2007). Second, households are sites where gender- and age-based inequalities are reproduced and, therefore, it is important to look at intra-household dynamics (e.g. Folbre 1986; Guyer and Peters 1987; Agarwal 1997; O’Laughlin 2007).

When placing the household at the centre of a study, there is a trade-off between measurability and comparability in development practice and accuracy in representations of the reality. Yet there is an epistemological gap between household surveys conducted at the national level and aimed at providing key sources of data, and the small-scale and research-driven household surveys that individual researchers implement. Arguably, the pressure for standardisation and comparability is much less of a driver in the latter case. However, the trade-off is not resolved in any of the two exercises as, even in the context-specific household surveys, internal consistency is needed. The outcome then is to choose specific points on the continuum between comparable households and realistic representations of units of socio-economic production and reproduction.

Two recent studies (Akresh and Edmonds 2010; Beaman and Dillon 2011) show that using different definitions of the household leads to different measures of elements such as household assets, food consumption, or household size and composition. Finding that different definitions of the household are associated with different household size/composition seems trivial, almost tautological. However, it is an interesting result as it shows that when different requirements on consumption (‘eating from the same pot’), investment (‘contributing to that pot’), or production (‘working on the same plot of land’) are taken on board, then the groups of people

reported as members of the same household changes, increasing along with additional requirements.

This suggests that fixed and clear-cut definitions of the household are likely to conceal underlying features and dynamics of the organisation of productive and reproductive activities. For instance, definitions of the household based on residency may obscure (seasonal) labour mobility between different households. In this respect, the working definition of the household needs to be situated at a specific point of the aforementioned continuum but it also needs to be functional to the aims of the research (Perez-Nino and Stevano 2012).

The definition of the household used in this work is based on residency – *How many people do normally live in this house?* – but it is complemented with additional questions aimed at uncovering financial links (or expectations) with other households – e.g. *Do you normally receive financial help (in the form of money, labour, food or other goods) from other households?*. Findings on household composition are discussed in chapter 7.

Turning to the other important critique of the household that stresses the importance of studying intra-household dynamics, O’Laughlin (n.d.: 15) notes:

‘It is now widely accepted in the pages of journals of development studies and in development agencies that it is inappropriate to assume that the household is a unit that maximises well-being for all its members. Yet in practice the household survey remains the major source of comparative evidence on well-being. The gender critique is often reduced to distinguishing between households headed by women and those headed by men, putting aside the more fundamental concern with gender disparities within the households raised by the feminist critique. Why this disjuncture?’

In fact, the general distinction between male- and female-headed households obscures further variation within the broadly defined category of female-headed households (Kennedy and Peters 1992).

In a study conducted in Kenya and Malawi, Kennedy and Peters (1992) made a distinction between *de jure*, *de facto* and *migrant* female-headed households<sup>24</sup> and found that gender did not have a significant effect on wealth. The

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<sup>24</sup> *De jure* households are those in which the woman is considered the head both legally and customarily (e.g. widowed or unmarried women). *De facto* households are those in which the male is absent for more than 50 percent of the time, among those, they made a further distinction for the households in which the male is absent because employed in South Africa and called this type *migrant* households (Kennedy and Peters 1992).

simplistic divide between male- and female-headed households fails to capture the household in its developmental cycle. According to Fortes (1958), the household should be understood through processes rather than fixed compositional forms.

'A group that at one point appeared to be poor, headed by a woman with small children, could become in time a domestic group headed by a man, include various adults of productive age and appear very prosperous. Still later it could be composed of an ageing widow with many young dependants' (O'Laughlin n.d.: 7).

Furthermore, the focus on female-headed household as a methodological *escamotage* to study gender inequality does not sufficiently take into consideration forms of inequality that arise within households and between them (Peters 1983). Thus, taking these important critiques on board, this work intends to look at intra-household dynamics, especially in the form of decision-making responsibilities and income management. In so doing, I follow Guyer's and Peters' (1987) advice that the guiding question should not be '*Where is the household?*' but rather '*What are the significant units of production, consumption and investment in this region/group/people?*' and '*What are the major flows and transfers of resources between individuals and units?*'.

This work attributes great importance to the study of intra-household dynamics, both through the use of qualitative and quantitative methods. As mentioned in the previous section, we made use of participant observation and in-depth qualitative interviews with women and men to investigate these issues. In the survey, the respondent was always a woman, which conforms to feminist attempts to counter androcentric accounts of the reality. Especially in contexts where income can be managed separately, there is evidence that different members have access to distinguished realms of knowledge and responsibility (Miller et al. 2001; Bookwalter et al. 2006; Fisher et al. 2010). So in a way, interviewing a woman does not provide an unbiased account, but it does offer a channel into perspectives of household and intra-household issues that may have been commonly overlooked. The possibility to select two respondents – a female and male – per household was considered but it would have led to problems of consistency: how can households where the respondents are wife and husband be compared with households where they are brother and sister? It was concluded that the survey sample in this research (120 observations) is too small to allow for two respondents and decided to focus on female respondents while conducting separate qualitative interviews with men on selected issues.

The female respondent was used as the entry point to the household. In fact, the majority of the questions included in the questionnaire are referred to the household level. To investigate intra-household issues in the survey two types of question were included. First, we asked questions on decision-making on a number of relevant domains – e.g. *'Who is responsible for sending children to school?'* (see section C in the questionnaire, Annex 2). Second, we asked some questions at the individual level on issues of food consumption, which is the key area where this work is interested in uncovering potential elements of inequality – e.g. *'Did anyone in the household eat meat in the past month?'*, *'Did you eat meat in the past month?'* (see section D in the questionnaire, Annex 2). Clearly, this is not even near a comprehensive investigation of all sources and areas of inequality in the household, however, due to time and resource constraints and appreciating that long questionnaires can tire respondents, thus affecting the quality of their answers, it was decided to focus on those issues that are central in this research.

In sum, using the household as the unit of analysis has a number of analytical benefits and is also empirically justified (this will be explained in chapter 7). Yet, being fully aware of the methodological and analytical implications of rigid and unrealistic notions of the household, an attempt was made to expand the investigation and accommodate an understanding of the household that is closer to the reality.

#### **4.3.2 MEASURES OF WEALTH**

Household wealth is expressed in terms of income, consumption and assets, which can be triangulated or used separately. Measurements of wealth provide a snapshot of the existing socio-economic stratification. So although socio-economic stratification is static, its understanding and measurement is one of the bases upon which processes of social differentiation can be analysed. According to Oya (2004), a historically materialist approach to the study of rural class formation in Africa follows three principles: a) history and initial conditions, b) context and c) social change and differentiation. Therefore, understanding the material characteristics that differentiate households is foundational to the study of processes of change and, importantly, to oppose pictures of homogeneity in agrarian societies, especially in African countries.

One of the most common ways to measure poverty is through income- and consumption-based poverty headcount (Wall and Johnston 2008). The headcount is derived from the establishment of a poverty line, determined by the minimum income or consumption levels that are sufficient to be considered non-poor (Hanmer et al. 1999). However, setting the poverty line is a highly arbitrary exercise (Hanmer et al. 1999; Svedberg 1999; Wall and Johnston 2008) and, differently from what is commonly believed, money-metric measures of poverty may not be comparable across countries and over time (Hanmer et al. 1999). In addition, data on household income and expenditure is difficult to collect and suffers from a number of inaccuracies stemming from memory bias, unwillingness to reveal income and/or expenditure and quantification issues (Wall and Johnston 2008). Evidently, the levels of inaccuracy tend to increase in contexts where informal employment is widespread and therefore income units – e.g. monthly income – are highly variable or absent (Perez-Nino and Stevano 2012). Although consumption data may appear to be *better* than income data, in contexts where household income may be managed separately, it is likely to be difficult to collect accurate household consumption data.

An alternative measure of poverty is represented by asset indexes, which have been mostly used when income or expenditure data is absent. The Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS), which are widely available, collect data on asset ownership and in fact have been used to construct asset-based measures of poverty (Filmer and Pritchett 2001). Although asset indexes have their own limitations, they have some advantages over poverty headcount. For example, asset data is easier to collect and more accurate than income and/or consumption data (Howe et al. 2008; Wall and Johnston 2008). In fact, although respondents may have an interest in hiding some of their possessions, when interviews are conducted at the respondent's house, it can be easier to document household assets. In addition, assets offer an insight into longer-term accumulation dynamics, relative to income and expenditure (*Ibid.*). This is in itself an advantage and a disadvantage because asset indexes are better equipped to grasp the socio-economic position of a household but less effective to capture short-term shocks that affect household wealth. For instance, a condition of temporary impoverishment may not show in the assets owned. Importantly, inter-household economic exchanges may display in ownership of specific assets that do not reflect the household income or employment stories (Perez-Nino and Stevano 2012).

Given the difficulties in quantifying income and consumption combined with lack of shared units of income/consumption observed during the first phase of fieldwork, I opted for an asset-based measure of wealth in the survey. This choice was also justified by the observation that asset ownership and housing conditions are the most visible signals of household wealth, in the studied context. When asked about wealth differentials in her village, a respondent convincingly stated: *'You just need to go to people's houses to find out'*. Certainly, there are other non-material or less visible dimensions of wealth, such as political connections which may not manifest themselves in the assets owned. Also, there are circumstances in which housing conditions and assets ownership do not accurately reflect household wealth, due to temporary income shocks, for instance, or NGO's or government's projects. Yet, I consider housing conditions and asset ownership to be a *good proxy* of household wealth.

In the initial stage of qualitative research, the material aspects of relative wealth/poverty were studied and subsequently used to compose a list of assets to be included in the questionnaire. The construction of the index is explained in Annex 4. The questionnaire also incorporated questions on other proxies of wealth, such as land ownership, children in school, hiring or selling agricultural labour (see section B of the questionnaire – Annex 2).

Possessions data can be collected at the individual or household level. When the exercise is carried out at the individual level, it can uncover inequalities in asset ownership among different household members (Cantillon and Nolan 2001). Yet, the questions used in this work refer to the household level and therefore cannot be used to make a comparison among different household members. Clearly, this obscures intra-household fractures in access and rights over assets. However, from the answers of only one respondent intra-household inequality in asset ownership could have not been inferred.<sup>25</sup>

An interesting aspect to note is associated with the use of an asset index across urban and rural areas. In fact, those assets that signal wealth in an urban area may be, and normally are, different from assets owned by wealthier households in rural areas. For instance, while a bicycle can be a sign of relative

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<sup>25</sup> It is interesting to note that when we asked questions on assets that are normally owned and/or used individually then respondents answered at first by referring to themselves and then corrected the answer when reminded that we were asking if anyone in the household had that particular asset. So for instance, many female respondents would say that they did not have a cellular phone but someone else in the household did.

wealth in rural areas, it may not be a useful asset for an urban household. By the same token, ownership of assets that require electricity to function (e.g. fridge, TV) may be distorted by variation in public provision of electricity across urban and rural areas. It is true that in this case it can be argued that, under certain circumstances, although the public provision of electricity does influence private ownership of particular assets, the economic position of households residing in areas where there is not electricity may be generally worse off than that of households in electricity-supplied settings. A number of clumping exercises were conducted to test whether it was appropriate to use the same index in both urban and rural areas and the outcomes suggest that the use of one index for the entire sample creates an *advantage* for urban households – i.e. rural households result poorer when the same index is used. However, the difference is consistent and therefore it is sensible to use the same index for the whole sample – see Annex 4 for a detailed discussion of these issues.

#### **4.3.3 LABOUR**

As seen in chapter 2, mainstream narratives on women's employment in developing countries (especially Africa) depict them as a homogeneous group of small-scale self-employed farmers and/or entrepreneurs. What are the methodological underpinnings of these narratives? Oya (2010a, 2010b, 2013) points out two main problems with conventional statistics on employment in African countries. First, in-depth labour force surveys are rare because donor agencies have directed more resources to the collection of other types of data, such as income and expenditure (see the WB's Living Standard Measurement Study), at the expense of employment data. Second, employment modules in household surveys are weak. In fact, the categories – such as employed, unemployed and economically inactive – that function in high-income countries have been found to be problematic in contexts characterised by different employment scenarios. Likewise, other divides such as formal/informal and self-employment/wage employment have proven slippery in contexts of widespread economic informality (see also Rizzo 2011). Indeed, employment modules have relied on questions on the *main job* performed, which obscure extended portions of the employment picture in settings where seasonal and/or multiple occupations are common (Pearson 2007; Oya 2013).

Biased employment statistics have resulted in biased accounts of the reality. The problems with employment data are general but possibly even more

pronounced in the case of women's employment. For instance, in her discussion of household surveys, Berik (1997) explains that when the notion of labour force is broadened and/or when an open-ended format for each person's activities is used, then women's participation in the labour force is found to be higher. Also, Bardasi et al. (2011) cite empirical evidence showing that standard techniques for collection of employment data underestimate especially those work activities performed by women. They attribute this phenomenon to the fact that women tend to work on household farm and/or informal activities, which may not be considered as *important* occupational activities and therefore excluded by questions focussing on *main occupation*. Although the explanation for gendered underreporting may be more complex than this one and, in fact, associated with gender relations of power and allocation of responsibilities between paid and unpaid work (these issues are discussed in chapter 6), it is an important observation to be considered when designing methods for collecting data on female employment.

Since one of the aims of this work is to accurately document the variety of paid work and/or cash-earning activities that women have access to, it is important attempt to circumvent these methodological issues. Qualitative investigation (through participant observation, for instance) of the types of work normally performed by women can be a starting point to inform the formulation of narrower questions on specific activities performed. In fact, more specific questions than *'Have you done any kind of paid work or cash-earning activity in the past year?'* may be needed to encourage the respondent to report the economic activities carried out. Asking specific questions proved to be a useful technique to mitigate the underreporting problem in this work. Yet, there are two main issues with detailed questions. First, several detailed questions increase the length of the interview, which can become tiring for the respondents and affect the quality of the information collected. Second, any activity or aspect of particular activities that is not anticipated by the researcher is likely to remain unreported.

As in the household survey the definition of paid work needs to be clearly set, I now describe the parameters and criteria that pertain to the notion of work used in the implementation of the household survey. First, a long recall period – one year – was used. The reason for a long recall period is that I wanted to record those activities that are performed seasonally and/or not regularly. Clearly, there is a trade-off arising from the fact that a one-year recall period may increase reporting of number of activities performed but decrease the accuracy of the corollary information collected for each type of activity (e.g. number of working days in a

year). Yet, in contexts characterised by multiple occupations it seems sensible to use a long recall period. Second, a decision was made to focus on activities remunerated in cash because this research is concerned with women's access to cash incomes. So, if a respondent has worked for at least one day in the year before the interview, she is classified as *cash-earning* as opposed to *non-cash-earning*. As previously stated, a dichotomous approach to women's participation in paid work may not be analytically satisfactory. Yet, a broad distinction between *cash-earning* and *non-cash-earning* respondents is functional to look at trends and diversity within each group.

The conceptualisation of paid work used in the survey needs to be extended in a number of directions. For instance, it is important to investigate the links between paid and unpaid work, especially when looking at women's participation in paid work, or the employment histories and relative trajectories of accumulation and processes of social differentiation. While a well-designed household survey can produce a snapshot, it is certainly ill-suited to investigate work-related changes over time and capture elements of irregularity that go beyond seasonal and cyclical fluctuations (Perez-Nino and Stevano 2012). Other methods need to be employed to extend meanings and understandings of work, both paid and unpaid. For instance, participant observation, life histories and in-depth qualitative interviews were used (as described above) to pursue these intentions.

#### **4.3.4 Food**

As discussed in chapter 3, it is acknowledged that nutritional outcomes are determined by a multitude of factors (nutrition security framework) but this work is interested in studying household food consumption practices. A general reason for focusing on food is provided by the current global landscape characterised by high and volatile food prices and dietary change. In addition, there are a number of context-specific reasons to look at food, instead of nutritional outcomes. First, there was a well-grounded concern that bodily measures of children may have been seen with suspicion by the respondents and their communities.<sup>26</sup> Second, the analysis of nutritional outcomes of children under five establishes an immediate link with their mothers and maternal health, which may not be similarly straight-forward in the

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<sup>26</sup> In conversations with researchers who did field research in the province of Cabo Delgado in the last few decades, it emerged that some forms of bodily measures may have been used during the colonial time, which gave them a suspicious connotation.

studied context, where the phenomenon of children's mobility – i.e. living with relatives other than parents – is fairly common (see chapter 7). Third, the existing data and studies on nutrition-related issues do indicate that one of the root causes of malnutrition is lack of dietary diversity because it leads to poor nutritional and health outcomes associated with micronutrient deficiencies (e.g. MISAU 2010; WFP 2010), which makes a case for studying in-depth what people eat, how and why.

Yet, what aspects of *household food consumption practices* are studied and how? I intentionally use this lengthy phrase to signal that the analysis wants to break through the boundaries of food security and/or food consumption to encompass broader aspects that contribute to the formation of food preferences and norms, such as consumption of prestigious foods, practices of food preparation and food knowledge. I begin by describing some of the tools as part of the household survey.

Food security is commonly defined as '*access by all people at all times to enough food for an active, healthy life.*' (World Bank 1986: 1). The Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance (FANTA) project sees food security as embracing three elements: food availability at the national level (estimated by FAO food balance sheets), food utilisation at the individual level (assessed by anthropometric measures), and food access at the household level, for which there was no standard measurement (Deitchler et al. 2010; Deitchler et al. 2011; Ballard et al. 2011). In fact, food security has been measured in a variety of ways, ranging from the FAO prevalence of undernourished to qualitative measures aimed at uncovering people's subjective understanding of hunger (Smith *et al.* 2006). Typically, measures of food security tend to be associated with data on food consumption. This data can be obtained through food-frequency questionnaires – i.e. questions on the number of meals consumed per day over a certain reference period (Batura 2011). The reliability of this data is primarily dependent on the length of the reference period, which can affect the memory of the respondents (*Ibid.*). With the intention to provide a standard tool to measure household food security, FANTA conducted several validation studies and developed a universally-applicable tool, which consists of three questions and relative frequencies – called Household Hunger Scale (HHS). Given the *strength* of questions – see Figure 4.3A below – this tool is recommended for settings affected by severe food insecurity (Deitchler et al. 2011).

FIGURE 4.3A HHS MODULE

No.	Question	Response Option	Code
Q1	In the past [4 weeks/30 days], was there ever no food to eat of any kind in your house because of lack of resources to get food?	0 = No (Skip to Q2) 1 = Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Q1a	How often did this happen in the past [4 weeks/30 days]?	1 = Rarely (1–2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3–10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Q2	In the past [4 weeks/30 days], did you or any household member go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?	0 = No (Skip to Q3) 1 = Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Q2a	How often did this happen in the past [4 weeks/30 days]?	1 = Rarely (1–2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3–10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)	<input type="checkbox"/>
Q3	In the past [4 weeks/30 days], did you or any household member go a whole day and night without eating anything at all because there was not enough food?	0 = No (Skip to the next section) 1 = Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
Q3a	How often did this happen in the past [4 weeks/30 days]?	1 = Rarely (1–2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3–10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)	<input type="checkbox"/>

SOURCE: DEITCHLER ET AL. 2011

The forte of this method is that it is quick and allows for cross-country comparability. The central question is: to what extent is the universal tool adequate to capture the actual incidence and manifestations of food insecurity? In fact, food insecurity is context-specific to the extent in which food preferences are determined not only by economic but also social and cultural factors (Pottier 1999) and the sources of food vulnerability may be broader than lack of food or resources to acquire it (these issues will be addressed in chapter 9). Therefore, the choice of methods to investigate household food security depends critically on the aim of the study, which in this case is less driven by cross-country comparability and more by accuracy and depth. In the questionnaire used for the household survey, the three HHS questions<sup>27</sup> were complemented with other six questions (and relative frequencies, for internal consistency), which can be defined as *more context-specific* because they were informed by and based on previous qualitative findings on the nature of food insecurity in the studied context. This choice is justified by the intention to investigate household food insecurity in some detail and test the adequacy of the HHS to capture the prevalence of food insecurity among the interviewed households and their communities in the studied context – see module D of the questionnaire (questions D1 to D9), Annex 2.

So far, *food security* was interpreted as the ability of households to access food but the quality of food consumed has not been considered. Some see food

<sup>27</sup> FANTA conducted several validation studies in various countries, including Mozambique (FAO 2008), therefore it was considered sensible to use the three standard questions in the context of Cabo Delgado.

security as constituted by both a quantitative and a qualitative component (see Smith et al. 2006). Since dietary diversity is considered to be a good proxy of diet quality (Ruel 2002), an indicator of dietary diversity was included in the food module of our survey.

Dietary diversity, defined as the number of different foods or food groups consumed over a given reference period, is generally measured by summing the number of single foods or food groups consumed during the reference period (Ruel 2003). There is no agreement on how different foods should be grouped and on the length of the reference period, which usually ranges from one to seven days (*Ibid.*). Yet, the 24h or seven-day recall method, despite observer bias, memory lapses, short and potentially unrepresentative recall period, seems to be able to provide a picture on the types of food consumed most frequently, if the sample is sufficiently large (Maxwell 1996). Also, intra-household distributional issues may be uncovered by asking some questions to single members on individual food consumption (*Ibid.*).

In this work, household dietary diversity is assessed with FANTA's Household Dietary Diversity Score (HDDS), which is composed by sixteen food groups and relies on 24h recall period (see Swindale and Bilinsky 2006). The HDDS was tested in Mozambique with positive results (FAO 2008). As part of this research, the tool was then complemented with two questions on eating outside of home: one directed at the individual (female respondent) and the other one referred to the other household members. A general consideration, which will be discussed in more detail later on, is that this tool's efficacy is significantly improved by the interviewee's knowledge of the types of foods normally consumed in the studied context. Often the difference between *better* and *worse off* households is made by the number and/or quality of ingredients used to make the same type of dish: to capture subtle differences it is crucial to ask very specific questions.

Although the 'food security questions' can provide good data on crucial aspects of food consumption and vulnerability, understanding household food consumption practices – *what, why* and *how* people eat – requires a broader analysis. For this reason, the study of food practices has been expanded in two directions. First, the household survey was preceded and followed by qualitative research on food, which was vital to make the survey work and interpret the main findings, as it will be shown in chapters 8 and 9. Second, the analysis was extended to include an investigation of the formation of food preferences, norms and decisions. In fact, although food-security-centred analyses may shed some light on

what people eat, attention is not equally paid to the ways in which diets are formed – *why* people eat what they eat – and to the productive and reproductive responsibilities around food – *how* people acquire food and organise consumption. In this light, issues such as consumption of prestigious foods (e.g. meat) and soft drinks were investigated. Food acquisition and preparation practices and relative (gendered) division of roles were studied through participant observation and life histories. *Maternal altruism*, in the ways it may shape food distributional imbalances, and food knowledge were investigated both through qualitative interviews and the household survey.

#### **4.4 ETHICAL CONCERNS AND CONCLUSIONS**

Methodological reflections are deeply entrenched with and, in fact, at times may depend on ethical considerations, which can be referred to any stage of the research process, from the use made of secondary sources, to primary data collection and data analysis or representation. For instance, one important concern in this work concern derives from the use of an interdisciplinary approach, which needs to do justice to the disciplines involved. It is an ethical issue to make an appropriate use of theories and methods drawn from any discipline and even more so if they are taken from different disciplines and combined.

Ethics was certainly central in the management of interviews and relationships with respondents. A long fieldwork inevitably involves the participation of several respondents, who need to be protected from any possible consequence of their participation in the interviews. A common, although imperfect, way to ensure protection is through anonymity. It is a fact that many respondents did not express strong views on whether they wanted their names to be displayed but I prefer not to disclose the names of the interviewees.

Although the topics investigated in this research were not received as either sensitive or offensive to the majority of respondents, the mere process of interviewing someone about some aspect of their life can be (perceived as) an intrusive act. Unfortunately, there are no better ways to mitigate this problem than informing transparently and clearly the respondents about the modalities and aims of the interview(s). We made sure that this took place before any planned research activity. Important ethical concerns remain open though. In fact, the way we reached

the respondents was by going step-by-step through the ladder of local authorities – from local government to village head – which meant that, in some occasions, respondents may have felt that they *needed* to participate in the research activities although they may not have *wanted* to. Other times, the willingness to participate in the interviews may have derived from future expected benefits. We made sure that the participants always knew what kind of incentive good they would receive (if they did) and that there were no other benefits involved, yet, this information was often not sufficient to eliminate expectations. These phenomena are extremely difficult to minimise or circumvent but they do shape the research process and confront the researcher with serious ethical considerations on the meanings of doing research.

We used incentive goods not to encourage communities to partake in the research process but rather to compensate respondents for their time and effort. Although the use of incentive goods is debatable, I felt that it was fair to compensate the interviewees. The incentive goods used included house goods such as soap, salt and notebooks and respondents were never paid in cash. For those respondents who were interviewed as part of the household survey, I photographed them with their families, if they consented to it, and then brought a printed copy of the photo back to the household.

Finally, I feel profoundly indebted to each of the respondents and their communities for making this research possible. Hence I take as an ethical commitment the effort to make the findings of this research available to platforms that are close to the communities involved. This certainly entails finding appropriate channels – e.g. local governments and locally-based NGOs – but also formats that can be accessible to a wider audience.

In conclusion, the density of this chapter reflects the amount of thinking that went into the design of this research. The concluding remark goes back to the quotations used at the beginning of the chapter. I believe that economics needs to reflect more seriously (if not at all) about methodological issues and, for this reason, I ascribe the approach used in this thesis to branches of economics that set themselves as better alternatives to the mainstream. The exercise of primary data collection is undoubtedly the chief way to consider the quality of data used and, in retrospect, the validity of the underlying concepts.

## 5

# PROCESSES OF CHANGE AND WOMEN'S ROLES IN NORTHERN MOZAMBIQUE

## AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PROVINCE OF CABO DELGADO

*A small roundabout, the decaying Hotel Cabo Delgado at one corner and opposite the modern Mcel shop, the central Standard bank branch in front of the shop and a small barraca just across the road, o Portugues (the old, colonial, Portuguese restaurant) around the corner and one of the many Chinese supermarkets down the main road. There are young men selling clothes, which mostly come from Tanzania because clothes and capulanas over there are nicer and cheaper. Some women sell toasted peanuts and cashew-nuts, they're delicious. There are also many street vendors selling bananas, hard-boiled eggs and sweets of different sorts.*

*This is the centre of Pemba and, metaphorically, also the heart of the entire province of Cabo Delgado. The one road that leads into and out of Pemba connecting the town with any other district in the province, and beyond, goes through the small roundabout. All of the urban chapas and the chapas and machimbombos to any other district of the province leave from the doorstep of Mcel shop. All foodstuffs sold and traded in Pemba go through that road and through that small roundabout. (Field notes)*

When conducting empirical research, familiarising and building an understanding of the research sites is a crucial component of primary data collection. Clearly, extensive review of secondary material is the first way to begin this process but, especially when existing literature is thin, this process of familiarisation and understanding needs to be performed before, ideally, or while collecting the data. Ultimately, however, the picture photographed while doing field research needs to be connected to, cross-checked with and contextualised in the body of existing regional literature.

In this chapter I use primary and secondary data to introduce the reader to the province of Cabo Delgado in northern Mozambique. I look at contemporary

Cabo Delgado and focus on the research settings where primary data collection was conducted. Then I take a step back and, by drawing from existing literature, I describe some of the major historical events and associated processes of change that have characterised northern Mozambique or, more specifically, Cabo Delgado, when allowed by the existing literature. In doing so, the focus is maintained primarily on the interactions between processes of change and women's roles at the societal and household level because this exercise is critical to grasp women's roles and gender relations in contemporary Cabo Delgado. This responds to the intention to contextualise gender relations as an alternative to homogenising and ahistorical approaches to gender.

In the first section (5.1), I describe Cabo Delgado today. In the second section (5.2), I look at the transition to the colonial rule, with a focus on the system of forced cotton cultivation and the phenomenon of migration. The third section (5.3) is dedicated to the discussion of women's participation in the war for independence and changing women's roles in the post-independence time, with particular attention paid to the level of the household. Finally, section 5.4 concludes.

## **5.1 CABO DELGADO, THE MACUA AND THE MACONDE**

The delineation of the research setting(s) is a delicate decision to make in any piece of empirical research. A range of reasons and criteria can inform the process of site selection. In this section, I introduce the reader to the northern Mozambican province of Cabo Delgado, where primary data collection was carried out. In providing an overview of the province today, I also explain the reasons for choosing Cabo Delgado and focusing on the districts where the interviews were conducted (5.1.1).

In the second part of the section, I draw on the literature on the Macua and the Maconde populations, who are the most numerous in the province of Cabo Delgado (as well as in the chosen research settings), to discuss an often-mentioned common trait: being matrilineal. In particular, I reflect on the material implications of the matrilineal lineage and on its usefulness as an analytical tool to look at gender relations and women's roles (5.1.2).

### 5.1.1 TODAY'S CABO DELGADO

Cabo Delgado is the northernmost province of Mozambique. It is composed by 17 districts and its capital is the town of Pemba. Cabo Delgado is part of the region of Mozambique that is considered to be the breadbasket of the country due to high agricultural potential and long-standing agricultural tradition. Despite rapid change driven by the discovery of natural gas, the province of Cabo Delgado continues to show low scores on other human development indicators. The poverty data is dubious; some data sources suggest that poverty has decreased significantly – from 63.2 per cent in 2002-3 (IAF 2003) to 37.4 per cent in 2008 (IOF 2008) – while others indicate the poverty levels have remained stagnant – from 87 per cent in 2002 to 86 per cent in 2008 (TIA in Hanlon and Cunguara 2010).<sup>28</sup> Overall and in many ways, the story of Cabo Delgado is representative of the national patterns of (economic) development.

Mozambique has experienced rapid economic growth for at least a decade – GDP growth rates ranged between 6 and 8 per cent from 2003 to 2012 (WB statistics) – while other development indicators have not shown similar improvements (see MICS 2008). For instance, FAO statistics show that the proportion of undernourished remained stagnant between 2008 and 2011, when it was estimated to be at 40 and 39 per cent respectively (FAOSTAT).<sup>29</sup> New FAO statistics of undernourishment show that global progress before 2007 has been more pronounced than previously calculated, but then slowed down as the result of the food crisis and sub-Saharan Africa is the region where reduction has been more modest (*Ibid.*).

In addition, the national levels of chronic malnutrition are worrying: it marginally decreased in urban areas – from 37 per cent in 2003 to 35 per cent in 2008 – and fell more significantly in rural areas – from 52 per cent to 47 per cent in the same time span (DHS 2003; MICS 2008), though it remains very high overall. Diversity is observed across the provinces: the South shows lower levels of malnutrition (28 per cent in Maputo province, for instance) whereas the North is more severely affected. The province of Cabo Delgado registers the highest levels

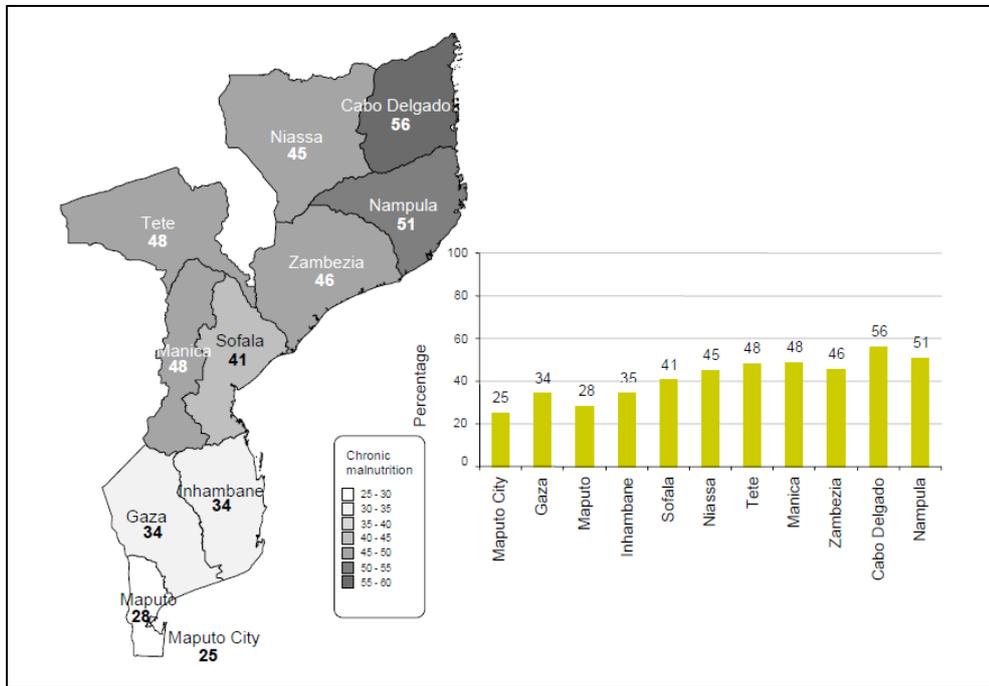
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<sup>28</sup> It is important to underline that the poverty data suffer from reliability issues due to the way in which the poverty line was calculated (Hanlon 2007; Hanlon and Cunguara 2010).

<sup>29</sup> The prevalence of undernourishment for 2011 is a mere projection, in fact the new food balance sheets – informed by improved methodology, which for instance takes into account food losses and changes in population sizes (for more detailed explanation see FAOSTAT) – are available only up to 2009 (FAOSTAT).

of stunting, with 56 per cent of children under five years old affected by poor nutritional status (MICS 2008) – see figure below.

**FIGURE 5.1A PREVALENCE OF CHRONIC MALNUTRITION IN MOZAMBIQUE BY PROVINCE, 2008**

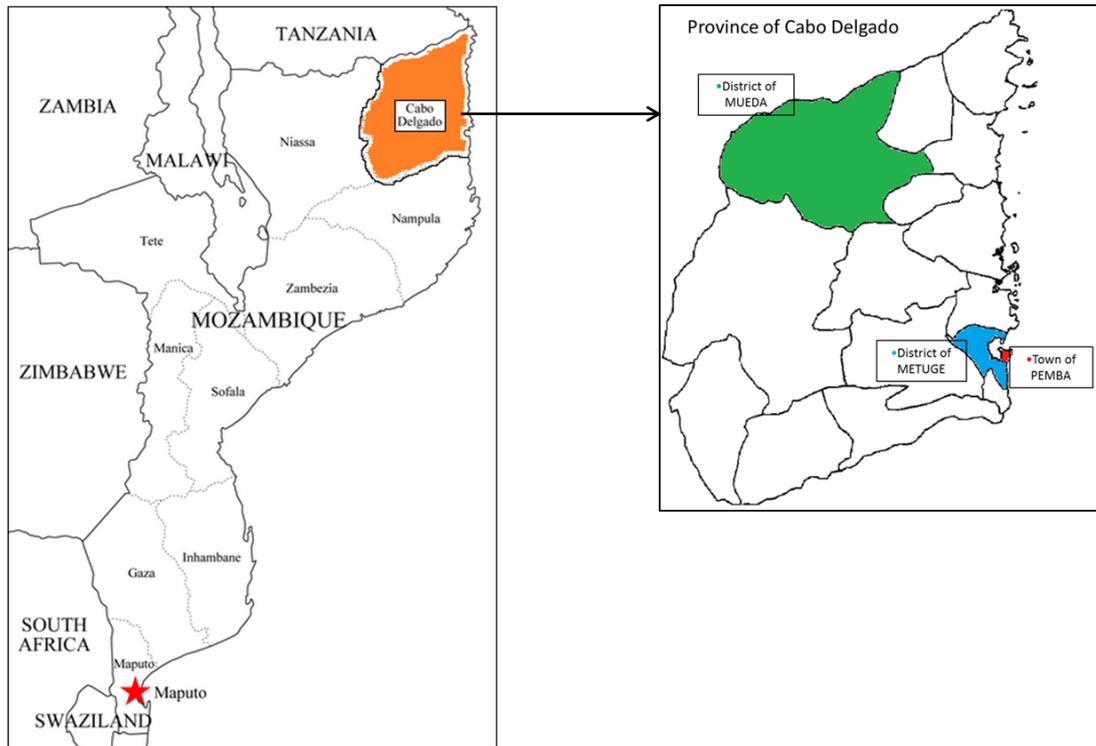


SOURCE: MICS (2008: 9)

Due to the purposes of this work, focused on food outcomes, the high levels of chronic malnutrition in the province represented an important reason to conduct this research in Cabo Delgado.

Cabo Delgado extends between the Rovuma River, which marks the border between Mozambique and Tanzania, and the Nacala Corridor, situated between Cabo Delgado and the neighbouring Nampula province. The Nacala corridor is one of the three trade channels that cross Mozambique connecting Malawi, Zimbabwe and South Africa to three ports on the Indian Ocean (Krause and Kaufmann 2011) and is the major conduit for export-oriented industry located in the Mozambican provinces of Niassa, Nampula and Cabo Delgado. Therefore, the southern districts of the province (especially Chiure and Montepuez) are advantaged by proximity to the corridor, to the vibrant city of Nampula and to Pemba, which is the main urban centre of the province. In general, the southern districts enjoy better infrastructure than the northern counterparts, which remain far more isolated due to bad conditions of roads and poor public transport connections.

**FIGURE 5.1B MAP OF MOZAMBIQUE AND CABO DELGADO**



A divide between southern and northern districts emerges also from private investment patterns observed in the province. In general terms, at the time of fieldwork the two leading sectors were tourism and agro-industry. Unsurprisingly, investment in tourism is mostly concentrated in the coastal districts, islands and Pemba. In the case of agro-industrial enterprises, which can be a source of employment in rural areas, the majority tends to locate in the southern districts and in the districts that are closer or better connected to Pemba. The northern districts, Mueda especially, are mostly of interest to enterprises working on timber extraction and trade (Muianga et al. 2012).

This provincial configuration provides an initial reason to study different districts to gain a snapshot of the province that embodies some of its elements of diversity. As anticipated in the previous chapter though, the rationale for conducting field research in three districts was also associated with the realisation that intra-regional mobility in the forms of rural-rural and rural-urban (or urban-rural) exchange is central to two core components of this work: food and household dynamics. I am aware that this site selection increases the level of complexity, making the analysis more chaotic, and suffers from limitations in that the three chosen districts do not represent a complete picture of Cabo Delgado. Yet, conducting primary data collection in three districts across the province has certainly added dynamism and

enhanced the opportunity to capture some underlying dynamics at the intra-provincial level.

Field research was carried out in the town of Pemba (urban district), in the district of Metuge (rural but peri-urban district) and in that of Mueda (rural district). Public transport networks connect Pemba with both Metuge and Mueda: it takes approximately 30-45 minutes to reach Metuge Sede (in fact, *chapas* – mini-buses – from Pemba to Metuge and the other way around are frequent and run all day long) and 8-9 hours to reach Mueda Sede (one or two *machimbobos* – buses – per day run between Pemba and Mueda).

Pemba, known as Porto Amelia during the colonial time, is a town of approximately 138,000 inhabitants (2007 census, so it is certainly bigger today). It is growing rapidly, with new *bairros* (neighbourhoods) emerging at and pushing the borders of the older town. One of the units of the *bairro* where the household survey was implemented is called Bem Vindo (Welcome) as it signalled the old entrance to the town; at the time of fieldwork (2011-2012) the unit of Bem Vindo was located approximately half way between the centre of Pemba and the borders of the town. The process of urbanisation is a recent one and, in fact, many of the Pembans who were born in Pemba belong to young generations. Virtually everyone still identifies their origins with the district where they or their families come from. Interestingly, entire parts of *bairros* are made of households inhabited by people who originally come from the same district, thus forming small settlements of migrants from the same village or district. The inhabitants of Pemba come from every district in the province and some have moved to Pemba from the northern districts of Nampula and, to a much lesser extent, from other provinces. During fieldwork, the respondents interviewed in Pemba were from the three main ethnic groups in Cabo Delgado: Macua, Maconde and (to a lesser extent) Mwani.

Pemba is the administrative and political centre of the province of Cabo Delgado and, as such, it hosts the Provincial Government and the Provincial Directorates (*Direcções Provinciais*). The town is divided in *bairros* (pl.), each *bairro* in *unidades* (pl.) and each *unidade* in *quartierões* (pl.). Administrative authority is organised according to this structure, with each *unit* administered by a head. Pemba is certainly the most dynamic urban market in the province of Cabo Delgado. As such, it is the recipient of good part of agricultural produce, foodstuff and other goods produced in the surrounding districts and beyond.

For instance, trade between the agricultural district of Metuge and Pemba is vibrant. Every day traders and street vendors gather around the places where the *chapas* stop to sell and buy agricultural produce and foodstuff. Metuge is the closest district to the town of Pemba and, as such, it can be considered a peri-urban area. In fact, the district of Metuge used to include Pemba (it was called Pemba-Metuge) up to 2011, when the two districts were separated. According to 2007 census data, Metuge counts 63,000 inhabitants. Its centre is Metuge Sede, where the district government and other administrative offices are located. The rest of the district is composed by numerous villages, some of which are situated on the coast while others in the interior. Similarly to the organisation of Pemba, each *aldeia* (village) is divided in *bairros*, which are headed by *Chefes do Bairro* (Heads of the neighbourhood).

In the studied villages of Metuge, agriculture is widely practiced for both commercial use and own consumption and the main cash crop is sesame, which is sold to locally-based traders who travel to the district to purchase the seeds. Fishing is also common in the coastal villages, but the study was mostly conducted in the interior so households that rely on fishing were not numerous among the interviewed ones. Respondents have reported intensive economic and commercial links with Pemba, mostly around the commercialisation of agricultural produce. A few families have access to a house in Pemba and one in Metuge to facilitate trade between the two places. This is the story of Teresa and Maria, two sisters from Metuge. With the labour of other family members and some hired workers, Teresa and Maria grow tomatoes in Metuge and sell them in '*Nbanguia*, the central food market of Pemba. They produce big quantities of tomatoes (relative to other households who grow tomatoes in Metuge) and thence selling the produce in Pemba can take days. Maria and her husband bought a house in Pemba, where they can stay when they need to spend some days in town. So this is the story of a wealthier family that took advantage of the proximity to a dynamic market to sustain and develop their activity. It is not representative of the majority of households in Metuge but it is telling of the interaction between Metuge and Pemba, which is indeed a common characteristic among Metuge residents, although it takes place in different forms for different households.

In the stories collected in Metuge,<sup>30</sup> elderly men do not forget to mention the sisal plantation where some of them had to work during the colonial time. Just off the main road that connects Pemba to Metuge Sede and next to the village of Nangua (where the household survey was implemented) is where the sisal plantation was situated. The elderly share memories of suffering, hunger, hard work and long time away from their homes.

Old people in Nangua also remember the civil war, *luta da democracia* (struggle for democracy), as they call it. Many Nangua residents came originally from the district of Chiure but they were displaced during the civil war (1977-1992). In their stories, they say that the district of Chiure was a harsh battlefield during the civil war and thence many families fled their home-lands and some of them relocated in Metuge. Some respondents said that they moved to Metuge because they knew it from the times of forced labour on the sisal plantation. People from Chiure and Metuge are generally Macua and in the district of Metuge all of the respondents were Macua.

Mueda, in the far North of the province, is instead known to be the Maconde highland. It is possibly the most studied district in Cabo Delgado as it was theatre of events that made the history of Mozambique: it is the district where the struggle for independence kicked off. This study is indebted to and builds upon the anthropological work conducted by Harry West in Mueda in the 1990s (see West 1998, 2000, 2005, 2007). Although the themes investigated are different (West's work focused mostly on political structures of authority and sorcery in Mueda), the intention to create some forms of continuity in academic research was an additional motivation to include Mueda in the research settings.

Mueda is a vast district, geographically split between a plateau and the surrounding lowlands. The majority of the population (estimated to be approximately 113,000 inhabitants in 2007) tends to concentrate in the south-western area of the district. Mueda remains the home-land of the Maconde people although they also live in the neighbouring districts of Muidumbe, and Nangade and, as mentioned above, Maconde communities are also settled in Pemba nowadays. The presence of Maconde people in Pemba gives rise to some of the urban-rural economic linkages that are documented in this work. Yet, a great part of the mobility observed during field research took place across Muedan villages, between Mueda and the

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<sup>30</sup> As secondary literature on Metuge is extremely thin, Tissa and I conducted some collective interviews with the elderly in the village of Nangua to collect collective memories of Nangua and Metuge.

closer bigger centre of Mocimboa da Praia (a quasi-urban centre in the North) and, to a much lesser extent, between Mueda and Tanzania. For instance, as Mueda Sede is the liveliest market in the district, agricultural produce grown in the lowlands and highlands of the district is often commercialised in Mueda Sede. The current exchanges between Mueda and Tanzania, facilitated by the recent opening of the Union Bridge that connects the two territories, mostly occur in the form of informal trade. So, in a sense, Mueda is isolated relative to other districts in Cabo Delgado but it would be misleading to describe it as an isolated district in absolute terms.

Tissa and I conducted interviews in a number of villages, in both the Muedan highlands and lowlands. Agriculture is practiced across the district although agro-climatic conditions in the lowlands are better for growing a greater variety of crops. For instance, one of the trading activities recorded during field research develops around the commercialisation of tomatoes, which are produced only in the lowland. Differently from Metuge, it was impossible to identify any specific or unique cash crop. A variety of crops for own consumption and sale are produced locally and, tentatively maize could be described as *the most important* crop for both family consumption and commercialisation. Many of the respondents who practice agriculture – including members of agricultural cooperatives, which are very common across the entire province – complained about the difficulties to sell their agricultural produce as markets tend to be quite thin. Wealthier households are those that can increase agricultural production through hiring labour and reach larger end markets to commercialise their produce. The direction of causation could be the opposite – i.e. farming households that reach larger markets become wealthier as a consequence – however, evidence collected during fieldwork suggests that the former hypothesis on causation is more typical than the latter.

Consider the story of Cristina who, according to the *Chefe da Extensão Rural* (Head of Rural Extension) in Mueda Sede, is one of the most successful farmers in the whole district. Cristina is originally from Gaza, a province of southern Mozambique, but she relocated to Cabo Delgado when she married the former governor of the province. Her husband lives in Pemba while Cristina instead spends most of her time in Nanhamba (a village in the Muedan lowlands) where she takes care of her *machamba*. She rents a big plot of land near a small stream. Cristina moved to Nanhamba in 2009, with two Macua workers who work with her on the field. At the time of our visit, Cristina employed four workers on her *machamba*. She grows cabbage, tomatoes, onions, potatoes, peppers, carrots, beans and salad for sale. Cristina explained that Muedans do not like cabbage and believes that her

*mission*, as she called it, is to educate people to eat cabbage and carrots, which are good foods for people's health. However, the main reason why she continues to grow these crops is that the major buyer of her cabbage and all of the other agricultural products is the rural hospital of Mueda Sede, which ensures the *saída* (literally, 'exit') of Cristina's produce. So Cristina's story shows how agriculture is especially viable to wealthier households that can mobilise extra labour and take advantage of their connections to guarantee a market for their products.

A key element of Mueda's current political economy is represented by the veterans' pension scheme. As Mueda is the place where the revolution began in 1964, great part of Mueda's population took part in the struggle and is nowadays entitled to a monthly pension. I will discuss these issues in greater detail below, for now it should suffice to mention the importance of pensions as a differentiating factor and source of income in the entire province of Cabo Delgado and, especially, in the district of Mueda. The collective memories in Mueda revolve around the war for liberation (1964-1974), which is a foundational element of the Maconde *identity* and pride.

A common trait across the research settings is scarcity of *formal* employment opportunities and associated widespread economic informality. *Formal* or regular employment is limited to the public administration and a few factories, mostly concentrated in the town of Pemba. It is fair to say that the few regular employment opportunities are disproportionately available to men, relative to women. Therefore economic informality and multiplicity of occupations are widespread in rural and urban areas alike and tend to be more pronounced in the case of women, than in that of men. I describe the types of paid work and cash-earning activities performed by women in the next chapter.

In the next section, I draw from existing literature to introduce the reader to some aspects of the Macua and Maconde populations and reflect on the meanings of matriliney.

### **5.1.2 MATRILINITY: A USEFUL ANALYTICAL TOOL?**

In the literature, one of the underlined traits of northern Mozambican populations is that they are matrilineal. Matriliney is often portrayed as the distinguishing characteristic of northern Mozambique and at times offered as the reason why

gender relations of power and women's roles may be different in the North, relative to the patrilineal South (e.g. Pitcher 1996; Arnfred 2001; Sheldon 2002).

Lineage models – i.e. matriliney vs patriliney – are analytical tools to be used with caution. In fact, the *textbook* lineage is more an epitome societies may be tending to rather than an accurate representation of the reality. Societal organisation is often based on deviations from the model. Yet, as gender is central to lineage ideology, looking at some aspects of matrilineal societies may be useful to reflect on gender relations within those societies.

By the same token, defining *ethnic boundaries* is a slippery exercise. In fact, although discourses that stress ethnicity-based divides continue to constitute material for colloquial use in contemporary (northern) Mozambique, there are reasons to be sceptical that *ethnic difference* is such a clear-cut and explanatory phenomenon. Ethnicity cannot be considered as a static *conditio* as it is constantly re-configured by continued interactions between different peoples and cultures. Yet, I begin with a review of the existing literature on the two most numerous peoples that inhabit the province of Cabo Delgado – the Macua and the Maconde – as a way to discuss matriliney and set the scene to address more broadly gender relations and women's roles in these societies.<sup>31</sup>

The Macua people lived in the territory expanding to the west of the Swahili coastal area, from the northern Rovuma border, to the Lugenda River and the Yao territory on the west and to the Licungo River on the south (Newitt 1995; Hafkin 1973). Among the people sharing the same territories (e.g. Indians and Portuguese), the Macua were the predominant, with 3 million people in 1970 (Alpers 1974). The literature on the Macua suggests that it is a misleading exercise to construct a uniform picture of the Macua as their *identity* has been historically influenced by peoples living in the same and surrounding lands, such as the Yao, the Marave peoples, Swahili, Makonde and Portuguese (Hafkin 1973; Alpers 1974; Newitt 1995). Nowadays, the Macua people living in the province of Cabo Delgado speak different

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<sup>31</sup> The focus on the Macua and the Maconde people is also justified by the fact that almost all of the respondents interviewed during field research were either Macua or Maconde. As part of the survey, 68 respondents were Macua, 50 were Maconde, 1 was Mwani and 1 was Shangana. There is a third population – the Mwani – mostly concentrated in the coastal areas of Cabo Delgado and, to a limited extent, in the town of Pemba but a) literature on the Mwani is extremely thin and b) only one Mwani respondent was interviewed as part of the survey.

dialects (or versions) of the Macua language and make use of varying socio-cultural practices, depending on the district of origin.<sup>32</sup>

Hafkin (1973) explains that their name, meaning 'iron worker', refers to the Macua material culture, which was based on iron working, pottery making, elephant hunting and, primarily, hoe agriculture. Women were responsible for agricultural activities, pottery making and children's education while men organised elephant hunting and military force as well as carried out the heaviest agricultural tasks. Arnfred (2007) argues that, in the Macua society, some positions are ungendered – for instance, *olaka* (counsellor) and *kulukana* (healer) – whereas others are gendered – for instance, knowledge and expertise on food and sex is prerogative of women.

The Macua society was and, in broad terms, continues to be matrilineal and matrilocal.<sup>33</sup> Hafkin (1973: 78) reports that the basic unit of the society is the *nihimo* (pl. *mahimo*), which is a small kinship group including *all the descendants of a common ancestress*. The children belong to the *nihimo* of their mother and men move to their wives' villages at marriage. Residence *rules*, which are determined by matrilocality, have material implications on inheritance and ownership practices. For instance, in matrilineal and matrilocal societies, such as the Macua, land is passed from the mother onto the daughter.

The Maconde, instead, lived on the Mueda Plateau (*Planalto de Mueda*) in small and dispersed *kaja* (settlements) (Dias 1964a).<sup>34</sup> Some have argued that due to the geographical conditions of their homeland, the Maconde culture was not significantly influenced by the contact with other cultures until 1917, time of the Portuguese incursion into the Plateau (Dias 1964a). Yet, contact with other people (e.g. Macua, Yao, Nguni, Arab, Portuguese) has been documented and therefore it is sensible to believe that even the Maconde *identity* has been influenced by interaction with other populations (West 2005). In general, the presumed isolated and static nature of pre-colonial African societies is misleading and offers the

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<sup>32</sup> Mozambican provinces are divided in districts. When asked where they are from, people tend to identify their home-place with the district they come from.

<sup>33</sup> The Macua people living in the central part of the Macua country are socially organized around the traditional matrilineal lineage. However, the culture and social structures of Macua people living closer to the coast was altered by the contact with Swahili peoples (Hafkin 1973).

<sup>34</sup> The Maconde people are found in northern Mozambique and southern Tanzania – here we focus on the Maconde people in Mozambique.

grounds to dualistic accounts based on fictitious divides between a pre-colonial society and a colonial one.

As the Maconde lived in scattered *kaja* with no central authority, they do not conserve a common memory of their origins and history, which remain very uncertain (Dias 1964b). The main authority was represented by the *nang'olo mwene kaja* (settlement head) who derived his right to govern from the ancestors who founded that specific settlement (West 2005). Authority was also conferred to the *nang'olo mwene kaja* by his matrilineal descent, from which he inherited titles and names (*Ibid.*).

Since the Makonde people were and continue to be, in flexible forms, matrilineal, their settlements were constructed around the idea of *likola* (matriclan) identity. Although in pre-colonial times settlements were connected through alliances to cope with uncertain environmental conditions and external threats, '*likola identity remained the foundation of social organisation among the plateau residents into the twentieth century*' (West 2005: 32). The children belong to the *likola* of their mother. However, the daughters of the *likola* did not live in their mother's settlement as they were born in their father's settlements and moved to their husband's settlement upon marriage (West 2005). Nonetheless, women continue to *feed their likola identity* by encouraging their sons to move into the village of their matriclan (*Ibid.*). In this sense, the Maconde society differs from the Macua one in that it is not matrilocal. This implies, for instance, that Maconde women do not inherit land through their *likola*.

In general, while women and men shared many aspects of the material life, the Makonde world was, and continues to be, gendered (Arnfred 1995). Women and men cultivate the land together but specific tasks tend to be assigned according to a certain gendered division of roles. Time and space are gendered as women spend both their work and leisure time mainly with women, and so do men, respectively (*Ibid.*).

To what extent is the (matrilineal) lineage still central to the organisation of contemporary Macua and Maconde societies? The data collected as part of this research confirms that lineage in the Macua and Maconde populations of Cabo Delgado still has some cultural and material significance. Although nowadays village formation is invariably different from that based on the matriclan, family lines that develop along the lines of the lineage – called *amuci* or *likola* by the Macua and Maconde respondents, respectively – play a role in practices of social reproduction.

This is attributable to historical, political and economic processes of change, such as the colonial system of labour, which will be touched upon below. Nowadays, inter-household economic exchanges along family ties persist and, in a way, complement household production when the latter is not sufficient to cover the costs of social reproduction – these issues will be extensively discussed in chapter 7.

However, it is less clear that a matrilineal lineage has material implications that are different from that of a patrilineal lineage. In fact, power is concentrated in the hands of men in both matrilineal and patrilineal societies. Arnfred (2007) argues that women's greater autonomy in particular spheres such as food management and sexual practices grants them more power. She explains that the reproduction of female identity, constructed around women's control of food and sexual practices, occurs mostly through female initiation rites that are especially common and important in matrilineal societies in northern Mozambique.<sup>35</sup> However, it is not proven that women's increased control in those spheres translates in improved material life conditions. Do women have more bargaining power within their household? Do women have access to social and economic positions of power?

In a way, it appears that rules of residence are more likely to determine material life conditions. As mentioned before, this is one of the differences between the Macua and Maconde societies. Evidence collected during fieldwork confirms that Macua women *can* own land while Maconde women *can* gain access to land through their husband or a male in their kinship. I highlight the connotation of *possibility* to indicate that these rules are not always respected and, in fact, actual practices may deviate from the rules of residence and, as a consequence, from those of land ownership and access. An observed fact is that Macua men *can* and *do* buy and/or rent land and, likewise, Maconde women *can* and *do* buy and/or rent land. So the central question is on how commonly actual practices diverge or, instead, conform to the rule and what factors drive deviation. This investigation showed that gaps between rules (or discourses) and practices are observed on several grounds (discussed in the rest of the thesis) and, in this case, processes of monetisation and commoditification drive nonconformity to rules on residence and land ownership and/or access, as it will be explained below.

In general, I feel cautious about using matrilineality as the main lens through which looking at gender and other relations of power among the Macua and

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<sup>35</sup> Arnfred (2007) study was conducted in the Macua communities of the district of Ribaué, northern Nampula.

Maconde communities of Cabo Delgado. Kinship *rules* may be used as a starting point to analyse lineage-related practices in the studied context but I stress that an understanding of structural processes of change is critical to any analysis of women's roles and (gender) relations of power in northern Mozambique. With this intention, I proceed by looking at the most important historical events that concerned the North of Mozambique, keeping a focus, when allowed by existing literature, on women's roles and gender relations.

## **5.2 TRANSITION TO THE COLONIAL RULE**

With the advent of Portuguese colonialism the North of Mozambique underwent profound processes of change. The transition to the colonial rule in (northern) Mozambique has been studied by many scholars and from different angles. Drawing from existing literature that has looked specifically at Cabo Delgado or at northern Mozambique, I address a few key aspects of the colonial experience that have been indicated as forces that drive and shape modes of production, labour relations, societal organisation, distribution of power and, ultimately, gender relations. We start by looking at changing systems of authority (5.2.1) and then address the imposition of forced cotton production and associated outward migration to Tanzania (5.2.2).

### **5.2.1 CHANGING SYSTEMS OF AUTHORITY**

A strand of literature has been concerned with changing authorities under the colonial regime and their political and economic implications, in Mozambique and elsewhere. Although some scholars have interpreted colonial systems of authority as eradicating and opposing previous ones, other views stress the enmeshed nature of the different systems, older and newer.

Northern Mozambique was the last region that the Portuguese brought under colonial rule (Alpers 1984). The northern region of Mozambique was granted as a concession to Nyassa Company in 1891 and then controlled directly by the Portuguese colonial state from 1929 until independence (West 1998). During this time, the colonial administrators sought support from the local 'chiefs' – who, amongst the *vanang'olo vene kaja*, co-operated with the colonial administration was given a new title and became part of the newly-invented hierarchy, based,

problematically, only partially on existing territorial divisions and areas of influence (West 1998).

'Although many *régulos*, *capitães-mor*, and *wajiri*<sup>36</sup> were in fact also *vanang'olo vene kaja* of their respective settlements, the administrative hierarchies established by the Company and, later, by the colonial administration slowly transformed the roles these elders played within their own *makola*<sup>37</sup> (West 1998: 148).

The new local authorities were primarily needed for tax collection and extraction of *chibalo* (forced labour) and co-existed with the traditional ones, thus creating blurring and overlapping systems of power (Peters 2004; West 1998).

The Portuguese, as all the other European colonial powers, leveraged the presence of ethnic diversity in Mozambique by pursuing a '*conscious policy of divide and rule*' (Alpers 1974: 40). As settlers did not understand, and perhaps did not even attempt to understand, African social and political organisation, they created conflicts among different tribes to prevent the formation of tribal unions (Mwamula-Lubandi 1992). According to Mandani's notion of 'bifurcated state', '*all contemporary African customary authorities are a legacy of the colonial experience of indirect rule*' (in Chimhowu and Woodhouse 2006: 347).

Furthermore, the colonial state oppressed indigenous peoples through land expropriation. Since settlers claimed the best land along the rivers, women living in rural areas were further burdened by agricultural work as, for instance, they had to walk longer distances to fetch water (Sheldon 1994). Berry (2002) argues that colonial states have influenced African tenure systems and indigenous approaches to land by means of 'physical displacement' (by confining the Africans in 'native reserves'), definition of national and social boundaries and invention of existing rules on use and transferability of land.

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<sup>36</sup> Titles of some of the new authorities created during the colonial time. The *capitães-mor* (greater captains) were 'created' during the time when the Mueda Plateau was under the control of Nyassa Company – the Company asked the population to recognise a chief in given regions, however, the areas indicated did not correspond to the existing settlement and, therefore, there were no chiefs who exercised their authority on those regions. The *capitães-mor* were responsible for tax collection and recruitment of forced labour. Each *capitão-mor* controlled a number of *wajiri*, who represented a constituent settlement in the area controlled by the *capitão-mor*. When the region passed onto the direct control of the Portuguese colonial administration, the hierarchy of authorities was generally maintained, but a third authority was created, the most important one, and called *regulo* (West 1998).

<sup>37</sup> *Likola* (pl.).

According to Hafkin (1973), the integration of local chiefs into the colonial administrative structure has hastened the shift towards virilocality (as opposed to matrilocality) and weakened the social role of women. Although, as discussed in the previous section, it is not proven that women had or have recognised roles of power in northern Mozambican societies, some have attributed a tendency towards a more distinguished patrilineal structure to the advent of the colonial rule and associated processes of commoditisation and social differentiation. For instance, Dias (1964a) argues that the traditional Makonde material culture, based on very few material possessions, was affected by introduction of new material goods and sons began to inherit the father's goods, thus changing the relationship uncle-nephew into father-son. Similarly, West (2005) explains that while in the past the *nang'olo mwene kaja* would name his nephew as successor, it increasingly happens that authority is passed from father onto son (West 2005). In the next section, I look at the processes of commoditisation to which these changes can be attributed.

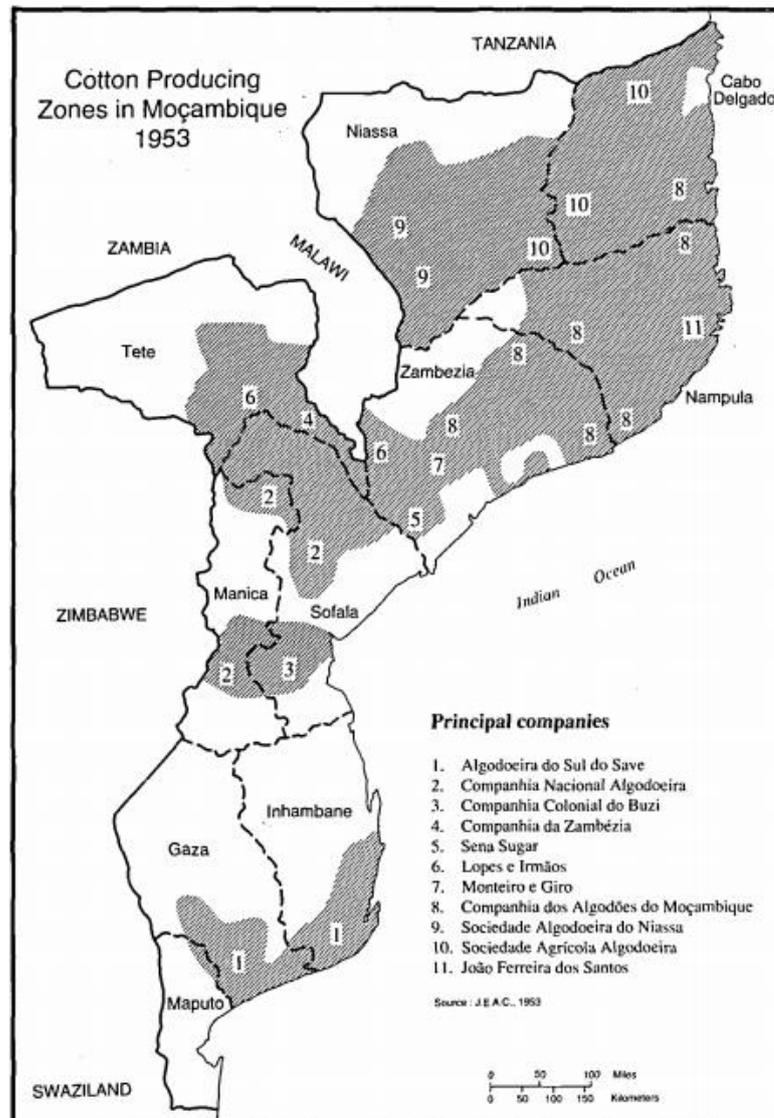
### **5.2.2 COTTON, SISAL AND MIGRATION**

Isaacman (1982) argues that the political economy of northern Mozambique between 1926 and 1960 can be summarised in three phenomena: forced cotton cultivation, European coastal sisal plantations and migration to work on the sisal plantations in Tanganyika. The developments of these processes certainly shape the current politically economic configuration of contemporary Cabo Delgado. In this section, I discuss some of the key aspects of those phenomena.

Portuguese attempts to transform Mozambique into a cotton-growing colony to drive the expansion of the Portuguese textile industry can be traced back to the middle of the eighteenth century (Isaacman & Chilundo 1995). However, the inefficient Portuguese control of the colonies manifested in poor capacity to extract resources. Precisely, the failure of the Republican government (1910-1926) to expand cotton production led to the coup in 1926 and to Salazar's dictatorship in 1928 (Isaacman et al. 1980). Salazar promoted the expansion of cotton production by implementing a system of *chibalo* and granting monopsony power to concession companies within defined areas of influence (*Ibid.*). Although forced cotton cultivation was imposed in several parts of the country, the North of Mozambique, under the control of João Ferreira dos Santos, the Sociedade Agrícola Algodoeira (SAGAL), and the Companhia dos Algodões de Moçambique, became the core of the new forced cotton scheme (Isaacman & Chilundo 1995) see Figure 5.2A below.

In particular, the province of Cabo Delgado was subjected to the control of the SAGAL (Isaacman et al. 1980).

**FIGURE 5.2A COTTON PRODUCING ZONES IN MOZAMBIQUE IN 1953**



SOURCE: ISAACMAN (1992: 494)

Beyond adequate agro-climatic conditions, the critical factor for the production of cotton is labour. Cotton is a labour-intensive crop and its cycle clashes with that of some food crops, thus creating labour and food shortages at particular times of the year (Isaacman and Chilundo 1995). This was one of the reasons why cotton production faced significant peasant resistance, especially in the North (Isaacman 1982). Isaacman et al. (1980) suggest that resistance may have been particularly pronounced in the province of Cabo Delgado because of

poor road conditions and vast unpopulated areas that constrained SAGAL's capacity to monitor cotton cultivation.

Due to these problems, initial increases in cotton production were soon halted. As a counter-measure, Salazar introduced the State Cotton Board (*Junta de Exportação de Algodão*) to intensify the state's control of the cotton system (Isaacman 1982). As a result, SAGAL could expand the concessionary areas to force more peasants into cotton cultivation and increase levels of coercion, with the help of state officials. In addition, labour schedules were periodically renewed to impose longer working hours on cotton fields (*Ibid.*).

Unsurprisingly, peasants received very low prices for the cotton produced. Isaacman (1996) explains that the wage structure was highly differentiated, with northern peasants receiving much lower wages than their southern counterparts. In fact, he argues, while some cotton-growing households could prosper in the South this was much less common in the North, where only a handful of cotton growers, cotton factory workers or truckers could benefit from cotton. In the North, low prices and poor technology meant that the *battle* was mainly played on capacity to extract and mobilise labour. Hence households who could hire extra-familial labour had more opportunities to benefit from cotton while those relying on family labour mostly underwent a process of impoverishment (Isaacman and Chilundo 1995). What households could hire extra-familial labour? For instance, the local chiefs, responsible for monitoring cotton production, were given in return the possibility to use the peasants' labour on their own cotton fields and, at times, received higher prices for the cotton produced (Isaacman et al. 1980). In sum, although cotton was predominantly a source of impoverishment in northern Mozambique, a few could prosper out of cotton-related activities. Thus, the cotton system led to expansion of wage work and exacerbated processes of rural differentiation.

Women faced the greatest difficulties, since they had to perform their usual domestic chores – not considered as work by the colonial state – alongside new tasks in the cotton fields (Isaacman 1996). It is worth quoting the words of Murinova Mpemo at full length:

'When I woke up it was still dark. Before going to my cotton field, I had to fetch water. As soon as I returned home, I had to pound manioc so that it could be made into porridge. I left my oldest daughter in charge of this task. I then went directly to the field for fear of being late. I spent the entire morning weeding cotton. Only in the afternoon I could go to my garden which was far from the cotton field. I was only able to spend a short time there

because I had to return home to gather wood, and prepare food for my children.’ (Group interview with Romeu Mataquenha et al., July 17, 1979, Montepuez in Isaacman & Chilundo 1995: 165).

When the forced cotton regime was established, both men and women had to grow cotton in separate fields, which altered the existing gendered division of labour. O’Laughlin (2013) also highlights that cotton created conflicts between men and women on who should have been responsible for weeding what fields. In addition, tensions between food and cotton production were documented by colonial authorities (Isaacman 1996; O’Laughlin 2013). During the first fifteen years of forced cotton cultivation, malnutrition and famines were observed in northern Mozambique – e.g. Mogovolas (Nampula) was hit by a famine in 1951 and several thousand of peasants died (Isaacman & Chilundo 1995).

Parallel to the force cotton system, there was that of sisal plantations. Although the literature on sisal plantations in northern Mozambique is extremely thin, a number of studies report the existence of some plantations on the coastal areas of Cabo Delgado and Nampula (e.g. Isaacman 1982; Alpers 1984; O’Laughlin 2013). From field research it emerged that one sisal plantation was situated in the district of Metuge near today’s village of Nangua. Existing literature reports that labour employed on sisal plantations was mostly, if not exclusively, male labour. Men worked on the plantations for several months and then returned to their homes (O’Laughlin 2013). This story was confirmed by groups of older men interviewed in the village of Nangua. They also explained that labour was extracted from neighbouring districts, especially from the densely populated district of Chiure. Although cotton and sisal relied on different systems of labour extraction, with different implications on household (gendered) production and reproduction practices, Isaacman et al. (1980) claim that the overall effect of the co-existence of the two systems was to constrain labour availability.

The widespread antipathy for cotton and *chibalo* gave rise to various forms of peasant resistance, such as partial withdrawal of labour from cotton fields or migration to unpopulated areas of Niassa and Cabo Delgado or to Tanganyika (Isaacman et al. 1980). In Mueda, resistance to cotton production was especially fierce because the unfavourable agro-climatic conditions depressed output on the Plateau (Isaacman 1982). To these days, Muedans laughingly remember the practice of cooking the cotton seeds to lead the officials to believe that those lands were not suited for cotton cultivation. Isaacman et al. (1980) argue that hunger and

suffering caused by forced cotton cultivation became one of the principal motifs of Maconde sculpture.

Among other forms of resistance, migration to Tanganyika was significant for the political economy of Cabo Delgado and northern Mozambique. Alpers (1984) stresses that migration to Tanganyika began as a strategy to escape excessive taxation imposed by the Portuguese and, later, intensified with the embitterment of the forced cotton system. Alpers also reports that the majority of the migrants were Maconde, although there are also records of Macua people working on sisal plantations across the borders. Some migrants left the Mozambican territory with their families and relocated in Tanganyika while others, men in this case, migrated for some months to work on the plantations and then returned home. Although the sisal plantations represented the main source of employment for Mozambican migrants, their occupations were not limited to it:

'[...] by the time of Tanganyikan independence in 1961 (and six months before the formation of Frelimo in Dar es Salaam) there were well established Mozambican communities in several parts of Tanganyika. Most, but by no means all, were Maconde. Some were workers on sisal estates who had settled down with their families at the physical periphery of the plantations [...] Some were subsistence farmers who earned the cash that they required through agricultural labour for Maconde cashew nut farmers. Some were peasants who produced surplus cassava for sale on the flourishing market in Southern Province and/or collected beeswax for sale. Some were those peasant-artisans who have made Maconde sculpture in ebony world famous. Finally, we must not forget that there continued to be a steady stream of short term oscillating migrants and peasant producers from Cabo Delgado who annually crossed the Rovuma to sell their labour or their commodities in Tanganyika.'

(Alpers 1984: 379)

The migration to Tanganyika had important economic and political implications. First, returning migrants did not have access to land through kinship ties and therefore used their earnings to buy land on the Mueda plateau and elsewhere (Alpers 1984; Isaacman 1996). Second, their stay in Tanganyika brought these migrants in contact with a fertile and vibrant political environment that paved the way for the birth of the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (FRELIMO), which *de facto* drove the country into the struggle for independence (Isaacman et al. 1980; Alpers 1984).

In today's Cabo Delgado, cotton is no longer grown in the district of Mueda; its production is confined to the southern districts of Montepuez, Balama, Namuno and Ancuabe, which fall within the concession areas administered by Plexus, a

British concessionary company born from the privatisation and subsequent bankruptcy of LOMACO in 2002.<sup>38</sup> Plexus has two branches, one in Nampula and one in Cabo Delgado. The Cabo Delgado branch, situated in the district of Montepuez, currently employs 157 permanent workers and 4691 seasonal workers annually (data collected in 2012). While harvesting is done by cotton farmers, most seasonal workers are employed to transport cotton from the fields to the factory. The majority of workers are recruited locally. If the entire concession area is taken into account (in both Cabo Delgado and Nampula), Plexus is the biggest single employer in northern Mozambique.<sup>39</sup>

As mentioned above, it is hard to identify a single important cash crop grown in Mueda nowadays while sesame seeds production appears to be the most important type of cash crop grown in the interior of Metuge. In the political economy of today's Cabo Delgado, production of cashew nut is an important component but a discussion of this sector is beyond the scope of this work as it does not concern any research site where primary data collection was conducted as part of this research (see Stevano 2013 for a discussion of cashew-nut processing activity in contemporary Cabo Delgado).

In sum, processes of commodification associated with forced cotton and, to a lesser extent, sisal cultivation and associated migration to Tanganyika have certainly had visible implications for the political economy of Cabo Delgado. On the one hand, they triggered or deepened processes of monetisation of the economy and social differentiation and, on the other hand, they had material implications on gendered division of labour and organisation of productive and reproductive activities. In the next section, I turn to discuss processes of change and women's roles in the struggle for independence and post-independence time.

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<sup>38</sup> After independence (1975), the production of cotton decreased and in an attempt to re-launch the sector, a new concession model based on a combination of public and private joint venture companies was implemented between the late 1980s and early 1990s. LOMACO was the concessionary company that controlled the cotton concession in Cabo Delgado from 1986 to 2001 (Tschirley et al. 2006)

<sup>39</sup> This information is based on primary data collected by the author as part of an empirical investigation on private investment in Cabo Delgado in 2012.

## **5.3 WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE AND POST-INDEPENDENCE VISIONS: WHERE DO WOMEN FIT?**

The struggle for liberation and the transition to independence have certainly represented processes of change that concerned Mozambique as a country on the whole, and Cabo Delgado as one of its provinces. A body of literature has been concerned with changing gender roles at times of conflict and with the sustainability of those changes, especially if favourable to women, in post-conflict times. These issues may be particularly relevant in the context of Cabo Delgado where numerous women were recruited in the female detachment of the army to fight the war for independence. I review some of this literature and reflect upon some of its conclusions in relation to the veteran pension scheme that is central to the current political economy configuration of Cabo Delgado (5.3.1).

Moving to the early post-independence time, section 5.3.2 looks at post-independence visions, with a focus on conceptualisations of family and household. I review the existing literature to explore some of the links between structures of production and women's roles within the household. The scope of this section is to create the bases to analyse primary data on household and intra-household dynamics, which will be presented in chapter 7.

### **5.3.1 WOMEN, WAR AND PENSIONS**

'Our mothers led a limited life. Outside the house and, even, inside it they could not speak freely. During the *luta armada* (armed struggle), we lived a different life. We rose to meet the needs of our whole society, not just of husbands and our own children. In this way, we were just like men and we had to be treated just like men' (Basalisa Musa, former member of DF<sup>40</sup>, Pemba, Cabo Delgado, interviewed by Harry West between February 1993 and August 1995, West 2000).

In the late 60s, FRELIMO, the movement for the liberation founded in 1962, consolidated its control and power in the liberated areas of northern Mozambique by incorporating the local authorities into the military structure and institutionalising the participation of girls and women in the *luta armada* (West 2000). The engagement of women in the struggle for liberation was officialised by the formation of the

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<sup>40</sup> Destacamento Feminino (Female Detachment) composed by trained women who served FRELIMO in various ways (West 2000).

*Destacamento Feminino* (Female Detachment, DF henceforth) in 1967, which was constituted by politico-military trained women who contributed to the war in various ways (*Ibid.*). These women became engaged in the actual guerrilla operations to some extent, but mostly in other activities such as transportation of war material and mobilisation of the population, they also grew and prepared food for the soldiers and worked as teachers and nurses in the camps in Tanzania (*Ibid.*). In fact, in a number of interviews conducted with ex-DFs in Mueda and Pemba, it emerged that the role of the DF was principally an auxiliary one to the military operations and the participation in the guerrilla was exceptional. Nonetheless, the interviewed women stressed that their participation in the war was an emancipatory experience. According to Arnfred (1988), women's roles before the war were confined to the family but female participation in the struggle opened up new spaces for women, namely FRELIMO and the *Organização da Mulher Moçambicana* (Mozambican Women Organisation, OMM henceforth).

The OMM was founded in 1972 in order to mobilise non-military trained women. In the first conference of the OMM in 1973, Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, declared that women's emancipation was a key component of revolutionary war (Arnfred 1988). In the same speech, Samora Machel also listed women's contribution to the war struggle for liberation.

Yet, FRELIMO's position in relation to women was not free of contradictions. The OMM always remained a subordinated branch of FRELIMO, since women '*had to be guided by men in order even to see their oppression*' (Kruks and Wisner 1984: 114). The relationship between FRELIMO leaders and members of DF maintained a paternalistic character during the war and for many years after the end of the war (West 2000). Women's emancipation, as conceived by FRELIMO, was the means through which women could be brought into production relations and productive activities (e.g. Davison 1997). Yet, women's roles as mothers, educators, food growers and caregivers were not challenged (Kruks and Wisner 1984).

A strand of literature on gender and conflict is precisely concerned with the transitory nature of women's gains at times of conflict (see Nakamura 2004). Sheldon (1994) sees in the superficiality of these transformations the reason why these changes are not permanent – while some women were military active their main contribution was in the typical female positions as food growers and suppliers. Differently, Arnfred (1988) would argue that gender roles did change as much as women's identity did.

Did women's socio-economic roles change after the two wars - liberation (1964-74) and civil war (1976-92)? Besides different views on this issue, it is evident that the OMM and FRELIMO failed to challenge patriarchal authorities, women's reproductive roles and women's responsibilities in agricultural work (Nakamura 2004). In fact, some programmes implemented by FRELIMO were aimed at educating women to be better mothers and housekeepers (Kruks and Wisner 1984). The policies for women's emancipation derived from the orthodox Marxist view that women are to be economically autonomous in order to be emancipated (Sheldon 1994). Women obtained guarantee of equal rights in the constitution, paid maternity leave of sixty days and time off work to nurse children. However, this legal support applied only to the very few female wage workers and ignored the majority of women working their own or their husband's land (*Ibid.*). Also, I add, it ignored all of the women who, in addition to or in substitution of agricultural work, perform other types of paid work and/or cash-earning activity characterised by high levels of informality.

After the war, leadership roles for women were increasingly limited to the OMM, which was primarily a channel through which the party's directives could be spread, rather than an organism of power. Moreover, members of DF were increasingly replaced in their role of educators by better educated students, generally male and occasionally relatives of FRELIMO's leaders (West 2000). West suggests that women's participation in the war entailed a process of *desexualisation* of female soldiers that led to the dissipation of relationships that could turn into marriage and families in the post-war time. After independence, these unmarried women could choose to go back to their families or to engage in wage employment opportunities in urban centres, and most of them opted for the second option but found it hard to re-build their lives. Most women encountered obstacles in creating new homes and families. Particularly, they complained about the persistent patriarchal attitude of men, even former guerrillas, who did not accept an equality-based relationship with their wives.

These experiences were confirmed by ex-DFs interviewed in Pemba and Mueda as part of this research. Almost all of the respondents had married a former soldier, if married at all, which underlines a common difficulty to re-integrate in their communities of origin. The interviewees explained that DFs were allowed to marry only other soldiers to prevent the leak of confidential military information beyond the army. These women also expressed disillusionment due to the incapacity of younger generations to understand and take advantage of their revolutionary and

emancipatory experience in the war, which confirms the transitory nature of changes in relations of power between men and women that may have taken place during the conflict for independence.

Yet, these sentiments of frustration have been importantly mitigated by the implementation of the veteran pension scheme, started with the second mandate of President Joaquim Chissano in 1994. The veteran pension scheme is a crucial component of the current political and economic configuration of Cabo Delgado and, in particular, Mueda. Although data is dubious, the *Direcção Provincial Para os Assuntos dos Antigos Combatentes* (Provincial Directorate of the Veterans) in Cabo Delgado has registered more than 26,000 veterans in the province and it would appear that almost all of them are now receiving a monthly pension.<sup>41</sup> In the sample of households interviewed as part of the survey, 13 respondents (10 per cent) receive the veteran pension and 38 (31 per cent) have someone in their household, or economically linked to it, who receives a pension.

The structure of the pension scheme is quite complex and has been changed several times since its implementation. Pensions are periodically increased to reflect rising cost of living and there are different ranges, depending on the particular role covered in the military army. So the monthly amount received by each individual depends on when the person began to receive the pension and the position covered in the war. It should suffice to say that the minimum pension is higher than the minimum wage for most sectors. At the time of fieldwork, the minimum veteran pension was 4,582 MZN (equivalent to 88 GBP) while the minimum wage ranged between 2,300 MZN and 5,320 MZN depending on the sector. A few of the interviewed ex-DFs received pensions higher than the minimum; a few interviewees reported receiving up to 9,000 MZN per month.

Beyond the monetary value, which is nonetheless quite significant, pensions are important because they represent one of the very few sources of regular income. In fact, in a context characterised by high unemployment, scarce *regular* employment opportunities (especially for women) and widespread informality, access to regular incomes acquires a critical value in shaping people's lives. Although women's pensions tend to be lower than men's because they covered lower positions in the military hierarchies, in the research settings, access to pensions is one of the very few, if not the only, source of regular income for women.

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<sup>41</sup> This information is based on a report released by the *Direcção* in 2009, newspaper articles and personal communications with the current vice-Minister of the *Ministerio dos Combatentes* and a number of officials at the Provincial Directorate in Pemba.

This clearly has a number of material implications. In an informal and friendly conversation with Marta, who works at the *Pensão Ntima* (guesthouse) in Mueda Sede, she complained about the fact that young women who can rely on their mothers' or grandmothers' pensions want to have children without getting married; in fact, she explained, their mothers and grandmothers encourage them to do so. A tendency for younger people to rely on an older relative's pension was observed throughout fieldwork. It is quite evident that pensions have effects on marital relationship and household dynamics. The veteran pension scheme has direct effects on the lives of those who receive a pension (and their households and families) but they also have wider implications on power relations at the community level, which will be discussed at different point of the thesis.

Through the words of many women pensioners it emerged that many believe that their life conditions have significantly improved since they begin to receive the pension:

'[...] we managed to get a tin roof for our houses, build a well to collect rain water, buy mattresses and chairs, framed beds, hire agricultural labourers and send our children to school' Ana and Helena, pensioners, Namaua (Mueda)

In this sense, the implementation of the pension scheme seems to have attenuated the sentiments of frustration expressed by those who took part in the war. Yet, obtaining access to the pension is an opaque process in itself. Throughout field research, a number of irregularities were observed. The most widespread anomaly is that many people who should not be entitled to the pension, do receive it. For instance, many people who transported materials and participated in auxiliary activities during the war, though not being part of any official section of the army, should not receive a pension but *de facto* many of them do. This happens mostly at the advantage of individuals and households who have connections with socio-political circles of power. By the same token, some people who are entitled to a pension have been waiting for years without obtaining it in some cases. Hence, in conclusion, I am not suggesting that the pension scheme is *positive* in its structure or outcomes; rather, I am interested in taking into consideration some of its effects on the organisation of productive and reproductive activities and on power distribution especially as it represents one of the few sources of regular income available to women. A comprehensive analysis of the veteran pension scheme is well beyond the scope of this work, I do acknowledge though its importance as a driver of social differentiation in the context of Cabo Delgado.

The more recent political debate has revolved around the extension of the pension scheme to the veterans of the civil war (see Alden 2002). However, at the time of fieldwork this re-integration plan had not been launched yet and therefore I am not addressing it here.

### **5.3.2 WOMEN AND THE MODERN FAMILY**

Paradoxically, the women who experienced the war claimed their right to initiation rites, which were considered oppressive to women by the OMM (Sheldon 1994). Initiation rites are the most important gender rituals, in which older women/men teach young girls/boys the secrets of sexual behaviour and performance as well as responsibilities as adults and customs (Davison 1997). The OMM interpreted these rituals as a means through which women were educated to be '*wives under the domination of their husbands*' (Sheldon 1994: 36). However, Arnfred (1988) argues, women perceived the initiation rites as an opportunity to gather together and ensure the persistence of a space where female identity can be built and kept alive. Moreover, the idea of sexuality as a sphere where the male domination over women is confirmed and perpetuated derives from Western cultures, according to Arnfred (2007). After the war, women pursued their fight, now aimed at maintaining '*at least their traditional rights and the sources of power they had had in the past*' (Arnfred 1988: 9).

While FRELIMO's policies revolved around ideas of modernisation and promoted women's emancipation, some have worried that their application may have not been so advantageous for women's social status. Arnfred (2001) argues that the promotion of the nuclear family – sanctioned by the final document of the OMM conference in 1984 – may favour men *vis-a-vis* women in matrilineal and matrilocal communities. A push towards the modern nuclear family can be seen as undermining the importance of brother/sister relationship by shifting it towards a husband/wife type of relationship. The OMM and FRELIMO conceived women's emancipation within a patrilineal context, thus failing to predict the impacts of policies on women living in matrilineal forms of society.

This conclusion may be convincing, however, I believe that the underlying questions need to be partially rephrased and formulated from a different angle. If we are to look at the impact of FRELIMO's modernisation policies on women's roles in the early post-independence time, three questions seem to be worth addressing: a)

whether policies or political discourses translated into actual practices, b) whether policies were based on an accurate visions of the reality and c) whether other aspects in the organisation of (household) production drove and/or interacted with familial relationships.

Discourses and practice may present points of disconnection. Discourses and policies aimed at promoting the nuclear family and at discrediting initiation rites as obsolete and discriminatory may have not translated into actual practices, or may have done so only partially. In the course of the thesis, I provide different examples of gaps between language and practice. In particular, in chapter 7, I describe these issues in relation to the notions and practices of *household* and *family*. With regards to Arnfred's analysis, I question whether the push from brother/sister to husband/wife relationship is *de facto* attributable to FRELIMO's promotion of the nuclear family, whether women had authority before such shift, and whether that type of matrilineal relationship was still foundational in northern Mozambican societies at the time of independence.

In a study of cotton growing households in the province of Nampula, Pitcher (1996) argues that matrilineal and matrilocal mechanisms of land inheritance were persistent in the early 1990s, time of her study, despite the impact of *colonial-capitalism* and FRELIMO's campaign for modernisation. According to Pitcher, women's authority is manifested in their capacity to inherit land, participation in cash cropping and control over food granaries and translates in intra-household joint income management, meaning that husband and wife shared responsibility for income control and use. Yet, she explains that joint decision-making and income management was common among the households with smaller landholdings. In fact, the households with the largest landholdings in her survey acquired land through market mechanisms (rented or purchased) that transcend matrilocal patterns of land inheritance.

Although Pitcher's overall conclusions stress the importance of intra-household cooperation and women's retained authority on particular spheres, it seems that the mechanisms through which matrilineal-matrilocal mechanisms of land inheritance become subordinated to other logics deserve greater consideration. This variation suggests that household dynamics and intra-household gender relations of power may depend on wealth levels. In other words, intra-household gender relations are determined by processes of social differentiation and thence are not uniformly immune to processes of commodification that trigger opportunities

for capital accumulation. For instance, another of the very few studies that look in detail at household and intra-household decision-making in Mozambique, seems to confirm that levels of income and wealth, and not only distribution, matter in the practices of income control and use. Pfeiffer (2003) conducted an anthropological study of households in the Shona patrilineal communities in the Manica province in northern Mozambique and found that women's access to incomes '*above a certain threshold*' can result in a shift in intra-household bargaining power.

In addition, Pfeiffer (2003) describes similar patterns of household gender division of labour to those documented by Pitcher (1996), which may indicate that joint decision-making and income management is not a sign of women's authority in matrilineal and matrilocal societies. His findings show that the most common type of income management among the studied households was separate control of income with the husband giving a cash allowance to the wife, then another group of households opted for exclusive male control of income and only a few reported joint control of income. Yet, Pfeiffer shows how variation occurs within each category and, in particular, he warns that mechanisms of cooperation between husband and wife occur even when incomes are not pooled, thus making the analysis of the differences between women's and men's uses of income highly complex. In addition, he contextualises intra-household decision-making practices within a broader context:

'However, the descriptive data presented here reveal a trend toward family nucleation, declining interhousehold and kin support, and greater intrahousehold sharing (however conflictive) of resources such as *machambas* [fields] and cash income in order to survive an increasingly commodified economic environment. The intensified reliance upon cash income for survival among smaller, more socially isolated, households places additional stresses on relationships within the home. This reliance is revealed most starkly in the critical need for cash to purchase food when reserves become depleted, to buy higher-quality animal-source proteins, and to pay for labor in clearing *machambas* or transporting harvested crops.' (Pfeiffer 2003:122)

In this context, Pfeiffer concludes that although cooperation may not signal women's authority, it could be a sensible strategy for women to take advantage of men's access to wider cash earning opportunities. Therefore, although different in substance and conclusions, Pitcher's and Pfeiffer's analyses are insightful because they link intra-household gender conflict, cooperation and income management with economic relations of production and processes of change. They are both

concerned with relating household practices of social reproduction with those of production, which I also identify as a useful route to take.

To go back to FRELIMO's policies of modernisation, a strand of literature has criticised FRELIMO's agrarian policy for being informed by a misleading *dualistic conception* of Mozambican agrarian societies based on the coexistence of subsistence farmers and a few commercial enterprises (O'Laughlin 1996; Wuyts 2001).

'Frelimo's policies were based on the notion of a 'subsistence peasantry': the belief that the peasantry could always feed itself, that colonial forced labour and cropping had kept the population from becoming structurally dependent on the market, and that there was no systematic relation between labour and food markets' (O'Laughlin 2013: 189)

As a consequence, Frelimo's policies focused on household production and promoted subsistence food production to ensure food security and social reproduction. According to O'Laughlin (2013) persistent reliance on (partial) non-commodified production is one of the tendencies that describe how power relations of class, gender and race shape patterns of rural health inequality in the Southern Africa region today. In her seminal exercise to construct a *political economy of affliction* to analyse how processes of structural change such as commodification of the economies and proletarianisation of sizeable portions of rural populations determine health inequalities, O'Laughlin takes cotton production in Nampula as one case study. She documents how cassava cultivation was promoted as a substitute for maize and/or millet due to the less demanding labour requirements. However, she explains, cassava still needs a long time to be processed and prepared, which combined with women's reduced time for these activities, has increased the risk of *konzo* (a disease caused by excessive consumption of unprocessed or poorly processed cassava). Importantly, O'Laughlin explains that Frelimo's policies aimed at restricting consumption especially in rural areas, where populations could live of subsistence production, made households that had to rely on casual wage-labour especially vulnerable to *konzo*.

Frelimo's misconception(s) may have not only concerned matrilineal societies in northern Mozambique, as claimed by Arnfred (1988), but they have been more profoundly related to the nature of agrarian societies, their structures of production and associated practices of social reproduction. In her study of Nampula, Pitcher notes:

'On the positive side, women in the family sector of northern Mozambique are not only engaging in domestic duties but participating in income-generating activities too. On the the negative side, their considerable domestic duties prevent them from taking up additional opportunities to accumulate more cash. Neither the existence of the OMM nor the attention given to women's issues by the government appears to have altered women's domestic responsibilities' (Pitcher 1996: 101)

It is certainly true that women retained and continue to retain reproductive and domestic responsibilities but it would also be important to note that women's participation in paid work and cash-earning activities within and beyond the agricultural sector has often been overlooked. Looking at the processes of livelihood diversification and social differentiation is important not only to analyse women's roles and gender relations but also their effects on well-being outcomes through allocation of labour and time use.

## **5.4 CONCLUSIONS**

In a recent report on agriculture and nutrition in Mozambique, Chung (2012) has argued that too often programmes and policies are based on assumptions on gender roles that have not been stated explicitly or possibly not even investigated. Some general assumptions, such as assuming that women are primarily responsible for child care, house work and domestic production, may be sensible but others on resource control and use, for example, need to be accurately verified.

In this chapter, I have introduced the reader to the province of Cabo Delgado, with a focus on the specific research settings where primary data collection was conducted. In so doing, I have highlighted some of the characteristics of the studied context that are functional to understanding issues that are relevant to this work.

Some of the major historical events and processes of change that occurred in northern Mozambique were described and used as a lens through which looking at women's roles and gender relations of power in northern Mozambican societies, especially the Macua and the Maconde.

Having highlighted some of the links between organisation of production, (household) social reproduction and decision-making practices, I conclude that a thorough analysis of women's roles at the societal and household level should be situated at the intersection between processes of structural change and household

dynamics. In this light, this chapter has set the bases for analysing the empirical evidence collected in Cabo Delgado.

## 6

# WOMEN'S WORK IS NOT A DUMMY VARIABLE

## AN ANALYSIS OF WOMEN'S PAID AND UNPAID WORK IN CABO DELGADO

*Marta walks to the baixa (lowlands of Mueda) four times a week. She needs to leave Mueda Sede, where she lives, at around midnight to get to the fields in the baixa in the very early morning (in Cabo Delgado the sun raises as early as 4am) and get the best agricultural produce. Marta goes to the baixa because she can fill a basket of tomatoes, spring greens, bean and pumpkin leaves, salad, onions and peppers for just 200 meticaís. Then she walks back or, if she can afford it, takes a chapa to come back to Mueda Sede.*

*Marta told me that sometimes she goes with some friends who are traders like her. Two of them, Josefina and Fatima, were sitting with us in the Pensão Ntima the day this conversation happened. Josefina and Fatima walk to the baixa only twice a week though as, they explained, they need to look after small children.*

*'Do you have children?', I asked Marta. She did not.*

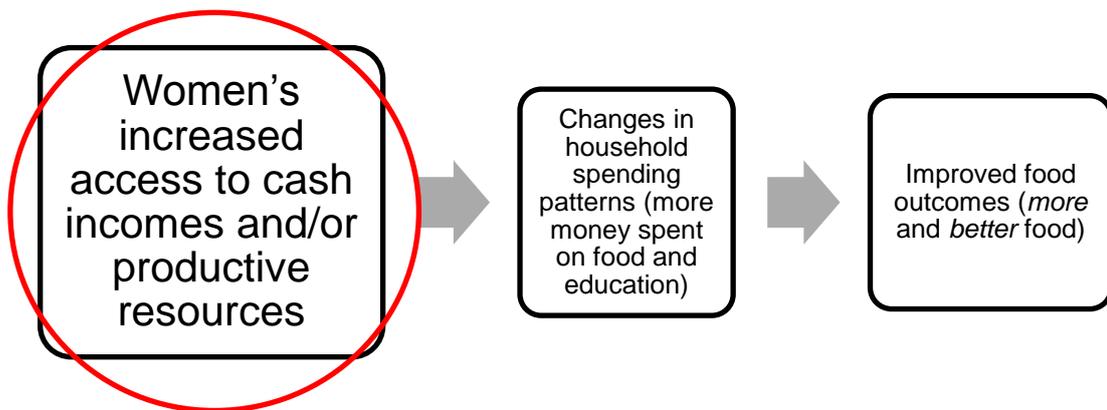
*Marta said that she is trying to save money to build her house – it means she will hire workers to build the house. She said it is good to have this negócio (business activity) because so that she does not have to rely on the husband's money to buy food. (Field notes)*

Narratives of women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities in sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere in low-income countries have been subject to a number of biases, most notably poor consideration or neglect of wage employment, especially in rural areas, and reduction of women's employment to engagement in small-scale entrepreneurial activities (see chapter 2).

This chapter focuses on the first component of the theory of change described in chapters 2 and 3 – see figure below – and addresses the first research question formulated in chapter 2:

- ❖ What are the types of paid work and/or cash-earning activities women engage with? In other words, how do women access cash incomes?

The chapter presents the findings related to women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities, bringing together qualitative and quantitative evidence collected in Cabo Delgado. In so doing, it challenges the myths that depict women as subsistence farmers and/or small-scale entrepreneurs and highlights the interconnectedness of paid and unpaid work and responsibilities.



Section 6.1 maps the types and characteristics of paid work and cash-earning activities observed in Cabo Delgado and questions the use of standardised categories to collect labour data and analyse it. A sub-section (6.1.3) focuses on issues of social differentiation to stress that women, and equally women's participation in paid work, should not be treated as a homogeneous category. Section 6.2 instead looks at unpaid work and gendered allocation of labour between paid and unpaid work and concludes by underlining instances of men's interference with women's participation in paid work.

## **6.1 BEYOND NARRATIVES ON SUBSISTENCE FARMING AND FEMALE ENTERPRISE**

With the intention to challenge simplistic narratives that portray women as subsistence farmers and small-scale entrepreneurs, this section is dedicated to highlighting and discussing three issues: a) there are gaps between language and practice whereby language and discourses reproduce the subsistence farming narrative although this may not reflect the reality (6.1.1); b) women engage in a

variety of farm and off-farm activities and often, in combinations of self- and wage employment, which break through standardised labour categories (6.1.2) and c) women are not a homogeneous group and processes of social differentiation shape the ways in which women access incomes (6.1.3).

### **6.1.1 'I'M A FARMER': GAPS BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND PRACTICE**

According to 2004-05 IFTRAB data,<sup>42</sup> 81.9 per cent of the population above 15 years old in Cabo Delgado is employed and employment rates are higher for women (85.6 per cent) than for men (78.9 per cent). The INE (Mozambican National Institute of Statistics) adopts the ILO's definition of employment, whereby an individual is considered employed if s/he has dedicated at least one hour in the last seven days prior to the interview to the production of goods or services for a cash payment or helped a family member with the production of goods or services without a payment. For instance, seasonal workers are thus excluded from this definition of employment.

A distinction between primary and secondary occupation was used in the collection of the IFTRAB data. In the province of Cabo Delgado, the agricultural sector featured as the single most important source of primary occupation for men and women (88 per cent of the workers are employed in agriculture). Percentages of population involved in a secondary occupation are much lower (7.1 per cent) and predominantly composed by men (only 2.6 per cent of women was engaged in a secondary activity). These statistics support the idea that women tend to be employed in the agricultural sector as farmers. Is this picture realistic?

Data collection on (women's) work has been the most challenging part of fieldwork for a variety of reasons that will become clear in this chapter. In this section, I discuss one particular reason and its association with distorted conceptualisations of agrarian societies.

A widespread tendency to report farming as the *sole* economic activity performed was found among many rural residents, especially women. Throughout field research in rural areas, the most immediate answer to the question '*What do you do for a living?*' was '*I am farmer*'. Yet, the use of participant observation and the possibility to spend a considerable amount of time in the studied context

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<sup>42</sup> IFTRAB is the Labour Force Survey conducted by the National Institute of Statistics in Mozambique in 2004-2005.

indicated unequivocally that rural households do engage in a variety of farm and off-farm paid work and cash-earning activities, some of which are more visible than others. Moreover, different strands of the literature have documented and conceptualised the pervasiveness of rural labour markets in Mozambique (Cramer, Oya and Sender 2008) and elsewhere (Oya 2013), and of off-farm activities (Bryceson 1999).<sup>43</sup> Informed by these theoretical and empirical observations, several additional questions were used in the household survey interviews to find out what other types of productive activities the respondents performed. Eventually, not only did interviewees report engaging with productive activities other than farming but, in many occasions, they performed a combination of paid work and cash-earning activities.

We know that if the question asked is on the *main* economic activity performed, it yields 'self-employed farmer' as the most typical answer, thus obscuring both rural wage employment and off-farm activities (Oya 2013). Surely, this explains why many rural respondents claim that farming their *machambas* (fields) is what they do for living. Yet, it is not entirely clear that farming is the *most important* activity for rural households, in terms of economic contribution to the household and/or time spent on it. Field research has shown that self-identification with the image of self-employed farmers may not reflect current practices in two ways. First, farming is often combined with other productive activities and this holds for both men and women, which contradicts the notion of *subsistence* farming. Second, farming may not constitute the main source of income and/or sustenance for rural households. So farming may not always be the predominant livelihood. While there is certainly a tendency to farm own land, or hire agricultural labourers to do so, alongside other activities, there is evidence that (agricultural) wage work and off-farm sources of income are also crucial for households' social reproduction.

How can such bias in under-reporting productive activities other than farming be interpreted then? This work suggests that the narratives on subsistence farming construct themselves creating gaps between language and practice. The idea that subsistence farming *should* be what rural residents do traces back to colonial narratives and post-independence Frelimo's political vision and strategy (O'Laughlin 1996), as discussed in chapter 5. In a way, respondents' attitude to describe

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<sup>43</sup> By juxtaposing these strands of literature in this paragraph, I do not intend to suggest that they lie on similar theoretical grounds – they do not, in fact. I rather use them together to point out the fact that different strands of literature have documented how activities other than subsistence farming are important to rural households and livelihoods.

themselves as farmers is the by-product of political narratives but, simultaneously, it contributes to the reproduction of those same narratives over time. This is corroborated by the fact that not only respondents are reluctant to report activities other than farming but they are also reticent about selling agricultural produce – i.e. practicing commercial, not subsistence, farming. Arguably, this is also associated with hesitancy to give information on household’s or individual’s access to cash earnings and, therefore, wealth. Both arguments also explain why women may be less willing than men to declare that they perform activities other than subsistence farming, which was observed throughout field research and, especially, during the implementation of the household survey. Women are *socially expected* to be subsistence farmers on their own or family’s *machamba(s)*<sup>44</sup> and their ability to earn cash incomes may be *socially considered* less important than men’s (see section 4.3.3 in chapter 4). Although these *models* do not reflect current practices, they do shape language use and, at times, people’s self-perceptions.

In fact, several interviews with *cash-earning* women (see box 6.1) offered an

**BOX 6.1 DEFINITION OF CASH-EARNING AND NON-CASH-EARNING**

As explained in chapter 4 (section 4.3.3), I classify as *cash-earning* the respondents who have worked for at least a day in the year before the interview on any type of paid work and/or cash-earning activity that was remunerated in cash. Conversely, I classify as *non-cash-earning* the respondents who have not performed any day of paid work and/or cash-earning activity in the year before the interview.

insight into the extensiveness of women’s participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities. Although the number of observations is limited (120), the household survey did confirm that women significantly engage with a combination of wage work and cash-generating activities (in addition to farming their *machambas* in many cases): 74 per cent of the sample reported performing economic activities other than farming in the year prior to the interview. It is evident that commodification of the economy and lack of employment opportunities force all

household members into cash-earning activities and create incentives to diversify household productive activities. Life histories and in-depth interviews have also revealed that at times revenues from one activity are re-invested to sustain another one. The story of Eusebio and Catarina illustrates this practice.

<sup>44</sup> *Machamba* (*machambas*, pl.) is a Mozambican Portuguese word that means plot of land.

Eusebio is originally from the district of Namuno, where he used to grow cotton.<sup>45</sup> He got married to Catarina (originally from the province of Nampula) and then they moved together to Nangua (Metuge), where Eusebio had some relatives. After moving to Nangua, Eusebio tried to grow cotton with scarce success – Metuge is outside the concession area managed by Plexus – and so he switched to production of sesame seeds, which is the main cash crop in the district of Metuge. Networks of sesame seeds buyers from Pemba and elsewhere and NGOs' support<sup>46</sup> facilitate sesame seeds production in Metuge and helped Eusebio make good earnings from sales of sesame seeds. With that revenue, he hired workers to build a new house and bought land and a motorbike. Not only though, he is also using parts of the proceeds from sales of sesame seeds to finance a *barraca* (small shop in the village), Catarina's *negócio de matapa* (trade and sale of green leaves between Nangua and Pemba) and to hire agricultural labourers on his *machambas*. In fact, Catarina and Eusebio used to do *kibarua* (work as casual agricultural labourers) up to 2008, when the cash earnings from sesame seeds were sufficient not only to free them from the need to engage with agricultural wage work but also to be able to start sustaining other productive activities and, ultimately, hire agricultural labourers.

This story touches upon some crucial issues such as (rural) social differentiation and men's economic contributions to female-run cash-earning activities, which will be addressed later on in this chapter. For now, it serves to exemplify how households diversify their productive activities by shuffling parts of cash revenues from one activity to others.

That of Eusebio and Catarina is story of social differentiation and class mobility, triggered by a process of accumulation that allowed them to purchase land and durable goods and, importantly, become net labour hirers. In this sense, this story is exceptional but, at the same time, it describes the widespread multiplicity and interconnectedness of occupations. This practice, commonly observed across wealthier and less wealthy households in the province of Cabo Delgado, has two key implications. First, it results in high degrees of variation in terms of types of work, regularity – i.e. some activities are seasonal or and/or are run only where there is sufficient cash to finance them (which can mean very sporadically in many cases) while others are performed on a more regular basis – and capacity to economically

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<sup>45</sup> Namuno is the most south-western district of Cabo Delgado and is situated within the concession area of Plexus – see chapter 5.

<sup>46</sup> One of the NGOs that support the production of sesame seeds is the Aga Khan Foundation, which is well-established in the province of Cabo Delgado.

contribute to the household, whether it is referred to the activity itself or to the individual performing it. Second, the intersected character of household productive activities makes it difficult to identify the *prevailing* activities in terms of financial returns or time dedicated to it, thus further proving that identification of rural residents as *subsistence farmers* is inaccurate and misleading.

To return to the findings yielded by the household survey, it is interesting to note that the bulk of *non-cash-earning* women (see box 6.1) were found in the urban context of Pemba. Survey data shows that 87.5 per cent of rural respondents are *cash-earning* – this figure is even higher (92.5 per cent) for the Mueda’s residents. Instead, the percentage of *cash-earning* women is much lower (47.5 per cent) among the respondents in Pemba. Note importantly that farming for own-consumption is not included in the working definition of *cash-earning*, so numbers in rural areas are not driven upward by higher incidence of farming. These findings sit at odds with two common narratives: that rural women are predominantly subsistence farmers and that women’s participation in the informal economy is mostly an urban phenomenon.

**TABLE 6.1A PERCENTAGE OF CASH-EARNING AND NON-CASH-EARNING RESPONDENTS BY DISTRICT**

	<b>% <i>cash-earning</i> respondents</b>	<b>% <i>non-cash-earning</i> respondents</b>
<b>Pemba (= total urban)</b>	47.5	52.5
<b>Metuge</b>	82.5	17.5
<b>Mueda</b>	92.5	7.5
<b>Metuge and Mueda (= total rural areas)</b>	87.5	12.5

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA<sup>47</sup>

How can the difference between urban and rural areas be explained? Survey interviews show that household sources of income tend to differ between

<sup>47</sup> The phrase ‘created by the author using survey data’, used here and in several other tables and figures in subsequent chapters, indicates that the data source is the household survey conducted by the author in Cabo Delgado in between April and June 2012.

urban and rural areas in that urban (male) residents have greater access to *regular* employment – indicating jobs that pay regular incomes.<sup>48</sup> Greater income security, mostly deriving from men’s jobs, reduces the necessity for other household adult members to engage in paid work and/or cash-earning activities. In particular, the data collected show that men’s access to regular incomes discourages women from participating in cash-earning activities. This suggests that gender norms interact with (lack of) economic necessity: economic necessity can change gender norms that, to generalise, see men as primary responsible for earning cash and bringing it to the household but existing norms may prevail in circumstances of relative economic stability. It also indicates that one key reason why women are or become *cash-earning* is economic necessity and not aspirations for emancipation, although their participation in cash-earning activities can lead to increased status and emancipation.

### 6.1.2 A MAP OF WOMEN’S WORK: FLIMSY CATEGORIES AND GREAT DIVERSITY

Having showed that the story this work aims to tell goes much beyond subsistence farming, in this section an attempt is made to map the variety of occupations performed by women, thus showing how conceptualisations of work as a continuum between *cash-earning* and *non-cash-earning* are more appropriate than dichotomies. It will become evident how even activities that can be defined as entrepreneurial embody high degrees of variation and hence need further definition. Mapping market activities women and households engage with is challenging because of high levels

#### BOX 6.2 WORK-RELATED TERMINOLOGY

***Kibarua*** (Macua), ***Chibalugwa*** (Shimaconde), ***Ganho-ganho*** (Mozambican Portuguese) all refer to task-based wage work. It can be agricultural work or otherwise. The key characteristic is that it is paid (in cash – often – or in kind – rarely) by task so physical ability and effort are crucial determinants of overall payments. In the case of agricultural work, a task is normally defined in relation to a specific portion of land.

***Negócio*** (Portuguese) refers to any type of cash-earning activity identified as self-employment (*por conta propria*) although, as explained in the last section of this chapter, it may refer to disguised forms of wage employment.

<sup>48</sup> Regular is intentionally used instead of *formal* because the formal/informal dichotomy is not analytically meaningful or useful in the context of Cabo Delgado and to stress that access to regular incomes is a more important differentiating factor than access to formal employment in itself.

of diversity and multiplicity of occupations.

To provide the reader with a visual snapshot of the types of work (and some related characteristics) recorded in the field sites, a map of female work based on the household survey data was created – see Figure 6.1A. There are some types of work that were not captured in the survey’s random sample – for instance, qualitative interviews were conducted with women working as *empregadas* (domestic servants) in Pemba and Mueda and with traders of agricultural produce in Mueda but these categories were not represented in the survey. A *caveat* follows: this map is not exhaustive and is intentionally based *only* on survey data for internal consistency. It is acknowledged that there are types of work that do not feature in the map but, qualitative research has provided reasons to be confident that the types of work captured by the survey do describe some key features of women’s access to cash incomes. The bracketed figures indicate the number of respondents performing a particular type of work and, obviously, one respondent can be counted in different categories according to the number of paid work and/or cash-earning activities performed. The reason for showing the figures disaggregated by district is that the ways in which women access incomes are context-specific, despite some important general characters (these issues will be discussed below).

A specific remark needs to be made on the use of ‘farmer’ as a category. This category indicates those respondents that farm their land – whether the agricultural produce is for own consumption or commercial use – and also perform other forms of paid work and/or cash-earning activities alongside farming. As the focus remains on access to cash income, the inclusion of the *farmer* category in the map serves the scope to identify the multiplicity of occupations women engage with especially in rural areas, which has implications on time use and diets. It needs to be noted that in the rural districts of Metuge and Mueda high numbers of interviewees are farmers and, in addition, perform other activities (whether it is paid work, mostly *ganho-ganho*, or *negócios*)<sup>49</sup> – 30 out of 40 in Metuge and 36 out of 40 respondents in Mueda. Interestingly, it is possible to identify reasons why a few respondents do not fall into this category: a) pensions – the four respondents in Mueda who are *non-cash-earning* receive a pension and hire *ganho-ganho* workers on their fields – b) reliance on husband’s income – e.g. women married to self-employed fishermen in Metuge and c) illness, which was given as the cause for not working or farming in three cases.

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<sup>49</sup> See Box 6.2 on work-related terminology.

Although the map may give the impression that categories are well-defined, it needs to be underlined that it is possible to pigeonhole activities by *type* category only by stretching the boundaries of each category and tolerating high degrees of variation with each category. Categories are much less clear-cut and more flimsy than it may appear *prima facie*. Three main reasons account for the lack of uniformity:

a) Same types of paid work and *negócios* differ internally by regularity, economic returns, context-related factors such as access to relevant markets and 'control' over the activity itself;

b) At times it is hard to identify if a *negócio* is ascribable to a particular individual within the household (a woman, for the purposes of our study). For instance, in many of the interviews conducted in Metuge the respondent said that she sells agricultural produce with the husband. Assessing if responsibility for that *negócio* is actually shared between husband and wife is a complex and (to some extent) arbitrary exercise;<sup>50</sup>

c) Qualitative interviews revealed that respondents enter and leave particular work-related categories frequently. Reasons given for temporary *unemployment* are illness, bad harvest – i.e. impossibility to sell agricultural produce – and lack of finances to sustain a *negócio*. These issues will be addressed later on in this chapter, for now it is important to note that respondents' *belonging* to particular work-related categories is dependent on a number of contingencies and changing factors.

For instance, consider the story of Ermina (Pemba). She is married to Pedro, who works as a self-employed builder and tailor. Ermina has worked as a cleaner at the missionary nuns' centre in Pemba for five years, up to March 2011. At the time of the interview (April 2012), she was looking for another job. For the purposes of the survey, she has been classified as *non-cash-earning* although her previous job certainly has an influence on her and her family's welfare. This is important in terms of classification *per se* and assessment of the effects of earning an income.

The lack of job security – encountered in *informal* jobs but also in several *formal* jobs<sup>51</sup> – means that people, women especially, walk in and out of paid work

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<sup>50</sup> When this issue arose, the respondent has been classified as *cash-earning*, for internal consistency.

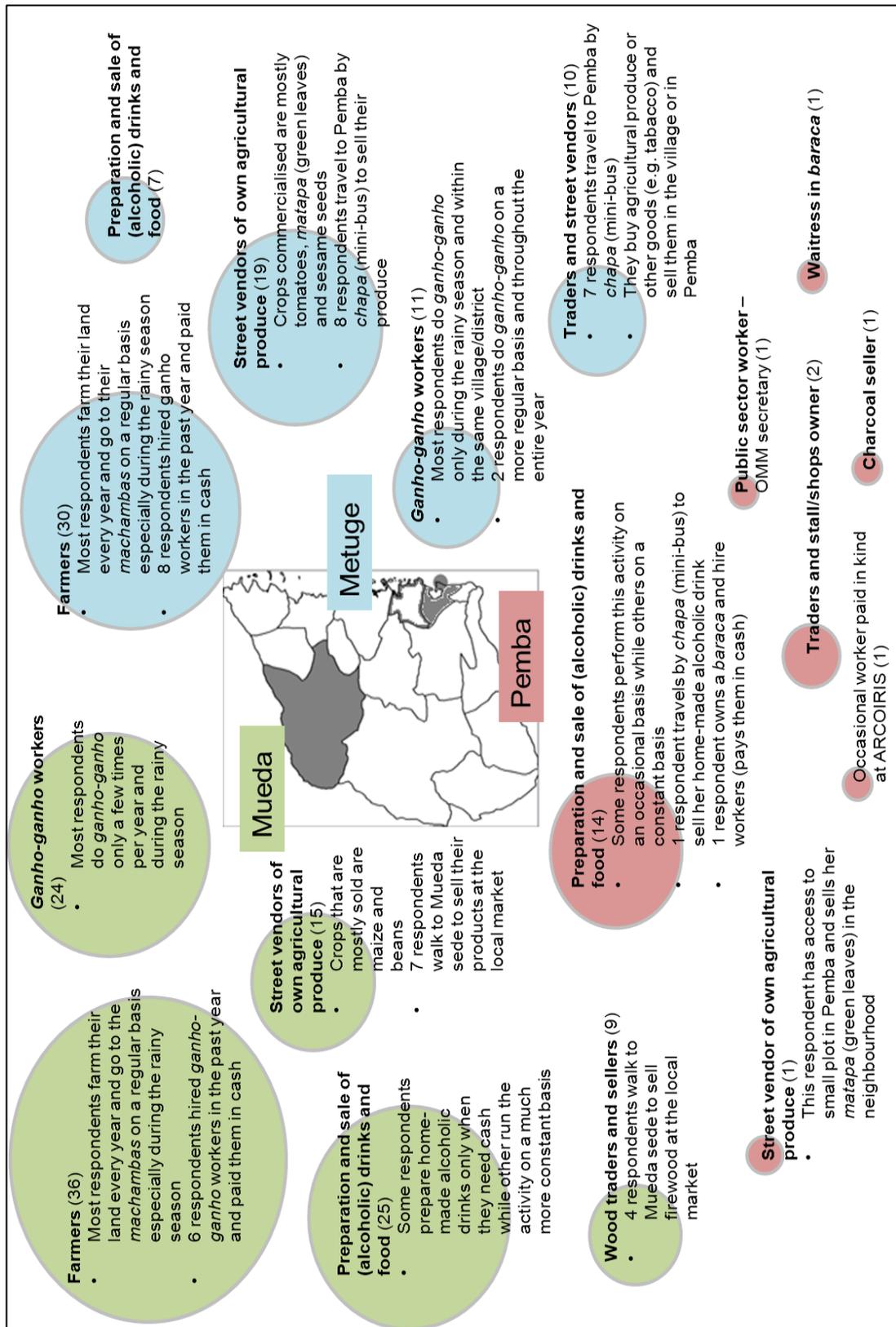
<sup>51</sup> Interviews conducted with workers of the cashew-nut processing factory in Chiure (Southern district of Cabo Delgado) show that there is little difference in the working

frequently. The same holds for *negócios*, which are intermittently abandoned depending on the temporary possibility to finance them. In fact, the notions of *unemployment* and *job search*, present in Sofina's story, are absent in the majority of other stories collected in Cabo Delgado. In the questionnaire, questions to uncover the reasons for being out of work were included but in very few occasions, these questions did work. Understanding why these questions did not work highlights the *heuristic value* of conducting a household survey (Kandiyoti 1999). In fact, the re-iteration of the same set of questions was the most effective way to understand that certain questions did not work because they referred to categories that were not shared by the respondents. Qualitative research was then crucial to investigate why some categories are not shared. The findings conform to a body of literature that is critical of structured labour force categories (e.g. Oya 2013) and show that the lack of employment opportunities and security result in ideas of work that do not fall into neat temporal spaces – i.e. being employed/unemployed, working on specific days and/or hours and relative payments.

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conditions of formally contracted workers and informal ones – see Stevano (2013). Among working conditions, the lack of job security is especially striking across the board.

FIGURE 6.1A MAP OF WOMEN'S PAID WORK



SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

The rest of this section is dedicated to addressing specific aspects of paid work and cash-earning activities to highlight the intrinsic complexity and degree of variation. This discussion is based on both survey data and material collected through qualitative research, especially life histories and in-depth qualitative interviews conducted in the final phase of fieldwork.

### *Type of work*

As it is visible from the map, women engage in a variety of paid work and/or cash-earning activities. As mentioned above, this diversity is better addressed by district because some work-related features are context-specific.

In the town of Pemba, the bulk of *cash-earning* respondents are found in the area of commercialisation of (alcoholic) drinks and food. Alcoholic drinks can be home-made – the most common type found in Pemba is *cabanga* (fermented drink made of dried maize) – or industrially-produced – i.e. beers and Rhino gin. While commercialisation of home-made alcoholic drinks can take place in a *barraca* but also in someone's yard, sale of beers and other industrially-produced drinks tends to be limited to *barracas* and restaurants. Many respondents lamented the difficulties encountered in selling home-made alcoholic drinks due to growing preference for beers and, especially, for the cheap and heavy Rhino (10 MZN per bottle, equivalent to 0.2 GBP). Preparation and sale of alcoholic drinks was the most widespread single type of work recorded in Pemba. Other *negociós* include preparation and sale of *gelinho* (iced fruit juice), *agua gelada* (cold water) – which require a freezer – *mandaze* (balls of fried bread) and *bajía* (balls of fried bean flour).

In Nangua (Metuge district), the majority of the respondents farm their land *and* engage with some form of paid work, mostly *kibarua*, and/or cash-earning activities. There are mainly three types of *negócios*: commercialisation of own agricultural produce (within same village/district or in Pemba), trade of agricultural produce (between Metuge and Pemba) and preparation/sale of alcoholic drinks and food. Clearly, proximity to the urban market of Pemba creates economic opportunities for agricultural production and commercialisation. For cash crops, mostly sesame seeds in Metuge, traders travel to the district to buy from the producers. For other crops that are produced for both own consumption and commercial use, such as green leaves and tomatoes, producers and traders travel from Metuge to Pemba to sell. Women are mostly involved in this second type of

trade – especially trade of *matapa* (green leaves) seems to be female-dominated at all stages: production, acquisition, trade and sale.<sup>52</sup>

Likewise, in Nandimba (Mueda district), most respondents farm their land *and* engage with some form of paid work, mostly *chibalugwa*, and/or cash-earning activity. Although some respondents sell their agricultural produce – mostly maize and beans – within the same village or in Mueda sede (main village in the district), distance from a lively urban market limits the scope for agricultural production. Sales take place on a more sporadic basis than in Metuge, on average. Research conducted with women's agricultural associations revealed a common problem associated with scarce opportunities for commercialisation of agricultural produce. Impossibility to rely on one or two *principal* source(s) of income explain why in the context of Mueda numbers tend to be higher in each work category, thus indicating that multiplicity of occupations may be more pronounced in Mueda. Several respondents prepare and sell home-made alcoholic drinks, mostly *ugwalua* (drink made of fermented maize). Some respondents collect, trade and sell firewood. It is interesting to note that in Mueda the use of charcoal to cook is still extremely limited (almost absent), which is the reason why women run this type of *negócio*: in contexts where charcoal is commercialised, it tends to be a male-dominated activity.

So far, the findings are in line with stories that see women as mostly occupied in agriculture- and food-related activities, in Sub-Saharan African countries but contradict unequivocally those that describe women as subsistence farmers. In turn, the reasons why these categories need further specification are explained.

### *Regularity*

Besides farming, which tends to be performed according to agricultural cycles and hence follows seasonal but regular patterns, the performance of other types of work ranges from *regularly* (in similar forms to full-time jobs) to *very sporadically* (a few times per year). Yet, it is hard to quantify these differences due to the difficulty to use comparable units, such as working months per year, working days per month and working hours per day. In a rather circular way, the lack of comparable units has to do with the lack of regular work patterns *per se*.

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<sup>52</sup> Research conducted in the markets of Pemba and elsewhere in Cabo Delgado showed that occupations in food markets are gendered and people working at *matapa* and other vegetables stalls tend to be women.

*Ganho-ganho* in agriculture is performed mostly during the rainy season (running from December to February), although a few respondents said that they do it throughout the year. In fact, most respondents attributed their limited practice of *ganho-ganho* to the fact that *ganho-ganho* opportunities arise in the rainy season and it is difficult to find them at other times of the year. *Ganho-ganho* is not limited to agricultural work, it was explained that women can grind maize or wash clothes for a payment but none of the interviewed women reported doing this type of paid work. Therefore, female *ganho-ganho* has a marked seasonal character.<sup>53</sup> Yet, the number of times women do *ganho-ganho* during the rainy season can vary depending on a number of factors, such as possibility to overlook work on own *machambas* (because there are other family members that can provide their labour, for instance) and social networks. The practice of looking for *ganho-ganho* was described as a process of *pedir* (asking): everyone knows who hires agricultural workers but being well connected to them clearly helps. Some respondents said that in the past year they did *ganho-ganho* only a few times (2-3) during the rainy season while others reported practicing it more often (10-15) in the same time period. In general, it would appear that in Mueda *ganho-ganho* was performed by more respondents but on a more sporadic basis, relative to Metuge. The interactions between seasonality, price fluctuations and incidence of *ganho-ganho* have important food-related implications, which will be discussed in chapter 9.

Similarly, the other types of *negócio* described above can be run regularly or not depending primarily on the possibility to finance them. When the *negócio* sustains itself, its continuity depends on the daily returns, which can be highly unpredictable. Some respondents said that it happens that they incur financial losses, which at times was offered as the explanation for abandoning a *negócio*. Even when the resources to finance a *negócio* are drawn from another activity, then its realisation is dependent on the outcomes of the other activity. Although there is one category for women working in preparation and sale of alcoholic drinks and food for instance, some respondents practice this activity daily while others prepare and sell alcoholic drinks only a few times in a year – the latter was especially observed in Mueda. Daily cash fluctuations due to discontinuous work have implications on food purchased and diets – these issues will be discussed in chapter 9.

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<sup>53</sup> It is important to underline that the point is referred to *female ganho-ganho* because it was observed that men engage with non-agricultural forms of *ganho-ganho* that can be practiced throughout the entire year. So not all male types of *male ganho-ganho* can be considered seasonal.

For the purposes of this study, highlighting these differences is crucial. In fact, when assessing the food-related implications of time-use patterns, it is important to consider that multiplicity of occupations interacts with regularity of those occupations. In other words, more occupations do not necessarily mean less time for preparing food if those activities are performed sporadically. Moreover, engaging in types of work that ensure predictable cash returns does impact food acquisition strategies.

*Economic contributions to the household*

Following from the discussion so far, one important point is that participation in the same type of work does not necessarily translate into similar cash earnings and consequent capacity to contribute to the household. In fact, the tables below show that there is great diversity in economic contributions to the household across types of work (Table 6.1B) but also within each category (Table 6.1C). It is important to note that economic contribution to the household is an imperfect proxy for income or cash earnings because cash revenues may not be used to contribute to household expenses. However, the impossibility to compare cash earnings due to absence of comparable categories – e.g. daily income, weekly income – and widespread difficulties to quantify earnings justified the choice to focus on economic contributions to household expenses. Although answers may not fall precisely in the categories used to distinguish different levels of contribution ('nothing', 'almost nothing', 'some of it' and 'most of it/all'), cross-checking information provided reasons to believe that this variable does describe trends fairly well.

**TABLE 6.1B ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES (N=89, CASH-EARNING RESPONDENTS)**

	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>% of respondents</b>
<b>Nothing</b>	2	2.2
<b>Almost nothing (0-30%)</b>	33	37.1
<b>Some of it (30-60%)</b>	14	15.7
<b>Most of it/all (&gt;60%)</b>	36	40.4
<b>Doesn't know</b>	4	4.5

SOURCE: CREATED BY AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

**TABLE 6.1C ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES (N=46, WOMEN WORKING IN DRINK/FOOD PREPARATION AND SALE)**

	<b>No. of respondents</b>	<b>% of respondents</b>
<b>Nothing</b>	2	4.3
<b>Almost nothing (0-30%)</b>	18	39.1
<b>Some of it (30-60%)</b>	5	10.9
<b>Most of it/all (&gt;60%)</b>	21	45.7
<b>Doesn't know</b>	0	0

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

The first table shows that there is variation among *cash-earning* respondents in terms of their capacity to economically contribute to household expenses. The vast majority of *cash-earning* women use their earned income to contribute to household expenses, but their contributions range from *almost nothing* to *most of it or all*. The second table, which takes the drink/food preparation and sale category as an example, shows that the variation in economic contributions to the household persists within a particular work category. Variation is not eliminated or reduced, hence not explained, by the type of work performed.<sup>54</sup> In other words, while there are types of paid work and cash-earning activities that tend to be more profitable than others in general terms, other conditions such as socio-economic position, household composition, age and marital status determine the ways in which individuals engage with paid work and its associated profitability.

This thesis argues that the woman's (and her household's or family's) socio-economic position explains a great part of *how* women approach work (sporadically vs regularly; lower vs higher economic returns) – these issues are discussed in detail in the following section. Moreover, this research shows that household composition and intra-household arrangements on income management determine women's economic contributions to the household – e.g. widowed and divorced women or women who live in households where their work is the only source of income are forced to contribute to most or all household expenses regardless of type of work they engage with. These issues are crucial and addressed in the following chapter. Evidently, all of these conditions determine women's engagement with paid work and/or cash-generating activities and their outcomes in terms of decision-making power and well-being.

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<sup>54</sup> Similar results are obtained for other types of work for which observations are sufficiently high to see the break out in terms of contribution capacity.

The discussion of diversity in some of the key aspects of women's participation in paid work suggests that a) conceptualisations of women's work must go beyond simplistic characterisations as subsistence farmers and small-scale entrepreneurs and b) dichotomous categories do not capture the complexities of paid work and cash-generating activities in the context studied.

### **6.1.3 KIBARUA, NEGÓCIOS AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION: HETEROGENEITY AMONG WOMEN**

This section is dedicated to the discussion of the reasons why it is important to treat women as a heterogeneous category, on the basis that (initial) socio-economic conditions of a woman and her family (her own or husband's family) determine and explain how women access income and what they do with it. In other words, women's participation in paid work is likely to translate into different well-being outcomes depending on initial conditions and consequent processes of differentiation.

Eusebio's and Catarina's story – summarised in section 6.1.1 – can be used to illustrate what is meant by *initial* socio-economic conditions. It is evident that the process of accumulation that allowed Eusebio's household to become a net hirer of agricultural labour is dependent on his *initial* financial capacity to buy land. Eusebio explained that cotton production in Namuno was his main source of savings. Although it was difficult to extract additional information on his family socio-economic position and other potential differentiating factors, it is sensible to believe that earlier cultivation of cotton can, at least partially, explain Eusebio's possibility to purchase land. Likewise, Catarina's capacity to run her *negócio* strongly depends on her own or her family's economic status. In this particular case, it is evident because Eusebio manages household cash incomes and allocates parts of it to Catarina's activity. However, even when a cash-earning activity is self-financed the outcomes are influenced by the woman's (family's) *initial* socio-economic conditions.

Consider, for instance, Ernestina's story. Ernestina is 43 years old and re-married recently to a man who was unemployed at the time of fieldwork, so he was economically dependent on Ernestina. She is originally from Quissanga but has moved to Pemba when she was a teenager. Ernestina speaks excellent Portuguese, which shows that she completed primary school; Ernestina was also attending

school at the time of the interview.<sup>55</sup> Ernestina is the owner of a *barraca* where she sells home-made *vinho de folhas de chá* (fermented alcoholic drink made with tea leaves) and beer. She runs this activity on a regular basis (every day) from the morning to ten o'clock in the evening – the *barraca* is part of her house. However, Ernestina said that in the past years she was away from Pemba for more than six months because her husband was ill and they spent time in Macomia (one hour bus from Pemba) to consult a *curandeiro* (traditional healer). Ernestina employs two female workers in her *barraca*. In all of the interviews conducted in Pemba,<sup>56</sup> Ernestina was the only female *barraca* owner who reported that she hires workers. During the life history interview, it emerged that she had worked as an *empregada* for seven years at the house of Mohamed Faruk Jamal, who is the owner of the largest timber processing and exporting firm in Cabo Delgado (Miti Lda), a constructor and is expanding his business in the area of tourism. Ernestina explained that receiving a regular income (although it was low) meant that she could help her family in Quissanga while her current *negócio* does not allow her to do so. She also managed to accumulate some savings and when she lost that job she used those savings to start her *barraca*.

The key point is that pre-existing factors, which are symptoms of the socio-economic stratification observed at a point in time, need to be taken into account to understand particular outcomes at the present. In addition, it is important to observe that processes of livelihoods diversification and social differentiation, which are not coterminous, may not always be linear. In fact, they could be subject to (temporary) shocks and reversals. These occurrences may be more pronounced for women than for men due to a) nature of economic activities taken up by women – more unstable than male activities, to make a generalisation – and b) the possibility that women's access to incomes occurs through other people – male members of their families.

For example, consider the story of Beata (Nandimba, Mueda). At the time of the interviews,<sup>57</sup> Beata lived with her six children – she is mother of eight but two daughters got married and moved to the husbands' villages. Beata's latest husband

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<sup>55</sup> School programmes for adults are common in Cabo Delgado. In many cases, they are attended by workers of the public administration – salaries are associated with educational attainment. However, field research showed that school programmes for adults (called *alfabetização*) are also taken by people (women and men) who do not gain any *direct* benefit – as in Ernestina's case.

<sup>56</sup> Household survey interviews and qualitative research.

<sup>57</sup> Beata was interviewed twice: the first time in May 2012 as part of the household survey and then again two months later, in July 2012, for a life history.

passed away in 2011. Before marrying him, in 1988, she was married to another man for a few years and then divorced. Beata reported two sources of income during the interviews: *chibalugwa* (during the rainy season, mostly in February) and *negócio de lenha* (trade and sale of firewood). Her oldest son runs a *barraca* just in front of their house and helps the family. Beata explained that she began to do *chibalugwa* and run her *negócio* only after divorcing the first husband, then stopped when she re-married and only started again after the death of her second husband. Beata's latest husband was a pensioner, which is manifested in the housing conditions: tin roof and well built in cement to collect rain water.<sup>58</sup> Beata explained that when her husband was alive they used to live *better* and she did not have to work because he would provide for the family's sustenance. She said that at times he would even go to the market to buy food.

Beata's story exemplifies how women's access to incomes and productive resources is intimately linked to social relations and how shocks affecting social relations may disrupt (women's) access to incomes. By no means is it suggested here that processes of social differentiation are totally fluid but it is rather stressed that there are important elements of non-linearity in women's access to cash incomes, which are worth considering. In line with other studies (e.g. Sender and Smith 1990; Oya and Sender 2009), survey data show that divorced and widowed women are over-represented in the group of women defined as *cash-earning* – see Table 6.1D.

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<sup>58</sup> In the district of Mueda, households that own houses with tin roof and a cement well to collect rain water are the two most visible signs of wealth, which often is associated with receiving a pension.

TABLE 6.1D CASH-EARNING AND NON-CASH-EARNING WOMEN BY MARITAL STATUS

		Have you done any kind of paid work or cash-earning activity in the past 12 months?		Total
		Yes	No	
What is your marital status?	Married <i>count</i> <i>% of married</i>	67 69.8%	29 30.2%	96 100.0%
	Divorced <i>count</i> <i>% of divorced</i>	14 100.0%	0 0	14 100.0%
	Widowed <i>count</i> <i>% of widowed</i>	8 80.0%	2 20.0%	10 100.0%
<b>Total</b>	<i>count</i> <i>%</i>	89 74.2%	31 25.8%	120 100.0%

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

The strikingly high percentage of divorced and widowed women found in the *cash-earning* group is instrumental to look into the reasons that push women into paid work and cash-earning activities. As explained by Oya (2013: 267),

'The interpretations of such findings relate to the dichotomy distress vs. emancipation [...] and point to the complexity of gender relations, patriarchy and labour market participation in developing countries'.

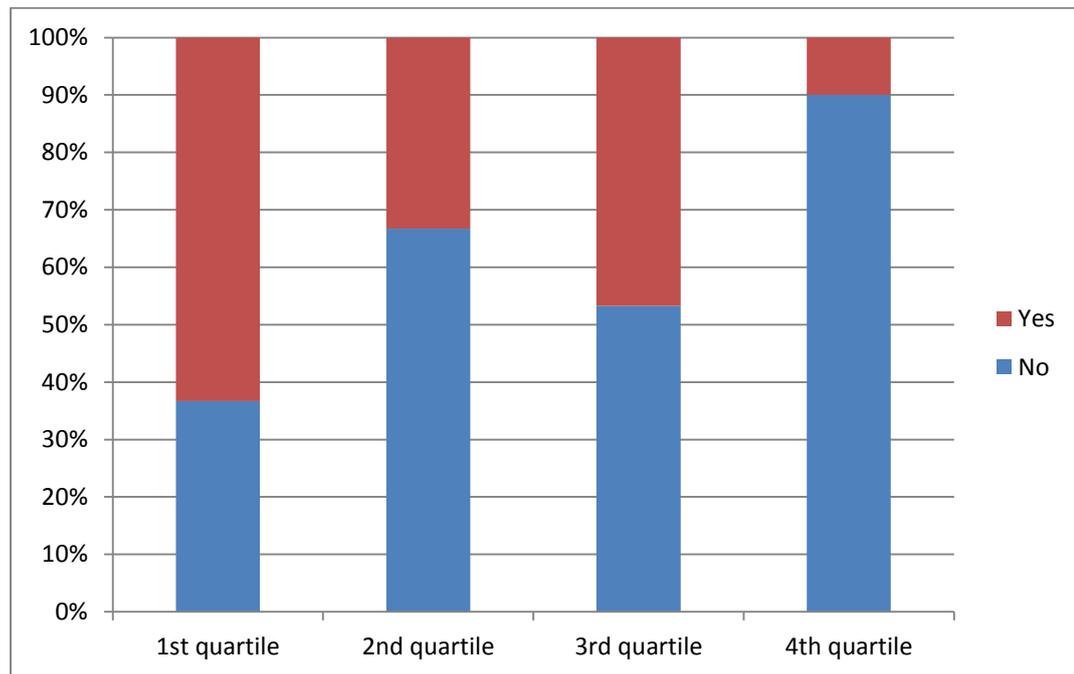
In this work, it is argued that *distress* and *emancipation* may be two aspects of the same phenomenon, under certain circumstances. On the one hand, it is evident that women's participation in the labour force is driven by economic necessity. On the other hand, women's access to paid work and cash-earning activities are fundamental survival options for those households that rely on women's incomes and, in some cases, may represent a route to women's increased status and emancipation. While the first two elements – economic necessity and importance of work opportunities for women – are intrinsic in the vast majority of stories collected in Cabo Delgado, the emancipation aspect is less cross-cutting. Many *cash-earning* women strongly claim that women benefit from engaging in paid work and/or cash-earning activities. However, observing that many women in urban households with access to male regular incomes are *non-cash-earning* suggests that gender norms against women's participation in the labour force may re-emerge when household economic necessity is less stringent, thus showing the resilience of discriminatory gender norms even in contexts characterised by high female participation in paid

work and cash-generating activities. Issues of gender norms and women's participation in paid work will be expanded in section 6.2.

Beata's story also relates to the issue of pensions, introduced in chapter 5. In the context of Cabo Delgado, pensions represent a critical differentiating factor that influences ways women and men access incomes. Interviews with pensioners revealed that direct or indirect – i.e. through a family member – access to pensions may result in withdrawal from paid work and/or cash-earning activities, as Beata's story demonstrates. Also, the only two respondents in Mueda who are classified as *non-cash-earning* receive a pension. Interestingly, receiving a pension is colloquially considered equivalent to having a job. In several interviews, respondents' answer to the question 'Do you do *chibalugwa* or run a *negócio*?' was 'I am an *antigo*'. Pensioners are referred to as '*antigos*' (from '*antigos combatentes*', 'old soldiers'). The *antigos* are also known for being those who hire agricultural workers, especially in Mueda. Several respondents explained that when they look for *ganho-ganho* they go to the houses of the *antigos* and ask if they need labourers. This is a clear sign that pensions do trigger and/or deepen processes of social differentiation. In fact, receiving a pension in the first place may be associated with proximity to socio-political networks of power. Conversely, many people who are entitled to receive a pension may not get it because they are not connected with those circles of power.

The fragments taken from the three stories above show the diversity in initial socio-economic conditions, contextual factors, intra-household arrangements and related trajectories of differentiation. It is evident that households engage with combinations of self- and wage employment (alongside farming in the case of rural households) to ensure social reproduction. Yet, an imperfect divide can be drawn between households that sell labour and households who hire labour and/or have access to regular incomes (through employment or pensions). For instance, the percentage of households in which at least one member performed *ganho-ganho* in the year before the interview is higher among the poorer quartiles – see Figure 6.1B below. The variation observed in the second quartile may be due to data issues linked to the use of asset-based quartiles, which may not captured short-term shocks that affect households' need to sell labour force. Yet, the trend is quite clear in the chart below, with percentage of *ganho* workers being highest in the poorest quartile and lowest in the wealthiest quartile.

**FIGURE 6.1B HAVE YOU OR ANYONE ELSE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD DONE *GANHO-GANHO* IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS? (ANSWERS BY WEALTH QUARTILE)**



SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

Interviews in all research sites revealed that liberation from the need to perform *ganho-ganho* and acquired capacity to pursue agricultural production through hiring agricultural workers is an aspiration for most rural *and* urban households. In some cases, this aspiration manifests itself in prioritising the use of cash earnings to hire agricultural workers, even if it may be a temporary condition. In fact, the picture on the households that hire occasional agricultural workers is slightly cloudier. The small percentage of households that reported hiring occasional agricultural workers, 16.6 per cent of the sample, is distributed across the wealth quartiles. Yet the only household that hired agricultural labourers on a regular basis falls in the wealthiest quartile. It rests that overall more households sell their labour rather than hiring it – 38.8 per cent vs 16.6 per cent – which is telling of the importance of casual wage labour for both women and men in the poorest strata of the population.

The point made is that diverse and complex trajectories of diversification and differentiation should not lead into complete indeterminacy. In fact, patterns of differentiation are important to understand *why* and *how* women participate in paid work and other cash-earning activities. In this section, examples were provided of how access to cash cropping, employment histories, social relations and pensions

shape processes of livelihood diversification and social differentiation. In addition, differentiation among women determines how women use their cash earnings – as this is also linked to intra-household arrangements on income management, these issues will be discussed in the following chapter. The rest of this chapter is dedicated to the discussion of the interactions (and tensions) between paid and unpaid work.

## **6.2 ‘EVERYTHING IS WORK’: ALLOCATION OF LABOUR BETWEEN PAID AND UNPAID WORK**

Looking at gendered allocation of responsibilities between paid and unpaid work is crucial to understand women’s participation in paid work. The last qualitative phase was aimed at enquiring about conceptions and meanings of ‘work’. ‘Everything is *madengo* or *nteco* (‘work’) was the most common response to questions on the differences between paid and unpaid work. The Shimaconde and Macua words for ‘work’ – *madengo* and *nteco*, respectively – do not distinguish between unpaid and paid work, to make such a distinction it is necessary to use periphrases. The majority of the respondents thought that washing dishes and clothes, cooking, fetching water, going to the *machamba* is all *work*. Yet, women and men may be differently responsible for paid and unpaid work, with the latter being disproportionately allocated to women.

In the next two sections, it is shown that the gendered allocation of labour and responsibilities between paid and unpaid work may be more complex than it appears at first sight (6.2.1). In some cases, men’s interference with women’s work can give rise to forms of disguised wage employment (6.2.2).

### **6.2.1 PAID AND UNPAID WORK, GENDER NORMS AND TENSIONS ON LABOUR DEMANDS**

Some types of work may be paid or unpaid, depending on the context. For instance, in agricultural production the distinction between productions for own consumption and for commercial use is less clear-cut than it may appear *prima facie*. In fact, while there are some crops that are purely commercial – such as sesame seeds in Metuge – the majority of crops are partly sold and partly retained for family

consumption depending on the household needs. During fieldwork, especially in Metuge, where many of the interviewed households grow sesame seeds, it appeared that men tend to control production and earnings of cash crops, which is in line with some literature on agricultural commercialisation and cash cropping (e.g. von Braun 1988; Sørensen 1996). Yet, the rest of agricultural production is taken care of by men and women together, following a gendered division of labour with regards to specific tasks. Generally, men clear the land and prepare the soil for seeding, then women seed and harvesting is done by women only or women and men together. Many female respondents have explained that they go to the *machamba* with husband and children. Moreover, *ganho-ganho* is performed extensively by both men and women.

Also, men are generally held accountable for house building. This type of work is unpaid when a man builds a house for his family – i.e. wife and children or a female relative. Yet house building can be performed as paid work. Hiring labourers to build houses is a common practice among wealthier households. In most urban and rural areas of Cabo Delgado, there is a market for houses nowadays: houses can be bought and/or rented. Interestingly, it is common that female pensioners invest their incomes to build a house of their own. They pay builders to do it for them. Those pensioners who are married may continue to live in the house built by their husband and keep their house as a fall-back option and, as many of them say, for their children.

Housework is always unpaid when done within one's own household. However, there are specific tasks that can be done on someone else's behalf as paid work. For instance, it is possible to pound maize and wash clothes for a payment, although these practices are described as uncommon – women who reported doing this type of *kibarua* were not encountered during field research. All types of unpaid housework, including fetching water and firewood, are carried out disproportionately by women. Not only, there is a division of labour between younger and older women, whereby most house chores are handed over to younger female members. In farming households, older women may continue to cultivate their own *machamba*, but, if there are younger women in the household, they would be in charge of cooking, fetching water, washing dishes and clothes and so forth. Importantly, children substantially help with housework. In fact, the allocation of house chores to younger women and children is often justified as a form of teaching – '*they need to learn*'.

Paid work is considered to be primary responsibility of men but, many respondents have explained that women can also *bring cash income into the household*. To put it in the words of one respondent from 25 de Junho (Metuge) *'Nowadays a woman cannot sit in the house and wait for her husband!'*. Although women's economic contributions are often overlooked by both men and women, most *cash-earning* women assign an emancipatory value to their participation in paid work and other cash-earning activities. Men are not as enthusiastic but they have also shown to accept and, often, support women's *negócios*. In fact, the portrayal of women's paid work as a sign of emancipation and economic autonomy may conceal the high degree of male involvement in their participation in the labour force. As mentioned above in relation to the 'distress vs. emancipation' debate, it is clear that the chief reason for women to be economically active is economic necessity, which, in turn, encourages men to give consent to women's work outside of the household.

It was very difficult to collect information on longitudinal patterns in women's participation in paid work. Referring to their individual experience, some respondents would label women's *negócios* as 'new' because, for instance, their mothers or other older women in their family did not run any *negócio* in their lifetime. Instead, other respondents whose mothers used to do the same *negócio* were convinced that women have *always* performed cash-earning activities. Answers were more consistent with regards to *ganho-ganho*, which most respondents (women and men) described as an *old* practice. In absence of longitudinal data, it would be incautious to make any statement on the patterns of women's participation in cash-generating activities over time, in Cabo Delgado. Yet, the snapshot observed and documented through field research does tell us that women's engagement with paid work and/or cash-earning activities is currently pervasive and women's economic contributions are important.

Despite this *fact*, ideas and accounts of women's economic contributions are filled with contradictions. In particular, as mentioned above, the importance of women's economic contributions to the household are often overlooked by both men and women themselves. In several interviews, respondents have explained that both women and men can 'bring cash to the house' but men are those holding primary responsibility. This may be true in some cases but it should not lead to undermine the importance of women's contributions. Issues of income management will be developed in the following chapter.

Consider, for instance, the story of Zaina and João (Namuapala, Metuge). Their living conditions (housing conditions, foods consumed, hiring of domestic servants and agricultural labourers) immediately signal relative wealth. Zaina and João grow seeds and horticultural products for sale, with the technical support of the Aga Khan Foundation. Alongside this activity, managed by João, they run a number of different *negócios*, mostly preparation and sale of alcoholic drinks and *mandaze* (home-made fried balls of bread). These *negócios* are responsibility of Zaina, helped by the domestic servants. It would seem that the main source of income comes from sales of seeds and horticultural produce but, since sales are seasonal, the relative payments are lumpy. This means that, at certain times of the year, Zaina and João cover their daily expenses with earnings derived from Zaina's *negócios*.

This story shows that although women may have access to jobs and activities that pay less, their contributions can be crucial especially in contexts characterised by livelihood diversification, irregular and/or seasonal work and consequent income fluctuations. In this sense, gender norms that see men as holding responsibility for paid work and 'bringing cash to the house' unfairly neglect women's economic contributions. Nonetheless, such norms continue to shape ideas and narratives and contradictorily co-exist with emerging emancipatory narratives. In fact, the same respondents claiming that 'women should go out and work' simultaneously support ideas that a woman's good life comes from being married to a man who fully provides for the family's well-being and allows the woman to exclusively take care of her *machamba*. These contradictions arise from gaps between norms and practice and denote how development-driven narratives on women's emancipation may be partially and confusedly appropriated.

The resilience of discriminatory gender norms is strongly associated with women's reproductive responsibilities. In fact, there is a clear lack of symmetry between women's economic gains and their losses in reproductive responsibilities. The continuous disproportionate allocation of unpaid work to women shapes and reproduces gender norms that discriminate against women's participation in paid work and lies at the basis of widespread understatement of women's economic contributions. However, in practice women engage with a variety of reproductive and productive activities, which may generate tensions in the allocation of labour between different types of *madengo/nteco*. Looking at these tensions is important in general but especially if we are interested in the well-being outcomes of women's participation in paid work. Issues of work, time and food habits will be addressed in chapter 9. Here the focus is placed on two work areas where tensions between paid

and unpaid work emerged as especially visible: agricultural work and works that involve mobility.

Agricultural work is time- and energy-consuming and dictated by agricultural cycles. Depending on the season, agricultural work can be regular (harvest season), intense (pre-harvest season) or quasi-absent (post-harvest season). In Cabo Delgado, agro-climatic conditions vary across the province and therefore there are different agricultural cycles and related work intensities.<sup>59</sup> What is unchanged across the province is that in harvest and pre-harvest seasons, women and men spend long hours in the *machambas* and in the pre-harvest season agricultural work becomes especially labour-intensive. In both cases – long working hours and seasonal higher work intensities – women face more constraints than men. In fact, women need to reconcile long working hours and/or peaks in labour intensity in the *machambas* with constant levels of housework. One manifestation of these tensions is that women may perform *ganho-ganho* more sporadically than men because not only they need to coordinate *ganho-ganho* with working on own *machambas* but also with housework.

Doing research in three different districts in Cabo Delgado allowed for capturing some phenomena of mobility. Intra- and inter-regional mobility of people, goods and money is an important component of processes of livelihood diversification and, to an extent, social differentiation. In fact, combining on-farm and off-farm occupations may involve various degrees of mobility. Mobility is an issue that will be addressed in relation to household and family relations and rural-urban food acquisition strategies in the following chapters. Here the interest is in discussing how *mobile* cash-earning activities make the paid-unpaid work tension especially evident.

Although processes of migration historically had a marked gendered character in southern Africa – i.e. men going to work in neighbouring countries – the type of mobility observed in contemporary Cabo Delgado is of a different nature. It is a short-term (intra- and inter-regional) mobility characterised by participation of both men and women. For example, a group of women that is highly mobile is that of traders. Female traders were interviewed in all districts: Pemba, Metuge and Mueda. In Pemba, a variety of traders were encountered: women trading tomatoes between Metuge and Pemba or between Nampula and Pemba, women trading alcoholic

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<sup>59</sup> The main difference encountered in the studied districts is that in Metuge there are two agricultural cycles, therefore two harvests per calendar year, while in Mueda there is only one agricultural cycle and hence one harvest per year.

drinks or other goods between Pemba and Quissanga and others. In Metuge there is one particular group of traders: women who travel from Metuge to Pemba by *chapa* to trade *matapa* (green leaves). In Mueda instead female traders specialise in trade of tomatoes and horticultural produce between high and lowlands or in firewood, maize, and other agricultural produce between various villages and Mueda sede – most of the interviewed traders walk to trade their products. In some cases, traders leave in the early morning (or during the night) and go back to their houses on the same day while in others they stay away from their houses for a few days – trading is highly energy-consuming and, in fact, most female traders are fairly young. Women who work as traders need to put in place intra- or inter-household arrangements that allow them to pursue their job. Two non-mutually exclusive types of arrangements were documented: a) presence of household or extra-household members (children, sisters or neighbours) who can replace the women traders for housework and child care and b) divorced or separated women who do not have young children so they can afford to be away from home for long hours/days. The resulting shift in division of labour still penalizes women and children. It is evident that in contexts where publicly-provided services of child care are absent, then these costs need to be sustained by households and their families and, disproportionately, by women and children.

Under what conditions may gender norms change? It is evident that economic necessity draws women into the labour force, thus inducing men to accept women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities outside of the household. Although in many interviews both women and men explained that it does happen that some husbands do not allow their wives to work due to lack of *trust*, which has also been documented in other studies (e.g. Sender, Oya and Cramer 2006). Also, it would seem that women's access to higher incomes, such as pensions, is more effective in making women less reliant on male incomes and accelerating changes in norms. The example given above of female pensioners who use their pensions to build their own house illustrates how access to sufficiently high levels of income can lead to changes in gendered practices in house ownership, which is otherwise considered to be a male task and domain. Yet, another important question is on the durability of such gains. Observing that there are less economically active women in urban areas, where men have increased access to regular incomes, is not encouraging. In addition, episodes in which women gain access to higher levels of income – e.g. *successful* agricultural associations of

women<sup>60</sup> – appear to trigger men’s desire to control and appropriate cash earnings. In some cases, men’s capacity to appropriate the women’s cash returns was the condition upon which women would re-gain the consensus to be part of the association (see Stevano 2013). The point that arises is that to understand (changes in) gender norms on women’s participation in paid work and consequent capacity to retain control over earned incomes, the analytical framework needs to be expanded to include gendered allocation of responsibilities on unpaid work.

### **6.2.2 MEN’S PRESENCE IN WOMEN’S WORK AND DISGUISED FORMS OF WAGE EMPLOYMENT**

Women’s participation in paid work occurs through ‘*absconding*’ (escaping) from relations of reproduction (Bryceson 1980). In the context of Cabo Delgado, it would appear that women engage with paid work in the form of ‘*real subsumption to familial male control*’, which indicates that men may grant women permission to work outside their homes on the basis of familial economic needs. In some cases, women’s *negócios* are an integral part of male-led financial planning, as showed by the story of Eusebio and Catarina. Men’s presence in women’s paid work occurs in three domains: a) consensus to work, b) economic support of women’s cash-earning activities and c) appropriation of women’s earnings, which are addressed in turn.

As mentioned above, in interviews conducted in all research sites, different respondents explained that *often* husbands allow their wives to run a *negócio* and *at times* they do not. It can be seen from the table below that although 44.2 per cent of the respondents said that they decide for themselves if they have to work for cash, a significant 30.8 per cent of the respondents reported that the decision is their husbands’ responsibility and another 21.7 per cent said the decision is taken by the couple together. The point is that virtually all married women need to obtain permission from their husbands if they want to work. In fact, even when female respondents described their participation in paid work as their own ‘*iniciativa*’ (initiative), they had to run the idea to their husband to then implement it. In some cases, women begin to run a *negócio* upon suggestion or request of their husband.

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<sup>60</sup> Agricultural associations of women are common across the province of Cabo Delgado. However, only a few of them seem to be successful – in these cases, observed in Metuge and, as part of a separate piece of research, in Nangade (see Stevano 2013), it was noted that men’s interference was significant in controlling the association and managing the cash returns.

This happens mostly as a consequence of household financial planning, which in the case of married couples tends to be male-led.

**TABLE 6.2A WHO DECIDES IF THE RESPONDENT HAS TO WORK FOR CASH? (IN %)**

	<b>Respondent</b>	<b>Husband</b>	<b>Brother</b>	<b>Respondent with husband</b>	<b>Doesn't know</b>
<b>Who decides if you have to work for cash?</b>	44.2%	30.8%	0.8%	21.7%	2.5%

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

This last point is directly linked with another area where men's presence in women's paid work can be observed – economic support of women's cash-earning activities. As part of (male-led) household financial planning, it can be decided to re-invest cash revenues from one activity into another one. Practices of cross-financing of different productive activities can take place in a number of ways and one commonly encountered in Cabo Delgado is that men's cash incomes are partially used to finance *negócios* run by women. This allows men to control how much money goes into the *negócio* and also its regularity. By no means is it suggested here that this is the most typical way to sustain women's cash-earning activities – in fact, many female respondents said that they self-finance their *negócios* – but this is certainly one area of women's engagement in paid and/or cash-earning activities where men can and do intervene.

It is clear than in some households men finance women's *negócios* to centralise control and management of household incomes in their hands. When this is the rationale, men also tend to appropriate or at least have a say on how to use women's cash earnings. However, in other cases, the initial economic support is not followed by control of cash earnings and women can independently decide how to dispose of their earnings. Issues of intra-household management of incomes will be discussed in the next chapter.

For the purposes of this chapter, it is important to mention areas where men can interfere in women's engagement with paid work to stress the importance of looking at gender relations of power and not women only in areas, such as paid work, where it could appear that women act autonomously. Recognising the (occasional) presence of men in regulating women's participation in the labour force has implications on theorisations of women's empowerment via paid work and on

the categories that are normally used to conceptualise work – in particular self- vs. wage employment. In fact, if the four political economy questions indicated by Bernstein (2010) are considered:

- Who does what?
- Who owns what?
- Who gets what?
- What do they do with it?

It can be seen immediately that certain forms of (women's) self-employment may be disguised forms of wage employment. Consider those cases in which a woman runs a *negócio* but a man in her household decides what *negócio* she needs to perform, finances that activity and makes decisions on what to do with the cash earnings. Technically a woman would be classified as self-employed but by deepening the analysis it can be noticed that her occupation looks more similar to wage work than self-employment. This becomes *proper* wage employment when this *scheme* breaks through the household boundaries and is reproduced in extra-household contexts. For instance, the case of women's associations where men tend to control the functioning of the association, supply inputs and manage cash-earnings makes women wage workers rather than semi-self-employed workers of women-run associations.

The question raised here is 'when male presence in women's work is that visible, does it make sense analytically to consider women who run a *negócio* as self-employed entrepreneurs?' Some literature has warned that there are forms of disguised wage employment and made a case for investigating these issues in more depth (see Mueller 2011; Rizzo 2011). As the focus in this work is on women's work, here it is stressed that disguised wage work may have a marked gender character due to its association with gender relations of power that render women less financially capable to pursue *negócios* autonomously, acquire inputs and means of production and, ultimately, retain decision-making power over earned incomes.

These stories challenge, once more, the female entrepreneurship narratives and point to the importance to address gender relations of power in the ways they shape women's participation in paid work, allocation of labour between paid and unpaid work and intra-household decision-making practices and incomes management.

## 6.3 CONCLUSIONS

In chapter 2, criticism was raised on the use of a dummy variable (whether a woman works for cash or not) as one indicator of the women's decision-making power index in the study by Smith et al. (2003). In this chapter, several empirical reasons were provided to reject the conceptualisation of women's work for cash as a dummy variable.

Although women's participation in paid work and cash-earning activities is often subject to the presumption that it is a uniform phenomenon leading to likewise uniform outcomes, this chapter has shown that mapping and conceptualising the nature of women's engagement in paid work and/or cash-earning activities is a complex exercise, which breaks through standard work-related categories and dichotomous theorisations of labour.

A discussion of social differentiation has demonstrated that conflating women into a homogeneous category is misleading. As a consequence, assuming that women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities takes places in similar, if not equal, modalities across class, age and marital status is misleading too.

In addition, it was shown that an analysis of unpaid work is complementary to that of paid work, especially in the case of women who, relative to men, tend to be allocated greater shares of unpaid work. An analysis of gender norms on allocation of labour between paid and unpaid work is functional to interpret paid-work-related patterns and outcomes.

In developing the analysis, the use of qualitative and quantitative evidence proved to be an effective tool to capture and describe diversity. Survey data has shed some light on the extent of diversity and qualitative evidence has enabled an investigation of the reasons of diversity.

In conclusion, three aspects emerge as especially important to guide data collection and analysis of women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities in northern Mozambique and in contexts equally or similarly characterised by high levels of economic informality and multiplicity of occupations. First, labour should be conceptualised as a continuum between *working (for cash)* and *not working (for cash)* and, accordingly, the categories used should be non-dichotomous. Second, social differentiation should be integral to any analysis of

work and labour. Third, women's participation in paid work needs to be looked at in combination with their roles in unpaid work and in relation to men's responsibilities in paid and unpaid work.

# 7

## **BOTH WOMEN AND MEN MATTER IN INTRA-HOUSEHOLD DECISION MAKING**

### **AN ANALYSIS OF INTRA-HOUSEHOLD GENDER ROLES IN CABO DELGADO**

*'Where is Nordino?' I asked Flora.*

*It had been a few days that I was going to Flora's market stall, at the market of Ingonane (in Pemba) and she had received a visit from the husband and Nordino, their son, every afternoon while she was at the market, but not that day.*

*'My husband is taking him to his grandmother in Maringanha', Flora replied.*

*Maringanha is a village just outside Pemba, Flora's husband is from there and his family still lives there. Flora explained that Nordino was going to spend a few days there because she needed to travel to Metuge to get supplies for her stall. She said also that her husband was going to take some food (maize) from Maringanha.*

*'These days we are living off my earnings. He lost his job and is looking for a new one. I use my earnings to buy caril (relish), but it is difficult. When he had a job, he used to buy food.'*

(Field notes)

Household and intra-household dynamics are central in gender analysis. Yet, the concept of household is still often used uncritically despite having been problematized on a number of grounds and, by the same token, intra-household issues continue to be overlooked even in some of the literature that proclaims their same importance.

By focusing on the second component of the theory of change that links women's cash incomes to household food outcomes, this chapter addresses two research questions specified in chapter 2:

- ❖ Do women make decisions on how to use incomes on domains that are crucial to the household well-being (with a focus on the *food domain* – including food acquisition and preparation)?
- ❖ Does women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities translate into increased decision-making power and capacity to control incomes within the household? And what are the implications for food expenses?



Building on the discussion of the methodological implications of using the household as the unit of analysis (see section 4.3.1 chapter 4), this chapter develops along two lines: the nature of households in contemporary Cabo Delgado and their elusive boundaries, on the one hand, and intra-household issues of decision-making and income management, on the other hand. As in the previous chapter, a combination of quantitative and qualitative evidence informs the analysis presented in the chapter.

In the first section (7.1), the configuration of households and the empirical justification for using the concept are discussed to then address inter-household economic links across space. The second section (7.2) looks at issues of marriage and intra-household decision-making on education, health and especially food. The third section (7.3) discusses intra-household arrangements for income management and use. Section 7.4 concludes.

## 7.1 HOUSEHOLDS AND INTER-HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC LINKS

The discussion of the notion of the *household* and associated methodological implications, in chapters 2 and 4, shall have provided grounds to reject uncritical uses of the concept. As part of this research, the usefulness of the concept in the

province of Cabo Delgado was carefully considered and the nature of households investigated. As anticipated in earlier chapters, the use of the household as a unit of analysis was empirically justified but nonetheless households presented elements of deviation from static and standardised conceptualisations.

This sections looks at the composition of households in the province of Cabo Delgado reflecting on the empirical usefulness of the concept (7.1.1) and then describes various types of economic exchange that link households across space (7.1.2)

### **7.1.1 HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION**

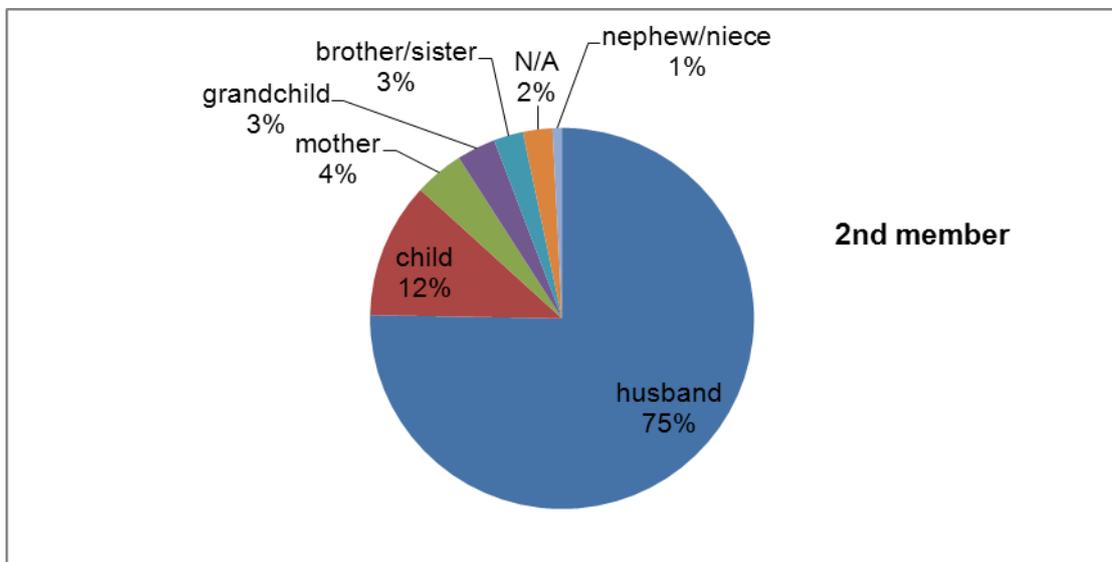
Static portrayals of the household can be driven by methods that are better equipped to obtain a snapshot than capture over-time changes, such as the household survey. A snapshot vision of the household obscures the fact that categories can be fluid and flimsy. By way of illustration, consider Flora's story. In November 2011, Flora lived with her husband in Pemba and had a stall in the market where she sold vegetables. Seven months later, she had divorced her husband and did no longer run her business activity because her husband was the person who financed the activity. Flora's story is not unique. Her story is an example of the types of social relations (e.g. marriage) that grant access to income and the shocks that shape social reproduction. Since marriage tends to be uncerimonial and easily dissolved in Cabo Delgado, this has far-reaching implications on household formation and composition and allocation/mobilisation of labour.

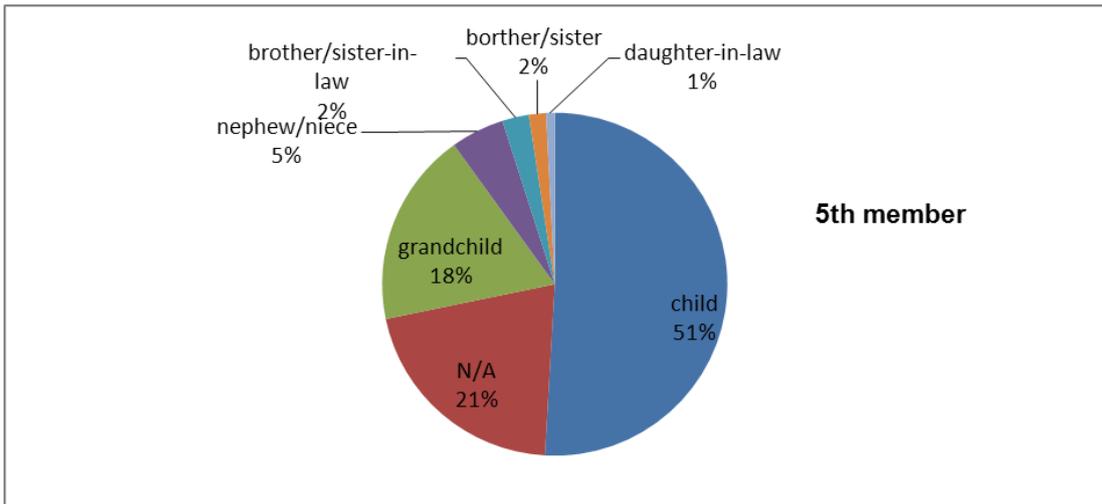
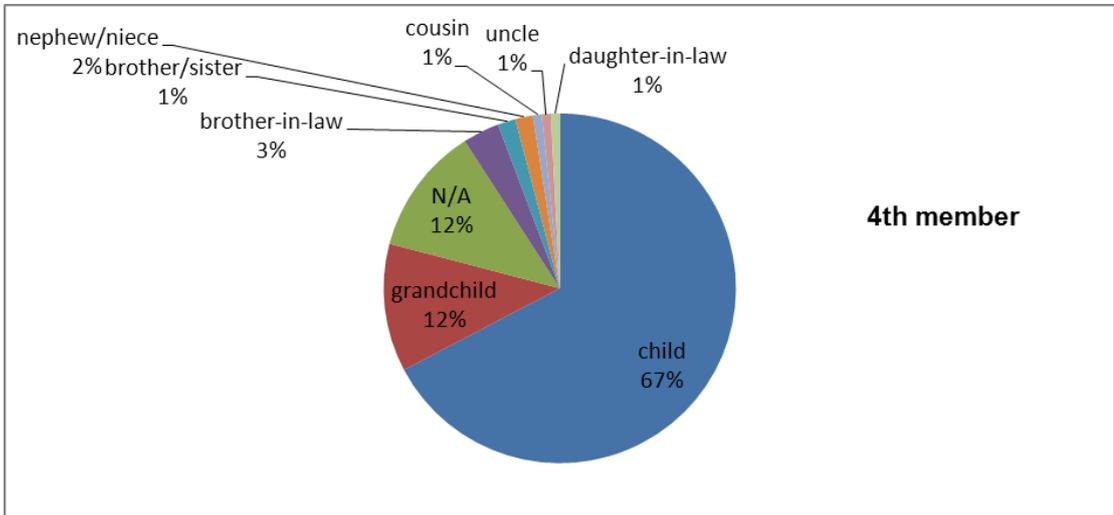
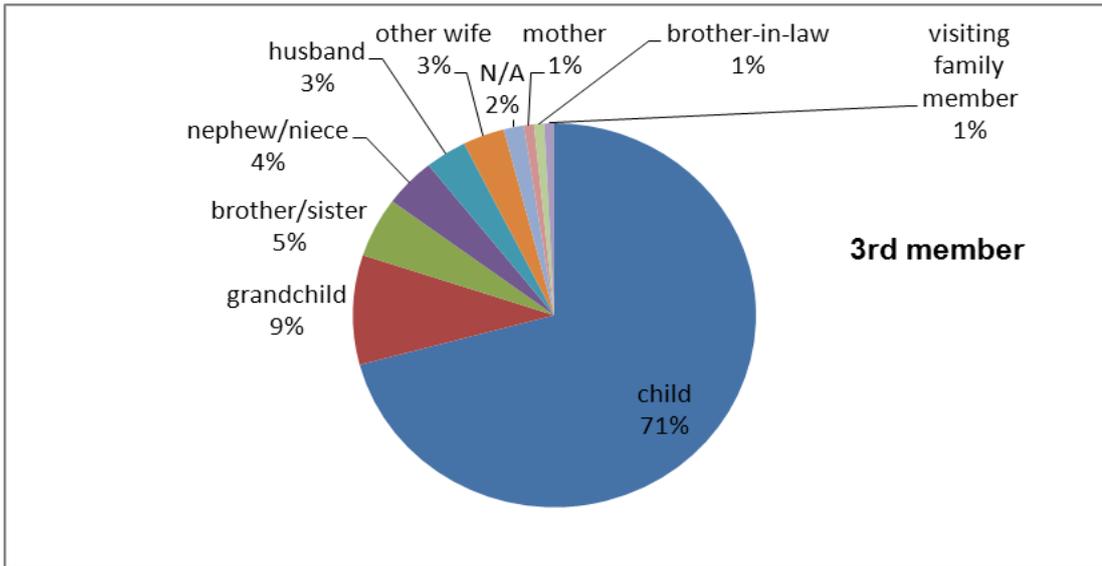
In addition, in contexts that are not characterised by clear-cut patterns of inward or outward migration and/or remittances, such as Cabo Delgado, mapping cluttered patterns of mobility within or across regions is a complex exercise. Yet, this does not mean that there are no economic links between different households. Economic obligations between households arise in a variety of ways. For instance, children often do not live with their parents but with either grandparents or other (better off) relatives. In the former case, children provide labour to labour-deficit households. In the latter, they shift economic responsibilities from *worse off* to *better off* households while providing wealthier households with extra-labour. Other economic links between households include mutual help with agricultural and/or house work, exchange of food and other goods and there are cases where the financial link is established through a significant one-off contribution. One of the

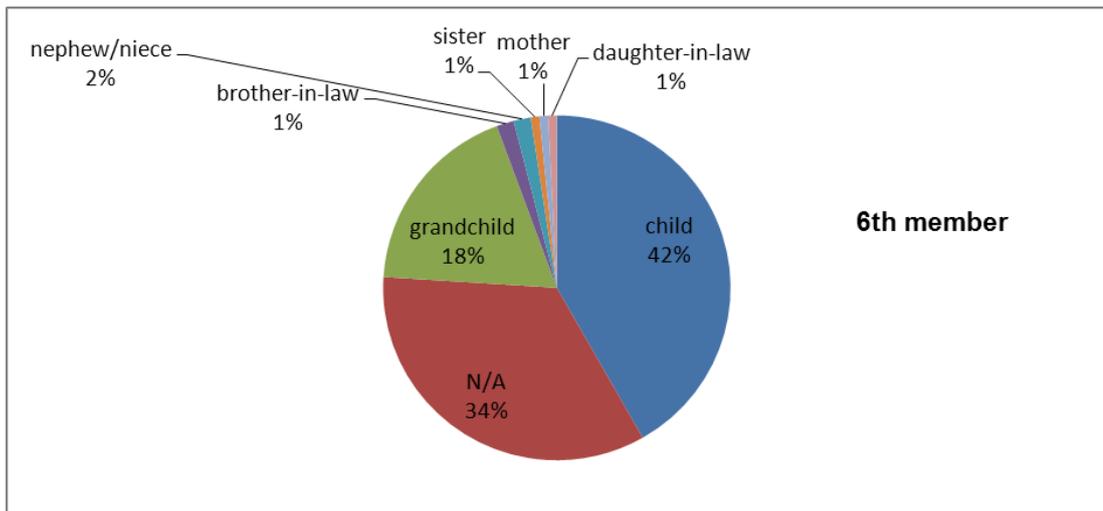
most common cases of one-off contributions is that of a child who has got a formal job or a profitable business and builds a new house for her/his family in the village where s/he does no longer live. The variety of economic obligations and links make it difficult to pinpoint and reflect them in household composition. Including these clusters of *economically-linked* members in the household roster would lead to large and inconsistent household rosters, which is not desirable.

Yet, all of these economic obligations and links create a network of exchange (of people, goods and money) across households and space. These networks are mainly – although not only – grounded in family ties. Conducting research in three different districts in Cabo Delgado offered a perspective on intra- and inter-regional interactions. Considering that the expansion of Pemba is a recent phenomenon, most households in Pemba maintain strong links with relatives in the districts where they originally come from. These interactions are especially important in processes of livelihoods diversification, social differentiation and, consequently, food strategies. The nature of rural-rural and rural-urban dynamics in relation to food practices and strategies will be discussed in chapter 8.

**FIGURE 7.1A HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS' RELATION TO RESPONDENT**







SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

Nowadays, households in Cabo Delgado are formed around a *broad* notion of nuclear family. As stated in chapter 4, the definition of household used in this work is based on residency and therefore refers to the people who normally live and sleep in the same house. Although variation was observed, arguably the most common residence arrangement consists of a house, with occasional access to a private yard (especially common in rural areas), and, at times, a separate kitchen. ‘Compound-type’ arrangements, whereby a group of houses (inhabited by relatives or not) overlook the same yard and possibly even share a kitchen, are very exceptional in the studied context.

The number of household members in the survey sample ranges between 1 and 17, with 48.3 per cent of the sample made of households composed by 1 to 6 members and the percentage increases to 64.2 with an additional (7<sup>th</sup>) member. In other words, households with more than 7 members (8 to 17) represent a 35.7 per cent of the sample and are therefore less than those with 7 members or less. The graphs above show household members’ relation to the respondent by each additional member, up to the 6<sup>th</sup> member. It is interesting to note that the highest percentages of members consist of ‘husband’, ‘child’, and, as the number of members increases, ‘grandchild’. This last category can refer to children of children that have not married and therefore continue to live with their parents (or mothers, when the respondent is not married) or to grandchildren who live with their grandparents although their parents live in a separate household, which is a practice also observed with nephews and nieces – this phenomenon is discussed in the next section. Categories that do not conform to a *broad* notion of nuclear family, such as ‘brother/sister’, ‘uncle’, ‘brother-/sister-in-law’ appear in very low

percentages and tend to be justified by peculiar circumstances such as illness and/or work.

In this sense, a *broad* nuclear family indicates a family composed by a couple and their children and, at times, grandchildren and/or nephews/nieces. This is a typical household in contemporary Cabo Delgado, although certainly not the only type. Yet, there is no word in Shimaconde and Macua to define the group of people who live in the same house or to describe a family constituted by parents and children. In Macua, there is an expression – *asana cha aka* – that means ‘my children’, which may be used to refer imperfectly to the family living under the same roof. Nonetheless, most respondents explained that the daily organisation of social reproduction and labour allocation is shared among the people who live together. For instance, food procurement and consumption, agricultural work and income management tend to be organised within the household. Also, the responsibility for children’s upbringing, education and nourishment is with their parents’, under normal circumstances.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, the household, in its not well-defined forms, can be considered a basic socio-economic unit for Macua and Maconde populations in Cabo Delgado, which justifies the choice of taking it as the unit of analysis.

While the *normal* activities for social reproduction tend to be mostly organised within the boundaries of the household, inter-household economic exchange remains a social mechanism of mutual help, to which households resort when needed. These linkages are part of the functioning of social relations and, as such, are subject to obligations and expectations. In most cases, the economic links occur through the lines of lineage or extended family, *likola* in Shimaconde and *amuci* in Macua. In ideal representations of matrilineal societies, responsibility over children and women is conferred to the maternal uncle. Interestingly, in the Shimaconde and Macua languages there is no linguistic distinction between ‘father’ and ‘uncle’ or between ‘mother’ and ‘aunt’, which may indicate that the responsibility for someone’s children was as much with their biological parents as it was with their parents’ brothers and sisters.<sup>62</sup> Yet, this is no longer the case in today’s Maconde and Macua populations. Hence this is an example of gaps between language and

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<sup>61</sup> The parents hold responsibility for their children under normal circumstances as, in fact, it happens that children may not live with their parents, which, in some cases, could mean that the responsibility falls onto a different relative – the phenomenon of *mobile children* is discussed in section 7.1.2.

<sup>62</sup> The use of the word father to refer to an uncle or, likewise, the use of the word mother to refer to an aunt tends to be translated in the Portuguese language too.

practice that suggests either over-time changes in the societal organisation or divergence between ideals and actual practices.

What is observed in today's Maconde and Macua populations in Cabo Delgado is a social fabric grounded in households that are partly autonomous in the management of productive and reproductive and partly stretched along family ties and engaged with inter-household economic exchanges of different sorts.

### **7.1.2 MOBILE CHILDREN AND INTER-HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC EXCHANGE**

As part of the survey, 79 per cent of the respondents said that they receive or give some form of economic help to other households. The questions on receiving/giving economic help (see Annex 2) were initially aimed at uncovering differentiation between households that give help and those that receive it. Yet, the picture that emerged was one in which inter-household economic links are based on obligations of reciprocity. Although it may be imbalanced, economic help is rarely unilateral. Often, socially-formed expectations on receiving help by relatives may not be fulfilled and this gives rise to tensions within the family. In this sense, inter-household economic exchange represents a safety net as much as a system of wealth redistribution, in which who *has got more* is expected to share it with the rest of the family. Complaints about not receiving the expected help are common, but it is hard to assess whether the subjectively perceived lack of help is comparable across households. Nonetheless, 21 per cent of the interviewed households said that they do not practice any form of mutual help with other households. This may result from previous discontent or absolute lack of economic possibilities – for instance, some urban households have reported that they cannot afford to buy clothes or *urban* foods that can be offered to their rural relatives.

The observed forms of inter-household economic exchange tend to be sporadic or *ad hoc* contributions that are handed out on visits or when needed. Cases of households relying on regular economic help from an extra-household member are exceptional: it may happen when a one-person household is regularly helped by a family member with better economic possibilities; this was observed mainly in the form of a brother supporting his sister. At times, help occurs as a significant one-off contribution. For instance, a younger relative (normally a son or a daughter) who has moved away from his parents and has a formal job or a

profitable *negócio* can sustain the cost of building a house for his parents. The bulk of inter-household economic links can be categorised as follows:

- Labour transfers – mobile children, agricultural work and visits to take care of ill relatives
- Exchange of goods – between rural-urban or rural-rural households
- In cash or in kind contributions to ceremonies

a) *Labour Transfers*

Labour transfers are directed at households that face temporary or long-term labour shortages and, normally, the labour-deficit household takes responsibility for nourishment of the visiting members. Labour transfers were observed in three forms.

First, children may be sent to live with their grandparents or with other (better off) relatives. In the former case, children's mobility is explained as a way to '*provide grandparents with company*'. It is evident that it is a net transfer of labour to a household where elderly people need help to run their household and *machamba(s)*. In the latter case, the decision may be taken to the advantage of both households: a child provides extra labour to the better off household, thus alleviating the original household from the economic onus of supporting a child. In some instances, children's mobility may occur outside family ties: a wealthier household in need of extra labour for house work may offer a poorer household to have one of their children living with them for some time. In these cases, the hosting household may also take responsibility to send the hosted child to school. These types of labour transfers tend to be long-term mechanisms to cope with labour shortages as a child can live at a relative's house for several years.

Second, households may help each other with agricultural work. This practice tends to be gendered – women help other women and, likewise, men help other men – and family-tied. Outside family bonds, this practice would be considered *kibarua/chibalugwa* and, therefore, it would entail a cash payment. Among relatives instead, this can be done when a household goes through temporary labour shortages, due to pregnancy, illness or seasonal shocks. This practice can be short-term or long-term – when the households are located in different areas, then some members may remain as visitors for months and receive food from the hosting household.

Third, social relations based on family ties confer an important value to visits and care for ill relatives. When a person falls ill, her/his household may face labour shortages for both productive and reproductive activities. Therefore, relatives are expected to visit and, at times, help the household with care duties and other house work. When care is involved, this practice tends to be female-dominated. At times, the visits can take up to months, with the risk of creating labour shortages in labour-sending households.

*b) Exchange of goods*

Another form of inter-household mechanism of economic help is constituted by exchange of goods. The most typical one involves the exchange of goods that are relatively scarce in the receiving household. For instance, urban households with ties in rural areas may bring clothes and *urban* foods (such as imported rice) to relatives living in rural areas and, vice versa, rural households can offer domestically-produced agricultural produce to urban relatives. In chapter 8, it will be discussed how this system of food acquisition is a fundamental component of urban food strategies to reduce household food expenditure.

*c) In cash or in kind contributions to ceremonies*

Finally, the most mentioned type of inter-household help is that associated with ceremonies – mainly funerals and initiation rites. Help in these events entails offering food and/or cash to the family hosting the ceremony. Although this form of economic help may appear trivial, it assumes a central role in both Macua and Maconde societies. Ceremonies lie at the foundation of social and lineage-based relations: economic contribution to ceremonies is an obligation and a sign of membership and affiliation as much as hosting a *rich* ceremony confers a higher socio-economic status. As it will be shown in section 7.3, women are accustomed to save some cash earnings for the initiation rites, which are gendered and therefore women are expected to contribute on their own.

In sum, there are various economic exchanges that link households across space mostly – although not only – along family bonds. Normally, these mechanisms of inter-household help are adopted when needed but the re-iterated necessity has *normalised* some of these dynamics, such as children mobility and urban household food strategies. Some households, instead, tend to be more self-contained. Nonetheless, it appears that the system of social reproduction is household-centred and intermingled with lineage-based mechanisms of help.

In the rest of chapter, the analysis will be taken inside the household to look at issues of marriage, intra-household decision-making and income management.

## **7.2 MARRIAGE AND INTRA-HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING**

Intra-household decision-making practices revolve around marital and other types of familial relationships. This section is dedicated to the discussion of marriage (7.2.1) and decision-making in areas that are important to well-being outcomes (7.2.2). Given the purposes of this work, particular emphasis is placed on decision-making on food (7.2.3). The section is concerned with providing a descriptive account of gender roles in decision-making and also in questioning the validity of gendered segregation hypotheses in specific decision-making spheres.

### **7.2.1 MARRIAGE AS AN ECONOMIC CONTRACT**

Among the Macua and Maconde populations in Cabo Delgado, marriage is a socio-economic contract. Marital relationships give rise to economic obligations between husband and wife. The husband is expected to, and often does in practice, give his spouse(s) a cash allowance, which the wife uses to meet the basic household needs, and to provide for his children's economic support. The wife is expected to, and almost always does, cook for the husband, wash his clothes and prepare the water for his bath; she is also responsible for carrying out house chores and child care. As shown in chapter 6, women participate in paid work and business activities, mostly with the consensus of their husband who may see additional cash earnings as desirable or necessary for the household's well-being. These economic obligations between spouses distinguish a marital relationship from other less-binding sexual relationships. During fieldwork, I have witnessed a quarrel in which a woman was angrily asking her husband: *'Who washed your clothes?!'*, which is an euphemism used to convey that she was aware of her husband's betrayal. Extra-marital relationships tend to be hidden but, to some extent, tolerated. Yet, problems arise when other relationships begin to take the looks of a marital relationship; that is, when the system of economic exchange is at risk.

Most of the interviewed households are monogamous. Yet, there are some cases of polygamy. The vast majority of women who were questioned about polygamy expressed antipathy for it, with some differences between Macua and

Maconde women though. The Macua people tend to practice *polygamia errante*, whereby a man has different wives who live in different houses and alternately visits each wife. This is the typical form of polygamy found in matrilineal societies, where women remain at their village and the husband relocates upon marriage. Instead, since the Maconde people are not matrilineal, polygamous households are composed by a man who lives together with his wives (normally two). In both cases, polygamy signals relative wealth because it shows the husband's economic ability to support more than one wife. All the polygamous households interviewed in Mueda were headed by young men with successful *negócios* – e.g. clothes trader, *barraca* owner, photographer. Moreover, the polygamous husbands had allocated a *machamba* to each wife, while retaining one for themselves. Being *errante*, polygamy can be more difficult to detect among the Macua people – i.e. some respondents engaged with polygamous marriages may have not declared it in the interviews. Of those Macua women who said that their husband was polygamous, many complained about the lack of economic help they receive. In fact, *polygamia errante* tends to render husbands less accountable than in polygamous households where the women living together need to receive the same cash allowance and economic benefits for the marriage to survive. For these reasons, the interviewed Macua women tended to be more critical of polygamy than the Maconde respondents, which is a further indication that marriage has the character of an economic contract.

When the economic obligations are not satisfied a marriage can be easily dissolved, upon request of either husband or wife. A marriage with no economic obligations fails to fulfil its principal *raison d'être*. Separations and divorces are fairly common – 14 out of 120 respondents were divorced at the time of the interview but many of the married women interviewed as part of the survey or in other interviews were in second, third or fourth marriages. For a Macua household, breaking the marriage entails the departure of the husband with his belongings. Therefore, in principle, a woman shall not see her economic condition radically altered since she maintains ownership of land (if any) and other assets. For a Maconde household, separation leads to the departure of the wife, who loses access to most productive resources, including land. Hence, the woman's economic conditions shall significantly deteriorate. Some women, by going back to their family, may receive help and land to cultivate, which could partly offset the previous losses. In both cases though, there is a degree of variation in the implications of a separation, following different agreements between spouses that can be more or less

disadvantageous for the woman. Some respondents have explained that belongings or their value are equally divided between the spouses. In fact, the *rules* for separation follow from other *rules of residency* – i.e. the Macua husband-to-be relocates to his wife village while, in the Maconde society, the wife-to-be is the one who moves to the husband village – which may have not been fulfilled in the first place.

Although marital relationships tend to be unstable, marriage continues to represent the *ideal* status to gain access to a better quality of life for many of the interviewed women. It is evident that marriage is of paramount importance for both men and women, it is a bilateral exchange. Yet, the greater economic power retained by men creates the conditions under which women believe that marriage is especially needed for a woman to have a *better* life. The woman's contributions to the marriage and household, both in cash earnings and reproductive duties, are overlooked by both men and women. In the previous chapter, it was shown that women extensively participate in paid work and/or cash-earning activities and nonetheless accounts often do not reflect women's ability to earn cash incomes and use them at the advantage of the household. The majority of the interviewed women, Macua and Maconde, explained that a woman who enjoys a good life is one who is in a good marriage, in which the spouses '*understand each other*' and jointly take decisions to run their household well. The only groups of women who had a different opinion on marriage were the pensioners in Mueda, according to whom a woman should have a *machamba* and '*produce well*', run a small business activity to make some extra cash earnings and receive a pension; then, being married or not could be good or bad but it is not essential to the women's well-being. In a way, pensions replace husbands and free women from the need to get married.

Nonetheless, marital and other intra-household relationships remain foundational to intra-household decision-making practices, as it is described in the next two sections.

### **7.2.2 DECISION-MAKING ON CHILDREN'S EDUCATION AND HEALTH ISSUES**

A widely-used argument says that when women have greater control on household income they tend to channel more resources into children's education (see chapter 2). This argument is hard to verify in absence of gender-disaggregated expenditure data, which was not collected as part of this research. However, qualitative and

quantitative evidence suggests that Macua and Maconde people in Cabo Delgado assign the key responsibility for sending children to school to fathers. In this sense, it is not entirely clear how women’s access to cash incomes could translate directly into increased investment in children’s education. In other words, if norms and practice see fathers as the primary actors in relation to children’s education, it is essential to investigate what factors drive divergence and induce mothers to channel their incomes into children’s education.

**TABLE 7.2A DECISION-MAKING ON SENDING CHILDREN TO SCHOOL**

	<b>Woman (respondent)</b>	<b>Another woman in the household</b>	<b>Wife and husband together (or mother and father)</b>	<b>Husband (or father)</b>
<b>Who decides about sending children to school?</b>	24.2 %	4.1 %	20 %	<b>43.3 %</b>

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

**TABLE 7.2B PAYING FOR CHILDREN’S SCHOOL**

	<b>Woman (respondent)</b>	<b>Children’s father</b>	<b>Another household member</b>	<b>N/A (no children in school)</b>
<b>Who pays for children’s school?</b>	26.7 %	<b>45 %</b>	10 %	18.3 %

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

The tables show that husbands – or children’s fathers – tend to play an important role in decision-making and financial responsibility in children’s education. At the same time, women – or mothers, in some cases – are not completely excluded. In fact, 24 per cent of the sample makes decisions on sending children to school and 26 per cent of the sample even sustains the costs of children’s education. In Mozambique, primary education is free since 2005 but school fees are maintained for upper primary, secondary and tertiary education (Fox et al. 2012). The abolition of school fees and free provision of textbooks for primary school does not mean that families do not need to sustain any school-related cost though. In fact, children need to have school uniforms, notebooks and other basic school equipment for which

families need to pay. All of these expenses are included in the category 'payment for children's school'.

Why is it important to distinguish between 'husband and 'father' in relation to children's education? Due to unstable marital relationships, cases of households in which a couple lives together with children of their own and/or children of a different mother/father are common. In these circumstances of divorce and re-marriage, the arrangements for children's education can vary but, in normal circumstances, it is the children's father who is expected and *often* does provide for children's education.

Deviations from the norm are attributable to negotiations between husband and wife (or ex-husband and ex-wife) and/or to the occurrence of particular events. Women's responsibility for children's education results from the happening of particular events. For instance, a woman may be obliged to provide for children's education when her children have not been recognised by their father or when the father refuses to take on responsibility after separation. However, there are also less common cases of households where the better economic position of mothers or the fact that they are the only earners justifies their decision to assume economic responsibility for children's education. However, the failure to provide for children's education is normally seen as their fathers' inability or unwillingness to fulfil their duties.

With regard to health-related decisions, again, both women and men matter. Interestingly, men seem to feature even in those areas that pertain exclusively to women's body, such as pregnancy. As the table below shows, the percentages of households where the respondent decides autonomously whether she needs to see a doctor or advises another pregnant woman that she should go to the hospital is not very different from the percentage of households where the husband appears to be person who sends the wife or daughter to the hospital, 37.5 and 33.3 per cent respectively. Similar results are also found for decisions on a child's illness, with 35.8 per cent of the sample where the female respondent said to be in charge for such decisions and 30 per cent where the husband or child's father decides. The percentages of households where wife and husband decide together are also fairly high. Overall, there seems to be a high degree of variation in this type of decisions.

TABLE 7.2C DECISION-MAKING ON HEALTH

	Woman (respondent)	Wife and husband together	Husband (or another male member of the household)
Who decides about seeing a doctor or going to the hospital when a woman in the household is pregnant?	37.5 %	20 %	33.3 %
Who decides what do when a child is ill?	35.8 %	29.2 %	30 %

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

Economic responsibilities are not to be overlooked. In fact, going to the hospital or to the local health centre may involve transport costs and, if a prescription for medicines is given, then the family needs to sustain the cost to purchase the medicine. By the same token, the high participation of men in decisions on pregnancy may be associated with the fact that the husband needs to pay for transport and/or medicines.

By way of illustration, consider a fragment of a life history. Amina is married with four children, who live with her in Nangua (Metuge). She makes *nipa* (home-made distilled alcoholic drink) and her husband is a fisherman. Both Amina and her husband occasionally work as agricultural labourers (*kibarua*). At the time of the interview, Amina was pregnant and a few days earlier she felt ill. She wanted to go to the hospital in Pemba but her husband did not have any money to give her. Amina did not have any money either and so asked for money to her aunt who, in the event, paid for Amina's transport from Metuge to Pemba. This goes to show the importance of costs in the management of health-related issues. Often, it may happen that women ask their husbands for money for health-related issues. This, at least partly, explains why such a high percentage of men appear to influence health-related decisions, even when they concern women or children.

In sum, decision-making on education and health is subject to norms, which, in turn, are more or less systematically not observed. Non-compliance can be driven by a number of factors such individual financial capacities, possibly interacting with gender norms and intra-household power relations. The key message though is that decision-making in education and health tends to involve both female and male

members of the household and therefore gendered roles manifest themselves in ways that are cloudier than commonly believed.

### **7.2.3 DECISION-MAKING ON FOOD**

Although food may be considered an exclusive realm of women at first sight, a closer look at decision-making around food shows a more complex picture. Responsibility for food production and acquisition is shared by women and men, even though the division of roles may be imbalanced at the expense of women. For instance, women – or children on their behalf – normally go to the market to buy food on a daily basis and they are also those who usually carry the agricultural produce from the *machamba* to the house. Moreover, women tend to have more responsibilities than men in the daily maintenance of the *machamba*. A domain that is (almost) entirely female-dominated is that of food *management* and preparation. By food management I refer to the daily administration of food storage and decisions on the quantities of food to be cooked and, at times, purchased.

Yet, the visible presence of women in all food domains conceals the various roles played by men, especially in influencing decisions around food. While in most cases women are able to exercise a high degree of autonomy, in some others women are the agents executing decisions taken by male members of the family.

**TABLE 7.2D DECISION-MAKING ON FOOD**

	<b>Woman (respondent)</b>	<b>Another woman in the household</b>	<b>Wife and husband together</b>	<b>Husband</b>	<b>Wife and husband separately</b>
<b>Who decides what food is prepared every day?</b>	<b>55.8 %</b>	7.5 %	11.7 %	24.2 %	-
<b>Who decides how to feed small children?</b>	<b>55 %</b>	3.3 %	15.8 %	19.2 %	-
<b>Who decides how much money is spent on food?</b>	30 %	-	13.3 %	<b>35.8 %</b>	20 %

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

The table above shows that for more than half of the sample a woman – the respondent or another woman in the household – decides what food to prepare for the rest of the family and for small children. Yet, the results also indicate that in 24 and 19 per cent of the cases the husband is the person who decides what food should be cooked and fed to small children, respectively. In a considerable number of cases, this type of decisions is taken by husband and wife together. By looking at decisions over the amount of money that can be spent on food it can be seen that a lower percentage of women who hold this responsibility, to the advantage of men – 35 per cent of the interviewed sample. Interestingly, in 20 per cent of the households women and men tend to manage their money separately. Joint or separate management of household incomes will be discussed in section 7.3. These figures demonstrate that women play a crucial role in decisions taken over food. However, there are a considerable number of cases in which husbands openly influence food-related decisions.

It is worth making a note on the extensiveness of food purchase. In fact, the food-related decision-making picture described above needs to be understood as part of a context where food purchase is a common practice in both urban and rural areas . Although farming households produce food for own consumption, other than

for commercial use, domestically-produced food needs to be complemented with purchased food because a) it may not be sufficient to cover all household food needs and/or b) some types of food are not domestically produced and need to be acquired. These issues will be discussed in the next two chapters and food expenses will be addressed in section 7.3 of this chapter, for now it shall suffice to underline that virtually all households interviewed in Cabo Delgado (as part of the survey and in qualitative phases of research) reported purchasing food on a rather frequent basis (daily, in several cases).

By checking whether variation in the person who makes food-related decisions may be linked to wealth levels, survey data suggests that the person who decides what food needs to be prepared or fed to small children does not seem to vary according to asset-based wealth groups. Yet, the table below shows that the person who decides how much money can be spent on food is more likely to be the female respondent in the poorer quartiles and, conversely, the husband in the wealthier quartiles. Although the relationship is not statistically significant, it can be seen that the percentage of female respondents who decide how much money is spent on food in their households decreases with increasing wealth levels in the sample.<sup>63</sup>

**TABLE 7.2E WHO DECIDES HOW MUCH MONEY IS SPENT ON FOOD? (BY WEALTH QUARTILE)**

	1 <sup>st</sup> quartile	2 <sup>nd</sup> quartile	3 <sup>rd</sup> quartile	4 <sup>th</sup> quartile	total	p- value
<b>Woman (respondent)</b>	<b>37.1%</b>	31.4%	20%	<b>11.4%</b>	100%	.159
<b>Husband</b>	19%	26.2%	28.6%	26.2%	100%	

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

What causes women to have greater or lesser autonomy in decision-making around food? Could it be explained by the fact that more women in the poorer quartiles engage with paid work/cash-earning activities, which is in turn reflected in greater autonomy in decisions on income use? To address these questions, two issues can be looked at: a) numbers of *cash-earning* and *non-cash-earning* women by wealth quartile (table 7.2F) and b) marital status by wealth quartile (table 7.2G).

<sup>63</sup> The correlation is statistically insignificant because the number of husbands who decide how much money needs to be spent on food does not increase steadily across wealth quartiles but it is instead subject to a minor decline between the third and fourth quartile. The figures though are telling of women's decision on food expenses across wealth quartiles.

The percentages of *cash-earning* and *non-cash-earning* women by wealth quartile suggest that more women in the poorest quartile are *cash-earning* and the opposite is true for *non-cash-earning* women; the relationship is also statistically significant with p-value at 0.023. Therefore, women's ability to earn cash incomes may translate into greater decision-making autonomy on food expenses in the poorest quartile. Yet, it is crucial to observe that percentages of divorced (and to a lesser extent, widowed) women are higher in the poorer quartiles while the percentages of married women steadily increased across the wealth quartiles. This indicates that greater autonomy on shares of income that can be spent on food may be partly explained by the fact that some respondents in the poorer quartiles are not married and therefore do not need to negotiate this type of decision with a husband.

**TABLE 7.2F HAVE YOU DONE ANY KIND OF PAID WORK AND/OR CASH-EARNING ACTIVITY IN THE PAST YEAR? (BY WEALTH QUARTILE)**

	1 <sup>st</sup> quartile	2 <sup>nd</sup> quartile	3 <sup>rd</sup> quartile	4 <sup>th</sup> quartile	total	p-value
<b>Yes</b>	<b>28.1%</b>	25.8%	28.1%	<b>18%</b>	100%	.023
<b>No</b>	<b>16.1%</b>	23.3%	16.7%	<b>46.7%</b>	100%	

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

**TABLE 7.2G MARITAL STATUS BY WEALTH QUARTILE**

	1st quartile	2nd quartile	3rd quartile	4th quartile	total	p-value
<b>Married</b>	20.8%	21.9%	28.1%	29.2%	100%	.001
<b>Divorced</b>	<b>64.3%</b>	<b>28.6%</b>	-	<b>7.1%</b>	<b>100%</b>	
<b>Widow</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>100%</b>	

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

It is important to bear in mind that these correlations may reveal some aspects while obscuring others. As discussed many times in earlier chapters, simplistic categorisations of *cash-earning* vs *non-cash-earning* women or married vs divorced/widowed women need to be considered with caution. Two caveats spring to mind in this case. First, among divorced and widows respondents there could be (and in fact there are) respondents who live with other male members that are responsible for food-related decisions. Second, some married women may be the breadwinners in their households (because their husbands are unemployed, for instance) and, as such, gain greater independence in income-related decisions or,

on the contrary, hand over their earnings to the husband. These issues will be explored in the next section.

In addition, it is sensible to consider tacit ways in which the husband's preferences may shape decisions on food. Since cooking is a fundamental component of marriage – it is one of the principal obligations the wife owes her husband – there is evidence that a wife may be induced to prepare those foods that are preferred to the husband.

'I have some cassava leaves to make *matapa* but I am not going to cook it because my husband does not like cassava leaves' Flora, market vendor, Pemba

This goes to show that disentangling how decisions are formed and who influences them may require consideration for tacit and implicit reproduction of norms, which may favour the husband's preferences or choices.

Importantly, qualitative research has also highlighted a marked disparity between older and younger women. For instance, a young woman who cooks a meal for the rest of the family, including older women, may be following guidelines and decisions expressed by older women. Decision-making power is fractured along the lines of gender and age. When these practices occur along the line of age – i.e. older women tell younger women what to do and transfer house chores onto them – it is justified by the necessity to teach younger women how to carry out their duties. Beyond teaching, the observed intra-household division of labour suggests that age-based power relations shape decision-making habits and interact with gender-based power relations. In other words, young girls are likely to be the members with the weakest bargaining power within the household.

In sum, although the food domain is female-dominated, men play roles within it that are often overlooked. Not only, there are also elements of differentiation among women that have to do with their economic position, marital status and age that also influence their capacity to make decisions on food expenses.

### **7.3 INTRA-HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT AND USE OF INCOMES**

Intra-household management and use of income is a complex mechanism that entails instances of conflict as well as cooperation, as indicated by some of the

literature on household and intra-household dynamics (see chapter 2). As such, a simple distinction between joint or separate control of income may not suffice to capture diversity in income management arrangements and, importantly, to analyse gendered use of incomes and spending patterns.

This section looks at intra-household financial responsibilities for household social reproduction through the system of cash allowances (7.3.1) and then addresses issues of income management (7.3.2) to conclude by looking at gendered forms of consumption (7.3.3).

### **7.3.1 HOUSEHOLD'S REPRODUCTION AND CASH ALLOWANCES**

The household's social reproduction is considered to be joint responsibility of husband and wife or, more generally, men and women. Gendered spending responsibilities broadly reflect the simplified association of paid work with male-dominated spheres and, similarly, unpaid work with female domains (chapter 6). Yet, it will be shown that even in the context of managing expenditures the gendered responsibilities are allocated in more complex ways. This section is dedicated to addressing issues of income and expenditure concerning household social reproduction. Who is responsible for expenditures to meet basic household needs, such as food? In the Macua and Maconde societies living in Cabo Delgado, the household basic expenses are normally managed through a gendered system of cash allowances.

A cash allowance is a variable amount of money that is handed over from an individual to another – often from a male to a female, through family ties (e.g. husband and wife or brother and sister). Cash allowances serve to finance different forms of consumption that can benefit the rest of the family or only particular individuals; it depends on the type of allowance. '*How much money*' and '*how often*' is determined by a) income levels, b) household's expenditure planning and c) relative bargaining power of involved individuals.

The data collected shows that the practice whereby the husband gives a cash allowance to his wife is very common. Of the women interviewed as part of the survey, 72.5 per cent receive a cash allowance; they receive it from the husband (66 per cent) or another household/family member – normally a brother (6 per cent). Proportionally, there are more *cash-earning* women that do *not* receive a cash

allowance. In fact, the great majority of *non-cash-earning* women receive a cash allowance from their husband. The direction of causation will be investigated later on in this section.

**TABLE 7.3A CASH ALLOWANCES RECEIVED BY CASH-EARNING AND NON-CASH-EARNING RESPONDENTS**

		Do you receive a cash allowance?			
		no cash allowance	cash allowance from spouse	cash allowance from other HHM	total
Have you done any paid work in the past year?	yes	25.8%	42.5%	5.8%	74.2%
	no	1.6%	23.3%	0.8%	25.8%

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

What is the function of cash allowances? Women and men explained that cash allowances serve to meet basic household needs. The vast majority of the interviewed women said that they use cash allowances to buy *food and clothes*, which is a *figurative* category that refers to purchases of relatively inexpensive goods needed for household maintenance and reproduction. Cash allowances are in fact used to buy food (on a daily basis), clothes for all household members, dishes, soap, charcoal and water. All of these expenditures are normally taken care of by women or children on their behalf, but mostly with men's cash incomes. Below it will be shown that also women's cash incomes are used to cover these expenses however, it is important to recognise the primary role played by men's incomes in securing household social reproduction.

In this context, women buy food and other house stuff because they are expected to do so, according to existing gender norms. While cash incomes may be given by male members of the household or family, women are responsible for the *act* of purchasing and using that money sensibly (in some cases this means following the husband's directions). This is a crucial point in the assessment of gendered spending patterns: if women are socially expected to use cash allowances for particular forms of consumption that tend to be family-related then there will be a bias in over-reporting such forms of consumption and under-reporting or even hiding other less socially-accepted ones. Claims that women channel greater resources

into children's education and nutrition relative to men need to take account of this bias in reporting consumption.

At times, cash allowances are also used for *xitique* and to run a *negócio*. The practice of *xitique* is a saving mechanism whereby the group of people involved commit to *entregar* (consign) some goods or, more likely, a certain amount of money to a member of the group on a rotational basis. This allows each member to periodically hold a *higher* amount of cash that can be used to sustain high expenses. The practice of *xitique* tends to be gendered – i.e. women participate in women-only groups of *xitique* and likewise men in men-only groups. In Cabo Delgado, *xitique* is common especially among women – 35 per cent of the survey respondents practice *xitique*. Interestingly, in some cases it happens that the money used by women to participate in *xitique* groups is given to them by their husbands. By the same token, *negócios* run by women are at times financed with men's cash allowances, as explained in the previous chapter.

These cases – use of cash allowances to finance *xitique* and *negócio* – often describe situations in which *marriage is working well* and, importantly, cash incomes are sufficient and well-managed to save and/or be invested in other productive activities. In other words, these cases represent instances of intra-household cooperation. According to the respondents, a marriage functions when husband and wife plan expenditures together. Regardless of separate or joint control of incomes (discussed in the next section), joint planning may involve mutual handing over of cash earnings (between husband and wife) with the purpose to maintain and/or enhance the household well-being.

In fact, while cash allowances are normally handed over from husband (or male member of the family) to wife it can also happen that women who have their own income(s) give a sum of money to their husband. Yet, the function of this type of cash allowance is very different from the one described above – this money is used by men for individualised forms of consumption, clothes and cigarettes for example. This seems to be completely acceptable for women, who in fact give their husbands such *pocket money* precisely with this intention – '*I quit my job because I did not even earn enough money to get my husband a shirt and some cigarettes*' (female respondent, Pemba). Alternatively, the woman's money can be added up to the man's money for the household and used for joint planning.

Many female respondents have explained that when a woman is not happy with the amount of money received from the husband, she can decide to hide a part

of her own cash earnings from the husband. The sums of money exchanged between husband and wife are described as one of the key sources of tension in a couple and also constitute a domain where bargaining power is (more or less) visibly exercised within the household. What determines bargaining power with respect to cash allowance? Does a woman's ability to earn cash income increase her bargaining power over cash allowances?

By disaggregating the data by marital status, it is possible to see that half of the women who *do not* receive a cash allowance are either divorced or widowed. Not only, widowed and divorced women are poorly represented in the group of *non-cash-earning* women – see tables 7.3B and 7.3C below.

**TABLE 7.3B CASH ALLOWANCE BY MARITAL STATUS FOR CASH-EARNING WOMEN (N=89)**

		Do you receive a cash allowance?			
		no cash allowance	cash allowance from spouse	cash allowance from other HHM	total
What is your marital status?	married	22.4%	74.6%	3%	100%
	divorced	<b>71.4%</b>	7.1%	21.5%	100%
	widowed	<b>75%</b>	-	25%	100%

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

**TABLE 7.3C CASH ALLOWANCE BY MARITAL STATUS FOR NON-CASH-EARNING WOMEN (N=31)**

		Do you receive a cash allowance?			
		no cash allowance	cash allowance from spouse	cash allowance from other HHM	total
What is your marital status?	married	3.4%	96.6%	-	100%
	divorced	-	-	-	-
	widowed	50%	-	50%	100%

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

How can this finding be explained? There are two possible interpretations. Ability to earn cash incomes *frees* women from the necessity to receive a cash allowance from a male member of their family or, on the contrary, women who do not receive regular economic support are forced into paid work and cash-earning activities. Although these interpretations are not mutually exclusive, it is argued here that the

second interpretation is the most likely in the studied contexts of Cabo Delgado for the following reasons:

- Many of the activities performed by women tend to generate low returns that would not be sufficient to liberate them from the need or convenience to receive the cash allowance;
- The high proportion of divorced and widowed women in the *cash-earning* group suggests that these women need to engage in paid work and/or cash earning activities because they have reduced access to male cash allowances;
- Cash allowances are seen as men's duty and, by consequence, receiving a cash allowance does not have a negative connotation associated with being economically dependent on someone else's incomes; in other words, although the majority of the interviewed women appreciate their ability to earn an income, this does not necessarily translate into the aspiration to be free from receiving a cash allowance.

This interpretation is further corroborated by figures showing that in the group of *cash-earning* women the higher numbers of women who do not receive a cash allowance are those that contribute to most or all household expenses with their own incomes. By removing divorced and widowed women from the sample, it can be observed that the figure drops while everything else stays almost unchanged, thus indicating that that number was driven upwards by the over-representation of divorced and widowed women in that category – see tables 7.3D and 7.3E below.

**TABLE 7.3D CAPACITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE HOUSEHOLD AND CASH ALLOWANCE, CASH-EARNING RESPONDENTS (N=89)**

		Do you receive a cash allowance?				
		no cash allowance	cash allowance from spouse	cash allowance from other HHM	N/A	total
How much can you contribute to the household expenses with your income?	Nothing	-	2.2%	-	-	2.2%
	Almost nothing (0 – 30%)	3.4%	<b>31.5%</b>	1.1%	-	37.1%
	Some of it (30 – 60 %)	2.2%	<b>12.4%</b>	1.1%	-	15.7%
	Most of it/all (> 60%)	<b>24.7%</b>	10.1%	5.6%	-	40.4%
	N/A	-	1.1%	-	3.4%	4.5%
<b>total</b>		30.3%	57.3%	7.9%	3.4%	<b>100%</b>

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

**TABLE 7.3E CAPACITY TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE HOUSEHOLD AND CASH ALLOWANCE, CASH-EARNING AND MARRIED RESPONDENTS (N=67)**

		no cash allowance	cash allowance from spouse	cash allowance from other HHM	N/A	total
How much can you contribute to the household expenses with your income?	Nothing	-	3%	-	-	3%
	Almost nothing (0 – 30%)	4.5%	<b>41.8%</b>	-	1.5%	47.8%
	Some of it (30 – 60 %)	3%	<b>16.4%</b>	1.5%	-	20.9%
	Most of it/all (> 60%)	<b>9%</b>	<b>11.9%</b>	1.5%	-	22.4%
	N/A	-	1.5%	-	4.5%	6%
<b>total</b>		16.4%	74.6%	3%	6%	<b>100%</b>

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

After excluding divorced and widowed women, only 6 women (9 per cent of the sample considered, n=67) figure as capable to contribute to most or all of household expenses with their own incomes and, simultaneously, do not receive a cash allowance. These may be cases in which a) the woman is the breadwinner in the household, b) the household is temporarily relying on the woman's income due to shocks such as husband's job loss, or c) households in which conflict between husband and wife resulted in the withdrawal of the cash allowance. Logically, it makes sense that when a woman has her cash earnings, she may not need to rely on the husband's cash allowance. Yet, for a woman to *choose* not to receive a cash allowance, her income needs to be sufficiently high. Interviews with female pensioners suggest that such *replacement mechanism* is observable among pensioners in Cabo Delgado. Access to a regular income may free women not only from the need to receive a cash allowance but also from the need to get married altogether. Survey data does not strongly support this account but this may be due to the limited number of female pensioners in the sample – see table 7.3F below.

**TABLE 7.3F PENSIONS AND CASH ALLOWANCES**

		Do you receive a cash allowance?			
		no cash allowance	cash allowance from spouse	cash allowance from other HHM	total
Do you receive a pension?	pension	5*	7	1	13
	no pension	28	72	7	107
		33	79	8	120

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

\* 2 of these 5 were also *non-cash-earning* in the year before the interview. From the tables above it is possible to see that overall only 2 *cash-earning* women did not receive a cash allowance and it seems this is explained by the fact that they receive a pension.

If the exchange of cash allowances is bi-directional (between husband and wife, for instance), it may result in greater incentives for men to give generous cash allowances. In this sense, when a woman is economically active and able/willing to hand over part of her cash earnings to her husband – for joint planning or individualised forms of consumption – it may increase her bargaining power in negotiating over her own cash allowance, on the basis of reciprocity. Yet, the very high percentage of *non-cash-earning* women who receive a cash allowance from

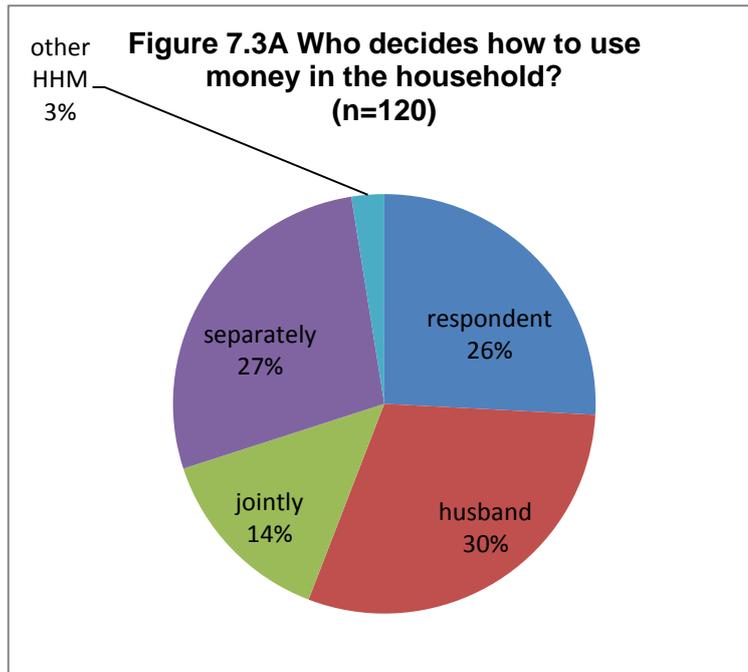
the husband or another male member of the family suggests that participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities is not necessarily a key determinant of increased bargaining power over cash allowances. On the contrary and as shown, this is more likely to indicate that women are forced into paid work due to lack of access other forms of income. It appears that the likelihood of receiving a fair cash allowance depends more on the husband's and/or couple's ability to manage well (multiple) streams of income rather than by women's access to their own incomes.

In sum, the system of cash allowance is a practice to ensure household social reproduction and the gendered character of such system makes it one of the domains where bargaining power is exercised. However, it does not seem that women's ability to earn or access an income translates into greater capacity to enforce their right to cash allowances. Conversely, it seems that lack of access to cash allowances may partly explain women's participation into paid work.

### **7.3.2 JOINT AND SEPARATE CONTROL OF CASH INCOMES: WOMEN'S INCOMES COMPLEMENT MEN'S INCOMES**

Anthropological and feminist contributions have long rejected the household income pooling hypothesis, showing how incomes can also be managed separately – especially in domestic domains in some African societies (e.g. Fapohunda 1988). Indeed, both joint and separate control of incomes is observable among the Macua and Maconde populations of Cabo Delgado. In fact, joint and separate controls over cash incomes are broad categories describing a variety of different practices that may involve partial pooling of resources or (almost) complete absence of it. The system of cash allowances described above illustrates some of these complexities. For instance, consider a household where uni-directional cash allowances take place but incomes are otherwise managed separately, is this household to be considered income-pooling or not? An analytical framework that could be useful is one that takes the income-pooling and separate-incomes hypotheses as the extreme cases of a continuum along which most households are situated.

Answers to the question '*Who decides how to use money in the household?*' delineated a picture characterised by a high degree of variation (see figure 7.3A). In fact, 83 per cent of the sample is almost equally divided among three categories: households where the female respondent decides how to use money (26 per cent), households where the husband is responsible for such decisions (30 per cent) and

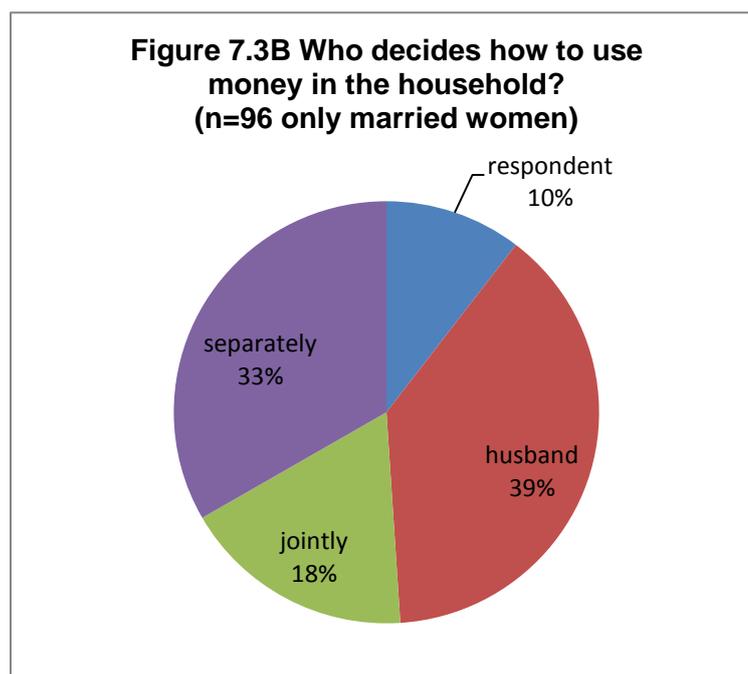


households where the respondent and her husband retain independent control over their respective incomes (27 per cent). A 14 per cent of the sample reported joint decision-making on incomes.

It is important to consider that the 26 per cent of households

where the woman decides over household income includes women who are divorced or widowed. What would happen if divorced and widowed women were excluded from the sample?

If the same pie chart is reproduced including only married women (figure 7.3B), then the category of households where the respondent decides how to dispose of the household income shrinks. At the same time, the number of households where either the husband or husband and wife separately make decisions on how to use incomes expands. A sizeable percentage of the sample (18 per cent) manages incomes jointly. These findings suggest that when a male – the

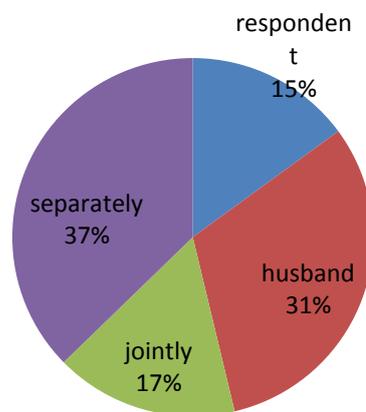


husband in this sample – is present then he tends to retain control over household cash incomes or on his own income (in cases where wife and husband manage their incomes separately). In the latter case, women can control their own incomes but they do not hold primary

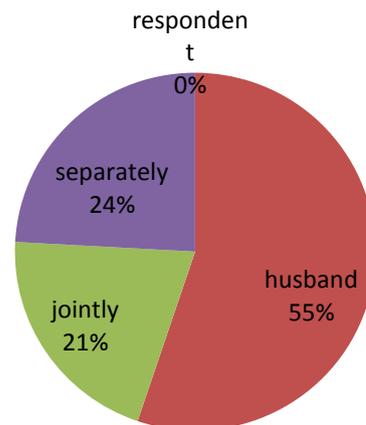
responsibility over household income.

This work is interested in understanding if women's participation in paid work and cash-earning activities translates into increased capacity to make decisions on their own and household cash income(s). To address this question a distinction is made between *cash-earning* and *non-cash-earning* women within the sample of married women.<sup>64</sup> The results – graphically represented in figures 7.3C and 7.3 D –

**Figure 7.3C Who decides how to use money in the household? (n=67 only married AND cash-earning women)**



**Figure 7.3D Who decides how to use money in the household? (n=29 only married AND non-cash-earning women)**

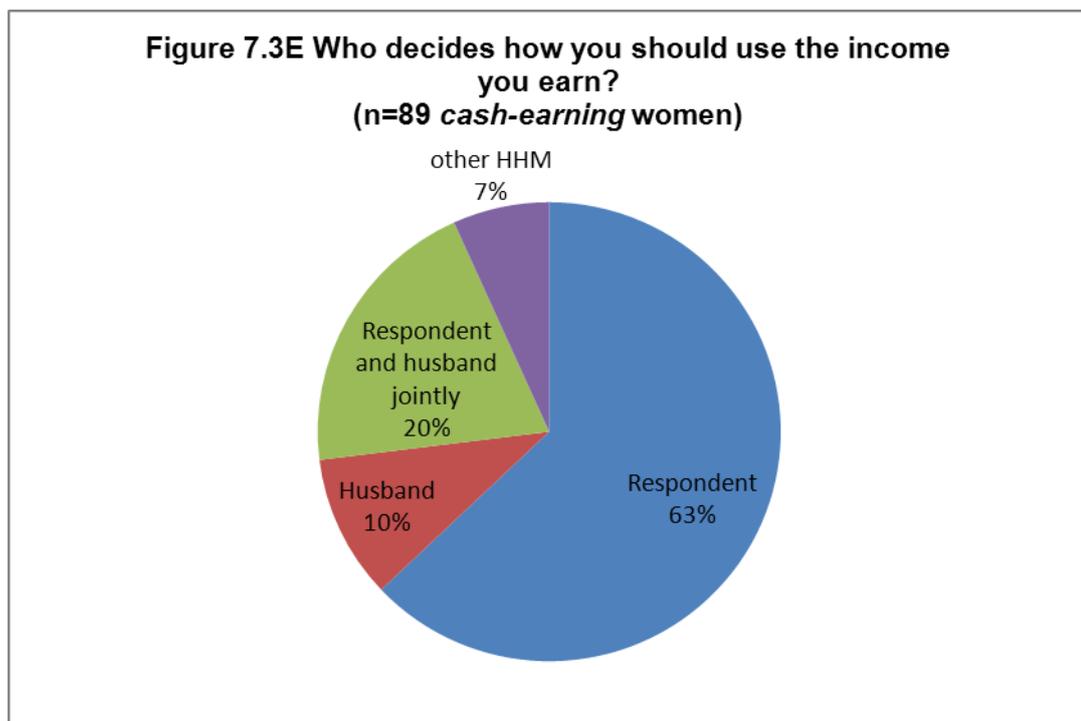


do suggest that *cash-earning* women appear to be more capable to control their own earnings (37 per cent) or even the household income (15 per cent). In other words, data shows that women's ability to earn an income does translate, in some cases, into increased control over cash income in the context of Macua and Maconde populations of northern Mozambique. This leads to conclude that women's participation in paid work and cash earnings activities partly explains how household and individual members' incomes are managed. Therefore, while women's access to incomes may not translate into greater bargaining power over cash allowances, it does seem to

<sup>64</sup> It is clear that most of the divorced and widowed women tend to control the household income as it also corresponds to their own income. In some cases, they receive cash allowances from a brother or another male member of their family but this does not seem to undermine their control over household incomes and expenditures. Only one widow reported that her brother decides how to dispose of money in the household.

entail greater control over incomes. Yet, it is also important to recognise the persistent influence of the husband (or other male members) over incomes in all categories, which supports the broad point raised in this chapter on the importance of looking at gender relations between women and men within a household (or family) rather than women's decisions only.

In turn, women's earned income is addressed. Given the findings discussed so far, it is logical to expect to find that *cash-earning* women tend to maintain control over their own income. In fact, figure 7.3E below shows that more than half of the respondents reported that they can independently decide how to use their income. In a few cases, the husband is indicated as the person who decides how to use the women's income. This may happen when the woman's *negócio* is financed with male incomes for instance. A sizeable percentage of the respondents (20 per cent) manage their earned income jointly with their husband.



Whether joint management implies women's and men's equal power in determining decisions is another matter. By the same token, when women state that they can decide how to use their incomes, it is difficult to disentangle whether it describes the same condition for all respondents or whether some of them are influenced in the making of their decisions but, due to subjective perceptions and social norms, it is not considered to be an interference with their own decision-making. The difficulty to draw clear-cut and internally consistent categories is an

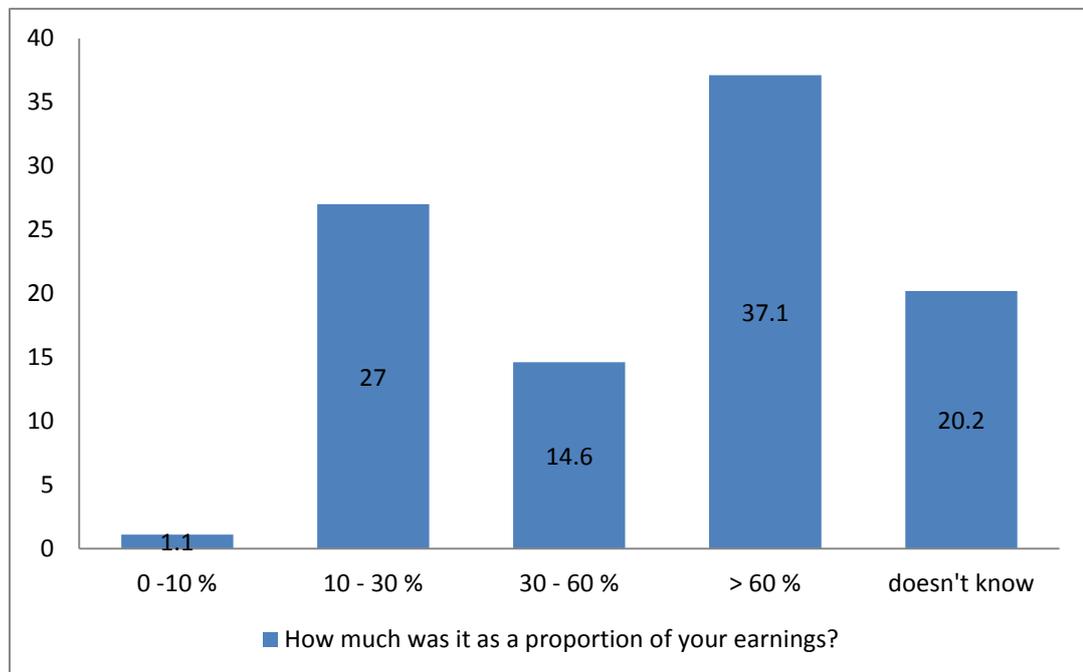
important aspect that needs to be considered when assessing whether separate or joint control of income is *more beneficial* to individual members' and household well-being. A comprehensive investigation of these matters is beyond the scope of this work but, by focusing on food, it is in fact not clear that separate control of income, whereby women have greater control of cash income, translates necessarily into greater food expenses. In fact, considering that men's cash allowances are the primary source of cash for food expenses, having access to higher cash allowances may contribute positively to food expenses. At the same time though, women also use their earnings to buy food, as it will be explained below. In general, although patterns of income use have a gender character, defining who manages what income, who decides how income should be managed and who actually uses it in practice and in what ways breaks through clear-cut distinctions. Hence the overall assessment results to be a slippery exercise also from the angle of intra-household decision-making and management of income. In the event, although women's ability to decide how to use their income is to be considered desirable in terms of women's empowerment, the majority of respondents described the joint management and planning scenario as the *best* one for the good functioning of the household.

An aspect that is stressed here is the complementary nature of women's and men's incomes. According to the existing gender norms, women do not have the duty to contribute to household basic needs with their own incomes, although this happens frequently. In the previous section it was shown that *cash-earning* women do receive a cash allowance in the majority of the cases (if divorced and widowed women are excluded), which is an indication that primary responsibility to provide for household maintenance tends to rest with the husband. How women's incomes should be used is subject to different views, which explains why some households manage incomes jointly. Yet, the social expectation placed on men to provide for the household in monetary terms is stronger than that placed on women. Importantly, this contributes to women's ability to retain control over earned incomes.

By no means is it suggested that women do not contribute to household expenses with their own incomes. In fact, women do spend their incomes on daily food (78 per cent of *cash-earning* women), house stuff (50 per cent), and children's school (27 per cent). Interestingly, shares of women's own cash earnings that are spent on food are subject to variation. The graph below, created only for *cash-earning* respondent as the question refers to the woman's cash earnings, suggests that a high percentage of *cash-earning* women (37.1 per cent) spend more than half of their earnings on food but, at the same time, another significant percentage (27

per cent) channels a smaller proportion of income into food, indicated as roughly ranging between 10 and 30 per cent of their income. It is crucial to underline that these figures are approximate due to widespread quantification issues, unwillingness to disclose income-related information and memory bias as well as common difficulties in estimating shares of incomes spent on food as cash earnings can be highly fluctuating (as explained in the previous chapter). However, the answers do describe an important pattern; that is, not all *cash-earning* women use substantial proportions of their earnings to buy food. It is true that the rest of it may be spent on house goods and children's education but women do have self-indulgent forms of consumption too, as it will be discussed in the next section.

**FIGURE 7.3F PAST MONTH FOOD EXPENSES AS A PROPORTION OF RESPONDENT'S EARNINGS (N=89, ONLY CASH-EARNING WOMEN)**



SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

Moreover, women's incomes can substitute men's incomes when the latter are inaccessible or non-existent. In other words, women's cash incomes replace men's incomes in situations of temporary or enduring shocks that deprive the household of other forms of income. For example, consider the story of Zaina and João, married couple living in Namuapala (Metuge). Zaina makes *mandaze* and alcoholic drinks throughout the year. João manages their *machambas* and sells vegetable products and seeds. This revenue tends to be lumpy because sales of agricultural produce and especially seeds are concentrated at particular times of the year. Hence when João's income is available it covers all household consumption

and, when it runs out, then they rely on Elsa's cash earnings. Similar practices, which were observed in other households, show the gendered character of income use and also the importance of management of multiple and irregular streams of income.

In a context where access to regular incomes is uncommon, gender roles with regards to incomes' control and use interact with the need to ensure the daily availability of cash. In this sense, it appears that women's incomes tend to complement and/or substitute male incomes. It is clear that women direct varying proportions of their cash earnings to household-related forms of consumption. Yet, it is crucial to recognise that it is hard to formulate any general statement on who, between men and women, contributes more to the household for two main reasons:

- It would require detailed and accurate consumption data to identify what forms of consumption tend to be prioritised but this is difficult to obtain because of memory bias, inaccurate reporting and bias in reporting certain forms of consumption over others;
- The use of women's and men's incomes may change over time within the same household due to irregular nature of cash earnings and short- or long-term shocks that influence the household sources of income.

Women *are* and *should not* be considered the main or sole responsible for children's and family's sustenance. Among Maconde and Macua populations of Cabo Delgado, it appears that men's and women's incomes, combined in a variety of ways, are used to meet the household needs.

### **7.3.3 ALCOHOL AND CIGARETTES VS CAPULANAS AND BEAUTY PRODUCTS: WOMEN'S AND MEN'S SELF-INDULGENT FORMS OF CONSUMPTION**

In the literature, women's better management of incomes has been assessed against men's selfish forms of consumption (see chapter 2). The *alcohol and cigarettes argument* has been used a slogan to refer to men's preference for individualised and self-indulgent forms of consumption over family-beneficial expenditures (for a discussion see Kabeer and Whitehead 2001).

In the context of Cabo Delgado, consumption of alcohol (and to a much lesser extent tobacco) is a fairly common habit among men across all research sites, in urban and rural areas alike. In fact, as one of the most typical forms of women's

*negócio* is preparation and/or sale of alcoholic drinks, it is not surprising to find that alcohol consumption is a widespread social phenomenon. Yet, it is important to note that alcohol consumption is mostly, but not exclusively, a male practice. For instance, it occurs that a woman may prepare a home-made alcoholic drink on a sporadic basis to meet the immediate need for cash and *invite* people, men and women, who live in the same neighbourhood or village to drink at her house. The cases in which both men and women participate *equally* in alcohol consumption were mostly observed in the district of Mueda and, more generally, in rural areas. When the *negócio* is run on a more regular basis then it tends to attract predominantly male customers, although regular alcohol consumption is not exclusive prerogative of men.

In many interviews, women complained about the fact that their husbands waste money on alcohol. In some others, both women and men explained that the husband gives custody of his earnings to the wife because, in this way, it will not be used to buy alcoholic drinks. Although these complaints and practices can be taken as objective statements in some cases, in many others they need to be understood as part of the gendered mechanisms of negotiation. In fact, participant observation and qualitative interviews revealed that this form of complaint is often used by women as an euphemism to indicate disappointment with the amount of money received from the husband and/or discontent with the ways in which the husband uses his earnings – i.e. he uses money to engage in and sustain extra-marital relationships. Therefore, in a way, although alcohol consumption and abuse is common among men, women's complaints at times refer to slightly different issues and need to be considered as part of the broader context of cash allowances, marriage and intra-household gender roles.

In fact, the central issue is not about alcohol consumption *per se* but more broadly about conflict between men and women on income management and use. Women's complaints are primarily directed at contesting men's individualised forms of consumption, which are claimed to take place at the expense of household's needs. To assess if this actually happens, gendered disaggregated consumption data would be needed. Nonetheless, consumption data, let alone disaggregated by gender, is subject to a number of serious issues described above. Some scholars have indeed highlighted the need to create richer data sets to reinforce analyses of gendered preferences and spending patterns (Kabeer and Whitehead 2001). In this sense, qualitative evidence may not suffice to draw conclusions on gendered consumption patterns but it does shed light on aspects of gendered consumption

that are crucial to understand its patterns. For instance, qualitative evidence collected in Cabo Delgado strongly suggests that narratives that see men as wasting money on alcohol need to be seen as embedded in sophisticated mechanisms of negotiation between wife and husband and may also suffer from varying degrees of uncertainty associated with the subjective nature of this type of assessment. In other words, if a woman complains about the fact the husband wastes his money on alcohol implying that he does not give her a sufficient cash allowance, to what extent does this mean the same for different respondent? And, are the parameters to consider the cash allowance to be sufficient or not comparable?

Some respondents have explained that the cash allowance they receive is *insufficient* because it is only enough to buy food but it does not allow them to buy *capulanas*.<sup>65</sup> Others have reported that it is *insufficient* to buy all foodstuff needed to satisfy the household needs but this can be due to a) disputes between husband and wife that manifest in the husband's unwillingness to give more than a certain amount to his wife, or b) low levels of overall income. Hence it seems that perceptions and opinions on what an adequate cash allowance is are subject to a certain degree of variation. In addition, negotiations mechanisms are also formed by a range of covert manoeuvres implemented by men and women alike. A man may hide part of his earnings to justify a lower cash allowance and, similarly, a woman may conceal some of her earnings in order not to jeopardize her claims over shares of the husband's income or to pursue individualised forms of consumption without declaring it to the husband. Although it was hard to collect information on these issues – precisely due to their sensitive and covert nature – a number of respondents that were interviewed several times during field research eventually mentioned implementing some of these practices. So, in a way, there are reasons to believe that these concealed forms of income management and consumption may be more common than it appears *prima facie*. Again, these practices are to be considered as part of open and tacit forms of exercising bargaining power within the household. It is also important to underline that while negotiations over income may be typical of the husband-wife relationship, they are not limited to it. In fact, they may also occur among siblings or other household members.

It is a matter of allocation of monetary resources to competing needs, which though should not be stereotyped by gender: women *always* bargain to have more

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<sup>65</sup> A *capulana* (*capulanas*, pl.) is a type of sarong used by women as a wrap-around skirt, as hat, to carry babies, foodstuff or agricultural produce.

resources for the family's needs and men *always* strive to keep more resources for selfish forms of consumption. Such a gender-based divide obscures men's uses of incomes that are not selfish, which have been described extensively in this chapter, but, importantly, also women's forms of self-indulgent consumption.

In interviews conducted with men across all research sites, many respondents lamented that women's earnings serve '*for their own plans*' and '*are often used to buy trendy capulanas*'. As for women's complaints, these expressions of disappointment need to be taken with caution and understood as part of a broader scenario of negotiations over incomes, as described above. In fact, the parallelism between men's and women's complaints over the other gender's use of income reinforces the interpretation put forward here that they refer to a broader set of issues that have to do with intra-household gender relations of power rather than with men's/women's specific forms of consumption. In a way, men's accusations tend to be softer because women's social responsibility to provide monetary contributions to the household is weaker than that placed on men. As described above, this aspect of gender norms is one that allows women to retain control over earned incomes.

Nonetheless, in the same way women's complaints on men's alcohol consumption highlight the occurrence of individualised forms of consumptions, men's narratives point to the existence of women's forms of self-indulgent consumption. Female respondents in rural and urban areas confirmed that women have their own individualised types of consumption, although, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, this type of information is not easily disclosed because women are socially expected to use male incomes to buy food and goods for the household.

During field research, it was observed that women exercise their self-indulgent consumption primarily in two areas: *capulanas* (or clothing, more generally) and beauty products. As part of the survey, 30 per cent of *cash-earning* respondents reported using their cash earnings to purchase *capulanas*, clothes and beauty products for themselves. In many cases, female respondents explained that they would use their income to buy this sort of items if only their earnings were sufficiently high. In fact, in a few *better off* households in which the husband had a regular job or profitable *negócio*, husband and wife together explained that the woman's cash earnings were exclusively used for the woman's own consumption. For example, this was observed in the polygamous households interviewed in Mueda:

'We [herself and other wife] walk to Mueda to sell some of our *milho* (maize) so that we can buy ourselves *roupa* (clothing)', Maria, farmer and occasional street vendor of agricultural produce, in a polygamous household, Nandimba (Mueda)

Once more economic stratification and differentiation may determine different uses of cash earnings by women. This would suggest that even in terms of self-indulgent consumption, the patterns need to be investigated by looking at income levels, in addition to their gendered distribution.

The point raised here is not about judging men's or women's forms of self-indulgent consumption. In fact, from a gender equality and women's empowerment perspective, women's capacity to use their incomes for individualised consumption is highly desirable. The argument is rather intended to challenge narratives that depict women as free of self-interest and men as selfish individuals. Such stark representations of gendered preferences obscure diversity in gendered consumption patterns by context, age and, importantly, wealth.

## **7.4 CONCLUSIONS**

Since the theory of change that links women's cash incomes with improved household food outcomes hinges on the assumption that women's control of incomes leads to a shift in household expenses, it is essential to investigate the household and intra-household mechanisms through which such a shift can take place.

Looking at the basic societal units in Cabo Delgado, it emerged that households, defined as the groups of people living in the same place, do internalise essential production- and consumption-related decisions. Yet, this should not lead us to overlook inter-household economic links, which are widespread, especially in the form of labour transfers, and important to mechanisms of social reproduction.

It remains true that many of the decision-making practices that are of concern to this work tend to revolve around marital and other relationships among household members. For this reason, the chapter presented the analysis of two aspects of intra-household dynamics: decision-making on education, health and food – selected as areas that are deemed to be important for well-being – and management of income – to understand how household expenses could be influenced by women's capacity to earn incomes.

With regard to decision-making on education, health and food, the evidence suggests that both women and men play roles in these domains. In fact, while it was possible to identify a set of gender norms at the basis of intra-household decision-making – for instance, in Cabo Delgado fathers are considered to be responsible for sending children to school – practices often diverge from norms. In the case of food, which is the main focus of this thesis, it emerged that although the food domain is female-dominated, men influence food-related decisions in explicit and implicit ways, which retrace gender power imbalances. Furthermore, women's autonomy in decision-making on food was found to be mediated by other factors, not only their ability to earn cash incomes, but also household wealth, marital status and age.

In terms of intra-household practices on income managements, two key findings can be highlighted. First, the system of cash allowances (whereby a woman receives a sum of cash from a male member of the household) is widespread and essential to meet households' basic needs, which importantly include food expenses. Second, diversity was observed in the ways household income is managed but the husband's influence was found to be persistent for both *cash-earning* and *non-cash-earning* women, though *cash-earning* women appear to be marginally more able to decide how to use the household incomes than their *non-cash-earning* counterparts.

Does women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities result in increased food expenses then? The evidence presented in this chapter strongly suggest that it is empirically difficult, and possibly misleading, to disentangle whether women's participation in paid work is linearly associated with greater food expenses. In fact, it was found that women's participation in paid work does not increase their bargaining power on cash allowances, which are important to sustain food expenses. In addition, when women maintain control over earned income, they do not spend all of their income on food. This is also reinforced by evidence challenging the polarisation of gender consumption preferences – women's altruistic forms of consumption vs men's selfish ones. It might seem that to answer the question, gender-disaggregated consumption data is needed, and this type of data was not collected. However, the evidence collected in Cabo Delgado questions precisely whether this type of data would in reality be helpful, because it overlooks the complexity of intra-household decision-making and income management. For example, it was found that there are blurred lines between categories of decision-making, expenditure control and purchase execution. Consumption data *per se*

would not suffice to distinguish whether the person who purchases good is executing her/his own or someone else's decision.

These findings feed into the discussion developed in chapter 2 on women's empowerment and power to make decisions. In fact, it emerges that although women's ability to control earned incomes is desirable in terms of women's empowerment, it may not be linearly and deterministically associated with increased household food expenses. Intra-household cooperation via joint income management may in fact be an effective way to dispose of income in ways that are beneficial to the well-being of the family in the context of Cabo Delgado. In the event, it would be advantageous to narratives on women's empowerment to evade the functionalistic logic by detaching themselves from a focus on the *family's* or *someone else's* well-being outcomes. Arguably, gender equality may be achieved more readily if society increasingly accepts improvements in women's individualised forms of consumption as a goal in itself and, at the same time, demands men's participation in household-oriented consumption.

Lastly, it is important to note that the analysis of intra-household decision-making and income management practices is cross-cutting in relation to any presumed difference between the Macua and the Maconde populations in Cabo Delgado, as well as their matrilineal/matrilocal character. The evidence indicates that ethnicity- and lineage-related factors do not explain systematic differences in women's participation in paid work, decision-making and income management arrangements.

# 8

## LOOKING AT CASH INCOMES AND CHOICE IS NOT ENOUGH

### FOOD AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF DIETS IN CABO DELGADO



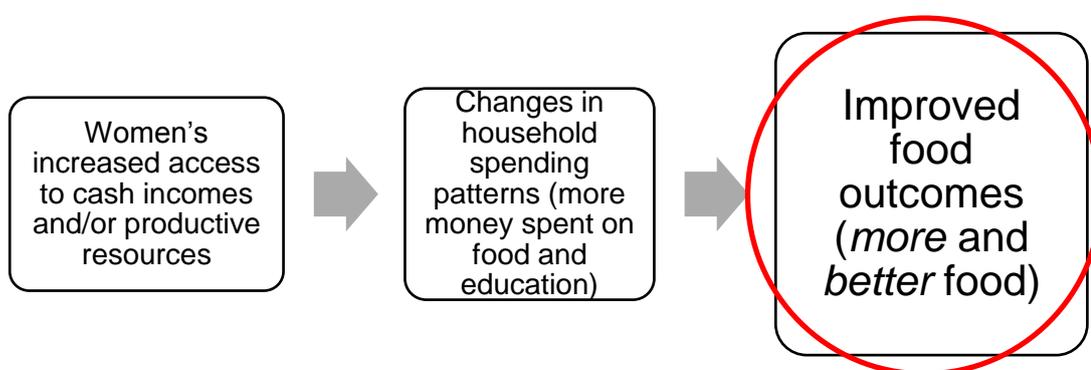
Beans and tomatoes from the *machamba* (Nandimba, Mueda)



*Barraca* selling sugar, pasta, soft drinks, cookies (Nangua, Metuge)

This and the following chapter look at the last component of the theory change – represented below – from two different angles. To assess how food outcomes can improve it is necessary to understand diets and food habits as well as investigate the extent of food insecurity and its determinants. The overarching aim of this chapter is to assess whether women’s incomes and food choices can be considered (among) the principal determinants of household dietary habits; hence the chapter addresses the first research question formulated at the end of chapter 3:

- ❖ What are the factors that shape diets, food preferences and norms? What are women’s roles in such context?



The first section (8.1) is dedicated to the description of diets and foods consumed in the studied districts of Cabo Delgado, with particular attention paid to particular foods. Section 8.2 looks at practices around diets, such as processes of food selection, acquisition and preparation, attempting to identify and discuss some of the determinants of food preferences and norms. Section 8.3 concludes.

## 8.1 FOOD AND MEALS IN CABO DELGADO

Accurate data on food consumption and diets in sub-Saharan African countries is scarce. Data on food collected in Cabo Delgado depicts a rich food scenario, which is described in this section. The first sub-section (8.1.1) discusses the meaning of food among Macua and Maconde communities of Cabo Delgado and the second (8.1.2) describes meal composition, food hierarchies and extra-meal foods.

### 8.1.1 IS FOOD EVERYTHING YOU CAN EAT?

When conducting food research, it is important to begin by considering whether the notion of *food* has a *shared* meaning: do respondent and researcher refer to the same category? Collecting good-quality data on diets is a complex task for different reasons, including memory bias and representativeness of observed time period. For instance, it would be useful to observe longer recall periods (e.g. 30 days) but clearly this is subject to greater inaccuracy due to difficulty in remembering all types of food eaten over a longer time. Yet, one overarching difficulty encountered during field research is constituted by the presence of *semantic gaps* around the notion of food, which make in-depth qualitative research vital to gather any sound data on food habits. As an illustration of the meaning of *semantic gaps* consider the words of three interviewed women in different districts of Cabo Delgado.

'If you eat fresh cassava in the evening, you can wake up in the morning and say: *'Yesterday I did not eat anything!'* because it was not cooked food', Amina, Nangua (Metuge)

- 'What is *chakulia* (food)?'

- '*Chakulia* is *'npunga* (rice) and *ugwali* (maize porridge).'

- 'Is papaya considered to be *chakulia* too?'

- 'Yes, because you can eat it but it does not fill your belly', Beata, Nandimba (Mueda)

'*Chakuria* (food) is only that food that is served in dishes' Ernestina, Pemba.

Although *chakulia*, *iolia* and *chakuria* ('food' in Shimaconde, Macua and Kimwani, respectively) refer to anything that can be eaten, they are normally associated with staple foods – namely *ugwali/palisi* (maize porridge), *ndambala/madranga* (cassava porridge), *npunga/nrama* (rice) and, more recently, pasta. The reasons most frequently given for this association were mainly two: starch foods are those that 'fill your belly' – foods that provide energy – and constitute the *real* meal because they require preparation and cooking. The latter explanation is slightly misleading though because staples are not the only foods that need to be prepared and a proper meal could not be made of staples only. In fact, the starch is usually accompanied by the 'relish', which has a different name: *inbongua* and *nicuri* (in Shimaconde and Macua/Kimwani, respectively), thus indicating that it is as fundamental to the composition of the proper meal but also separate – physically and semantically – from the staple. In addition, the quality of the relish and the number of ingredients that are needed for its preparation can make the difference between a *good* and a *bad* meal, in the same way the type and preparation of staple foods does.

'During that time of rain (from January to March), if you cannot get anything to make the relish, you boil cassava and eat it alone but you cannot eat *madranga* (cassava porridge) on its own. [...] You cannot eat *palisi* on its own either, you need to make *papa* with it (add water and sugar or salt and/or oil). [...] You can eat rice on its own: there is no problem with that.' Amina, Nangua

'It is not possible to eat *xima*<sup>66</sup> (maize porridge) and *madranga* (cassava porridge) with no relish. You can eat rice on its own only when you do not have anything else. [...] Each type of food has got its own type of relish. For example, you eat *madranga* with meat and rice/*xima* with *matapa* but we mix everything because we cannot afford to choose' Ernestina, Pemba.

The distinction between food and relish is found in other countries in the so called 'maize belt' (McCann 2009).<sup>67</sup> However, the semantic separation has wider implications for food hierarchies, which see the staples as the most important, then followed by the main ingredients for relish (leaves, fish, meat) and, finally, all the other foods. Different hierarchies also apply to specific categories of foods: for instance, in some areas of Cabo Delgado, such as Mueda, *ugwali* (maize porridge) is the main staple and *ndambala* (cassava porridge) is considered disgusting and consumed only in absence of anything else while in the coastal areas of Metuge the consumption of cassava porridge is more common and some people like it. Yet, taste is not fixed but, being formed through socio-economic processes, it changes over time: for instance, diets in the province of Cabo Delgado are seeing the affirmation of rice as the *best* staple, which creates taste and consumption differences between urban and rural areas and generations – issues of taste and food preferences formation will be discussed in more detail later on.

The emphasis placed by the word *food* onto sources of starch and the existence of food hierarchies have implications on answers given to questions such as '*How much money did you spend on food in the past month?*' and '*What did you eat yesterday?*'. In fact, the foods that are considered worth mentioning tend to be just few relative to the foods that were actually purchased or consumed.

How can this problem be overcome? During field research, it emerged that asking more specific questions on particular foods was a way to partially circumvent the problem. It is obvious then that the researcher needs to gather sufficient

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<sup>66</sup> Note that Ernestina, who lives in Pemba, uses of the word *xima* for maize porridge – which is the nation-wide term – instead of the word in her own language, which is Kimwani.

<sup>67</sup> The 'maize belt' is formed by countries in southern and eastern Africa where the main staple food is maize porridge (McCann 2009).

knowledge on the types of foods normally consumed, ingredients used to prepare meals and basic terminology in local languages to collect data on food consumption. If literature on relevant issues is poor – as it is for Cabo Delgado – this exercise is best done with participant observation.

The WB’s Living Standards Measurement Study (LSMS) – often used as guidance for the implementation of household surveys – fully embraces the *detailed questions technique*. For instance, in the Malawi Third Integrated Household Survey the food consumption module consists of five questions asked for 135 food items – see a portion of the module below (figure 8.1A).

**FIGURE 8.1A FRAGMENT OF LSMS’ FOOD MODULE**

MODULE G: FOOD CONSUMPTION OVER PAST ONE WEEK (CONTINUED)										
DATA ENTRY LINE NUMBER	Over the past one week (7 days), did you or others in your household consume any [...]?  INCLUDE FOOD BOTH EATEN COMMUNALLY IN THE HOUSEHOLD AND THAT EATEN SEPARATELY BY INDIVIDUAL HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS.	G01	G02	G03	G04	G05	G06	G07		
		YES...1 NO...2-> NEXT ITEM	ITEM CODE	QUANTITY	UNIT	QUANTITY	UNIT	MR	QUANTITY	UNIT
55	Meat, Fish and Animal products									
56	Eggs		501							
57	Dried fish		502							
58	Fresh fish		503							
59	Beef		504							
60	Goat		505							

Yet, is this method desirable and effective to collect accurate data on food consumption? If both food items and questions are geared to the food items and aspects of the studied context, this is surely a way to obtain increased information on food consumption. At the same time though, very long questionnaires require interviews that may take up to several hours: this is a demanding exercise for the respondents as it consumes a lot of their time and negatively affects the accuracy of their answers. In addition, fragmenting the questions around numerous food items is not an ideal way to overcome quantification issues and memory biases.

The daily instances of reproduction of food habits need to be at the basis of data collection on food consumption. Questions should retrace the daily food activities to tickle the respondents’ memory and therefore be informed by an *a priori* understanding of crucial aspects of food practices such as:

- Food timing – How many meals per day are normally consumed? When are these meals consumed?

- Food acquisition practices – Who buys food and when? Are different foods bought with different frequencies (e.g. daily or weekly)? What types of food are normally produced/purchased?
- Food preparation practices – Who prepares food and when? Are different foods prepared at different times of the day?
- Food consumption practices – Who eats from the same pot? Who eats from the same plate?
- Eating street foods (outside) – Who is likely to buy street foods? When does this happen?

These questions will be addressed in the discussion that follows. For the scope of this section, it suffices to underline that the information collected through these *guiding questions* can be then converted by the researcher and placed into the desired categories – e.g. food items or food groups. This process needs to be grounded into the recognition that categories and codes needed for analytical purposes may not be mirrored in the studied context. Once again, mixed methods and interdisciplinary approach appear to be powerful tools to collect data on food consumption.

### **8.1.2 STAPLE FOODS, RELISH AND SNACKS**

Similarly to other regions in the ‘maize belt’ (see Richards 1939; Moore and Vaughan 1994; Huhn 2013), in Cabo Delgado meals are made of two essential but separate components: staple and relish. The principal staple foods are the following:

- *ugwali* or *palisi* (*xima* in Mozambican Portuguese), which is a polenta-like porridge made with white maize;
- *ndambala* or *madranga*, which is a porridge made with cassava flour whose texture is lumpy and gluey;
- *npunga* or *nrama* (rice), which is normally boiled with salt;
- *mapira* (sorghum), boiled in grains or (rarely) made into flour and consumed in the form of porridge;
- pasta, especially spaghetti, called *macarão*

Maize, cassava, sorghum and, partially, rice are locally produced. Rural households with access to land normally grow at least one of the four staples and partly use them for own consumption. Several interviewees in rural areas have no doubt that 'food comes from the *machamba*'. Yet, the great majority of the interviewed households do not produce quantities of staples that are sufficient to meet the household needs throughout the entire year – data that show the duration of food reserves will be presented and discussed in the next chapter. Therefore, virtually every household relies on purchased food to varying degrees, at least at particular times of the year such as the rainy season, when food reserves run out for many households – issues of food price and seasonality are discussed in the next chapter. All types of staple foods can be bought at each food market across the province. Imported rice and pasta can be found in all of the urban markets and in some *barracas* (little shops) in bigger villages in rural areas across the province.

In Cabo Delgado, staple foods are subject to hierarchies that depend on historically and socially formed food preferences and norms. As such, food norms are context-specific and a certain degree of variation is observed even within the province of Cabo Delgado, with differences observed between urban and rural areas, generations and districts, due to agro-climatic conditions and historical happenings. The key features of staple foods' hierarchies in the research settings are sketched in turn.

In Mueda, maize is commonly grown, consumed and appreciated. Muedans often describe *ugwali* as their principal staple food. They make a distinction between *ugwali* and *dona*: in the explanation respondents offered to me, the former is made with white flour while the latter is made with whole maize flour and the two are considered to have a markedly different flavour. Consumption of rice is also fairly common and some households cultivate dry land rice, which is suitable for both highlands and lowlands of Mueda. As for cassava, although some of the households interviewed in Mueda have reported to have eaten *ndambala*, its consumption is considered demeaning because it indicates incapacity to afford other preferred staples. Nonetheless, cassava is widely grown in the district as it is fundamental in the Maconde diet in other forms than that of *porridge*.

In Metuge instead, cassava porridge is not everyone's favourite source of starch but its consumption is socially *more* accepted: some interviewed people explained that they like it and choose to consume it even when they could possibly afford to purchase other staples. Yet, maize and especially rice are commonly

appreciated and consumed. Rice is perhaps the preferred staple in coastal areas, where it is also widely grown. In fact, households that have access to land tend to have two *machambas*, one for rice and the other one for cassava and/or maize. Maize porridge is commonly appreciated and consumed.

In Pemba, very low consumption of cassava porridge was observed and registered during field research. Households tend to have a preference for rice and *xima*, both purchased in the local markets or, at times, in rural areas – where they can be bought for a cheaper price or acquired through relatives that grow them. Urban households often retain links with relatives living in rural areas that give rise to food exchange, as it is discussed in more detail below.

Although nowadays maize is a central staple in the Macua and Maconde diets, it is not an indigenous crop as it arrived to the African continent from South America. Its introduction has often been attributed to the Portuguese, in fact there are old texts where maize, sorghum and millets are all confusingly referred to as *milho* (Portuguese term for 'maize') (McCann 2005). Yet, maize has presumably arrived in Africa through various routes and at different points in time and the exact channels of its appearance and spread remain uncertain (Miracle 1965; McCann 2005). In the thin literature that has looked at the history of maize in Sub-Saharan Africa, it emerges that maize was long cultivated as a garden crop and began to be produced also as a commercial crop much later. McCann (2005) explains that maize became an integral part of two narratives in southern Africa: maize consumed as food and beer by the miners and urban migrant workers, on the one hand, and crop grown by (women-headed) households in rural areas for own consumption and as well as to feed the workforce in the cities.

In the description of the millet-based Bemba diet, Richards (1939) reports the difficulties encountered by Bemba migrants to adapt to maize meals, which were typical of urban centres and most southern Bantu diets. This and other accounts suggest that by the early twentieth century, maize featured prominently in diets in southern Africa (Richards 1939; Miracle 1965; McCann 2009). The penetration of maize in daily consumption took place at the expense *indigenous* cereals – sorghum and millets (McCann 2009). In contemporary Cabo Delgado, consumption of *mapíra* is much less common than that of maize, cassava and rice. Sorghum is still grown by farming households and predominantly used to make alcoholic drinks.

As described in chapter 5, during the colonial time, Muedans were forced into cotton cultivation while, in Metuge, male labour was drawn (from Metuge and

surrounding districts) into the sisal plantation. Both types of cultivation jeopardised households' capacity to produce food: on the one hand, the sisal plantations, by depriving households of male labour, left women with the responsibility to run the daily household economy and, on the other hand, forced cotton cultivation increased women's workload by making them accountable for cotton cultivation and food production (e.g. Pitcher 1993; Isaacman and Chilundo 1995; Isaacman 1996). Replacement of sorghum and maize with cassava in northern Mozambique and elsewhere has been interpreted as a response to labour shortages faced by overworked women (Moore and Vaughan 1994; O'Laughlin 2013). The antipathy for cassava has long-standing roots and goes hand in hand with preference for rice and maize, generally considered better foods and associated with a higher socio-economic status.

In absence of context-specific information on rice history, it would be incautious to venture in the description of over-time changes in its consumption patterns. Literature on rice history and consumption focuses mostly on West Africa (e.g. Pearson et al. 1981; von Braun 1988; Kennedy and Reardon 1994), while the issue remains little explored in the context of southern Africa. In the accounts collected during fieldwork, rice is portrayed as an *old* crop (dry land rice), mostly consumed at the time of *arroz novo* (freshly harvested rice) that, when available, is noticeably advertised as such in markets because consumers tend to prefer it to other locally-grown rice. Yet, the current accessibility of rice imported from South Asia confers to this crop a *modern* character, associated with urban lifestyles and improved economic status. Imported rice is more expensive than locally-produced rice and is often considered to be *tastier* by urban residents and the youth.

Staple foods in the form of porridge *cannot* be eaten on their own because, several respondents explained, '*they do not go down your throat*', they need to be accompanied a relish. The relish can be made with green leaves, fish, beans or meat. Some types of relish are typical of particular populations – for instance, the Maconde are known for making relishes of snails and rats.

In northern Mozambique, the generic name for the relish made with leaves is *matapa*.<sup>68</sup> The green leaves used to make the relish are various and include cassava, bean, pumpkin, cabbage and *nhewe* (amaranth). The green leaves can be cultivated and/or purchased. *Matapa* can be made of leaves mixed with coconut milk and peanut flour or with vegetable oil, onions, tomatoes and other vegetables,

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<sup>68</sup> In southern Mozambique, *matapa* is the relish made with cassava leaves only.

depending on the season. The more ingredients the better economic opportunities: cooking *matapa agua e sal* (with salt and water) is a sign of poverty. In fact, most ingredients used to make *matapa* richer need to be purchased and, therefore, the ability to buy them signals relative wealth. In Mueda, many respondents said that acquiring the ingredients to make the relish has always been problematic: at difficult times, the most typical meal is *ugwali* and *shidudu* (cassava leaf *matapa*), which is the easiest relish to get.

Other two principal ingredients commonly used to make the relish are beans and fish. Several varieties of bean are grown across the province of Cabo Delgado and can be purchased at every food market. Beans are normally prepared as bean stew, better if mixed with onions and tomatoes and seasoned with vegetable oil. At times, beans can be mixed with bean leaf *matapa* or boiled with rice and sorghum, to make them more filling and substantial. In interviews conducted with ex-DFs, it emerged that, during the war, a widely prepared meal was maize in grains mixed with beans, to obtain a nutritious meal while saving time required for grinding maize. Fish is mostly consumed in the coastal areas but, nowadays, fresh fish can be purchased in the interior's districts too. Fishing is a male-dominated activity but there are groups of fisherwomen who do not have boats – unlike fishermen – and use nets to catch small fish near the coast. Fish can be fried or seasoned with oil/coconut milk and tomatoes.

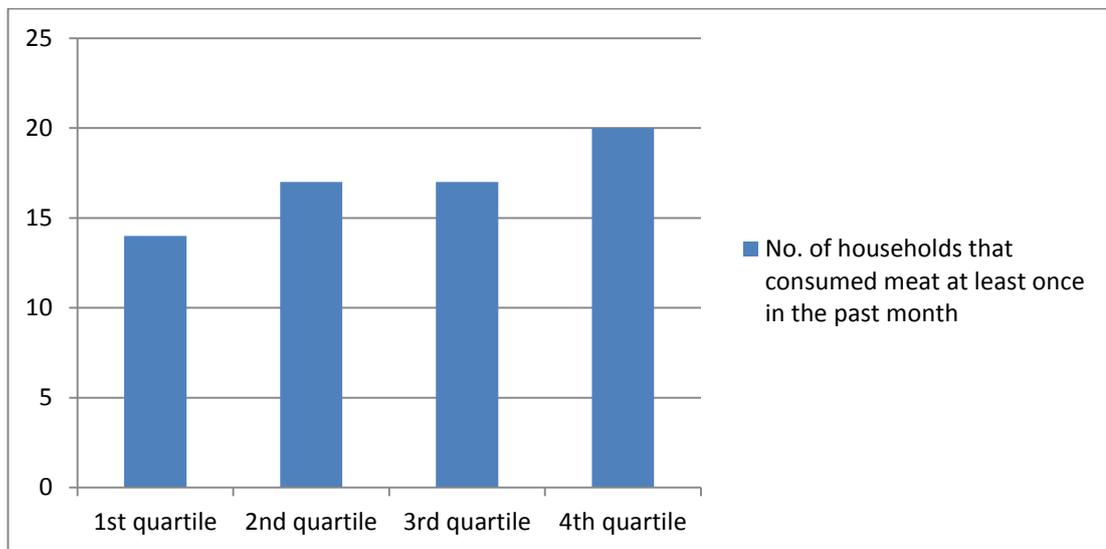
Meat is eaten much less frequently than the aforementioned types of relish. Although many rural households have at least a few chickens and, sometimes, some goats, animals tend to be kept as assets or eaten on special occasions, such as funerals, or prepared for guests. Meat is considered a prestigious food and tends to be eaten with parsimony. Ability to eat meat more than once or twice in a month is a sign of relative wealth – only one respondent out of 120 had eaten meat more than 10 times in the previous month. Of the rest of the interviewed sample, 34 per cent had meat once or twice and 21 per cent between 3 and 10 times in the past thirty days. A remarkable 43 per cent did not have any meat in the previous month. In rural areas – Mueda especially – some of the consumed meat is game meat. Meat is generally considered a *rich* relish and often accompanies cassava porridge to compensate for its taste- and nutrition-related deficiencies.

**TABLE 8.1A MEAT CONSUMPTION IN THE PAST 30 DAYS**

	No. of households	% of households
<b>No consumption of meat</b>	52	<b>43.3</b>
<b>Rarely (1 or 2 times)</b>	41	34.2
<b>Sometimes (between 3 and 10 times)</b>	26	21.7
<b>Often (more than 10 times)</b>	1	0.8

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

**FIGURE 8.1B MEAT CONSUMPTION BY WEALTH QUARTILE**



SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

By looking at meat consumption by wealth quartile it can be seen that although differences are not striking, a greater number of households in the wealthier quartiles had meat at least once in the month before the interview. The presence of a certain, even though low, number of households that consumed meat in the poorest quartile may be driven by game meat consumption in rural areas. During field research, game meat consumption was observed especially in Mueda, relative to Metuge. Game can be purchased – in Mueda is quite common to see young men selling game on the streets and in villages – but, in some cases, it is also used for own consumption. Also, meat consumption may occur among poor households, although quite rarely, because it is associated with ceremonies and special social events.

On special occasions – mainly funerals, initiation rites, and guests' visits – the meal is made of rice accompanied by chicken, goat or duck meat, or by *nhemba*

bean.<sup>69</sup> On these events, families and communities gather together and the hosting family offers a meal to all the invitees. Several respondents have described the habit to help each other (normally along family ties) on these occasions to purchase the foods needed to host the ceremony. As mentioned in the previous chapter, ceremonies are important events for the maintenance of social relations and, as such, are assigned great importance by Macua and Maconde rural and urban residents alike. Being able to offer a good meal on these occasions is highly valued and, importantly, not being able to prepare a rich meal for the numerous invitees is a source of shame for the hosting family.

So far, I have described meals, however, diets in Cabo Delgado are composed by a variety of other foods that are eaten outside the principal meal(s). I will not provide a comprehensive list of all foods available and consumed in Cabo Delgado but I will instead focus on a few foods, distinguishing between those that are eaten seasonally and throughout the year.

Among the *intra-meal* foods that are consumed seasonally, there is fruit. During the mango season – from November to February – consumption of mangoes is fairly widespread, especially in rural areas where mango trees are so numerous that are often considered communal property. Mangoes can also be dried and then used to cook different types of relish. Other fruit such as papaya, banana, coconut and oranges are not as widely consumed instead because those households who possess fruit trees tend to sell almost all of the produce in urban and *hub* food markets across the province. Very few of the interviewed households reported consumption and/or purchase of fruit – fruit is relatively unimportant in the composition of diets and ability to purchase fruit regularly is a strong sign of relative wealth. Only one respondent living in Pemba said that when she gave birth at the hospital, she was told that fruit is good for human health. A few other respondents in Pemba and peri-urban districts said that they were advised to feed children *papa* (maize flour and water) mixed with banana and peanut flour. Yet, this advice does not seem to translate in regular fruit consumption. Other foods that are consumed seasonally are pumpkins, potatoes and other tubers – simply boiled – and cucumber – mixed with sugar and normally eaten for breakfast.

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<sup>69</sup> *Nhemba* bean is a specific type of bean that is considered better tasting than other types of bean. The habit of cooking rice with meat and/or beans on special occasions (*comida da festa*) was reported by respondents in all research sites, thus suggesting a certain degree of similarity across different populations and regions in the province.

A type of food that is very commonly eaten throughout the year as a *snack* is dry or fresh cassava. Some respondents referred to cassava as *their bread*. Cassava is widely available: households grow it and it can be purchased at every market or from street food vendors for a relatively cheap price ('good quantity for money'). Moreover, farmers and agricultural labourers frequently eat fresh cassava while working in the *machambas* because it does not need to be cooked and is fairly filling. When eaten during agricultural work, fresh cassava often replaces a substantial meal though.

Other street foods that can be always found are *mandaze*, *bajía* and bread. *Mandaze* are balls of fried bread sometimes mixed with sugar – to make it, it is necessary to buy wheat flour, yeast, vegetable oil and sugar. *Bajía* are small balls of fried bean flour generally mixed with onions and salt – to make it, vegetable oil is needed. *Mandaze* and *bajía* are made by women and then sold by women themselves or their children in markets, streets or just outside their houses. The cost per piece is 1 or 2 MZN (equivalent to 2 or 4 pence). Bread instead can be made by both men and women – the reasons may be that to bake bread an oven is needed (which was built by a male presumably) and bread is more expensive, 2, 5 or 10 MZN per piece depending on the size. These foods are mostly eaten for breakfast and accompanied by tea with sugar.

Finally, there are some street foods that are mostly *urban*. For instance, an urban and male-only *negócio* is that of hard-boiled eggs. Eggs may be prepared by women at home but then they are sold by young men. Nonetheless, egg consumption is low in urban areas of Cabo Delgado and even more so in rural areas. Only two respondents out of 120 have reported to have eaten eggs on the day before the interview – they were both urban households. In rural areas, several households own chickens but eggs are often fried for guests and mostly sold to *barracas* in bigger villages or urban centres. Other urban street foods are toasted peanuts and cashew nuts, and fried fish – these *negócios* are female-dominated. In all cases though, street food vendors complain about the lack of *saída* (literally, 'exit') for their products. In other words, demand tends to be scarce, relatively to the foods supplied. In fact, consumption of this type of street foods is accessible only to wealthier households – the vast majority of the interviewed households did not report purchase of any of these foods. Nonetheless, the availability and poor affordability of these foods confer them a higher status, associated with better economic opportunities and social notions of modern life styles. Street foods also

include processed foods of different kinds – consumption of industrially-produced foods will be discussed in the next section.

In sum, diets in the studied districts of Cabo Delgado are composed by a variety of foods whose consumption is regulated by income levels, seasonality, food production practices, and social context. The rest of the chapter is dedicated to the discussion of aspects of food knowledge, acquisition and preparation that determine food norms and the construction of diets in Cabo Delgado.

## **8.2 CHOOSING, ACQUIRING AND PREPARING FOODS**

A snapshot of diets results in a list of the types of food consumed in a given period. Indeed in certain disciplines or approaches, assessments of dietary diversity are based on the number of foods eaten in a day or in a week, for instance. Yet, diets can also be considered as resulting from processes and practices of selection, acquisition and preparation of food. Analyses of some aspects of these practices are crucial to understand women's and men's roles in using incomes to acquire food.

The first section (8.2.1) discusses food knowledge and some elements of the role of food systems in shaping it, the second section (8.2.2) looks at household food acquisition strategies and the least section (8.2.3) looks at gender roles in food preparation practices.

### **8.2.1 FOOD KNOWLEDGE, HEALTHY FOODS AND SOFT DRINKS**

In the theory of change used as the point of departure in this thesis, women's control of income translates in better food outcomes via changes in household expenditure patterns. Yet, in the context of Cabo Delgado it was shown that a) food expenses are sustained with male and female incomes, in which the former tends to assume a prominent role, b) intra-household income management practices make it empirically difficult to isolate women's and men's incomes to assess their uses and c) stereotyping gendered preferences in consumption may be misleading. Other mechanisms through which women's incomes may result in improved food outcomes are not fully explored in the literature. What kind of food knowledge informs food consumption norms? Is buying *more* food sufficient to improve diets?

To address these questions, a theme investigated during field research was nutritional knowledge.

In Cabo Delgado, it is possible to identify three criteria used to assess what food is good for human health: a) food that makes you feel good, gives you energy and fills your belly b) food that tastes good and c) food that contains *vitamina*. There is a high degree of overlap between the three *categories*: many foods that are considered healthy may satisfy all of the criteria – each of them is addressed in turn.

A strong association is made between goodness (or badness) of food and the physical feeling it produces. In other words, good food is the one that makes you feel *full* and *strong*. Although many interviewees said that they had no idea on what food is good or bad for their health, they recognised that the most important function of food is to *encher barriga* (fill your belly).

'Boiled grain *mapira* (sorghum) mixed with beans is the best food because we feel *full* for a longer time' group of women, Nangua

'*Ugwali* (maize porridge) and *matapa* is the best food because we see that by eating this food we are getting fat' group of women, Nanhala

This may also explain why staple foods are seen as central in the making of a *proper* meal and may be considered as *more important* than other types of food. The staple component of a meal is more filling than the relish and is the main source of energy (carbohydrates). The great majority of the respondents indicated rice and/or white *xima* accompanied by *good* relish as those foods that are good for their health.

Ideas on what a *good* relish is are various and range from *matapa*, to beans and meat – this evaluation may be more dependent on taste. People who have a preference for *matapa* may believe that *matapa* is the best relish from a health viewpoint. Also, meat may be considered a desirable type of food because it tends to be eaten rarely: on special occasions or when it can be afforded. Nonetheless, the importance of taste in determining assessments of foods can be seen in the foods that are not considered good and are eaten only because there is nothing else. The vast majority of the respondents claimed, very convincingly, that *madranga/ndambala* is bad for their health. At times, some interviewees shared their belief that cassava porridge *absorbs* their blood, to the point that it is considered to be a cause of anaemia. Ultimately, the pervasive aversion for cassava porridge has to do with the fact that people tend to dislike it. In the coastal

areas such as Metuge some older people still appreciate it because *madranga* used to be the most typical staple,<sup>70</sup> but this taste is changing in favour of rice even in those lands.

Nangua (Metuge). On a visit to Teresa's family in Nangua (Metuge), Tissa and I were offered *xima* with fried eggs while the hosting family had *madranga* with meat. Teresa and her sister produce tomatoes in Metuge and sell them in Pemba; they hire a number of agricultural workers and produce big quantities of tomatoes – their story was briefly summarised in chapter 5. Their households are to be considered among the wealthier in their village and, despite this, they had *madranga* that day. Sofina, Teresa's oldest daughter, cooked the meal but, when I asked about the difference between the meals we were having, Teresa explained that they like cassava porridge but they were sure we would have not appreciated it.

Cassava has historically been the *food security crop* and it is commonly considered tasty when consumed fresh or dry as an intra-meal snack. Pieces of fresh or dry cassava (called *macaca* in Macua) are one of the most *successful* street foods and are sold virtually everywhere in Cabo Delgado. Yet, cassava porridge is seen as the last food that can be resorted to in absence of anything else (rice or maize). In several interviews across Cabo Delgado, mothers lamented that children refuse to eat cassava porridge.

The preference for rice – especially that imported from South East Asia – has to do with taste too and with the association of rice with ideas of modernity and urbanity. Although there is a specific type of dry land rice that has been grown in the region for a long time,<sup>71</sup> the availability of imported rice – whose grain is bigger, smoother, and *better* tasting but also more expensive than locally produced rice – has possibly contributed to a growing prevalence of rice in dietary patterns. This is particularly evident in urban centres such as Pemba where rice can be purchased more easily and there is greater circulation of cash, relative to rural areas. Rice appears to be especially appreciated by children and, in fact, it is the single food item most frequently mentioned by women (most of them mothers) as good food for children's health.

In many occasions, respondents have mentioned the importance of eating foods that contain *vitamina*, which is a substance that is good for people's health.

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<sup>70</sup> This is based on verbal accounts collected during fieldwork in the coastal areas of Metuge and surrounding districts.

<sup>71</sup> It is difficult to say for how long exactly, but respondents in the districts of Mueda and Metuge talked about the cultivation of *dry land rice* as long-standing and well known practice in their own districts.

The notion of *vitamina* has also been documented and studied by Arianna Huhn (2013) in the Mozambican province of Niassa:

[...] it should not be surprising that foods were primarily categorised in Metangula by whether or not they provided the means to labour. People adopted the Portuguese word *vitamina* (vitamin) to group foods in relation to such provisioning of energy and strength. Foods with *vitamina* became blood, which in turn provided the consumer with vitality (*thanzi*)' Huhn (2013: 192)

In the context of Cabo Delgado, it is not entirely clear what *vitamina* is and there are conflicting opinions on what foods are a source of it. For instance, Zainaba (25 de Junho, Metuge) attributed her twins' poor health to overconsumption of *madranga*, which does not contain *vitamina*. Flora (Pemba) instead tries not to eat rice and fish every day because they do not contain *vitamina*. For several interviewees *matapa* is a good source of *vitamina* and, interestingly, also *refrescos* (soft drinks), packaged biscuits, pasta and *xima Milena*. This suggests a preference for industrially-produced foods, even for those foods such as maize porridge that are otherwise home-made.

*Milena* and *Grao d'Ouro* are the two industrial processors of maize that operate in the province of Cabo Delgado. Located in Pemba, they were both opened by the same owner, Omera Assan. Omera is a Mozambican woman from the small town of Mocimboa da Praia who, after living in Portugal for several years – she married the Portuguese administrator of Mueda during the colonial time – returned to Mozambique and inaugurated the *Milena* factory and brand. *Milena* was then sold a few years later and Omera is currently looking for buyers for *Grao d'Ouro*, which was inaugurated in 2010. The two factories are small-scale processors, employing between 10 and 15 workers on a permanent basis (the majority of the workers are women). They buy maize from the southern districts of the province of Cabo Delgado and produce packaged *xima*, which is sold in the *barracas* (shops) across the province of Cabo Delgado, where they dominate the market for industrially-processed *xima*.

The preference for *Milena* (as it is called in Cabo Delgado) and/or *white xima* over wholegrain *xima* (*dona* and *palisi* in Shimaconde and Macua) is fairly common: 60 per cent of the respondents think that white *xima* is healthier than brown *xima*. It signals two main patterns: dietary change in favour of white flours and penetration of industrially-produced foods into diets. Industrial and processed foods appear highly desired, although many households cannot afford them.

People aspire to gain the ability to purchase those foods that are considered more refined, tastier and, consequently, healthier. Different examples can be given to illustrate the diffusion of industrial and packaged foods in Cabo Delgado.

Especially (but not only) in urban cuisine, it was observed that an ingredient considered fundamental to prepare *caril* (relish) is *Rajah*, a brand of curry powder produced by Unilever. *Rajah* is believed to be suitable for any type of relish, whether it is made with leaves, fish or meat. In fact, in households that have become accustomed to the use of *Rajah* in cooking, a relish without *Rajah* is considered to be tasteless.

'Oh no, I cannot cook these beans without *Rajah!*' Nordino, domestic servant (Pemba)

In a study of supermarket expansion in rural South Africa, Hull (2014) documents the *ubiquitous* use of *Aromat*, a seasoning mix owned by Unilever, among rural households in Kwa-Zulu Natal. Hull describes the daily use of *Aromat* as a replacement of salt and in combination with other fresh and packaged ingredients to cook the sauce that accompanies the relish.<sup>72</sup> Of the five ingredients used to make the sauce – soup powder, soup stock, curry powder, *Aromat* and cooking oil – four are owned by Unilever. Hull argues that the spread of supermarkets in rural areas and brand monopoly are seeking to bridge a perceived divide between the *urban* and the *rural* and driving changes in food habits in rural South Africa.

In the context of Cabo Delgado, the presence of supermarkets is minimum and confined to the town of Pemba. In addition, only the upper class urban families purchase food at the supermarkets so it is sensible to argue that supermarkets play a minor role in shaping diets in contemporary Cabo Delgado. Interestingly though, *Rajah* can be purchased at *barracas* and market stalls in Pemba and often also in bigger villages across the province. At the time of field research, the use of *Rajah* could not be defined *ubiquitous* but it was common among urban and wealthier households. Yet, the observed success of *Rajah* among some social groups suggests that multinational companies are able to take advantage of informal channels for products' distribution and their marketing strategies are effective in bringing industrially-produced products into local diets. Unilever describes *Rajah* as follows:

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<sup>72</sup> The structure of the meal in rural Kwa-Zulu Natal described by Hull (2014) is the same as that observed in Cabo Delgado and illustrated earlier in this chapter.

'South African homes have been covered with the delicious smell of Rajah Curry Powder for many years. You know that it is Rajah's aroma that tells you that you're using quality curry powder, that is the best for your family and for your pocket. We all know it makes us proud to have our family love the food we make. Rajah has that special flavour and aroma that gives you and your family .... More mmm for your money!' Unilever website

Although Rajah's advertisement was not particularly noticeable in Cabo Delgado at the time of fieldwork, ideas on the *desirability* of this specific curry powder to make food taste good were collected in several households across the province. Companies' capacity to reach consumers via capillary and informal distribution channels providing them with affordable, for some, products does evidently and powerfully shape beliefs on how good food should taste and, in turn, drive changes in taste. Industrially-produced curry powder *competes* with home-made ones, which in fact are still used in poorer households, but it is the possibility of wealthier households to afford *Rajah* that makes it especially desirable to everyone.

By the same token, 91 per cent of the respondents believe *refrescos* and packaged biscuits are good for children's health and 40 per cent of the respondents said that they bought soft drinks or biscuits for their children between 3 and 10 times in the past month. Evidently, there is a gap between those who can afford to buy these foods (more or less) regularly and those who would buy them but cannot. Yet, this suggests that extra cash earnings are likely to be spent on those foods that are considered enticing. For instance, pensioners reported that they buy soft drinks and various types of street foods (in addition to other expenditures) as soon as they receive their monthly pension; they tend to purchase foods that they could not afford before receiving the pension.

'We use our pensions to buy that food that we did not normally eat', group of women pensioners, Namaua

Higher and more regular cash incomes do ensure greater food security and dietary diversity. Yet, there is also evidence of use of cash to buy foods that may not contribute to better nutrient intakes, such as curry powder and soft drinks.

Class relations interacting with aggressive marketing strategies contribute to creating aspiration for particular types of foods. The Coca-Cola Company has three bottling plants in Mozambique and commercialises dozens of different soft drinks – *inter alia* one of the most popular is Fanta Uva. It is possible to buy a variety of soft drinks from local *barracas* in any village in the province of Cabo Delgado and the price of a small bottle is 20 meticaís (equivalent to 0.43 GBP) and

same as the cost of a small bottle of water. Advertisement of soft drinks is very common in Cabo Delgado; the most typical form is the *free-of-charge* house painting of houses that are visible from the roads with colours and signs of Coca-Cola, Fanta Uva and other soft drinks.

That soft drinks do not contain any nutrient is a known fact. Yet, how to assess soft drinks consumption from a nutritional viewpoint in Cabo Delgado? In settings characterised by high levels of nutritional deficiencies, additional sugar intake may not be unhealthy in absolute terms. Nutritional problems may arise when soft drinks consumption becomes frequent and it replaces consumption of more nutritious foods. For instance, Nestle (2007) illustrates how soft drinks consumption, especially through distribution in schools, has substituted milk consumption among children and adolescents in the US. In Cabo Delgado and elsewhere in low-income countries, there is a general risk that richer households disproportionately direct monetary resources to foods that are sugar-rich and nutrient-poor.

The evidence discussed in this section conforms to Fine's theory of *food systems of provision* described in chapter 2. In fact, taste and ideas on healthy and desirable foods are influenced by the material aspects of the system of provision, namely organisation of commodified production and distribution. Demand for food cannot be understood without considering the associated systems of supply. Women's or mothers' food preferences need to be contextualised in the broader picture in which structural food supply conditions determine food and nutritional knowledge and, consequently, food norms. Considering food demand as dependent on the relative food systems of provision raises an issue in terms of nutrition- and health-related implications of food consumption. If food security or improved food outcomes need to be achieved through consumption of *better* other than *more* food, then food quality is to be considered central (these issues are discussed in detail in the next chapter). If food systems provide consumers with unhealthy foods, then the role of knowledge and education in informing better consumption choices or, more appropriately, norms are undermined from the very beginning as they are attached to the same system that is responsible for the provision of those unhealthy foods. The evidence collected in Cabo Delgado suggests that cash incomes tend to be channelled into consumption of foods that are considered tasty but are often nutrient-poor.

## 8.2.2 FOOD ACQUISITION STRATEGIES AND RURAL-RURAL/RURAL-URBAN LINKAGES

Throughout field research in rural areas of Cabo Delgado, an idea that emerged as common is that *food comes from the machamba*. This belief underlines the importance of domestically-grown food to meet household food needs. In fact, virtually every farming household interviewed as part of the survey retains part of the agricultural produce for own consumption (75 per cent of the sample, which is equivalent to all urban and rural households that have access to land). However, it is crucial to stress that this does not mean that a) food is produced only for own consumption and b) these households are food self-sufficient.

In fact, 43 per cent of the sample also reported commercialising part of the agricultural produce in the year before the interview. Those respondents who said that they did not sell any agricultural products explained that they had a bad harvest or, more generally, they cannot produce enough in order to sell their produce. These respondents were either Mueda residents, so less integrated into the channels of agricultural produce distribution, or households that relied on non-farm incomes. The question on food self-sufficiency will be expanded in the next chapter, for the purpose of this section it shall suffice to underline that all of the households interviewed as part of survey and in qualitative interviews were *not* food self-sufficient.

Women's participation in paid work and cash-earning activities evokes the extent to which the economy is monetised and cash is needed in both urban and rural areas. Although cash is not exclusively used to buy food (as it also emerged from discussions in the previous chapter), it is certainly spent on food. The questionnaire included a question on the amount of money spent on food in the month before the interview that did not work well due to widespread problems with quantification, uncertainty due to the fact that money spent on food came from different streams of income, unwillingness to disclose this type of information. However, all of the respondents said that they had bought some food in the month before the interview. The survey was conducted between April and June 2012, which is (early) harvest time in Cabo Delgado. This suggests that households purchase food even at times of the year when they have agricultural produce from their own fields. In fact, even when staple foods may be domestically-produced, the preparation of the relish requires purchased ingredients.

A factor that distinguishes wealthier from poorer households is the amount of money that can be spent daily to buy the ingredients to make the *caril*. To make a general approximation on the basis of information collected during field research, daily food expenses can range between 10 or 20 MZN – sufficient to buy a few tomatoes, a very small quantity of *peixe fino* (small fish) or some leaves to make *matapa* – to 80 or 100 MZN (in a few cases even 200 MZN) – which can be used to buy bigger quantities of what is needed but also vegetable oil, *Rajah* and *extra* foods that can be eaten outside the principal meal(s). Of course, daily expenses depend partly on the number of households members.

The primary function of cash allowances, discussed in the previous chapter, is precisely to sustain the daily food expenses, which in many cases means purchasing the ingredients to make the *caril*. In fact, while women tend to be responsible for buying food on a daily basis, less regular purchase of big quantities of food can be done by men or women. For instance, when households need to purchase big provisions of staple foods (e.g. bag of maize or rice), then this may be done by male members of the household.

Interestingly, purchasing big quantities of food often involves some forms of mobility or exchange across space, whether rural-rural or rural-urban. Participant observation and qualitative interviews suggest that rural-rural and rural-urban linkages are central in household food procurement strategies. In general, buying food in or close to the producing areas is cheaper and therefore dynamic intra- and inter-regional mobility is also used as a channel for food provisioning. Here I focus on rural-urban exchange to highlight the importance of rural households' contributions to urban food strategies.

Crush et al. (2006) argue that in Southern and Eastern Africa *circular migration* – indicating a phenomenon whereby urban households maintain a house in rural areas or close contacts with relatives resident rural areas – is on the rise and growingly important to urban households' reproduction. This is clearly seen in the province of Cabo Delgado where many households in the recently-urbanised town of Pemba retain more or less strong links with relatives in the rural districts where they are originally from. Yet, these links at times go beyond family ties.

The exchanges between rural and urban households often take place in the form of food transfers. In fact, the possibility to relax household expenses, driven upward also by high food prices, through access to own- or family-produced food is considered desirable by many urban households. Urban residents are induced to

partially rely on own-produced food or, in some cases, food bought in producing areas – hence cheaper – to meet their social reproduction. In some cases, wealthier urban households may even acquire land in rural areas and hire agricultural labourers to then sell the produce and/or use it for own-consumption.

Rural-urban food transfers originate from and, simultaneously, contribute to create various forms of intra- and inter-regional mobility. These processes of mobility are deeply entrenched with processes of livelihood diversification and, importantly, social differentiation. Access to labour (through socio-economic ties with relatives in rural areas) and/or capacity to mobilise labour are critical determinants for processes of social differentiation. Evidently, household food procurement practices are to be considered as part of this network of processes. Household food outcomes depend critically on their social relations (across space) and on their ability to mobilise family and extra-familial labour.

At times of food scarcity, food can also be borrowed – 42 per cent of the respondents had to borrow food in the month before the survey interview. Food is borrowed from neighbours and/or relatives. Normally, the practice of lending food is based on mechanisms of reciprocity – who borrows will lend in the future. When food exchange occurs along family ties, then it is done within the same *likola/amuci*. In other words, a woman would ask for food to her sister or another member of her family and not to her husband's family. When a spouse gives the household's food to his family without consulting the other spouse, this is considered an offense and can create tensions within the household:

'My husband grabs *milho* (maize) from our storage and gives it to his family, so I do the same: I take it and give it to my sister.' Lucia, Namaua (Mueda)

Hence food is acquired in a variety of ways that include own production, purchase and transfers along family ties and across space and reciprocal borrowing. Households' socio-economic position and social relations determine their food provisioning practices.

### **8.2.3 GENDER ROLES AROUND FOOD, COOKING AND MATERNAL ALTRUISM**

In the construction of diets, roles for food production, acquisition and preparation are gendered. In farming households, responsibility for food production is shared between men and women in different ways. For instance, there are slight

differences in the gendered division of labour between the Maconde and the Macua populations. In the Maconde society, men clear the land and prepare the soil for planting the seeds but only women (and children) are in charge of seeding. Then women, at times helped by older children, are responsible for keeping the *machambas* clean on a daily basis. Finally, women and men harvest together. In the Macua society, men clear the land and prepare the land for seeding, which is carried out by men and women together. Women tend to perform weeding and other daily maintenance activities and, finally, men and women harvest together. Some respondents have specified that rice is harvested only by women and children. These are *ideal* models for gendered division of labour and, as such, may not be replicated so rigidly in the reality. In fact, there are households where men partake in the daily upkeep of the *machambas*, especially for those crops that are mostly destined to sale.

Food acquisition and management is considered a female-task. As described in the previous chapter, women tend to manage cash used to buy food on a daily basis. Women may go to the market themselves or pass this responsibility onto younger members of the household (their children or grandchildren and nephews/nieces) while retaining control over the cash allowance, which indicates how labour is organised and allocated also along the line of age. As mentioned above, at times, men may buy food too: this happens primarily when bigger quantities of food are purchased – e.g. bags of maize or rice – which reflects men's access to and control of greater amounts of cash incomes, on average.

With regards to food preparation, women hold exclusive responsibility. Men can cook when they work as *empregados* but, in the intra-household division of labour, cooking is distinctly a female task. Younger women learn how to cook with older ones and, in fact, in households composed by women in different age ranges, cooking is responsibility of younger women.

*Namaua, Mueda.* At Guilhermina's house, Manalisa (18 years old), her youngest daughter, cooked *ugwali* and *caril de galinha* (chicken curry) for Guilhermina's guests. She killed and plucked the chicken, made the curry sauce from scratch with all of the seeds and spices needed, seasoned it with onions and vegetable oil and cooked the chicken curry. Then she prepared *ugwali*. Manalisa had a new-born who needed to be breastfed during the cooking process. She took the time to breastfeed while taking care of the food that was cooking on firewood. Guilhermina and all of her guests sat in the yard, where the cooking was taking place but Manalisa did not receive any help. Some of her sisters alternately took care of the baby when he was not being breastfed. The entire process took longer than three hours.

Food preparation is a long process. The cooking scene described above was especially time-consuming because it was a *special* meal for guests. Preparing a daily meal can take on average an hour or longer, which has implications on the daily organisation of labour between productive and reproductive activities – issues of time are discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Although some foods such as street foods can be consumed more immediately, the preparation of a complete meal remains a laborious and slow process to these days. Even the early adoption of cassava as a labour-saving crop was not useful to save time in food preparation (O’Laughlin 2013): making cassava porridge takes longer than making maize porridge.

When asked if there are any differences in the way their mothers’ taught them how to cook and how they prepare food nowadays, many respondents said that they continue to cook following their mothers’ teaching. This may indicate that the main meals continue to be made with the same principal ingredients. However, many respondents said that *new* foods are used in cooking, For instance, vegetable oil is considered to be a recent type of seasoning – older women have recollections of the times when they used only peanut flour and coconut milk to season their foods. Also, some types of vegetables were introduced in the colonial time:

[...] my grandmother died without knowing what onions are! Lucia, Namaua (Mueda)

All foods made with sugar and wheat flour such as *mandaze* are also considered recent. Therefore some women explained that they had to learn how to use the *new* ingredients on their own because their mothers did not use them. In sum, some foods have slightly changed the preparation of typical dishes – e.g. vegetable oil and sugar – and others have been introduced into diets as *snacks* – e.g. *mandaze*, *bajía*, other street foods and, importantly, industrially-produced foods.

Preparing a meal requires care because it expresses hospitality when offered to guests, it is a sign of membership and generosity when shared with family and communities during a ceremony. Cooking is also a foundational trait of marital relationship. The importance that women assign to preparing a good meal for their spouse is noticeable and outspoken to the point that some scholars have interpreted cooking for the husband as analogous to sexual intercourse, in northern Mozambique (Arnfred 2007, among matrilineal societies) and elsewhere (e.g. Clark 1994, among Asante people in Ghana). Many of the Macua and Maconde women interviewed in Cabo Delgado described the importance of cooking *good meals* to please their husbands. Cooking and pursuing other house chores for the husband –

e.g. washing his clothes – officialises the marriage and the primary position held by the wife in relation to other occasional sexual partners. When a woman discovers that her husband had a meal prepared by another woman, it is equivalent to being betrayed. A man may not eat the food prepared by his wife to signal discontent with something she may have done.

What are the material implications of the centrality of cooking in the marital relationship? Do women give more and better food to men to signal appreciation for their husbands and affirming their status of *good wives*? Marked gender differences in food consumption were not observed. There was no mention of habit to give men particular foods or parts of food – e.g. when eating meat or fish. When explicitly questioned, both female and male respondents said that there are no differences between what women and men eat. Yet, as described in the previous chapter, many women said that they prepare foods that are appreciated by their husbands. In other words, the central role occupied by cooking between wife and husband contributes to explain why male's food preferences often dictate what food is prepared for the rest of the family.

Moreover, there may be some quantitative differences – i.e. men get more of the same food – that are difficult to capture given that food is not portioned individually: men and grown-up male children eat from one dish while women together with all younger children eat from a different dish. The quantities of food eaten by each individual are hardly observed. Normally though, the amount of food that goes in the dish given to guests and men tends to be more generous than that kept for women and younger children. Many women have reported the habit to eat less food to leave more for children – 75 per cent of the respondents said that they do this on a regular basis. Therefore, although there may not be significant gendered differences in food consumption at the expense of women, the importance of cooking for the husband in combination with the organisation of meal consumption sets the conditions in which women express their *maternal altruism* by having smaller meals in order to leave more food for the younger children in the household.

In sum, although both women and men participate in decision-making on food in various ways (see also previous chapter), food preparation remains a women's affair, at the most shared between older and younger women, to the disadvantage of younger ones. Cooking occurs in forms that, rather than empowering women as argued by Arnfred (1988; 2007), reproduce gender relations of power that discriminate against women even in tacit ways, such as preparing food

preferred by the husband (or other male adults in the household) and giving more food to men and small children. In this sense, women's presumed centrality in food production, acquisition and preparation is undermined by men's power on a number of different grounds.

### **8.3 CONCLUSIONS**

The last section of chapter 3 listed and discussed a number of phenomena and processes that are indicated in the literature as having varying effects on food habits and dietary change. The optimistic story that links women's empowerment to food security does not look at how women's use of incomes (or education) may interact with the wider context where food norms are created and shaped in the process of achieving improved food outcomes.

This chapter has illustrated that diets present elements of complexity even in contexts, such as Cabo Delgado, where they are often described as simple and monotonous. A focus on principal meals leaves out foods that are consumed outside the main meal as well as variation in the ingredients that are used to cook meals, which are to be considered important characteristics of diets. Documenting what people eat, why and to what effects requires an in-depth analysis of food, food consumption norms and the processes that contribute to their formation.

In the course of chapter, specific food items, such as *Rajah* and soft drinks, have been used to show how the food industry can be influential in shaping taste and food knowledge even in a context where many households continue to partially rely on own-produced food to meet their food consumption needs. In fact, partial reliance on subsistence production is invariably combined with purchase of food, which is a ubiquitous aspect of food acquisition strategies for urban and rural households alike, with some of the former being able to reduce the household food expenses by taking advantage of their social relations with rural relatives or better off economic position to ensure themselves access to cheaper food.

The chapter discussed also gender roles in food preparation practices and argued that in the female-dominated task of cooking lies the reproduction of gender relations of power that discriminate against women rather than a source of empowerment of women, as claimed by Arnfred (1988; 2007) in earlier studies of northern Mozambique.

Overall, the chapter sought to a) describe diet composition in Cabo Delgado and b) highlight that women's use of incomes needs to be contextualised in the broader scenario in which (gendered) food consumption norms are formed; that is, in relation to foods history, systems of production, food industry and food provisioning practices. Also, the exclusive control that women may have on particular domains, such as food preparation, is still subject to structural gender power imbalances and thus it may not ensure improved food outcomes for *everyone* in the household.

# 9

## THE PRODUCTION OF FOOD VULNERABILITY AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOURCES OF FOOD INSECURITY IN CABO DELGADO

*'[...] the phrase production of affliction is used here advisedly. Contemporary forms of affliction cannot be understood without locating them within characteristic, enduring and historically specific ways of organising capitalist production in Southern Africa'*  
(O'Laughlin 2013: 194)

In the quotation reported above, O'Laughlin (2013) explains the reasons for talking about *production* of affliction in her study of rural health in Southern Africa. The discussion of food vulnerability presented in this chapter is indebted to O'Laughlin's work. Although the analysis of food vulnerability in northern Mozambique can and needs to be further developed, the choice to use an expression that evokes O'Laughlin's article on the political economy of affliction – i.e. *production* of food vulnerability – indicates the intention to address the underlying determinants of food vulnerability, thus linking it to the structures of the economy.

By focusing on (household) food insecurity in Cabo Delgado, the chapter addresses the following and last research question:

- ❖ What is the extent of household food insecurity and what are the determinants? What are women's roles in the achievement of household food security?

The first section (9.1) presents and discusses the findings obtained through the use of standard tools to measure household food security. The second section (9.2) looks at some of the determinants of food vulnerability and, consequently, reflects on the methods needed to assess it. The third section (9.3) takes a dynamic approach to food vulnerability to address one aspect of its cyclical production. Finally, section 9.4 concludes.

## 9.1 THE FOOD SECURITY PICTURE ACCORDING TO STANDARD TOOLS

In the literature, household food security is considered to be composed by a quantitative and a qualitative component, whereby the quantitative aspect refers to household's capacity to access *sufficient* quantities of food while the qualitative one is associated with household's ability to obtain *good quality* food.

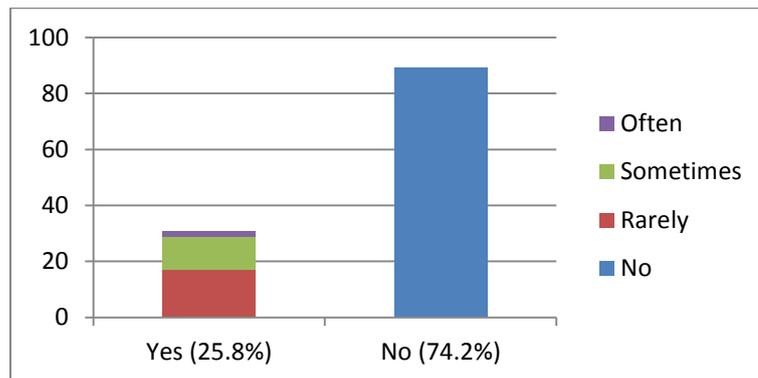
The Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance project (FANTA) has validated two standard tools to measure household food security, taking account of the quantitative and qualitative components of food security. These tools were used as part of the household survey in Cabo Delgado and the findings are presented and discussed in the two following sections. Section 9.1.1 looks at the quantitative component of food security and section 9.1.2 addresses household dietary diversity.

### 9.1.1 HOUSEHOLD FOOD SECURITY

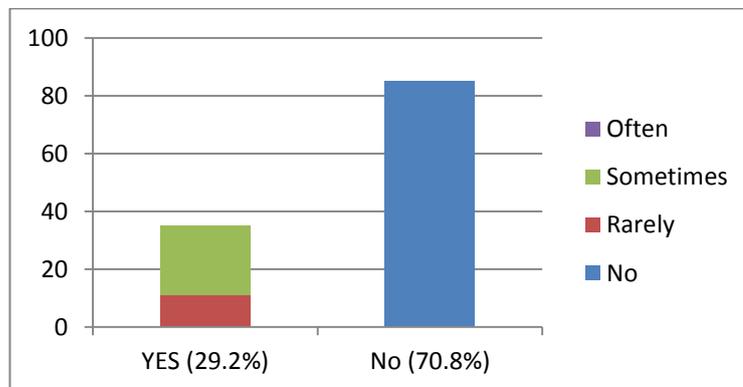
In the food module of the questionnaire, the three Household Hunger Scale (HHS) questions were included (see section 4.3.4 in chapter 4 and annex 2). The HHS is a standard tool to assess household food access. The household survey was implemented between April and June 2012, so the household food security assessment refers to a period going from March to May, depending on when the interview was conducted. FANTA recommends using the HHS during the *hungry* season, normally coinciding with the pre-harvest time. The lean season in Cabo Delgado takes place between December and February, so the household survey does not capture household food insecurity in the most critical time of the year. Originally, I intended to use the HHS questions twice: first, as prescribed by the HHS tool, by using a recall period of 30 days before the interview and second, by using the month of February as recall period, which is the last month before the new harvest begins and had emerged as particularly difficult for food provisioning in qualitative interviews. The second use of the HHS could have allowed not only for capturing food insecurity during the hungry season but also elements of seasonal variation in food vulnerability. However, the plan proved to be too ambitious as the HHS questions referred to the month of February did not work well in the pilot, so they were dropped from the questionnaire. Nonetheless, Cabo Delgado is afflicted by high levels of chronic malnutrition and poor food consumption, as explained in

chapter 5, and thence the use of HHS was considered appropriate even outside the hungry season. The HHS results are reported in the graphs below – 9.1A, 9.1B and 9.1C.

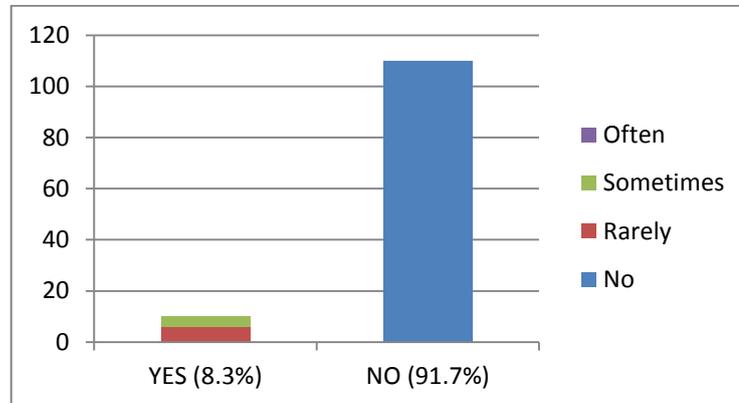
**FIGURE 9.1A IN THE PAST 30 DAYS, WAS THERE EVER NO FOOD TO EAT OF ANY KIND IN YOUR HOUSE BECAUSE OF LACK OF RESOURCES? IF YES, HOW OFTEN DID THIS HAPPEN? (RARELY = 1 OR 2 TIMES; SOMETIMES = 3-10 TIMES; OFTEN = MORE THAN 10 TIMES)**



**FIGURE 9.1B IN THE PAST 30 DAYS, DID YOU OR ANY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER GO TO SLEEP AT NIGHT HUNGRY BECAUSE THERE WAS NOT ENOUGH FOOD? IF YES, HOW OFTEN DID THIS HAPPEN? (RARELY = 1 OR 2 TIMES; SOMETIMES = 3-10 TIMES; OFTEN = MORE THAN 10 TIMES)**



**FIGURE 9.1C IN THE PAST 30 DAYS, DID YOU OR ANY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER GO A WHOLE DAY AND NIGHT WITHOUT EATING ANYTHING AT ALL BECAUSE THERE WAS NOT ENOUGH FOOD? IF YES, HOW OFTEN DID THIS HAPPEN? (RARELY = 1 OR 2 TIMES; SOMETIMES = 3-10 TIMES; OFTEN = MORE THAN 10 TIMES)**



SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

The figures above show that a significant number of households (25 and 29 per cent, respectively) reported not having any kind of food or going to bed feeling hungry on a variable number of times, mostly ‘rarely’ or ‘sometimes’, in the month before the interview. It is important to point out a few issues that relate to these questions. First, based on the discussion of semantic gaps around the notion of *food* (see section 8.1.1 in the previous chapter), the meaning of *having no food of any kind* may have been exposed to misunderstandings, although in the implementation of each interview it was always specified that the question was not limited to staple foods. Indeed, the misinterpretation may show in the discrepancy observed with answers on the last HHS question (see figure 9.1C), which indicates that a much smaller percentage of respondents (8 per cent) reported that they (or someone in their household) went an entire day without eating anything. Second, the second HHS question incorporates an element of subjectivity, hence answers may be driven by subjective perceptions of feeling hungry. It is indeed alarming that almost 30 per cent of the respondents said that they (or someone else in their household) went to bed feeling hungry a number of times in the month before the interviews, but the subjective aspect of the question needs to be underlined.

Overall, it needs to be highlighted that the percentages of households that would appear as *food secure* according to the HHS are much higher. Is this a realistic picture of food security? As anticipated in chapter 4, the HHS questions are rather *strong* and thence better equipped at capturing extreme signs of household food insecurity. Indeed the HHS is considered adequate in settings affected by

severe food insecurity (Deitchler et al. 2011). An important question remains open though: in contexts characterised by severe food insecurity, does food insecurity manifest itself in the ways implied by the HHS questions, such as having no food of any kind or going an entire day without eating anything? Qualitative and quantitative evidence collected in Cabo Delgado suggests that food vulnerability manifests itself in ways that are less acute but nonetheless important in re-iterating the production of food vulnerability over time. These issues will be explained and discussed in detail in section 9.2.

### **9.1.2 HOUSEHOLD DIETARY DIVERSITY**

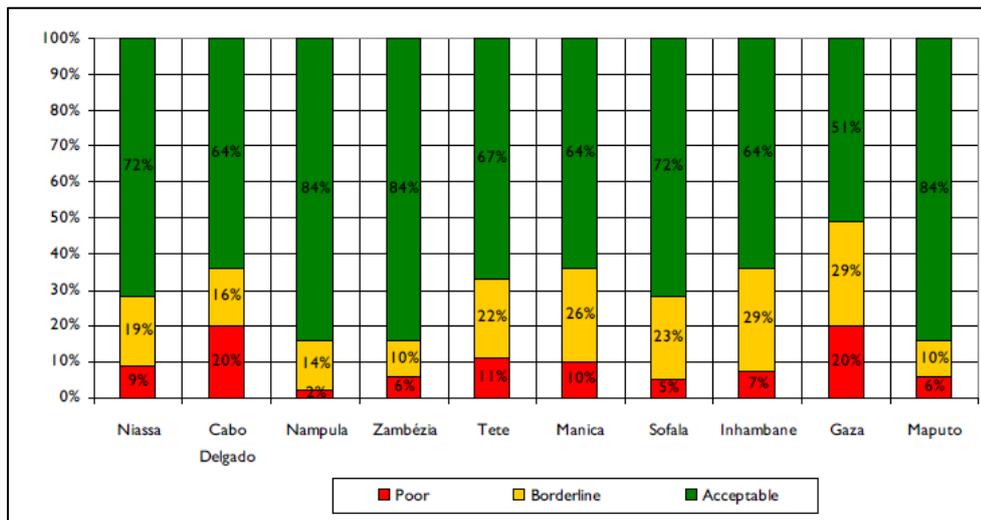
Dietary diversity measures are standard tools to take account of the qualitative component of food security. Certainly, dietary diversity does not embrace *all* aspects of food quality; indeed, it is a reductionist conceptualisation of food quality (see section 4.3.4 in chapter 4). Yet, measures of dietary diversity give an indication of the types of foods consumed in a given period, which is known to be a critical aspect of food security and nutritional outcomes (Rose et al. 1999; Ruel 2002; Faber et al. 2009; WFP 2010).

The WFP has calculated a Food Consumption Score (FCS), which is a weighted index based on the number of days particular food groups were consumed in the previous week, to assess the levels of dietary diversity among Mozambican households.<sup>73</sup> By looking at the FCS by province it can be noted that Cabo Delgado presents high proportions of households classified as *food consumption poor*, relative to other provinces – 20 per cent in peri-urban areas and 17 per cent in rural areas, in 2009.

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<sup>73</sup> The FCS is calculated on the basis eight food groups (staples, pulses, vegetables, fruits, meat and fish, milk, oil, and sugar), to which different weights are assigned depending on nutritional quality. Two thresholds (21 and 35) were used to allocate households in three categories of consumption: poor, borderline and acceptable.

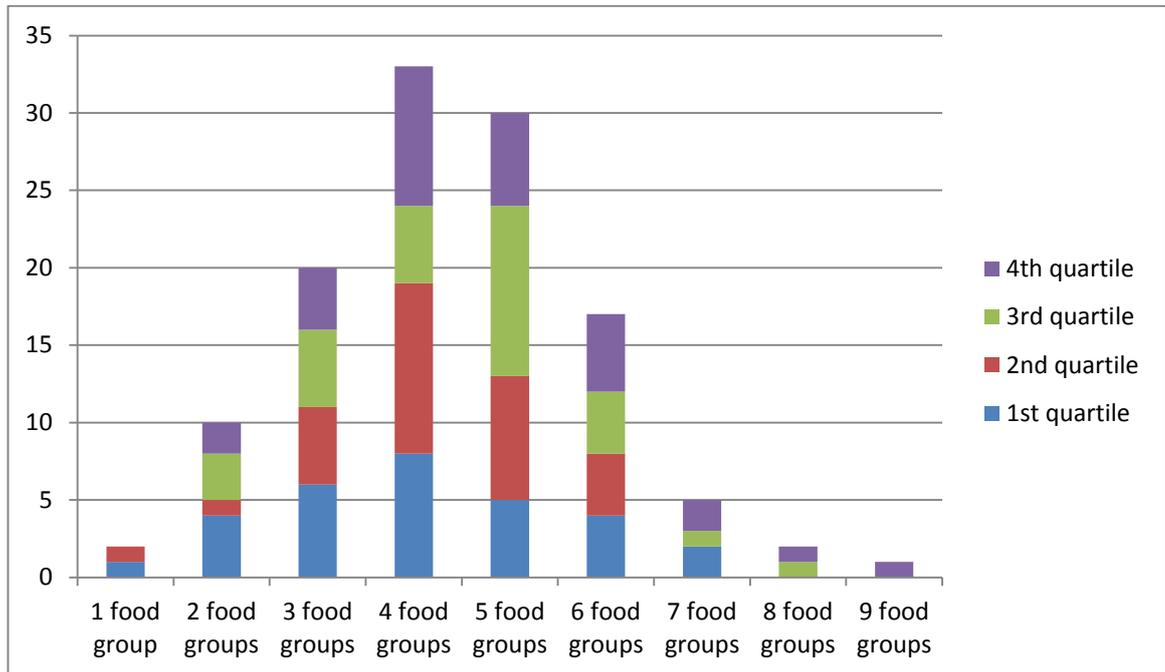
FIGURE 9.1D FOOD CONSUMPTION CATEGORIES BY PROVINCE



SOURCE: WFP (2010: 63)

As the FCS is based on food groups consumed in the previous week, these results suggest that household dietary diversity is likely to be low in the province. Data collected in Cabo Delgado as part of the survey suggests that household dietary diversity is indeed poor. As explained in chapter 4 and can be seen from the questionnaire reported in annex 2, the Household Dietary Diversity Score (HDDS), based on 16 food groups, is the tool that was used as part of the household survey to assess household dietary diversity. The HDDS for the interviewed sample ranges between 1 and 9 food groups – see figure 9.1E below. A decision was made to exclude the ‘alcohol and caffeine’ food group from the analysis because it detected *individual*, rather than *household*, consumption of alcoholic drinks. Figure 9.1E shows that the majority of interviewed households consumed between 3 and 5 food groups in the previous day. The disaggregation by wealth quartile indicates that wealthier households tend to have higher dietary diversity than poorer ones.

**FIGURE 9.1E NUMBER OF FOOD GROUPS CONSUMED IN THE DAY BEFORE THE INTERVIEW BY WEALTH QUARTILE**



SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

Analysis of dietary diversity data by food group indicates high consumption of cereals: 91 per cent of the respondents reported that someone in their households had consumed cereals, mostly *xima* and rice, on the day before the interview. The other three food groups for which high levels of consumption were recorded are vegetables (72 per cent), legumes and nuts (56 per cent) and oil and fats (51 per cent).

Conversely, the HDDS signalled very low consumption of vitamin A rich vegetables (79 per cent of the respondents and/or other members in the household did *not* have this type of foods in the day before the interview), although at the time of the year when the survey was conducted (between April and June 2012) pumpkins were in season. Extremely low consumption of fruit, meat and milk emerged from the survey data, with percentages of non-consumption above 90 per cent for all of these food categories.

When the survey interviews were conducted, an attempt was made to a) investigate ingredients used to cook the meals (e.g. cooking oil) and b) capture consumption of extra-meal foods in the HDDS. It is reasonable to believe that the use of more explicit questions to pursue this intension did capture types of food and aspects of consumption that describe a more realistic picture than one based on the

basic ingredients used in the preparation of the principal meals. The short recall period (the day before the interview) is aimed at minimising memory bias and inaccuracy, at the expense of a wider and possibly more representative time span over which dietary diversity can be observed. However, this does not rule out the possibility that the data collected contains errors and inaccuracies. In fact, it remains a difficult exercise to obtain complete and accurate lists of all foods consumed by any member of the household in the course of the previous day. Interestingly, many of the female respondents said that they did not know what other members, often children, may have eaten outside of the house.

Nonetheless, by considering this data in relation to qualitative evidence collected on food consumption, there seem to be reasons to believe that the HDDS provides a fair snapshot of dietary diversity in the research sites. The key messages conveyed by the HDDS that diets are poorly diversified and overly dependent on cereals, vegetables, legumes and, to an extent, cooking oil do describe a realistic scenario. Arguably, the types of food that are largely neglected in the HDDS are those that are considered to be *individual* forms of consumption, such as street foods, packaged foods (e.g. biscuits) and soft drinks. If these forms of consumption were captured, then possibly the 'sweets' food group would be accounted for differently in the HDDS. In other words, the HDDS seems suitable for capturing a snapshot of the types of food consumed within the household by all household members while it overlooks other forms of food consumption. This is a predictable outcome considering that the HDDS looks at the *household*, not individual, level. Yet, these observations raise concerns over the appropriateness of using the HDDS in contexts characterised by a combination of household-centred and individualised forms of food consumption. As described in the previous chapter, qualitative research has shown that household-centred consumption of meals is arguably the most significant aspect of diets in urban and rural areas of Cabo Delgado but not the only one, given the availability of extra-meal foods.

In the remainder of the chapter, I look at the manifestations of food vulnerability to investigate some of its sources while highlighting aspects that may be neglected in pictures of food insecurity drawn by standard tools.

## **9.2 LACK OF TIME AND RESOURCES, REPRODUCTION AND POOR DIETARY DIVERSITY**

Measuring and tackling (household) food insecurity requires understanding its key determinants. Too often in the literature the persistence of food insecurity is simplistically attributed to resource scarcity, thus these analyses fail to address a) other determinants of food insecurity and b) the underlying causes of resources scarcity and mechanisms through which they interact with the production of food vulnerability. This section is aimed at exploring some of the determinants of food insecurity in Cabo Delgado.

Section 9.2.1 addresses issues of time and how time constraints interact with other forms of deprivation, including resource scarcity and cash fluctuations. On the basis of what discussed in this section, section 9.2.2 presents the findings on household food security obtained using context-specific and *softer* questions, relative to the HHS, and questions the nature of food vulnerability and the methods needed to assess it.

### **9.2.1 FOOD PREPARATION, TIME POVERTY AND CASH FLUCTUATIONS**

Although a strand of the literature on child nutrition has emphasised the role that time – mothers' time especially – has as a mediating factor in the relationship between mothers' status and food security (see chapter 3), studies of food security have often attributed the presence and persistence of food insecurity to lack of resources to acquire food. In fact, FANTA's HHS sets the universal questions to assess household food security to be referred solely to *lack of resources*, thus ruling out other potential determinants of food vulnerability such as *lack of time* to acquire and/or prepare food.

Especially in contexts characterised by multiplicity of occupations, high work intensity (physical labour) and thin or absent welfare state, it seems conceptually sensible to expand the scope of food security analysis beyond the scarcity of resources to acquire food. Empirical evidence shows that in Cabo Delgado time, or lack of it, shapes food provisioning and consumption practices and also contributes to the production of food vulnerability.

Time use data was not collected as part of the survey because in earlier phases of fieldwork it was observed that interviewees found it difficult to quantify how much time is needed to perform particular tasks; they either did not know how to respond or answers given were subject to vagueness and inaccuracy. In Cabo Delgado, the organisation of daily productive and reproductive activities is dictated by the sunlight and follows specific time patterns. During fieldwork, it happened to me several times to be given an appointment to meet someone at a time loosely defined by the position of the sun. In principle, it is possible to use the same reference point (i.e. the position of the sun) to calculate the amount of time spent on doing different activities but it would be subject to a degree of imprecision. Most importantly, the discussion on time developed in chapter 3 shall have suggested that the notion of time that is considered analytically useful in this work is associated with the (daily) organisation of productive and reproductive work, which in turn derives from the material structures of production.

To look at women's and men's time and work burdens, it is essential to refer to gendered roles, decision-making and allocation of labour – all aspects that have been discussed extensively in earlier chapters. One resilient feature of the gendered system of labour allocation is that women are invariably responsible for the act of cooking. This is even signalled by the fact that the kitchen tends to be a space accessible to and accessed only by women. So, while food production (in food-growing households) and acquisition are shared between men and women in various and changing ways, food preparation is undoubtedly a female duty.

'Foodstuff is only for women but taking care of the *machamba* is for the couple' group of women, Namaua

Not only food preparation is a female task but, in households where there are women in different age ranges, the responsibility is transferred from older to younger women. In some interviews, it was explained that this is a way to teach younger women how to cook.

'I learnt how to cook with my mother and I still cook in the same way. [...] I remember that once I cooked not *well-mixed madranga* (cassava porridge) and my mother told me off' Edna, Nangua

It is common to hear older women complain about younger women *being lazy* with cooking and other house chores. This may indicate a way in which age-based relations of power are exercised and/or that gender roles are undergoing a process

of change that sees older women losing bargaining power *vis-à-vis* younger women. It is difficult to ascertain what explanation is most sensible in absence of longitudinal information, but what emerges is that age is at the basis of intra-household allocation of labour and capacity to mobilise family labour.

Age-based division of labour within a realm that is female-dominated suggests that to assess how (lack of) time may impact food consumption patterns, it is not sufficient to look only at mother's time but also at household composition, namely at the presence of members who can substitute the mother for cooking, child care and other house chores. Many of the women interviewed as part of the survey (63 per cent) said that there are other household members who help them with house work. In the vast majority of the cases, those indicated as helping members are grown-up children – typically boys up to a certain age and women of any age – and, at times, grandchildren, nephews or nieces. Within the sample, 28 respondents are *cash-earning* women whose paid work or cash-earning activity entails staying away from home and, at the same time, have small children; among these 28 respondents half of them said that they carry the children with them while the other half leaves them with other household members, again children and/or female relatives.

While labour transfers within and across households may act as a mitigating factor to time burden faced by some women and mothers, this does not eliminate some of the problems created by time scarcity. As mentioned in chapter 3, studies conducted in different African countries show that food preparation is one of the most time-consuming activities (e.g. Barrett and Browne 1994; Hyder et al. 2005). In Cabo Delgado, the preparation of a *complete* meal can take from one to several hours (depending on whether women need to grind maize or cassava manually),<sup>74</sup> which, together with the time needed for other daily house chores such as washing clothes and dishes, keeping the yard clean, getting water, firewood or coal for cooking, represents a substantial amount of time of daily reproductive and productive activities.

Although nowadays there are mills in most villages, the practice of grinding maize or cassava manually is still performed when households cannot afford to pay for having their maize or cassava ground at the mill. Grinding maize or cassava manually is a very arduous and time-consuming task carried out exclusively by women, often in pair to share the fatigue involved. This is an example that shows

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<sup>74</sup> This information is based on participant observation in Cabo Delgado.

that the worst effects of facing time scarcity may lie at the intersections and, in fact, be exacerbated by other forms of deprivation.

It is then evident that when house work is combined with agricultural work, farming and other activities - which may involve travelling - then sharing tasks with other household members may not offset food-related vulnerabilities arising from time constraints.

*Pemba.* To run her vegetables stall at the market, Flora wakes up at 5am every morning. She needs to arrive at 'Nbangua (the central market where agricultural products are distributed in Pemba) sufficiently early to get adequate supplies for the day. Then she goes to her stall and stays at the market until her *matapa* is sold, which varies but it is normally at around 3pm. Flora uses some of her earnings to get food and then goes home and cooks. Food is hardly ever ready before 5pm. This means that she rarely has two complete meals per day. Sometime, when her sister-in-law is visiting, she cooks for the family (Flora is mother of a two-year-old) while Flora is at the market.

The stylised account of Flora's typical daily life highlights two stories, which are addressed in turn. One is a story of trade-offs between activities – staying at the market instead of cooking – and the other is one of adaptation to time constraints – having one meal a day instead of two. Looking at the household and societal patterns of *response* to time constraints may be a lens through which understanding how *individual* time poverty translates into *household* and *societal* well-being. As recognised in the existing literature, the links between individual time use and population well-being have been poorly conceptualised (Jackson and Palmer-Jones 1999; Kes and Swaminathan 2006). The relationship between individual and population well-being is mediated by a number of factors such as household composition, household socio-economic position and types of work performed – more or less physically demanding and time-consuming. Yet, it is possible to identify some collective response patterns resulting from individual time deficits.

First, I look at these patterns through the *trade-off story*. In societies where households need to diversify their sources of income due to low levels of earnings and lack of employment, the delicate task of prioritising some activities over others has implications on the outcomes of both reproductive and productive activities. This holds for both women and men. Yet, as seen in chapter 3, existing literature suggests that men tend to perform their activities sequentially while women may need to carry out paid and unpaid work simultaneously, thus facing more severe time constraints (Blackden and Wodon 2006). As discussed in chapter 6, many

women perform their paid work or cash-generating activity on a sporadic basis due to their responsibilities for reproductive work. This is especially visible in rural areas, where households tend not to have regular sources of income and therefore need to pursue agricultural work alongside a number of different economic activities. Multiple labour and time demands may peak at particular times of the year, following seasonal dynamics, as it will be discussed in section 9.3

Another trade-off derives from the practice of visiting ill relatives exacerbated by poor health care services. In the province of Cabo Delgado, spending time to visit and/or take care of ill relatives lies at the basis of social relations. Such practice was first observed during qualitative research and was subsequently confirmed in the household survey: any variation to the group of 'people who normally live in the household'<sup>75</sup> was explained with health-related reasons (e.g. visiting a relative who was ill at the time of the interview). In some cases, taking care of an ill person was the explanation offered for not cultivating land or doing agricultural work for a whole year.<sup>76</sup> Although visiting relatives affected by illness is assigned wider socio-cultural meanings, it can be seen as labour transfer to households that face temporary labour shortages. It is a mechanism of social security that needs to be maintained to compensate for the lack of public health care and services to alleviate caring duties. These practices tend to be female-dominated although it emerged that also younger men may take care of older (male) relatives, if necessary.<sup>77</sup> In both cases though, visiting and taking care for ill relatives is a widespread and time-consuming practice that is likely to have implications on other reproductive and productive activities.

I now turn to the *adaptation story*. Survey data on time in relation to food consumption indicates that 43.3 per cent of the respondents skipped a meal in the past month due to lack of time to prepare it and 31 per cent of them said this happened between 3 and 10 times, thus suggesting that lack of time is not to be overlooked as a determinant of food vulnerability. Of the households that skipped a meal due to lack of time to prepare it, a striking 89 per cent are rural households –

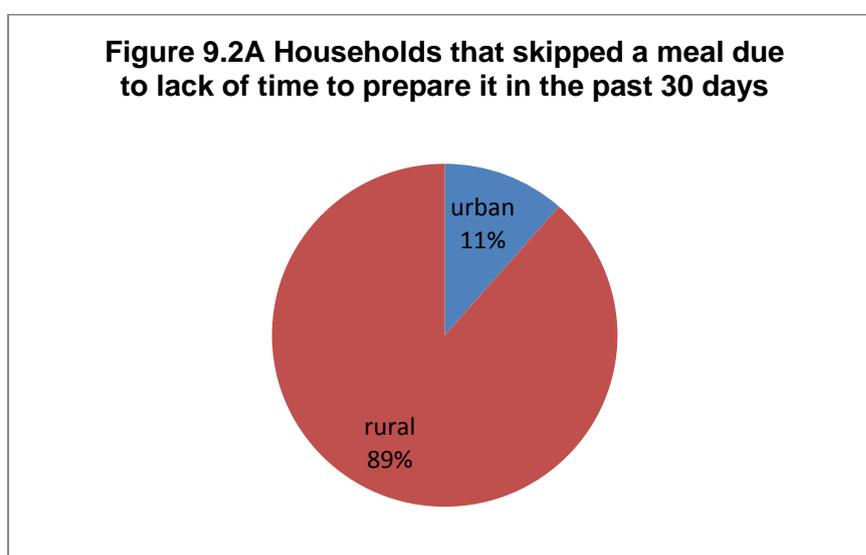
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<sup>75</sup> This refers to the household members who were described as 'people who normally live here' but were absent at the moment of the interview as well as those who were present at the time of the interview despite not being considered 'people who normally lived in that household'.

<sup>76</sup> The visits or caring practices can be very time-consuming and take up weeks or months when the ill person requires intensive care and their conditions do not improve. Also, when the ill person or their family decides to be treated by traditional healers (*curandeiros*) the treatment period can be long and involve complete abandonment of productive activities.

<sup>77</sup> This happens because wife and husband do not *belong* to the same lineage (*likola* or *amuci*, in Shimaconde and Macua respectively) and therefore each of them is expected to take care of the people of their own family and, in the absence of women or young girls who could care for a man's relatives, he may need to do it himself.

see figure 9.2A. The correlation between district of residence (i.e. urban vs rural) and skipping a meal due to lack of time is also highly significant, with a p-value of 0.000. This data suggests that lack of time for food preparation is mostly a rural phenomenon, which can be interpreted in two, non-mutually exclusive, ways. First, agricultural work may be one of the most important sources of time constraints and, second, multiplicity of occupations may be more pronounced in rural areas, relative to urban ones. Several rural residents have explained that agricultural work begins at dawn, which may imply skipping breakfast and replace it with a snack, such as fresh or dry cassava. Also, farmers and agricultural workers normally return from the fields in the early afternoon but, at times, they may need to work for longer, which often results in skipping lunch and having a full meal only upon return from the fields.



SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

The presence of time constraints coupled with timely food preparation practices is reflected in the organisation of daily food activities. A widely observed practice consists in cooking the *starch component* of the meal every time a meal is consumed while the relish may be cooked only once a day. This has two implications. First, even when two meals per day are consumed, it happens that the same meal is eaten for lunch and dinner. Second, the repetition of meals may lead to *recusar comida* (refuse food) for *being tired* of having the same meal more than once in a day. The people who seem more likely to *recusar comida* are children. A remarkable 65 per cent of the respondents reported that someone in their household had rejected a meal to avoid repetition in the past month. In almost all of these households, this happened fairly frequently (between 3 and 10 times or more than 10 times). Also the HDDS confirmed this pattern, with 20 per cent of the respondents

reporting to have had two meals but the same meal – or at least the same relish – for lunch and for dinner on the previous day – see table 9.2A below.

**TABLE 9.2A NUMBER OF MEALS CONSUMED YESTERDAY**

	<b>No. of households</b>	<b>% of households</b>
<b>1 complete meal only<sup>78</sup></b>	61	50.8
<b>1 complete meal and <i>papa</i></b>	6	5
<b>2 meals, but same meal (or relish) for lunch and dinner</b>	24	20
<b>2 meals</b>	29	24.1

SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

Meal repetition and refusal is to be understood also in terms of taste. As seen in the previous chapter, food taste is the most immediate criterion used to assess whether food is *good* or *bad*. As taste is socially constructed, desirable foods change across space (rural/urban), across populations (Macua/Maconde) and generations (adults/children). For instance, children tend to have a preference for rice over other staples, which may translate into their rejection of cassava porridge, especially if cooked twice a day. Parents – mothers in particular – are aware of what foods are preferred but the incapacity to *choose* what food to eat due to lack of resources to acquire it may cause consumption of foods that are considered *less good* (such as cassava or *small* fish). In fact, a striking 92.5 per cent of the respondents said that in the previous month it happened that they could not eat the food that they would have preferred.

Most importantly, it would be misleading to interpret meal repetition exclusively as a response to time constraints. In fact, if the high percentage of households that reported that they had only one *complete* meal in the day before the interview (50.8 per cent) is considered, then the practice of repetition is to be seen as part of the association between time and other forms of deprivation, such as lack of resources to acquire food.

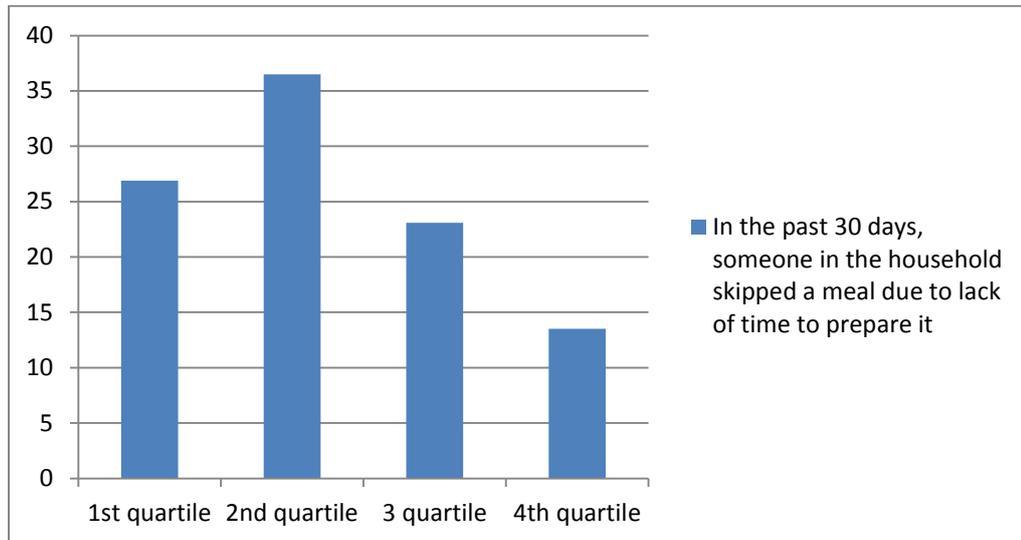
'We don't have either time nor foodstuff to have breakfast!' group of women, 25 de Junho (Metuge)

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<sup>78</sup> In most cases, respondents reported that they had eaten something else during the day (e.g. pumpkin, fresh cassava or peanuts) but these types of food are not considered to be substitutes for a complete meal, in fact, at times they are not even considered to be *real* food.

Assuming that different forms of deprivation tend to reinforce each other, households facing time constraints may also be more likely to be exposed to economic ones. One possibility offered by the survey data is to look at the households in which someone skipped a meal due to lack of time to prepare it by wealth quartile – see figure 9.2B below. By no means, this is intended to explain the complex interactions between different forms of poverty, in relation to household food security. Yet, the graph below shows an interesting picture. Incidence of time poverty to prepare meals is lowest in the wealthiest quartile. It is important to note that this figure is not significantly driven downward by urban households, in which women are less likely to engage in paid work and/or cash-earning activities and therefore have more time to prepare meals (see chapter 6); in fact, urban households are very few in the group of those facing time constraints (see figure 9.2A). This is a predictable finding, which confirms that wealthier households have more resources to minimise time poverty. Wealthier households may dispose of more labour, due to household composition or availability of resources to mobilise extra labour when needed. At the same time, the presence of some households that skipped a meal due to lack of time even among the wealthiest quartile suggests that time scarcity may be an issue worth considering even for higher wealth levels. Interestingly, the highest percentage of households facing time constraints is found in the second quartile, instead of being in the poorest quartile. This may be explained by the fact that levels of wealth are so low in the first quartile that these households lack the economic capacity to diversify their livelihoods by engaging in multiple activities, which translate in reduced exposure to time constraints for food preparation. Alternatively, the poorest households may find in the lack of resources to acquire food the primary reason to skip a meal, despite experiencing some time constraints too.

**FIGURE 9.2B HOUSEHOLDS THAT SKIPPED A MEAL DUE TO LACK OF TIME TO PREPARE IT IN THE PREVIOUS MONTH BY WEALTH QUARTILE (N=52)**



SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

In a context characterised by lack of regular employment opportunities and multiplicity of occupations, it is crucial to look at the mechanisms through which multiple and irregular streams of income shape food acquisition practices, and interact with time deprivation. In fact, (daily) cash fluctuations determine the types of foods purchased and thus they are to be considered in the production of food vulnerability.

Discussions in earlier chapters have shown that cash allowances are the primary source of income for daily food expenses. Women's management of cash allowances is often aimed at smoothing a lump sum over a period of time, so that it can be used to purchase food on different days. It was also explained that women use their earnings to buy food too; if they receive a cash allowance, then they may use their incomes in a complementary way. When women's earnings are used to complement the cash allowances, respondents have explained that they mostly use them to buy types of food that they cannot afford to buy normally. They may buy fish or meat, instead of beans for instance. They may buy soft drinks and *mandaze* for their children and themselves. This is subject to food consumption norms, as described in the previous chapter.

However, when males' and/or females' cash incomes are too low or cash allowances are not handed out on a sufficiently regular basis or males' incomes are seasonal, then the practice of smoothing food consumption over time may be difficult

to sustain and, by consequence, food purchase is subject to cash fluctuations. As the daily food expenses normally concern the ingredients to make the relish, then short-term cash fluctuations are likely to determine the type of relish that accompanies the staple food. Women's daily availability of cash is likely to fluctuate due to variation in daily earnings from cash-generating activities and agricultural casual wage work. This affects households' capacity to buy different types of relish on the same day, which may result in the practice of cooking only one type of relish per day. In fact, as explained in the previous chapter, the amount of money spent on average on a daily basis to buy *caril* (ingredients needed to make the relish) can be a sign of household's wealth.

In closing, lack of employment opportunities, especially for women, amid poor social security in a commodified economy forces women and men to diversify economic activities to ensure an inflow of cash into their households. Agricultural work, possibly in combination with other types of productive and reproductive work that women perform in rural areas, has emerged as especially time-consuming in relation to household food security. In the last session of the chapter, I discuss the tensions between farming and casual wage work in agriculture. For the purposes of this section, it is essential to focus on the mechanisms through which the structures of the economy delineate particular temporal regimes that may constrain the performance of gendered practices of reproduction such as food preparation, on the one hand. On the other hand, the same system of production causes sources of income to be irregular, which in turn gives rise to cash fluctuations that shape food acquisition practices.

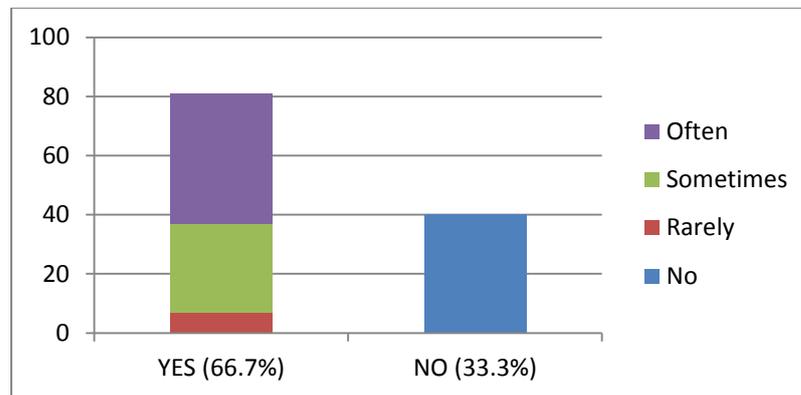
Analyses of production of food vulnerability need to take account of the broader mechanisms that shape practices of consumption. In fact, an approach to household food security that is concerned with the underlying determinants of it does also shed light on the nature of food vulnerability in different contexts. These issues are discussed in the next section.

### **9.2.2 WHAT FOOD INSECURITY? A REFLECTION ON METHODS USED TO ASSESS FOOD SECURITY**

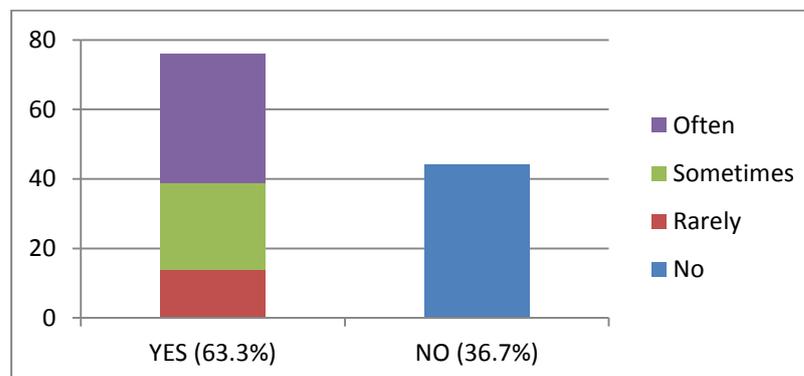
A crucial issue that emerged in the analysis of food (in)security is that response mechanisms – such as meal repetition or skipping a meal – that reproduce food vulnerability over time have been *normalised* into the daily organisation of food

practices. In this sense, food insecurity in Cabo Delgado appears to be less caused by extreme events such as ‘complete lack of food’ or ‘going one entire day without eating any food’, than *normalised* events such as ‘having fewer or smaller meals’ and ‘eating the same food repeatedly’ or ‘replacing complete meals with snacks’. Results for other aspects of household food vulnerability are reported in the four figures below (9.2C – 9.2E). If compared to the HHS data presented at the beginning of the chapter (9.1A – 9.1C), it can immediately be seen that a) the percentages of food insecure households increases dramatically and b) the *weaker* signs of food insecurity manifest themselves much more frequently.

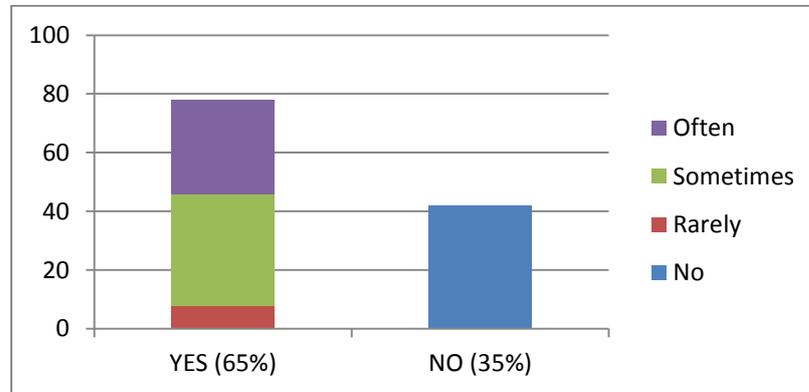
**FIGURE 9.2C IN THE PAST 30 DAYS, DID IT HAPPEN THAT YOU OR ANY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER HAD TO EAT A SMALLER MEAL THAN YOU FELT YOU NEEDED BECAUSE THERE WAS NOT ENOUGH FOOD? IF YES, HOW OFTEN DID THIS HAPPEN? (RARELY = 1 OR 2 TIMES; SOMETIMES = 3-10 TIMES; OFTEN = MORE THAN 10 TIMES)**



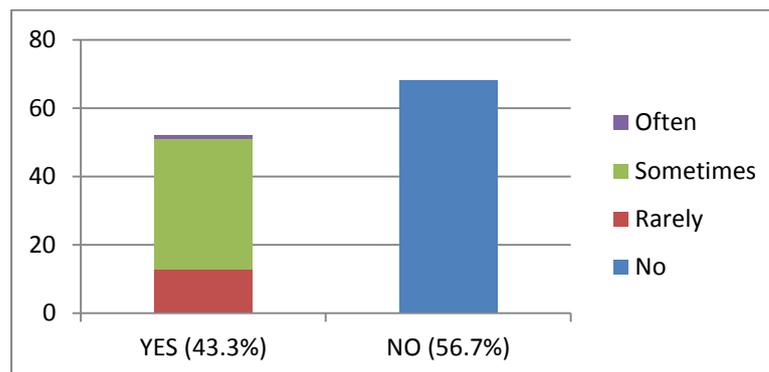
**FIGURE 9.2D IN THE PAST 30 DAYS, DID IT HAPPEN THAT YOU OR ANY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER HAD TO EAT FEWER MEALS IN A DAY BECAUSE THERE WAS NOT ENOUGH FOOD? IF YES, HOW OFTEN DID THIS HAPPEN? (RARELY = 1 OR 2 TIMES; SOMETIMES = 3-10 TIMES; OFTEN = MORE THAN 10 TIMES)**



**FIGURE 9.2E IN THE PAST 30 DAYS, DID IT HAPPEN THAT YOU OR ANY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER SKIPPED A MEAL IN ORDER TO AVOID EATING THE SAME FOOD FOR LUNCH AND DINNER? IF YES, HOW OFTEN DID THIS HAPPEN? (RARELY = 1 OR 2 TIMES; SOMETIMES = 3-10 TIMES; OFTEN = MORE THAN 10 TIMES)**



**FIGURE 9.2F IN THE PAST 30 DAYS, DID IT HAPPEN THAT YOU OR ANY HOUSEHOLD MEMBER SKIPPED A MEAL DUE TO LACK OF TIME TO PREPARE IT? IF YES, HOW OFTEN DID THIS HAPPEN? (RARELY = 1 OR 2 TIMES; SOMETIMES = 3-10 TIMES; OFTEN = MORE THAN 10 TIMES)**



SOURCE: CREATED BY THE AUTHOR USING SURVEY DATA

This data strongly supports the analysis put forward here, that the production of food vulnerability is more associated with normalised practices rather than exceptional and extreme events and raises methodological implications on the assessment of household food security. What questions are needed to assess household food security?

As seen earlier in this chapter and in previous ones, Cabo Delgado is struck by high levels of chronic malnutrition, with 56 per cent of children under 5 affected by stunting, and high percentages of food-consumption poor households. Although the HHS tool was designed for settings characterised by severe food insecurity, the qualitative and quantitative evidence collected during field research shows that the

HHS underestimates household food insecurity because it fails to capture essential aspects of it. In particular, the HHS excludes two important possibilities: a) that the sources of household food insecurity may be different from lack of resources to acquire food and b) that the manifestations of food insecurity may be normalised practices rather than extreme events. For instance, further research is needed to investigate a potential link between the practice of meal repetition and poor dietary diversity in the context of Cabo Delgado.

It is important to acknowledge that the rationale of the HHS is to provide a simple and universally-applicable tool to assess household food insecurity; its simplicity represents also its main strength. However, the discrepancy between the results yielded by the HHS questions and other questions used in the questionnaire is striking and raises concerns over the usefulness of the tool altogether. In fact, although the HHS detects severe manifestations of household food insecurity, it conceals other traits of food insecurity that may be crucial in food security analyses, even in contexts hit by high levels of malnutrition and food vulnerability such as Cabo Delgado. If the normalisation of practices that lie at the basis of the production of food vulnerability explains great part of the persistence of food insecurity, then it should be discussed what methods and questions are needed to assess household access to food. The analysis of food vulnerability presented here suggests that a widely-applicable tool to measure household food access, if desirable at all, should be expanded and/or used in combination with other context-specific tools. In this research, the use of qualitative evidence proved to be vital to investigate the manifestations of food vulnerability and its underlying determinants.

In the next section, I continue to look at the nature of food vulnerability in the context of Cabo Delgado by addressing the underlying dynamics that contribute to the cyclical reproduction of food vulnerability for particular groups of the population.

### **9.3 SEASONALITY, FOOD AND LABOUR**

Taking a holistic approach to the sources of food vulnerability also entails addressing the underlying determinants that contribute to its cyclical production. This section is dedicated to the discussion of food price fluctuations (9.3.1) and the interactions between food price, seasonality and agricultural labour in relation to food vulnerability (9.3.2).

### **9.3.1 DAILY AND SEASONAL FOOD PRICE FLUCTUATIONS**

Although the role of seasonality in shaping food consumption patterns is empirically proven, research and policy on food insecurity and malnutrition have too often neglected seasonality as one determinant of food- and nutrition-related vulnerabilities. The Multisectoral Action Plan for the Reduction of Chronic Undernutrition in Mozambique (MISAU 2010) does not even mention seasonality and food prices. However, especially in the light of the 2007-8 and current food price increases, it is inevitable not to consider the influence of (seasonal) food price fluctuations on diets and nutritional outcomes. While assuming that the food price spike does affect food habits, it is beyond the scope of this work to investigate this issue in the context of Cabo Delgado – some insights from the literature on global food prices and hunger are used for their analytical relevance to look at the effects of seasonal price fluctuations on food consumption. Not only seasonality influences food consumption but it also articulates the organisation of productive and reproductive activities, thus representing a lens to look at the dynamic process of production of food insecurity and malnutrition.

From the discussion on food prices developed in chapter 3, the following points emerge. First, food price fluctuations entail winners and losers depending, for instance, on whether households are net food sellers or buyers and there is growing evidence showing that poorer households tend to be net food buyers and therefore are negatively affected by high and fluctuating food prices (Dorward 2012). Second, the impact of (seasonal) food price fluctuations on diets needs to be studied by taking account of quantity and quality of food consumed; indeed households may maintain similar calorie intake by consuming substitute-foods while nutrient intake may be subject to variation. For instance, Guyer (1989) finds that the monetary value of the Beti diet in southern Cameroon was highest in the rainy season and lowest in the post-harvest season, however, calorie intake remained fairly stable throughout the year. Guyer attributes this mismatch to the quality of foods purchased during the rainy season, mostly beef, fish, palm wine and other drinks. In other words, there was seasonal variation in diet quality that was not captured by calorie intake data.

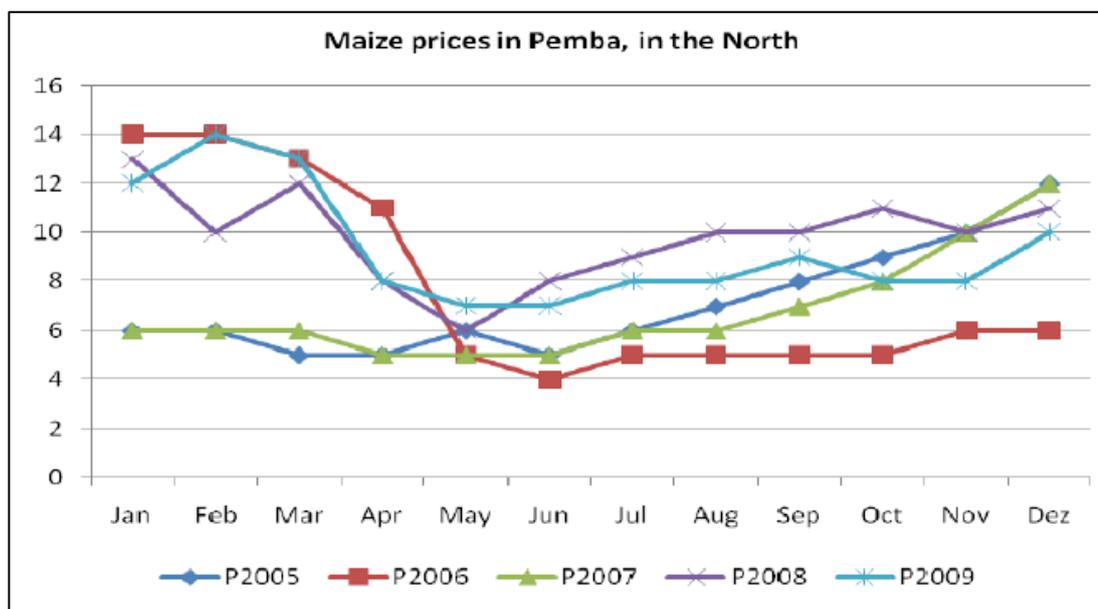
The few studies on seasonality conducted in Mozambique show that household incomes and calorie intakes vary due to seasonal price swings (Rose et al. 1999; Arndt et al. 2005). These fluctuations seem to be more pronounced in the Central and Northern provinces, where prices of some widely-consumed foods such

as maize are likely to double or even triple during the rainy season. (Handa and Mlay 2004; Arndt et al. 2005; SETSAN 2012). Between December and February the households that are most adversely affected by seasonality may resort to different types of coping strategies, including reduced daily number of meals, food borrowing or search of financial help from relatives and, importantly, *ganho-ganho* (casual or, more precisely, task-based wage employment – see chapter 6) (Bias and Donovan 2003). In addition, a study conducted in Nampula and Cabo Delgado shows that average intakes of all nutrients but vitamin A – due to increased availability of vitamin A-rich foods during that season – decreased during the hungry season, thus indicating that seasonality has a qualitative impact on diets too (Rose et al. 1999).

Collecting micro-level evidence on changes in food prices is very complex due to a) lack of standard measurement units and b) presence of geographical price differences – within the province of Cabo Delgado prices tend to increase gradually but often inconsistently from producing to consuming areas. For instance, at the markets in Cabo Delgado the unit used to sell maize flour and rice is a plastic cup to which a price is associated; during the rainy season what changes is not the price per unit but the size of the cup. This holds for a number of different food items sold at the food markets in the province.

However, it is clear that food prices are indeed subject to dramatic swings. Conducting fieldwork at different times between August 2011 and August 2012 allowed for capturing some aspects of seasonal variation. For instance, the notion of the rainy season as the *most difficult* time of the year is embedded in narratives and discourses across rural and urban areas in Cabo Delgado. Respondents have mentioned food shortages, high food prices and increased labour demands in agriculture as the critical aspects of the rainy season.

FIGURE 9.3A SEASONAL MAIZE PRICE VARIATION IN PEMBA, 2005-2009



SOURCE: WFP (2010: 98)

Figure 9.3A shows that maize prices in Pemba tend to peak between November-December and February, when they begin to decrease. These trends were confirmed by micro-level field research conducted in the market of Ingonane, in the town of Pemba, at different times of the year between 2011 and 2012, which suggested that the price of locally-produced staples tend to double between December and February while the prices of other food items follow more variable patterns. Also, prices of particular foods can change daily depending on the supply. For instance, the price of *matapa* can slightly change day-by-day and its sales are normally influenced by the price of fish – which is considered to be *better* substitute for the relish.

'When they sell that cheap fish over there, here I do not sell any *matapa*' Flora, *matapa* retailer, Ingonane market, Pemba.

'I buy tomatoes in Metuge where prices are more affordable. [...] During the rainy season, I travel by *chapa* to Nampula to buy tomatoes because it is difficult to find them here (in Cabo Delgado)', Asmina, tomatoes trader and retailer, Cariaco market, Pemba.

It is true that seasonal price fluctuations tend to be fairly predictable (Devereux 2009), but food prices vary subject to factors other than seasonality such as daily swings in supplies and relative proximity to producing areas (i.e. food is cheaper in or close to the areas where it is produced). So there are at least two different sources and types of food price change in Cabo Delgado. In both cases

though, they determine food acquisition practices and relative food consumption patterns, as described in the previous chapter, as well as livelihood strategies of producers, traders, retailers and consumers. The next section addresses seasonal price fluctuation in relation to agricultural work.

### 9.3.2 FOOD PRICE, SEASONALITY AND *GANHO-GANHO*

To appreciate the influence of seasonal food price variation it is crucial to look at the interactions between food price, seasonality and labour demands. Indeed, there is empirical evidence proving the association between casual wage labour (*ganho-ganho*) and deepening chronic and acute food insecurity (Devereux 2009). For instance, Bryceson (2006) uncovers the interactions between food uncertainty, increased recourse to *ganyu* as a source of day-by-day food and increased HIV/AIDS risk in the context of the 2001 famine in Malawi. Her analysis is convincing in the extreme circumstances created by the famine however it overlooks the 'normality' aspect of casual wage labour. *Ganho-ganho* in Cabo Delgado is certainly more than a coping strategy. It is a system of labour relations entrenched in processes of social differentiation, which are to a degree sharpened by seasonality. Social differentiation requires *ganho-ganho*, which in turn deepens social differentiation: poorer households are forced to sell their labour force, especially in the rainy season, and wealthier households need to hire labour to sustain accumulation.

'Food crises polarise communities by forcing poor households to reduce their productive base, by transferring their productive assets to wealthy households at undervalued prices' (Devereux 2009: 9).

'It is possible to do *chibalugwa* (*ganho-ganho* in Shimaconde) in the *machambas* of the *antigos* (people who fought the independence war and now receive a pension) and those who have a *barraca* (small stall/shop) or a good *negócio* (business activity)' Muanaidi, farmer and casual agricultural labourer, Nandimba (Mueda)

Yet the picture is more complex than polarised, as there is a (small) grey area of households that at times hire and at times sell labour to address temporary deficits of cash or labour, as discussed in chapter 6. The bottom line is that seasonality is one channel through which (nutrition-related) inequality is reproduced within the neoliberal agricultural and food systems.

The survey data speaks clearly for the incidence of seasonality on food reserves and casual wage labour. Among the interviewed households, 95 out of 120 said that they have (own or have access to) one *machamba* or more. Despite some variation in the staples more frequently consumed – to broadly simplify, rice in urban centres such as Pemba, mostly maize in Mueda and a combination of maize, cassava and rice in Metuge – most farming households grow maize, which remains an important source of starch for everyone. When asked when the maize reserves run out in the past year, only 23 respondents (19 per cent of the whole sample) reported that their maize production was sufficient to cover the household consumption for the entire year. In fact, the majority of the households (58, 48 per cent) faced own-produced maize shortages for periods of four months or longer.<sup>79</sup> The bulk of this group – food-deficit households – exhausted their maize supplies during the rainy season, between December and February. The strategies adopted to overcome these shortages are – from the most frequently mentioned – a) replacement of maize with cassava, b) purchase of maize, rice or cassava, c) casual wage labour on other people's fields and d) borrowing food from relatives. These practices are not mutually exclusive and many households in fact resort to a combination of them.

It is important to underline that maize shortages are an imperfect indicator of food insecurity for two reasons. On the one hand, some households with access to off-farm income may tend to rely more on purchased *food* (meant as 'starch') than own-produced. On the other hand though, there is clear evidence that off-farm income is often re-invested in agricultural labour to boost agricultural production, ensure regular food supplies and, possibly, extra-earnings from sales.

Looking at the data on hiring and selling agricultural labour should help delve into this question. Among the interviewed respondents, 37.5 per cent of the sample reported that one or more household member(s) did work as occasional agricultural labourers in the past 12 months, while 17.5 per cent said that they hired agricultural workers. Figures show an imprecise correspondence between the number of *food secure* households and labour-hirers and, by the same token, between *food deficit* households and the incidence of casual wage labour. However, expectedly, there

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<sup>79</sup> The majority of households in relation to the sub-group of households that could give an answer to the question 'In the year, when did your reserves of maize run out (month)?'. This excludes the 25 households that do not have (access to) a *machamba*, 3 households that have a *machamba* but did not grow anything in the past year, and 10 households did not know how to answer the question. The food-deficit households are 58 overall, of which 37 reported that their maize supplies run out between December and February in the 2011-2012 agricultural season.

are some discrepancies that highlight a) the presence of a 'grey area' – households that hire *and* sell agricultural labour depending on temporary needs and b) the fact that a number of households have food deficits but are *not food insecure* due to seasonal maize shortages and hence do not engage in agricultural wage labour.

During field research, it became clear that *kibarua/chibalugwa* (casual wage labour) is one important response to seasonal food scarcity and to temporary cash needs, accessible especially to poorer rural households. Respondents across all research sites refer to *ganho-ganho* as a long established practice. Virtually all respondents involved in casual wage labour, whether as workers or employers, said that it is normally paid in cash. Each task is assigned a specific pay rate that tends to be homogeneous within villages (or districts) but diverse across them. It can take one to a number of days to complete a task, depending on the task itself and on the physical strength of the individual performing it. A number of interviewees drew a comparison between the current *kibarua/chibalugwa* system, centred on cash payments, and the *old* practice of *nkumi*, which entailed meal sharing. According to the accounts collected during fieldwork, *nkumi* is the practice of calling the neighbours to work on someone's field(s) and then compensate the workers with a meal or alcoholic drinks after work. The current pervasiveness of cash payments for agricultural work signals the monetisation and commodification of the economy. Also, *nkumi* was based on mechanisms of reciprocity among neighbours while *ganho-ganho* is purely based on class relations of power. Therefore, casual wage labour is vital to poor households' livelihoods. Yet, especially when it is linked to seasonal food shortages or cash requirements, it can become problematic because it creates tensions on labour demands.

In the context of Cabo Delgado, *ganho-ganho* is mostly a seasonal phenomenon. In fact, of the 45 households that did casual agricultural work in the year before the interview, several described the participation of different household members – women, children and men – and almost all of them did *kibarua* in the rainy season. This happens because many of the households who hire labour can afford to do so only at the time of the year when more labour is required. Although in qualitative interviews, a number of households in the districts of Mueda and Metuge reported hiring agricultural workers throughout the year, as part of the household survey only one respondent resident in Nangua (Metuge) said that her household contracts agricultural workers on a regular basis. Evidence collected in Cabo Delgado suggests that a) the percentage of households where one or more members are forced into casual wage employment is much higher than that of

labour hirers and b) labour-hiring households that can contract wage labour on an occasional, mostly seasonal, basis are more numerous than those who can hire workers on a regular basis. This results in concentration of agricultural wage work opportunities in a period of approximately three months, from November/December to February.

The seasonal character of *ganho-ganho* has important implications on the organisation of productive activities. In fact, it would appear that although the scarcity of employment opportunities for men and women is certainly a fact in the province of Cabo Delgado, during the rainy season *some* rural households may still face labour shortages.<sup>80</sup> This is an important point to note in contexts that are often described as labour abundant. Indeed, the majority of the survey respondents who work as casual wage labourers said that they would do this job more regularly if there were more opportunities throughout the entire year. Some respondents said that they did it only a few times (two or three tasks) in an entire rainy season because they had to work on their own *machamba*.

'It is possible to do *chibalugwa* before the beginning of the rainy season: men clear the land and women do 'hoe work' and seeding. [...] I do *chibalugwa* only once or twice per year because I have work to do on my own *machamba*' Muanaidi, farmer and occasional agricultural labourer, Nandimba (Mueda)

Certainly some households, namely those who rely on *ganho-ganho* during the rainy season, are confronted with more or less severe labour constraints. Labour shortages do occur in other ways and are ultimately related to households' continuous partial reliance on food production to ensure their reproduction. In a separate piece of research I have conducted on the factory workers in the cashew-nut processing industry in Cabo Delgado, it emerged that during the rainy season the number of workers tends to drop by half. This happens because the workers' wages are too low to allow them to hire agricultural labourers for their fields, which many of the workers retain, throughout the year. So although many of the interviewed workers do hire labourers, they cannot afford to hire all the manpower required in the rainy season and thence they temporarily abandon or perform less frequently their work in the factory at the time of the year when labour demands are highest in their *machambas* (see Stevano 2013).

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<sup>80</sup> This observation appears to be in line with data collected by SETSAN (Technical Secretariat for Food and Nutrition Security) in 2009 that show that 70 per cent of the respondents said that lack of human labour was the main reason for not cultivating land in the province of Cabo Delgado (WFP 2010).

At the centre of the matter lies the re-iterated partial reliance on production for own consumption that rural, but also some urban – as described in the previous chapter – households seek to maintain to meet their food requirements and *social costs of production*.<sup>81</sup> O’Laughlin (2013) argues that non-commodified production and use of casual wage labour are two tendencies that are embedded in the ways class, gender and race shape rural health in contemporary and socially-differentiated southern Africa:<sup>82</sup>

[...] The precariousness of casual work demands that workers have some other additional livelihood base. Doing casual labour can help poor rural farmers to defend a livelihood in times of crisis, but it can also prevent them from securing one.’ (O’Laughlin 2013: 181)

It is evident that multiplicity of occupations, which originates from thin or absent regular employment opportunities, can sustain livelihoods while keeping them insecure, with severe implications on well-being, whether it is considered in the form of health or food security.

Seasonality creates a strain on households that are constantly or temporarily forced into *ganho-ganho* that has broader implications than immediate reduced (food) consumption. In fact, it does affect their productive and reproductive practices in ways that contribute to the reiteration of vicious cycles of poverty.

‘While high food prices are an aspect of seasonal hunger, they are compounded by disease prevalence, labour intensity, low food availability, and other factors such as cold and poor shelter from rain – many of which lead to weight loss and malnutrition. High global food prices only ‘replicate’ a single dimension of seasonal vulnerability’ (Hauenstein Swan et al. 2010: 115).

This is exacerbated in rural areas, where poor smallholders also face the trade-off between doing casual labour and working on their own fields at the time of the year when most labour is needed to ensure good harvests. Yet, seasonality does also affect urban households via increased food prices. As described in the previous chapter, exposure to high food prices induces urban households to maintain links

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<sup>81</sup> O’Laughlin (2013) uses this terminology – ‘social costs of production’ – to refer to the externalisation of the costs of production that capitalist production imposes onto governments, civil society, markets and households. In this context, I use it to indicate that many of the social costs of production are borne by households.

<sup>82</sup> Reliance on non-commodified production, recourse to casual wage labour, spatial and social dualism in the provisioning of health care and racialised understanding of the causes of disease are the four tendencies that O’Laughlin (2013) identifies as lying at the basis of reproduction of health inequality in southern Africa today. Due to the purposes of the discussion and relevance in the context of Cabo Delgado, I have focused on two of these tendencies.

with rural relatives to take advantage of food transfers from rural areas, which represents another driver of re-iterated reliance on non-commodified production to sustain the household food needs.

With regards to gender relations, tensions on labour demands are especially visible for women, relative to men. In fact, women face more severe constraints due to their constant responsibility for house work, as described by great part of the literature on time and labour use (see chapter 3). In many interviews, it emerged that the husband of the respondent or other male members in the household had performed *ganho-ganho* more frequently than the respondent or other female members. Hence it is fair to say that women's capacity to earn an income from *ganho-ganho* tends to be lower than that of men, although in all of the research sites respondents explained that pay rate by task is equal for women and men. In this sense, seasonal wage labour is a phenomenon that exemplifies the tensions between reproductive and productive work, but also between different productive activities. Consideration of these dynamics is essential to any analysis of women's access to cash-generating opportunities and their implications for women themselves and their families.

In sum, seasonality-related vulnerabilities are transmitted through different, often multiple, channels: from increased food prices to greater labour demands. Food price fluctuations, seasonality and increased labour demands describe a story of reproduction of food vulnerability that occurs via constraints on households' practices of labour allocation. It is clear that the combination of various factors, including illness and disease, make seasonality especially threatening to food and nutrition security. In addition, the recognition that labour intensity or multiple labour commitments may be a risk-factor for household food security suggests that time needs to be taken into account, as argued in the previous section.

## **9.4 CONCLUSIONS**

A broader analysis of food insecurity exposes, once more, the weaknesses of the theory of change that predicts that women's incomes and education are preferential channels to the achievement of household food security.

The chapter has shown that even in a context stricken by high levels of chronic malnutrition such as Cabo Delgado, food vulnerability can manifest itself

through *normalised* rather than *exceptional* events, such as going one entire day without eating any food. This bears implications on methods needed to assess food security and efforts to tackle it as well as analyses of the nature of food insecurity and its determinants.

Time, meant as organisation of daily activities originating from existing relations of production and reproduction, has emerged as a worth-considering determinant of food vulnerability, especially when it interacts with other forms of deprivation such as resource scarcity. The structural characteristics of the economy delineate time constraints for food preparation practices, on the one hand, and irregular (and multiple) streams of incomes, on the other hand. Both aspects shape food production, acquisition and consumption practices, with effects on food vulnerability or lack of.

Furthermore, addressing the interactions between food price, seasonality and agricultural labour is an important way to apply a dynamic approach to the analysis of food vulnerability that contributes to uncovering the underlying determinants of the production of food vulnerability over time and for different social groups. What is the role played by women's earned incomes in ensuring household food security in such context?

In chapter 5, it was described that extraction of labour for cotton and sisal production and the associated migration to Tanganyika have marked the unfolding of processes of commodification, social differentiation and class formation in northern Mozambique. Nowadays, the widespread informalisation of labour originating from the scarcity of employment opportunities for men and, especially, women, and required by the advanced stages of monetisation of the economy, determine complex trajectories of social differentiation. Nonetheless, it is in these mechanisms that households' access to and use of incomes, in relation to food and beyond, need to be understood. For instance, the continuing need, also promoted by agricultural policies, to partially rely on domestically-produced food to meet household food needs and ensure food security while household members need to engage in paid work and various forms of cash-generating activities creates burdens on the most vulnerable households, affected by different forms of deprivation, and contributes to the cyclical production of food vulnerability.

In this picture, not only a focus on women's incomes in isolation from everything else is of little use, but placing the emphasis on women's earned incomes to achieve food security also contributes to increase the share of *social costs of*

*production* borne by households and exacerbate processes of privatisation of the responsibility for well-being outcomes.

# 10

## CONCLUSIONS

Given the pervasiveness of narratives that portray women's increased access to productive resources as being functional to improve their families' well-being, in the introduction to this thesis a concern was raised over the appropriateness of these arguments to promote gender equality, on the one hand, and food security, on the other hand. By valuing context-specific analysis, this thesis has investigated the relationship between women's access to earned incomes and household food outcomes in Cabo Delgado, the northernmost province of Mozambique. This work has demonstrated that women's roles and food consumption norms are invariably enabled and constrained by intra-household relations of power and decision-making practices, labour relations and food systems of production and distribution. By neglecting the wider context and the social relations, those narratives fail to capture fundamental issues in the study of gender, women's participation in paid work, household and food dynamics.

In outlining the overall conclusions, I retrace the rationale of the thesis (10.1) and present the key findings as they relate to the research questions (10.2). Subsequently, I set out the implications of this study on policies on women's employment, food security and household and child welfare (10.3) and then conclude by acknowledging the limitations of this work and providing some indications for future research (10.4).

### 10.1 OBJECTIVES, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

This thesis investigated the relationship between women's incomes and household food outcomes. By focusing on a defined context, the northernmost Mozambican province of Cabo Delgado, I have looked in detail at the relevant components and associated assumptions that establish a correlation between the two *variables* of interest. A context-specific, interdisciplinary and in-depth investigation of such relationship sought to fulfil two main objectives. First, the context-specific analysis of women's participation in paid work, intra-household dynamics and food practices contributes to the regional literature on these themes, thus shedding some light on the nature of these phenomena in northern Mozambique. Second and at a higher

level of abstraction, the critical assessment of the underlying assumptions embodied in the theory of change that was used as a starting point in the thesis also provided grounds on which the relationship of interest can be re-considered and, in the event, explored not only in Cabo Delgado but also elsewhere. Therefore this thesis was also intended to reinforce the critique of the use of neoclassical economic theory in approaches to gender equality and to extend it to its use in conceptualisations of food consumption and food security.

The main research question that this thesis attempted to address is concerned with the existence and, potentially, the functioning of the relationship between women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities and household food outcomes. Although this relationship is often portrayed as simple, linear and deterministic by some literature, a closer look suggested that it hinges on a set of assumptions related to each of its components. The core research question was then broken down into four sub-questions, which emerged from the review of different streams of literature, to enable the exercise of analysing each thematic component and its underlying assumptions. The four guiding questions are listed in turn:

1. What are the types of paid work and cash-earning activities women engage with? In other words, how do women access incomes?
2. a. Do women make decisions on how to use incomes in domains that are crucial to the household well-being (with a focus on the food domain – including food acquisition and preparation)?  
b. Does women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities translate into increased decision-making power and capacity to control incomes within the household? And what are the implications for food expenses?
3. What are the factors that shape diets, food preferences and norms? What are women's roles in such context?
4. What is the extent of household food insecurity and what the determinants? What are women's roles in the achievement of household food security?

These questions were addressed by employing an interdisciplinary approach, grounded in political economy and enriched by anthropology, which was considered effective to achieve a greater level of depth in the study of women's participation in paid work, food and household dynamics. The interest in processes, dynamics and context, which are features of both political economy – differently from mainstream

economics – and anthropology, also informed the use of mixed methods as a way to collect data and assess its accuracy and meaning from different angles. As the use of interdisciplinarity and mixed methods *per se* does not guarantee any improvement, the combination of different disciplines and methods was considered very carefully, as discussed in detail in chapter 4. A three-stage qualitative-quantitative-qualitative methodology, composed by a range of methods such as participant observation, focus groups, household survey and life histories, was used. It captured some insights on the extent of particular phenomena while maintaining a certain level of nuance and complexity. Although the choices on how to combine methods and present qualitative and quantitative evidence in an integrated way may be further improved, the availability of a composite array of evidence proved to be effective to enhance the breadth of the analysis by uncovering important elements of heterogeneity and complexity in women's access to earned incomes, household and intra-household dynamics, the nature of food consumption norms and food vulnerability.

## 10.2 KEY FINDINGS

Quantitative and qualitative evidence collected in Cabo Delgado suggests that women are *important*, but not exclusive nor dominant, players in the food domain and variable shares of women's earned incomes are spent on food. However, women's roles at the intersection of paid work, income management and food consumption norms are invariably enabled and constrained by intra-household relations of power and decision-making practices, labour relations and food systems of production and distribution. By the same token, diets and food security are not determined by consumption choices of (groups of) individuals who rationally respond to economic incentives. This work has demonstrated that simplistic conceptualisations of the mechanisms through which women's earned incomes may translate into improved food outcomes are doomed to overlook or ignore aspects that are essential to any analysis of the issues of interest.

The key findings are presented in turn, in relation to each research question.

- ❖ WHAT ARE THE TYPES OF PAID WORK AND CASH-EARNING ACTIVITIES WOMEN ENGAGE WITH? IN OTHER WORDS, HOW DO WOMEN ACCESS INCOMES?

Although not focussing on a particular category of female workers results in a less neat analysis, it carried the great advantage to shed light on the types of paid work

and cash-earning activities women engage in rural, peri-urban and urban areas of Cabo Delgado. This exercise partially – due to the limited scale of the survey – fills the gap created by poor employment statistics in Mozambique and elsewhere. Official employment data depicts women as mostly working as subsistence farmers while this research has shown a much more heterogeneous picture. Broadly in line with earlier work conducted by Cramer, Oya and Sender (2006; 2008) in other Mozambican provinces and aimed at showing the significance of rural labour markets, this thesis has shown that women are employed on a range of cash-earning activities and agricultural wage work. Therefore, this work re-affirms the importance of rural labour markets, especially for the poorest strata of the population, and sheds some light also on other types of wage or non-wage work women engage with, often simultaneously. Overall, economic informality amid lack of employment opportunities for women, especially in rural areas, is the underlying and most prominent feature of labour in today's Cabo Delgado.

By looking at the diversity of women's paid work, chapter 6 has also highlighted how misleading it is to assume that women's engagement with paid work occurs in uniform ways, regardless of class, age, education and marital status. Women's socio-economic position, age and marital status determine whether they participate or not in paid work and the modalities upon which this happens, such as type of work, regularity and economic returns. This will certainly result in diversified well-being outcomes, accordingly.

The chapter has also looked at the gendered allocation of labour between paid and unpaid work to reflect on the reasons that lead women to participate in paid work and cash-earning activities. Gender norms that discriminate against women may not be undermined by women's access to earned incomes, a phenomenon that manifests itself in the male presence in different aspects of women's involvement in paid work. It was shown that this also has implications on conceptualisations of women's work as self-employment.

Therefore, in relation to the initial theory of change, I argue that women's participation in paid work requires a much more refined qualification. It is misleading to assume that women accessing earned income in any kind of way is likely to have uniform implications on household spending and associated well-being outcomes.

- ❖ DO WOMEN MAKE DECISIONS ON HOW TO USE INCOMES IN DOMAINS THAT ARE CRUCIAL TO THE HOUSEHOLD WELL-BEING (WITH A FOCUS ON THE FOOD DOMAIN – INCLUDING FOOD ACQUISITION AND PREPARATION)?

Chapter 7 was aimed at discussing household and intra-household dynamics. Starting with an analysis of the nature of the household, it was shown that households tend to be formed around a broad notion of nuclear family and are sites where many productive and reproductive practices are centred. Yet, households are not completely isolated and self-contained as inter-household economic exchanges take place, mostly along the lines of lineage and in the form of labour transfers, exchange of goods and contributions to ceremonies. Overall, production and reproduction is household-centred and intertwined with lineage-based mechanisms of mutual help.

Looking at intra-household decision-making on children's education, health and food, it emerged that both women and men are involved in the making of decisions in these domains. Decision-making is subject to gendered norms, to which practices may or may not conform. It was observed that non-compliance with norms is often driven by economic factors, such as the individual economic capacity to pay for children's school and medicines. With regards to the food domain, women are often assumed to be dominant decision-makers. Yet, the findings presented in this chapter show that women have significant responsibility in making decisions on what food is prepared for other household members and children but men are not always excluded from this type of decision. Men appeared especially present in income-related decisions – e.g. how much money is spent on food. The gender of the person who decides what shares of income can be used for food expenses also varied according to wealth quartile and marital status. In sum, although the food domain is female-dominated, men play explicit and implicit roles in decision-making on food that need not be overlooked.

- ❖ DOES WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PAID WORK AND/OR CASH-EARNING ACTIVITIES TRANSLATE INTO INCREASED DECISION-MAKING POWER AND CAPACITY TO CONTROL INCOMES WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD? AND WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR FOOD EXPENSES?

To address this central question, the system of cash allowances that serves to cover households' basic needs, such as purchase of food, house goods and clothing, was described and analysed. The key finding in relation to the question of interest was that women's participation in paid work and/or cash-earning activities is not a key determinant of their increased bargaining power over cash allowances.

Analysis of intra-household arrangements for income management revealed a certain degree of variation across households. This data also shows that women's

access to earned incomes may be associated with greater autonomy in income control. However, it is also important to notice that husbands' influence over incomes is persistent even among women who earn cash incomes, which further strengthens the point that it is appropriate to look at gender relations and not exclusively at women.

Women channel varying shares of their incomes into food, complementing or substituting male incomes; however, we also know that male cash allowances are important to sustain food expenses. Therefore, it is a slippery exercise to discern whether women's participation in paid work and separate control of earned income is more effective at increasing food expenses, relative to receiving higher cash allowances from the husband or other male members and/or managing incomes jointly with the husband. Certainly, accurate consumption data disaggregated by gender would be needed to establish if men or women contribute greater shares of incomes to food expenditure. However, the analysis presented in this thesis shows that looking for such an answer may be overly simplistic. In fact, it was shown that income management practices are heterogeneous, internally diverse and subject to changes, which makes it difficult to attribute responsibility for consumption to an individual with a high degree of certainty.

Finally, the chapter has also shown that opposing women's altruistic forms of consumption to men's egoistic ones is misleading because it obscures men's altruistic and household-oriented forms of consumption, as already suggested in the literature (Whitehead and Kabeer 2001). Importantly, the polarisation of gender preferences also conceals women's forms of self-directed consumption, which were indeed observed in the context of Cabo Delgado.

What are the implications of these findings on the initial theory of change? The assumption that women's control of cash incomes results in shifting household expenditure towards food, among other household-oriented forms of consumption, is challenged by the observation that men play important roles in decision-making and income management practices. On the whole, it appears that the deterministic mechanisms on which the theory of change is reliant are not observed in the context of Cabo Delgado. This clearly jeopardises the hypothesis that household food outcomes improve when women retain control of incomes.

- ❖ WHAT ARE THE FACTORS THAT SHAPE DIETS, FOOD PREFERENCES AND NORMS?  
WHAT ARE WOMEN'S ROLES IN SUCH CONTEXT?

The title of chapter 8, 'Looking at cash incomes and choice is not enough', suggests that an analysis of diet composition and food preferences strongly indicates that a number of factors and processes other than income and choice need to be taken into consideration to understand what people eat and why.

The analysis in chapter 8 showed that diets are not only composed of principal meals but also by a variety of extra-meal foods, which on the whole indicate that food consumption is regulated by seasonality, income levels, food production practices and social context. The chapter argued that women's use of incomes needs to be contextualised in a broader picture in which (gendered) food consumption norms are formed. This bigger picture is shaped by food(s) history, systems of food production, the food industry and practices of food acquisition. In fact, food knowledge and preferences are significantly influenced by systems of food production and distribution. Importantly, even when women are doubtlessly dominant players in one area, such as food preparation, it is not so clear that it will result in improved food outcomes for *everyone* in the household as their decisions are still subject to existing gender norms that operate to the disadvantage of women.

❖ WHAT IS THE EXTENT OF HOUSEHOLD FOOD INSECURITY AND WHAT THE DETERMINANTS? WHAT ARE WOMEN'S ROLES IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF HOUSEHOLD FOOD SECURITY?

An analysis of household food (in)security in Cabo Delgado based on quantitative and qualitative evidence has strongly suggested that food security assessments obtained through standard methods need to be re-formulated and expanded in a number of directions.

Attention to households' lack of resources to access food needs to be combined with consideration for other sources of food insecurity, such as time. The temporal regimes that arise from the organisation of productive and reproductive activities shape food preparation practices. In the chapter, it was explained that time scarcity in itself and/or in combination with other forms of deprivation is linked with meal repetition practices, which may be associated with poor dietary diversity outcomes. Lack of time for food preparation is mostly a rural phenomenon, which may originate from long working hours needed in agricultural work or higher incidence of multiple occupations in rural areas, relative to urban ones. In addition, in a context characterised by lack of regular employment opportunities and associated multiplicity of occupations may not only create time constraints but also

generate irregular streams of income that affect households' food acquisition practices.

Such analysis of food (in)security offers valuable insights into the nature of food vulnerability. It does in fact suggest that household food insecurity manifests itself more in the form of *normalised practices* – such as meal repetition or replacement of full meals with snacks – rather than exceptional events – such as complete lack of food and going an entire day without eating anything. Consequently, the methods needed to study food security may need to be re-considered accordingly. Indeed, the striking discrepancy between the results obtained with standard tools used to measure household food security and context-specific questions strongly supports such suggestion.

Finally, chapter 9 has taken a dynamic approach to food vulnerability and addressed some aspects of its cyclical reproduction for particular groups of the population, namely the casual agricultural workers who face multiple labour demands at the season of the year when they need to balance their workforce between their own fields and *ganho-ganho* on someone else's fields. The effects of this phenomenon are further exacerbated by seasonal food price fluctuations, which affect rural and urban households' capacity to acquire food. The central issue is that livelihood insecurity, due to lack of employment opportunities and fluctuating food prices, forces households to partially rely on domestic production to sustain their social reproduction, a praxis that has health-related implications, as suggested by O'Laughlin (2013), and also food-related ones. In sum, seasonality, food price fluctuations and agricultural labour combine to reproduce food vulnerability over time, especially for those households that are mostly reliant on casual wage labour.

In closing, the assumption that household food outcomes would improve by promoting women's access to productive resources and education fails to take account of structural characteristics that shape eating practices as well as contribute to the production of food vulnerability. Efforts to tackle food vulnerability certainly need to be based on a gender analysis that considers women and men within the structures of the context they live in. What is the role that women play in ensuring household food security in settings characterised by lack or absence of welfare services (such as health care, child care and unemployment benefits), gender norms on the allocation of labour and decision-making, and food systems that promote the introduction of industrially produced foods in combination with seasonally-determined diets? I stress that a gender analysis is essential and should

not be replaced by an exclusive and reductionist focus on women, which is empirically flawed, theoretically unjustified and morally problematic.

The critique of the theory of change that links women's earned incomes to improved food and well-being outcomes needs not be based only on the fact that it relies on an instrumental approach to gender equality. Most importantly, it needs to be questioned because it is dependent upon the realisation of a series of unrealistic assumptions that jeopardise its own functioning. The underlying assumptions are derived from neoclassical economics, which treats individuals, women in this case, as optimising individuals that respond rationally to economic incentives, in uniform ways across the world. Policies informed by this theoretical framework are aimed at privatising responsibility for well-being outcomes, thus pursuing the neo-liberal agenda. They shift responsibility from the state onto individuals in the name of gender equality. The profound limitations of neo-liberalism have been discussed and exposed in detail in vast bodies of literature; this theory of change and associated policies suffer from the same problems.

### **10.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICIES ON WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT, FOOD SECURITY AND HOUSEHOLD WELFARE**

Although women and their participation in paid work are often treated as uniform and homogeneous categories and/or phenomena, this thesis described a significantly different picture, characterised by important elements of diversity and differentiation. In Cabo Delgado, women engage in a variety of, and often a combination of, self- and wage employment, farm and off-farm activities. As extensively argued in the course of the thesis, the evidence defies portrayals of African women as being subsistence farmers or micro-scale entrepreneurs and also challenges the validity of choice-based explanations of women's participation in paid work. In a policy context where the importance of generating employment is underemphasised *vis-à-vis* access to education, credit and skills (Amsden 2010), it is necessary to voice the vital importance of creating employment opportunities for women and men and particularly Decent Work. In fact, one pattern observed in Cabo Delgado is the precariousness of work – in terms of regularity and economic returns – that is responsible for livelihoods' insecurity and has also implications on the notion of employment *per se*, which evades standardised units such as monthly income or weekly working hours.

Importantly, the heterogeneous picture described also suggests that conceptualisations of work and women's participation in paid work need further qualification. A revision of concepts and theories could also provide the grounds upon which attention can be paid not only to the creation of employment opportunities but also to the *type* of opportunities generated. This seems to be important especially in the context of increasing informalisation and feminisation of labour at the global level. The scarcity of employment opportunities for both men and, especially, women forces households into multiple occupations, which while, on the one hand, may be a practice to sustain their livelihoods; on the other hand, it may exacerbate and reproduce insecurity. This emerged as particularly problematic for rural residents, who not only face fewer employment opportunities than their urban counterparts but also engage with agricultural work, which was found to be especially arduous and time-consuming. Therefore the creation of employment needs to be placed at the core of development policies. Furthermore, employment has to be decent in the name of the workers' dignity, in addition to the concern for the work-related effects on their own and families' well-being.

By focussing on the agricultural sector, Woodhouse (2012) has noted that that the latest poverty reduction strategy adopted in Mozambique, PARP 2011-2014,<sup>83</sup> promotes the commercialisation of smallholder agriculture while not addressing the linkages between small-scale agriculture and the increasing presence of larger agri-business companies in the country. In this sense, if the starting point is a picture in which not all rural residents are subsistence farmers but, in fact, they engage with a range of off-farm activities and agricultural wage work too, the importance of creating employment opportunities in rural areas may acquire greater significance *vis-à-vis* policies that encourage the commercialisation of small-scale agriculture. For instance, Castel-Branco (2002) has suggested that particular types of agro-industry can be successful for employment creation and diversification of productive and commercial basis in rural areas, through backward and forward production linkages. On the basis of the findings of this work, I add that policies for employment creation should be gender-sensitive and include women, with a particular concern for unskilled female labour and work quality, thus overcoming the assumption that women may be better off if employed on home-based and informal types of work.

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<sup>83</sup> Poverty Reduction Action Plan 2011-2014, IMF Country Report No. 11/132, June 2011.

This has implications also for food security policies. In fact, once it is recognised that purchased food is important in contexts such as that of Cabo Delgado, despite the fact that many households partially rely on domestically-produced food, then access to cash to acquire food becomes highly relevant. However, this thesis also demonstrated two fundamental points. First, time for food acquisition and preparation is a critical factor in settings characterised by multiplicity of occupations and lack of welfare services. Second, the ways in which incomes are spent to purchase food depend on food price, availability and knowledge. On the one hand, this implies that policies aimed at achieving greater levels of food security need to consider that food insecurity may be due to lack of time and not only to lack of resources. Indeed, it was argued that the interaction of different forms of deprivation may be more detrimental to the persistence and production of food insecurity. On the other hand, there are factors other than access to incomes that influence the types of food purchased, with related implications on the quality of diets.

Consideration for the wider context exposes the need to have a set of interrelated policies that address the socio-economic and historical determinants of food insecurity. Clearly, their formulation and implementation is a much more complex exercise than that involved in the interventions aimed at empowering women and assuming a sort of trickle-down effect onto food security. However, it seems that if the wider context is not taken into account, then policies will always fall short of their objectives. For instance, it is fundamental to recognise how food consumption and security are shaped by the food industry, food price, and trade policy. It is not only by educating or giving more resources to consumers, female consumers preferably, that food security will be achieved. Interventions in the systems of production and distribution of food, such as regulation of the food industry and food imports, need to be implemented in order to break the cycle of production of food vulnerability.

By the same token, health care, child care and welfare services are essential to alleviate women's increased burden and move towards improved food security and nutritional status. In fact, the solution to women's long working days is not non-participation in paid work but rather improvement in the working conditions and provision of welfare services. This thesis has argued against the privatisation of responsibility for well-being and accordingly suggests that policies aimed at promoting household well-being should counter this tendency and instead build and develop channels of public provision of welfare services. Therefore, in addition to

supporting arguments that criticise instrumental approaches to gender equality and the benefits of detaching narratives and policies on women's empowerment from the well-being outcomes, this work also argues that women's participation in paid work is highly desirable and should be encouraged by policies that reduce the burden placed on women instead of increasing it by holding them responsible for other people's well-being and poverty reduction.

#### **10.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE THESIS AND INDICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

A general limitation of this thesis derives from the choice of focussing on testing the underlying assumptions of a theory. Although this approach facilitates generalisations of context-specific evidence, it also channels efforts away from the construction of an alternative explanation. This issue was carefully considered and a decision made to prioritise the critical evaluation of this application of neoclassical economic theory. However, it was also considered important to provide at least an indication of what an alternative approach could be. This was mostly done in chapter 9, in which an initial analysis of the production of food vulnerability put forward an approach that is concerned with the socio-economic and historical determinants of food vulnerability. This exercise represents only a preliminary attempt to indicate a *better* alternative and, in the event, this thesis may provide some grounds on which a political economy of food vulnerability could be developed in future research.

For instance, future research could expand the analysis of the role of reproduction, in addition to that of systems of production, in determining and shaping food consumption norms. With regard to the province of Cabo Delgado and Mozambique, it would be desirable to link analyses of the current situation of food security with historical material on processes of structural of change, as partly discussed in chapter 5 of this thesis. In general, it would be much needed to ground the study of diets in historical processes of change and systems of production and reproduction. This type of study appears to be especially scarce in the context of sub-Saharan Africa. Longitudinal data would be useful to understand variation over time. What is the role played by the food industry in shaping diets? Are *new* foods consumed in replacement of or in addition to other foods? How do high and fluctuating food prices influence food consumption patterns? Addressing these

questions would enrich our understanding of food systems and contribute to the expansion of the analytical framework used to look at food-related vulnerability.

Another limitation may be associated with the use of an interdisciplinary approach and mixed methods. As discussed in chapter 4, conducting interdisciplinary work and employing mixed methods present risks as well as opportunities. As no one-size-fits-all solution exists, the exercise of combining different theories and methods in the phases of data collection and analysis is a highly creative process, which can be exposed to some pitfalls. While I believe that the use of mixed methods was effective to illuminate and, to an extent, overcome some of the limitations embedded in purely quantitative studies in this field of study, some of the choices on how to present quantitative and qualitative evidence in an integrated way may be further improved. For instance, identifying the *appropriate* balance between the use of qualitative and quantitative evidence and *appropriate* forms of representation may not be straight-forward. This issue was especially evident in the presentation of evidence on household and intra-household dynamics in chapter 7 due to the richness and complexity of the material. Nonetheless, it remains true that future research in these areas of study would benefit from adopting enriched theoretical and methodological approaches, moving away from quantitative research.

With regard to intra-household decision-making and practices, more research is needed on the methods that are better equipped to collect data on these issues. As great part of gender-aware data collection continues to hinge on an overwhelming focus on women-headed households (O’Laughlin n.d.), more thinking on the research methods and techniques to study household and intra-household dynamics would be useful to expand the boundaries of this area of study.

Finally, as time is an issue that emerged as important in relation to food preparation and consumption, more research on gender time allocation is needed. In the context of this research, time use data may have been useful, in combination with qualitative evidence on time, to understand time use patterns emerging from the organisation of productive and reproductive activities. As explained in the course of the thesis, a decision was made to prioritise a qualitative and in-depth understanding of time use, in absence of which time use statistics are of limited use. This does not necessarily mean that the usefulness of time use statistics needs to be completely dismissed. Which productive and reproductive activities are more time-consuming and for whom and why is an important aspect of diets that should

be further explored. Also, linking temporal regimes with seasonality and the organisation of labour emerged as a critical issue in the studied context and may be also encountered in other rural settings. As illustrated in the thesis, expanded approaches to time use appear to be more appropriate to study the mechanisms through which temporal regimes shape eating practices and potentially contribute to the production of food vulnerability.

In conclusion, this thesis has sought on the one hand to contribute to the literature on gender, labour, issues of food consumption and vulnerability in northern Mozambique and, on the other hand, it has critically addressed the underlying assumption of the theory of change that instrumentally depicts women as the solution to food insecurity. A number of limitations and areas where future research could move towards have been delineated in this last section. One general point for future research in this field of study is methodological; enriched methodology and regard for primary data are much needed to enhance our understanding and conceptualisations of issues of gender, work, food and household dynamics.

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Instituto Nacional de Estatística (National Institute of Statistics, Mozambique)

[www.ine.gov.mz](http://www.ine.gov.mz)

Naila Kabeer's blog

<http://feministeconomicposts.iaffe.org/2013/12/19/esther-duflo-on-womens-empowerment-and-economic-development-a-must-read-for-feminist-economists/>

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World Bank Statistics

<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG>

## **ANNEX 1**

### **PLAN FOR FOCUS GROUPS WITH FEMALE FARMERS<sup>1</sup>**

Groups of 6-10 (or 4-8) women who practice agriculture

Comfortable place to meet

Separate young and older women

#### **Introduction**

Thank you very much for taking the time to join us in this meeting. My name is Sara Stevano. I have studied Economics in Italy and UK and I am currently studying in London. I am interested in agriculture, nutrition and women's work in Cabo Delgado.

Tissa works with me and provides me with great support, as both research assistant and translator. He will help me throughout the time I will be in Cabo Delgado. (Tissa may want to introduce himself).

You were invited because you are women who work in agriculture and it is fundamental for me to hear your experiences and opinions. For this reason, you will see that most of my questions are quite general because, at this stage, I am interested in learning about your everyday life. Therefore, please feel free to express your points of view and what you consider important in your daily lives.

You have the right to decide not to answer all questions and there are not wrong or right answers. I am just looking for your opinions and viewpoints, which can be different indeed. You are very welcome to talk to each other.

If you agree, I would like to record this conversation as it will be impossible for me to take notes of everything is said. The recorded material will be used confidentially, which means only by me. And, in case I decided to use parts of it in my final paper, I will respect your demands – which means that your name will not be disclosed if you wish so.

Do you have any questions before we start?

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<sup>1</sup> During the course of the preliminary visit this plan was modified to conduct focus groups with female traders too.

## Questions

1. *Type of crops cultivated* What crops do you grow? Why?
2. *Produce* Do you retain (part of) your produce for own consumption? Do you sell (part of) your produce? If you sell (part of) your produce, on what market (urban or for export)? Do you personally sell your produce or do you rely on middlemen?
3. *Inputs* Where do you get your inputs (seeds, agricultural tools) from? Do you use any chemical inputs, e.g. fertilisers, pesticides?
4. *Time* How many hours do you spend in the fields per day? Do you have to walk long distances to get to fields from the place where you live?
5. *Division of labour* Do you work on the fields with other women? Do you work with men too? How do you share tasks with other people, women and men?
6. *Other work/activity* Do you do other types of work/activity? If yes, what?
7. *Food Acquisition/Purchase* How do you usually acquire food? Does it come from your field or do you purchase it?
8. *Responsibility for food provision and preparation* Are you responsible for food provision, production and purchase? Are women generally responsible for these activities? How long does it take you to prepare food?
9. *Eating habits* Can you describe what you generally eat on a daily basis? Do you eat meat or fish?
10. *Feeding children* What do children generally eat? Do they eat the same foods that adults eat or different ones?
11. *Seasonality* Are there any seasonal changes in what you eat?
12. *Knowledge* How did you learn how to prepare/cook food?
13. *Nutritional wisdom* Do you believe that some foods are especially good for your health? Which ones?
14. Do you think that if a woman has a 'good job' (*bom trabalho*) in agriculture, then her children/family could eat better food (*melhor alimentação*)?
15. What is a 'good job' in agriculture?

16. Of all the things we have talked about, what do you consider as the most important in relation to agriculture and nutrition?

17. Is there anything that you consider very important that we did not talk about in our conversation?

18. Do you have any comment or question?

## ANNEX 2

### QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH AND PORTUGUESE)

SOAS, University of London

IESE, Maputo

#### Women's Work and Household Food Behaviour

Serial Number
---------------

Name of Respondent	
Name of District	
Name of Village/Bairro	
Date	

Life history? Yes No

Final Comments:

## A. Household Roster

### Respondent's details

A1	A2	A3	A4	A4i	A4ii
Age	Marital Status	Highest level of schooling completed	Do you have children?	How many? <i>Specify age(s).</i>	Do they live with you? <i>If not, specify where.</i>
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2		

A5	A5i	A6	A7
How many people live here?	Do you all always live here? <i>If not, explain.</i>	Are you originally from here? <i>If not, explain.</i>	Are the other HH members originally from here? <i>If not, explain.</i>
	1 2	1 2	1 2

A8	A8i	A8ii	A9	A9i
Do you give to or receive help from some members of your family who do not live here?	To/from whom?	What kind of help? (e.g. food, money)	Do you receive a pension? <i>If yes, for how long?</i>	Does anyone (else) who lives here or helps you receive a pension? <i>If yes, for how long?</i>
	To:  From:		1 2	1 2

### Household Members

A11							
Name	Relation to respondent	Age	Highest level of schooling completed	Has this person done any kind of paid job or cash-earning activity in the last 12 months? <i>If not, give main reason for not working.</i>	What kind(s) of work?	What kind(s) of unpaid work?	Does this person normally live here? <i>If not, where?</i>
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2			1 2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2			1 2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2			1 2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2			1 2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2			1 2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2			1 2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2			1 2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2			1 2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2			1 2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2			1 2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2			1 2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2			1 2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	1 2			1 2

## Girls and Women

A12					
Name	Children	Children's age	Any of them died before 5 years old? <i>If yes, how many?</i>	If this person works and has children, who takes care of her children when she works?	What kind(s) of household work does this person do (e.g. cooking, fetching water, washing clothes)?
	1		1		
	2		2		
	1		1		
	2		2		
	1		1		
	2		2		
	1		1		
	2		2		
	1		1		
	2		2		
	1		1		
	2		2		

Comments:

## B. Household Characteristics

### Housing Conditions, Facilities and Assets

B1	B2	B3	B4	B5
Is this the only house where you or other household members live? <i>If not, explain.</i>	Main flooring type	Type of roof	Main material used in outer walls	How many people normally sleep in the same room?
1 2	<input type="checkbox"/> earth/sand <input type="checkbox"/> wood/bamboo <input type="checkbox"/> ceramic tiles/cement/bricks <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> thatch/leaf <input type="checkbox"/> tin <input type="checkbox"/> wood/cement/concrete <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> cane/mud/straw <input type="checkbox"/> cement <input type="checkbox"/> bricks <input type="checkbox"/> other:	

B6	B7	B8
Electricity	Water	Toilet Facilities
<input type="checkbox"/> none <input type="checkbox"/> private supply <input type="checkbox"/> public supply	<input type="checkbox"/> water from rain water collection <input type="checkbox"/> water form river, stream, lake <input type="checkbox"/> water from public or someone else's well <input type="checkbox"/> water from private well <input type="checkbox"/> public tap <input type="checkbox"/> private tap <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> only bush <input type="checkbox"/> traditional pit toilet <input type="checkbox"/> flush toilet <input type="checkbox"/> other:

B9						
Radio	TV	Mobile phone	Table	Bed (framed)	Mosquito net	Bicycle
1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2

B10			
Clock/watch	Fridge	Motorbike	Car
1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2

## Poverty Proxies

### Land and agriculture

B11i	B11ii	B11iii	B11iv	B11v	B11vi
Do you have a <i>machamba</i> ?	How did you get the land?	How do you normally use your agricultural produce?	When do the reserves of food you produce normally run out? ( <i>month</i> )	Do you hire workers?	How do you pay them?
<input type="checkbox"/> no <input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> more than one:	<input type="checkbox"/> inherited <input type="checkbox"/> purchased <input type="checkbox"/> borrowed (with no recompense) <input type="checkbox"/> rented <input type="checkbox"/> cleared from bush <input type="checkbox"/> granted by government <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> sale on local markets <input type="checkbox"/> sale to regional/international traders <input type="checkbox"/> family consumption <input type="checkbox"/> other:		<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Occasionally <input type="checkbox"/> Regularly	<input type="checkbox"/> Cash <input type="checkbox"/> In kind

### Income

B12	B13	B14	B15	B16
What are the sources of income of your household? <i>List them in order of importance</i>	In the past 12 months has your monthly income been regular, fluctuating or unreliable?	In the past 12 months have you obtained money by any of the following means:	In the past 12 months have you or other HH members worked on someone else's <i>machamba</i> ?	Does anyone in your family have a formal job (even if this person does not live here but 'helps' this household)?
	<input type="checkbox"/> regular <input type="checkbox"/> fluctuating (but predictable) <input type="checkbox"/> unreliable (unpredictable)	<input type="checkbox"/> borrowing money <input type="checkbox"/> selling assets <input type="checkbox"/> taking from savings <input type="checkbox"/> government assistance <input type="checkbox"/> NGO assistance <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> no <input type="checkbox"/> yes, please specify who and why:	<input type="checkbox"/> no <input type="checkbox"/> yes, please specify who and what job:

Education and food expenditure

B17i	B17ii	B18	B19	B20i	B20ii
How many people in this household go to school?	Who pays for it?	Who buys food on a daily basis?	Who buys the most expensive foods (e.g. meat or big quantities of maize/rice)?	How much did you spend on food in the last month?	How much was it as a proportion of your income?
	<input type="checkbox"/> the respondent <input type="checkbox"/> another household member:	<input type="checkbox"/> the respondent <input type="checkbox"/> another household member:	<input type="checkbox"/> the respondent <input type="checkbox"/> another household member:		

Mechanisms of financial support

B21i	B21ii	B21iii	B22	B22ii
Are you or any other HHM members of an (agricultural association) supported by an NGO/government/church?	What kind of support do you receive from NGO/government/church?	Would you say that being a member of an association helps you and your family financially? <i>Explain.</i>	Do you or any other HHM practice <i>xitique</i> or any other form of mutual help?	How is the money/goods collected usually used?
<input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> The respondent <input type="checkbox"/> other household member:	<input type="checkbox"/> financial support <input type="checkbox"/> equipment/materials/inputs <input type="checkbox"/> training(s) <input type="checkbox"/> NGO/government buys our products <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> no <input type="checkbox"/> respondent <input type="checkbox"/> other household member:	<input type="checkbox"/> savings/kept as assets <input type="checkbox"/> used to buy other goods <input type="checkbox"/> spent on education <input type="checkbox"/> spent on health <input type="checkbox"/> spent on food <input type="checkbox"/> other:

Comments:

## C. Women's Work

C1 Have you done any kind of paid work or cash-earning activity in the last year?

Yes Go to section Ca

No Go to section Cb

### Section Ca Cash-earning Women

Ca1 Describe all of the activities/occupations on which you have worked in the past 12 months

Type of occupation/work	Number of months	Usually, how many days per month?	Usually, how many hours per day?	Do you need to travel to perform this activity? <i>If yes, to where?</i>	Do you usually do this activity in your house?	Did anybody help/work for you in this activity for a payment in cash or in kind?	Paid in cash or in kind?
Farmer (on your own or on family farm)				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Agricultural labourer (on large farms as permanent or seasonal worker)				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Agricultural labourer (on any type of farm as a casual worker)				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Fishing (using your own or family equipment)				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Fishing (for a wage or part of the catch)				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Wood/charcoal collector and seller				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind

Sales/wholesale trade/shop-keeper				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Retail trade (street vendor)				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Street vendor (selling own agricultural produce)				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Transportation				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Cleaner (in a company, hotel, etc..)				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Domestic servant (in a private house)				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Restaurant/bar (server)				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Factory worker				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Food/drink preparation or processing				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Craftsmanship				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Public sector professional (teacher, nurse, etc...)				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind
Other:				<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	<input type="checkbox"/> paid in cash <input type="checkbox"/> paid in kind

Ca2	Ca3	Ca4	Ca5	Ca6	Ca7
When did you start doing paid work or cash-earning activities?	Why? (Main reason)	What did you do before?	Have any of the following ever restricted or prohibited you from working?	If a family member placed restrictions on you, what was the main reason?	Have you ever had to stop working (even temporarily) for one of the following reasons?
	<input type="checkbox"/> to contribute economically to the household <input type="checkbox"/> no other source of income in the household <input type="checkbox"/> to send children to school <input type="checkbox"/> to have money for your own personal expenses <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> looked for work <input type="checkbox"/> housework and taking care of children <input type="checkbox"/> schooling <input type="checkbox"/> training for work <input type="checkbox"/> seriously ill <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> husband <input type="checkbox"/> brother(s) <input type="checkbox"/> parents <input type="checkbox"/> other family <input type="checkbox"/> government <input type="checkbox"/> other person or organisation:	<input type="checkbox"/> housework would be left undone <input type="checkbox"/> children would not be looked after <input type="checkbox"/> elderly people would not be looked after <input type="checkbox"/> women should not work <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> pregnancy <input type="checkbox"/> marriage <input type="checkbox"/> health <input type="checkbox"/> need to care for household member <input type="checkbox"/> request of spouse <input type="checkbox"/> no permission from spouse <input type="checkbox"/> other: <input type="checkbox"/> N/A

Ca8	Ca9	Ca10	Ca11	Ca12
Does your work provide you with a reliable, fluctuating or unreliable payment/profit?	How much do you contribute to total household expenses from your activity?	Who decides how you should use the income that you earn?	What do you usually do with the income you earn?	If you worked in the last month, how did you use the money earned in the last month? <i>List</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> reliable <input type="checkbox"/> fluctuating (but predictable) <input type="checkbox"/> unreliable (unpredictable)	<input type="checkbox"/> nothing <input type="checkbox"/> almost nothing (0-30%) <input type="checkbox"/> some of it (30-60%) <input type="checkbox"/> most of it/all (>60%)	<input type="checkbox"/> respondent <input type="checkbox"/> spouse <input type="checkbox"/> respondent + spouse <input type="checkbox"/> respondent + other HHM <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> buy food <input type="checkbox"/> send children to school <input type="checkbox"/> buy goods for the house/household <input type="checkbox"/> buy something for yourself (capulanas, shoes, beauty products) <input type="checkbox"/> save it for ceremonies <input type="checkbox"/> other:	

Ca13i	Ca13ii	Ca14	Ca15	Ca16	Ca17
When you work, do you bring your youngest children with you or leave them with someone else?	If you leave your children with someone else, who do you leave them with most often?	When you work, who prepares food for children and the rest of the family?	Is there anyone in your household who helps you with housework?	Do you think it is good for you to work? <i>Explain.</i>	Do you think it is good for your family that you work? <i>Explain.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> brings with her <input type="checkbox"/> leave with someone else <input type="checkbox"/> both <input type="checkbox"/> N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> relative within the household <input type="checkbox"/> relative outside the household <input type="checkbox"/> non-relative within the household <input type="checkbox"/> non-relative outside the household <input type="checkbox"/> N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> respondent, she works at home <input type="checkbox"/> respondent, when she comes back from work <input type="checkbox"/> other women in the household <input type="checkbox"/> other: <input type="checkbox"/> N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> yes, specify who:  <input type="checkbox"/> no		

Ca18i	Ca18ii	Ca18iii
Do you get an allowance from your spouse or another HHM?	How do you normally use the allowance you receive?	Do you think that the allowance you receive is enough? <i>Explain.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> no <input type="checkbox"/> spouse <input type="checkbox"/> other household member:		<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no

**Cb Non-cash-earning women**

Cb1	Cb2	Cb3	Cb4i	Cb4ii
What did you do most of the time in the past 12 months?	Have any of the following ever restricted or prohibited you from working?	If a family member placed restrictions on you, what was the main reason?	Have you ever done any kind of paid work or cash-earning activity in your life?	Can you list the types of work you have done?
<input type="checkbox"/> looked for work <input type="checkbox"/> housework and taking care of children <input type="checkbox"/> schooling <input type="checkbox"/> training for work <input type="checkbox"/> seriously ill <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> husband <input type="checkbox"/> brother(s) <input type="checkbox"/> parents <input type="checkbox"/> other family <input type="checkbox"/> government <input type="checkbox"/> other person or organisation:	<input type="checkbox"/> housework would be left undone <input type="checkbox"/> children would not be looked after <input type="checkbox"/> elderly people would not be looked after <input type="checkbox"/> women should not work <input type="checkbox"/> other:	<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no	

Cb5i	Cb5ii	Cb6i	Cb6ii	Cb6iii
Would you like to work?	Why?	Do you get an allowance from your spouse or another HHM?	How do you normally use the allowance you receive?	Do you think that the allowance you receive is enough? <i>Explain.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no		<input type="checkbox"/> no <input type="checkbox"/> spouse <input type="checkbox"/> other household member:		<input type="checkbox"/> yes <input type="checkbox"/> no

### Intrahousehold Issues

C2 Which family member decides most of the time about the following things?

What food is prepared every day?		Sending children to school?	
If you have to work to earn money?		What to do when a child is ill?	
Visiting other family members, friends or relatives?		Having another child or not?	
Seeing a doctor or going to the local health centre when you/your wife/your daughter are/is pregnant?		How to feed small children?	
How to use money?		How much money is spent on food?	

Comments:

## D. Household Food Behaviour

### Household Food Security (6 questions + HHS Module)

D1	In the past four weeks/30 days, did it happen that you or any household member were not able to eat the kinds of foods you would have preferred (e.g. rice, white xima, fish) because of lack of resources?	0 = No (Skip to 2) 1 = Yes
D1a	How often did this happen in the past four weeks/30 days?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)
D2	In the past four weeks/30 days, did it happen that you or any household member had to eat a smaller meal than you felt you needed because there was not enough food?	0 = No (Skip to 3) 1 = Yes
D2a	How often did this happen in the past four weeks/30 days?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)
D3	In the past four weeks/30 days, did it happen that you or any household member had to eat fewer meals in a day because there was not enough food?	0 = No (Skip to 4) 1 = Yes
D3a	How often did this happen in the past four weeks/30 days?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)
D4	In the past four weeks/30 days, did it happen that you or any household member skipped a meal to avoid eating the same food for lunch and dinner?	0 = No (Skip to 4) 1 = Yes
D4a	How often did this happen in the past four weeks/30 days?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)
D5	In the past four weeks/30 days, did it happen that you or any household member skipped a meal due to lack of time to prepare it?	0 = No (Skip to 4) 1 = Yes
D5a	How often did this happen in the past four weeks/30 days?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)
D6	In the past four weeks/30 days, did it happen that you or any household member had to borrow food from relatives or neighbours?	0 = No (Skip to next section) 1 = Yes
D6a	How often did this happen in the past four weeks/30 days?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)

D7	In the past four weeks/30 days, was there ever no food to eat of any kind in your house because of lack of resources to get food?	0 = No (Skip to 8) 1 = Yes
D7a	How often did this happen in the past four weeks/30 days?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)
D8	In the past four weeks/30 days, did you or any household member go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?	0 = No (Skip to 9) 1 = Yes
D8a	How often did this happen in the past four weeks/30 days?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)
D9	In the past four weeks/30 days, did you or any household member go a whole day and night without eating anything at all because there was not enough food?	0 = No (Skip to next section) 1 = Yes
D9a	How often did this happen in the past four weeks/30 days?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)

### Seasonality

D10	During the rainy season, was there ever no food to eat of any kind in your house because of lack of resources to get food?	0 = No (Skip to 11) 1 = Yes
D10a	How often did this happen during the rainy season?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)
D11	During the rainy season, did you or any household member go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?	0 = No (Skip to 12) 1 = Yes
D11a	How often did this happen during the rainy season?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)
D12	During the rainy season, did you or any household member go a whole day and night without eating anything at all because there was not enough food?	0 = No (Skip to next section) 1 = Yes
D12a	How often did this happen during the rainy season?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)

**Household Dietary Diversity (HDDS module + two questions)**

D13 What did you or anyone else in the household eat yesterday?

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No.	Food Group	Examples	Yes (1)	No (0)
1	Cereals	Massa, xima, pao, massa esparguete, bolachas, bolos de pao ou outros alimentos feitos de milho, mexoeira, mapira, farinha de milho, arroz, trigo.		
2	Vitamin A rich vegetables and tubers	Abobora, cenoura, batata doce de polpa alaranjada		
3	White tubers and roots	Batata reno, inhame (madumbe), mandioca ou outros raizes/tuberculos		
4	Dark green leafy vegetables	Quaisquer verduras como folhas de mandioca, abobora, fijiao nhemba, nhewe, pimento, murunga, etc.		
5	Other vegetables	Qualquer outro tipo de hortalias		
6	Vitamin A rich fruits	Mangas e papayas maduras		
7	Other fruits	Qualquer tipo de frutas, incluindo frutas silvestres		
8	Meat	Qualquer tipo de carne		
9	Eggs	Qualquer tipo de ovos		
10	Fish	Peixe e ou mariscos, frescos ou secos		
11	Legumes, Nuts	Qualquer alimento feito de feijiao, ervilha, lentilha, amendoim, castanha de cju ou soja?		
12	Seeds	Qualquer sementes como abobora, gergelim, girassol, pepino foram utilizados na comida?		
13	Milk and milk products	Leite, queijo, iogurte, ou qualquer derivado do leite?		
14	Oils and fats	Utilizou oleo, manteiga, coco para cozinhar?		
15	Sweets	Acucar, cana doce, mel, refrescos, sumos, bolos		
16	Caffeine/Alcohol	Cafe, cha ou bebida alcolicas		

- a. Did you or anyone in your household eat anything (meal or snack) outside the home yesterday?
- b. Did you eat anything outside the home yesterday?

### Other questions on more specific aspects of household food behaviour

#### Consumption of 'prestigious foods'

D14	In the past four weeks/30 days, did you or anyone in the household eat meat?	0 = No (Skip to 14) 1 = Yes
D14a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)
D15	In the past four weeks/30 days, did you eat meat?	0 = No (Skip to 15) 1 = Yes
D15a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)

#### Consumption of soft drinks/processed foods

D16	In the past four weeks/30 days, did you or anyone in the household consume soft drinks or cookies?	0 = No (Skip to 16) 1 = Yes
D16a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)
D17	In the past four weeks/30 days, did you consume soft drinks or cookies?	0 = No (Skip to 16) 1 = Yes
D17a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)
D18	In the past four weeks/30 days, did you buy soft drinks or cookies for your children?	0 = No (Skip to 18) 1 = Yes
D18a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)

Intra-household issues/differences in food consumption

D19	In the past four weeks/30 days, did you find yourself skimping on your own meal so the rest of the family could have enough?	0 = No (Skip to 19) 1 = Yes
D19a	How often did this happen?	1 = Rarely (1-2 times) 2 = Sometimes (3-10 times) 3 = Often (more than 10 times)
D20	In the past four weeks/30 days, did it happen that you did not have a substantial meal for one entire day?	0 = No 1 = Yes
D20a	Did this affect you or the entire family?	

Nutritional Knowledge

D21	D22	D23	D24	D25
What food do you think is good for your health? <i>List.</i>	Do you think that white xima is better than brown xima?	What food do you think is bad for your health? <i>List</i>	What food do you think is good for children's health? <i>List</i>	Do you think that soft drinks and cookies are good for children's health?
	__ yes __ no			__ yes, both __ only soft drinks __ only cookies __ no

Comments:

SOAS, University of London

IESE, Maputo

**Trabalho das Mulheres e Alimentação**

Numero de serie

Nome da Respondedora	
Nome do Distrito	
Nome da Localidade/Bairro	
Data	

Estoria de vida? Sim Não

Comentarios Finais:

## A. Composição do Agregado Familiar

### Informações sobre a Respondedora

A1	A2	A3	A4	A4i	A4ii
Idade	Estado civil	Educação (Nível mais elevado que frequentou?)	Tem crianças?	Quantas? <i>Specifique a idade de cada um.</i>	As crianças vivem consigo? <i>Se não, especifique onde.</i>
	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S 1 N 2		S 1 N 2

A5	A5i	A6	A7
Quantas pessoas dormiram aqui a noite passada?	Estas pessoas vivem sempre aqui? <i>Se não, especifique.</i>	Voce è natural daqui? <i>Se não, explique.</i>	Os outros membros do agregado familiar são naturais daqui? <i>Se não, explique.</i>
	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2

A8	A8i	A8ii	A9	A9i
Voce ajuda (economicamente) ou recebe ajuda por pessoas quais não vivem aqui?	Quem/por quem?	O que tipo de ajuda? (e.g. comida, dinheiro)	Voce recebe uma pensão? <i>Se sim, por quanto tempo recebeu?</i>	Ha alguém (que vive aqui ou que ajuda o seu agregado familiar) que recebe uma pensão? <i>Se sim, por quanto tempo recebeu?</i>
	To:  From:		S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2

### Membros do Agregado Familiar

A10							
Nome	Laço de parentesco com a respondedora	Idade	Educação (Nivel mais elevado que frequentou?)	Esta pessoa fez qualquer tipo de trabalho pago ou actividade economica nos ultimos 12 meses? <i>Se não, diga a razão principal para não trabalhar.</i>	Que/ quais tipo(s) de trabalho?	Que/quais tipo(s) de trabalho não pago?	Esta pessoa vive habitualmente aqui? <i>Se não, especifique onde.</i>
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S 1 N 2			S 1 N 2

			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S1 N2			S1 N2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S1 N2			S1 N2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S1 N2			S1 N2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S1 N2			S1 N2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S1 N2			S1 N2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S1 N2			S1 N2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S1 N2			S1 N2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S1 N2			S1 N2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S1 N2			S1 N2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S1 N2			S1 N2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S1 N2			S1 N2
			1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 98	S1 N2			S1 N2

## Meninas e Mulheres

A11					
Nome	Crianças	Idade das crianças	Alguns deles moreram antes de 5 anos? <i>Se sim, quantos?</i>	Se esta pessoa faz um trabalho e tem crianças, quem esta com as crianças quando ela trabalha?	Que tipo de trabalho domestico faz esta pessoa (e.g. cozinhar, apanhar agua, lavar roupa)?
	S 1 N 2		S 1 N 2		
	S 1 N 2		S 1 N 2		
	S 1 N 2		S 1 N 2		
	S 1 N 2		S 1 N 2		
	S 1 N 2		S 1 N 2		
	S 1 N 2		S 1 N 2		
	S 1 N 2		S 1 N 2		
	S 1 N 2		S 1 N 2		

Comentarios:

## B. Características do Alojamento e do Agregado Familiar

### Condições da casa e Bens

B1	B2	B3	B4	B5
Esta aqui è a so casa onde voce ou outros membros do agregado vive/vivem? Se não, <i>specifique.</i>	Principal material do pavimento	Principal material do teto	Principal material nas paredes exteriores	Quanta pessoas dormem habitualmente no mesmo quarto?
S 1 N 2	__ terra/areia __ madeira/bambu __ material elaborado (cimento/mosaico/asfalto) __ outro:	__ capim/palha/folhas __ chapa __ material elaborado (madeira/cimento/pranchas) __ outro:	__ terra/bamboo/cana __ cimento __ blocos de cimento __ outro:	

B6	B7	B8
Principal fonte de energia	Principal fonte de agua	Tipo de casa de banho
__ não tem __ fonte de energia privada __ fonte de energia publica	__ agua de chuva __ agua de superficie (rio/lago/ribeira) __ poço publico ou da casa do vizinho __ poço privado __ torneira publica __ torneira privada (no quintal ou alojamento) __ outro:	__ não tem retrete __ latrina __ autoclismo __ outro:

B9						
Radio	Televisão	Telefone Movei	Mesa	Cama (com colchão)	Mosqueteira	Bicicleta
1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2

B10			
Relogio	Geleira	Mota	Carro
1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2

## Procurações de Pobreza

### Terra e agricultura

B11i	B11ii	B11iii	B11iv	B11v	B11vi
Voce tem uma <i>machamba</i> ?	Como obteve a terra?	Como usa os produtos agricola habitualmente?	Usualmente quando terminam as reservas de comida que voces produzem na <i>machamba</i> ? ( <i>que mês</i> )	Voce contracta trabalhadores?	Como costuma pagar os trabalhadores?
<input type="checkbox"/> sim <input type="checkbox"/> não <input type="checkbox"/> mais do que uma:	<input type="checkbox"/> herdou <input type="checkbox"/> comprou <input type="checkbox"/> pediu (sem recompensa) <input type="checkbox"/> alugou <input type="checkbox"/> desbravou o mato <input type="checkbox"/> recebeu do governo <input type="checkbox"/> outro:	<input type="checkbox"/> vende nos mercados locais <input type="checkbox"/> vende a compradores in regionais ou internacionais <input type="checkbox"/> consumo familiar <input type="checkbox"/> outro:		<input type="checkbox"/> Não <input type="checkbox"/> Ocasionalmente <input type="checkbox"/> Regularmente	<input type="checkbox"/> dinheiro <input type="checkbox"/> em especie

### Renda

B12	B13	B14	B15	B16
Quais são as fontes de renda do seu agregado familiar? <i>Liste em ordem de importancia.</i>	Nos ultimos 12 meses, a renda do seu agregado familiar foi regular, flutuante ou imprevisivel?	Nos ultimos 12 meses, obteve dinheiro atraves de qualquer destas maneiras:	Nos ultimos 12 meses, voce ou outro membro do seu agregado trabalhou na <i>machamba</i> de alguem?	Ha alguem no seu agregado que tem um emprego formal (tambem se esta pessoa não mora aqui mas ajuda)?
	<input type="checkbox"/> regular <input type="checkbox"/> flutuante (mas previsivel) <input type="checkbox"/> imprevisivel	<input type="checkbox"/> pegar dinheiro emprestado <input type="checkbox"/> venda de bens <input type="checkbox"/> uso de poupança <input type="checkbox"/> ajuda pelo governo <input type="checkbox"/> ajuda por uma ONG <input type="checkbox"/> outro:	<input type="checkbox"/> não <input type="checkbox"/> sim, especifique por quem and porque:	<input type="checkbox"/> não <input type="checkbox"/> sim, especifique quem e que tipo de trabalho:

Despesa em educação e comida

B17i	B17ii	B18	B19	B20i	B20ii
Quantas pessoas neste agregado frequentam a escola?	Quem paga a escola?	Quem compra a comida de todos os dias?	Quem compra a comida mais cara (e.g. carne ou sacos de milho/arroz)?	Voce quanto dinheiro gastou para comprar comida no mes passado?	Quanto era como proporção da sua renda?
	__ respondedora __ outro membro do agregado:	__ respondedora __ outro membro do agregado:	__ respondedora __ outro membro do agregado:		__ 0 – 10% __ 10 - 30% __ 30 – 60% __ > 60%

Mecanismos de apoio financeiro

B21i	B21ii	B21iii	B22	B22ii
Voce ou outro membro do agregado e membro de uma associação (de agricultura) apoiada por ONG/governo/igreja?	Que tipo de suporte recebe?	Poderia dizer que ser um membro duma associação ajuda a sua familia financeiramente? <i>Explique.</i>	Voce ou outro membro do agregado costuma praticar <i>xitique</i> ou outra forma de ajuda mutua?	Como usa habitualmente o dinheiro juntado?
__ não __ respondedora __ outro membro do agregado:	__ apoio financeiro __ equipamento/materiais __ formação __ ONG/governo compra os seus productos __ outro:	__ sim __ não	__ não __ respondedora __ outro membro do agregado:	__ poupança/kept as assets __ usado para comprar outros bens __ gastado em educação __ gastado em saude __ gastado em comida __ outro:

Comentarios:

## C. Trabalho das Mulheres

C1 Nos ultimos 12 meses voce fez qualquer tipo de trabalho pago/negocio/actividade economica (se bem pequena)/emprego?

\_\_ Sim Go to section Ca

\_\_ Não Go to section Cb

### Section Ca Mulheres que ganham dinheiro

Ca1 Descreva todas as actividades economicas/tipos de trabalho que voce fez nos ultimos 12 meses.

Tipo de ocupação/trabalho	Numero de meses em quais a actividade foi desenvolvida	Normalmente, quantos dias por mes?	Normalmente, quantas horas por dia?	Precisa de viajar para fazer esta actividade? <i>Se sim, onde e como.</i>	Normalmente, faz esta actividade na sua casa?	Alguem ajudou ou trabalho para si nesta actividade em cambio dum pagamento em dinheiro ou especie?	Dinheiro ou especie?
Agricultor (na sua machamba ou na da familia)				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Trabalhador agricola (permanente ou ocasional)				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Trabalhador agricola ( <i>ganho-ganho</i> )				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Pesca (fazendo uso do proprio material)				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Pesca (por um salario ou parte da pesca)				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie

				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Vendedor de lenha e/ou carvão				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Comerciante em gross/Dono de loja				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Comerciante retalhista pequeno/vendedor de rua, com banca				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Vendedor de rua ou com banca que vende os proprios produtos agricola				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Transportação				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Limpador (numa empresa, hotel, pensão, etc..)				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Empregado domestico				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Servente de mesa de barraca/restaurante/hotel/bar				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Operaio de fabrica				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Preparação e venda de comida/bebidas/refrescos				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Artigiano				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Funcionario publico				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie
Outro:				S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	S 1 N 2	__ dinheiro __ especie

Ca2	Ca3	Ca4	Ca5	Ca6	Ca7
Quando começou a fazer um trabalho a cambio dum pagamento?	Porque? (razão principal)	O que fazia antes de começar a trabalhar?	Ja aconteceu que voce nao trabalhou ou deixou um trabalho por causa duma das razões seguintes?	Em caso que não trabalhou por causa dum parente, qual foi a razão principal?	Ja aconteceu que deixou ou parou um trabalho por uma das seguintes razões?
	__ para contribuir economicamente ao bem-estar da familia __ não haviam outras fontes de renda __ para mandar as crianças a escola __ para ganhar dinheiro independentemente __ para ter dinheiro para despesas pessoais __ outro:	__ em procura de trabalho __ trabalho domestico e cuidar crianças __ estudava na escola __ formação para trabalhar __ seriamente doente __ outro:	__ marido __ irmão __ paes __ outros parents __ governo __ outra pessoa ou organização: __ N/A	__ para fazer trabalho domestic __ para cuidar as crianças __ para cuidar pessoas idosas __ porque mulheres não deveriam trabalhar __ outro: __ N/A	__ gravidez __ casamento __ saude __ para cuidar qualquer parente __ pedido do marido __ outro: __ N/A

Ca8	Ca9	Ca10	Ca11	Ca12
A renda do seu trabalho è regular, flutuante ou imprevisivel?	Com o seu trabalho quanto contribui as despesas da familia?	Quem decide como voce pode usar a sua renda?	O que faz normalmente com a renda ganhada?	Caso que trabalhou no mes passado, como usou a renda ganhada? <i>Liste</i>
__ regular __ flutuante (mas previsivel) __ imprevisivel	__ nada __ quase nada (0-30%) __ uma parte (30-60%) __ quase tudo (>60%)	__ respondedora __ marido __ respondedora + marido __ respondedora + outro membro da familia __ outro:	__ compra comida __ manda crianças a escola __ compra bens para a familia __ compra algo para ela mesma (capulanas, zapatos, produtos de beleza) __ guarda __ usa as cerimonias __ outro:	

Ca13i	Ca13ii	Ca14	Ca15	Ca16	Ca17
Quando trabalha, costuma trazer os filhos mais pequenos ou os deixa com alguém?	Quando deixa os filhos com alguém, quem é esta pessoa? <i>Specifique o sexo.</i>	Quando voce trabalha, quem prepara a comida para a familia?	Tem alguém no seu agregado que ajuda com o trabalho domestico?	Pensa que trabalhar é bom/positivo para si mesma? <i>Explique.</i>	Pensa que o fato que voce trabalha seja uma coisa positiva para a sua familia? <i>Explique.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> traz com ela <input type="checkbox"/> deixa com alguém <input type="checkbox"/> ambos <input type="checkbox"/> N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> parente do mesmo agregado <input type="checkbox"/> parente que não vive no mesmo agregado <input type="checkbox"/> pessoa que não é um parente mas vive no mesmo agregado <input type="checkbox"/> outra pessoa: <input type="checkbox"/> N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> respondedora, ela trabalha em casa <input type="checkbox"/> respondedora, quando ela volta a casa <input type="checkbox"/> outras mulheres/meninas em casa <input type="checkbox"/> outro: <input type="checkbox"/> N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> sim, especifique quem:  <input type="checkbox"/> não		

Ca18i	Ca18ii	Ca18iii
Recebe dinheiro pelo seu marido ou outro membro da familia?	Normalmente, como usa este dinheiro?	Pensa que este dinheiro seja suficiente? <i>Explique.</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> não <input type="checkbox"/> sim, pelo marido <input type="checkbox"/> sim, por outro membro da familia:		<input type="checkbox"/> sim <input type="checkbox"/> não

**Cb Mulheres que não ganham dinheiro**

Cb1	Cb2	Cb3	Cb4i	Cb4ii
O que fez na maior parte do tempo nos ultimos 12 meses?	Ja aconteceu que voce nao trabalhou ou deixou um trabalho por causa duma das razões seguintes?	Em caso que não trabalhou por causa dum parente, qual foi a razão principal?	Alguma vez ja fez qualquer tipo de trabalho pago ou actividade economica (negocio)?	Pode fazer uma lista dos tipos de trabalho que já fez?
<input type="checkbox"/> foi na procura dum trabalho <input type="checkbox"/> trabalho domestico e cuidar as crianças <input type="checkbox"/> estudou <input type="checkbox"/> formação para trabalhar <input type="checkbox"/> seriamente doente <input type="checkbox"/> outro:	<input type="checkbox"/> marido <input type="checkbox"/> irmão <input type="checkbox"/> paes <input type="checkbox"/> outros parents <input type="checkbox"/> governo <input type="checkbox"/> outra pessoa ou organização: <input type="checkbox"/> N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> para fazer trabalho domestic <input type="checkbox"/> para cuidar as crianças <input type="checkbox"/> para cuidar pessoas idosas <input type="checkbox"/> porque mulheres não deveriam trabalhar <input type="checkbox"/> outro: <input type="checkbox"/> N/A	<input type="checkbox"/> sim <input type="checkbox"/> não	

Cb5i	Cb5ii	Cb6i	Cb6ii	Cb6iii
Gostaria de trabalhar?	Porque?	Recebe dinheiro pelo seu marido ou outro membro da familia?	Normalmente, como usa este dinheiro?	Pensa que este dinheiro seja suficiente? <i>Explique</i>
<input type="checkbox"/> sim <input type="checkbox"/> não		<input type="checkbox"/> não <input type="checkbox"/> sim, pelo marido <input type="checkbox"/> sim, por outro membro da familia:		<input type="checkbox"/> sim <input type="checkbox"/> não

### Questões Intra-familiares

C2 Qual è o membro da familia que normalmente decide sobre os seguintes assuntos?

O que tipo de comida è cozinhada?		Mandar filhos a escola?	
Se voce tem trabalhar para ganhar dinheiro?		O que fazer quando uma criança esta doente?	
Visitar outros membros da familia, amigos?		Se ter outro filho ou não?	
Consultar um doctor ou ir a um posto de saude/hospital quando voce ou outra mulher esta grávida?		O que tipo de comida dar as crianças mais pequenas?	
Como usar dinheiro?		Quanto dinheiro deve ser gastado em comida?	

Comentarios:

## D. Alimentação da Família

### Segurança Alimentar da Família (6 questions + HHS Module)

D1	Nos últimos 30 dias, aconteceu que voce ou qualquer membro da familia não foi capaz de comer os tipos de comida que teria preferido (e.g. arroz, xima branca, peixe, carne) por causa de falta de recursos?	0 = Não (Skip to 2) 1 = Sim
D1a	Com que frequencia aconteceu nos ultimos 30 dias?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)
D2	Nos últimos 30 dias, aconteceu que voce ou qualquer outro membro da familia teve uma refeção mais pequena do que precisava, porque não havia outra comida?	0 = Não (Skip to 3) 1 = Sim
D2a	Com que frequencia aconteceu nos ultimos 30 dias?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)
D3	Nos últimos 30 dias, aconteceu que voce ou qualquer outro membro da familia teve menos refeições porque não havia bastante comida?	0 = Não (Skip to 4) 1 = Sim
D3a	Com que frequencia aconteceu nos ultimos 30 dias?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)
D4	Nos últimos 30 dias, aconteceu que voce ou qualquer outro membro da familia saltou uma refeção para evitar de comer a mesma comida duas ou mais vezes?	0 = Não (Skip to 5) 1 = Sim
D4a	Com que frequencia aconteceu nos ultimos 30 dias?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)
D5	Nos últimos 30 dias, aconteceu que voce ou qualquer outro membro da familia saltou uma refeção por causa de falta de tempo para cozinhar/procurer a comida?	0 = Não (Skip to 6) 1 = Sim
D5a	Com que frequencia aconteceu nos ultimos 30 dias?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)
D6	Nos últimos 30 dias, aconteceu que voce ou qualquer outro membro da familia teve pedir emprestado comida aos vizinhos ou parentes?	0 = Não (Skip to 7) 1 = Sim
D6a	Com que frequencia aconteceu nos ultimos 30 dias?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)

D7	Nos ultimos 30 dias, alguma vez ja faltou comida de todos os tipos na sua casa por causa de falta de recursos?	0 = Não (Skip to 8) 1 = Sim
D7a	Com que frequencia aconteceu nos ultimos 30 dias?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)
D8	Nos ultimos 30 dias, voce ou qualquer outro membro da familia foi para a cama estando com fome porque não havia comida suficiente?	0 = Não (Skip to 9) 1 = Sim
D8a	Com que frequencia aconteceu nos ultimos 30 dias?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)
D9	Nos ultimos 30 dias, aconteceu que voce ou qualquer outro membro da familia não comeu nada por um dia inteiro porque não havia comida?	0 = Não (Skip to next section) 1 = Sim
D9a	Com que frequencia aconteceu nos ultimos 30 dias?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)

### Sazonalidade

D10	Durante a estação da chuva, alguma vez ja faltou comida de todos os tipos na sua casa por causa de falta de recursos?	0 = Não (Skip to 11) 1 = Sim
D10a	Com que frequencia aconteceu na estação da chuva?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)
D11	Durante a estação da chuva, voce ou qualquer outro membro da familia foi para a cama estando com fome porque não havia comida suficiente	0 = Não (Skip to 12) 1 = Sim
D11a	Com que frequencia aconteceu na estação da chuva?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)
D12	Durante a estação da chuva, aconteceu que voce ou qualquer outro membro da familia não comeu nada por um dia inteiro porque não havia comida?	0 = Não (Skip to next section) 1 = Sim
D12a	Com que frequencia aconteceu na estação da chuva?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)

**Diversidade da Dieta Familiar** (HDDS module + two questions)

D13 O que voce ou outro membro da familia comeu ontem?

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No.	Food Groups	Examples	Sim (1)	Não (0)
1	Cereals	Massa, xima, pao, massa esparquete, bolachas, bolos de pao ou outros alimentos feitos de milho, mexoeira, mapira, farinha de milho, arroz, trigo.		
2	Vitamin A rich vegetables and tubers	Abobora, cenoura, batata doce de polpa alaranjada		
3	White tubers and roots	Batata reno, inhame (madumbe), mandioca ou outros raizes/tuberculos		
4	Dark green leafy vegetables	Quaisquer verduras como folhas de mandioca, abobora, fijiao nhemba, nhewe, pimento, murunga, etc.		
5	Other vegetables	Qualquer outro tipo de hortalias		
6	Vitamin A rich fruits	Mangas e papayas maduras		
7	Other fruits	Qualquer tipo de frutas, incluindo frutas silvestres		
8	Meat	Qualquer tipo de carne		
9	Eggs	Qualquer tipo de ovos		
10	Fish	Peixe e ou mariscos, frescos ou secos		
11	Legumes, Nuts	Qualquer alimento feito de feijiao, ervilha, lentilha, amendoim, castanha de cju ou soja?		
12	Seeds	Qualquer sementes como abobora, gergelim, girassol, pepino foram utilizados na comida?		
13	Milk and milk products	Leite, queijo, iogurte, ou qualquer derivado do leite?		
14	Oils and fats	Utilizou oleo, manteiga, coco para cozinhar?		
15	Sweets	Acucar, cana doce, mel, refrescos, sumos, bolos		
16	Caffeine/Alcohol	Cafe, cha ou bebida alcolicas		

- c. Voce comeu algo fora da casa ontem?
- d. Outro membros da familia comeram algo fora da casa ontem (tambem podem-ser bebidas/refrescos/bulachas)?

### Outros aspectos do comportamento alimentar

#### Consumo de tipos de comida 'prestigiosa'

D14	Nos ultimos 30 dias, voce comeu carne?	0 = Não (Skip to 14) 1 = sim
D14a	Com que frequencia aconteceu nos ultimos 30 dias?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)
D15	Nos ultimos 30 dias, outros membros da familia comeram carne?	0 = Não (Skip to 15) 1 = Sim
D15a	Com que frequencia aconteceu nos ultimos 30 dias?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)

#### Consumo de refrescos e bulachas

D16	Nos ultimos 30 dias, voce tomou/comeu refrescos ou bulachas?	0 = Não (Skip to 16) 1 = Sim
D16a	Com que frequencia aconteceu?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)
D17	Nos ultimos 30 dias, outros membros da familia tomaram/comeram refrescos ou bulachas?	0 = Não (Skip to 16) 1 = Sim
D17a	Com que frequencia aconteceu?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)
D18	Nos ultimos 30 dias, voce comprou refrescos ou bulachas para as crianças?	0 = Não (Skip to 18) 1 = Sim
D18a	Com que frequencia aconteceu?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)

Questões intra-familiares

D19	Nos ultimos 30 dias, aconteceu que voce comeu (um pouco) menos assim o resto da familia podia comer?	0 = Não (Skip to 19) 1 = Sim
D19a	Com que frequencia aconteceu?	1 = Raramente (1-2 vezes) 2 = Ocasionalmente (3-10 vezes) 3 = Com frequencia (mais do que 10 vezes)
D20	Nos ultimos 30 dias, aconteceu que voce não teve uma refeição completa por um dia inteiro?	0 = Não 1 = Sim
D20a	Isso aconteceu so a voce ou ao resto da familia tambem?	

Conhecimento Nutricional

D21	D22	D23	D24	D25
Que tipo de comida voce pensa que è bom pra a saude? <i>Liste.</i>	Voce pensa que a <i>xima branca</i> seja melhor do que a <i>xima castanha</i> ?	Que tipo de comida voce pensa que seja mau para a saude? <i>Liste</i>	Que tipo de comida voce pensa que seja bom para a saude das crianças? <i>Liste</i>	Voce pensa que refrescos e bulachas são bons para a saude das crianças?
	__ sim __ não			__ sim, ambos __ so refrescos __ so bulachas __ não

Comentarios:

## ANNEX 3

### DESCRIPTION OF SITES WHERE THE HOUSEHOLD SURVEY WAS IMPLEMENTED

While the qualitative phases of fieldwork were conducted in various villages and neighbourhoods of the three districts where the research was conducted (Pemba, Metuge and Mueda), to implement the household survey one site (village or neighbourhood) per district was selected.

The sample is random and composed of 120 observations. An equal number of interviews were conducted in each site – i.e. 40 per site. As it will be explained in relation to each site, the random selection of households was facilitated by the administrative divisions of neighbourhoods and villages in sub-units formed by similar numbers of houses.

In this annex, I provide a brief description of each site based on information collected during fieldwork.

#### BAIRRO DE CARIACO, DISTRICT OF PEMBA

The *bairro* (neighbourhood) of Cariaco in the town of Pemba counts approximately 45,000 inhabitants and develops between the main road that leads in and out of Pemba and the seaside. Due to its position near the borders of the town, Cariaco has expanded significantly over the last few years and is currently the biggest *bairro* of Pemba.

It is headed by a *Presidente do bairro* (President of the neighbourhood) and divided into *unidades* (units), which are in turn headed by various *Chefes da unidade* (Heads of the unit). As each *unidade* is fairly big – in terms of population size – in itself, all *unidades* are further divided into *quartierões* (areas), each of which is administered by a *Chefe do quartierão* (Head of the area) and formed by approximately 40-50 houses. Finally, the lowest administrative authority is represented by the *Chefes de 10 casas* (Heads of 10 houses), who, as their title says, are responsible for the administration of 10 houses.

I decided to work in *Unidade E*, also known as *Unidade de Bem Vindo* (Welcome Unit) due to its proximity to what was the entrance to the town of Pemba years ago (Pemba is much bigger nowadays) and signalled by a road sign saying '*Bem Vindos a Cidade de Pemba*' ('Welcome to the town of Pemba'). The *Unidade de Bem Vindo* counts roughly 10,000 inhabitants, according to information supplied by local authorities, and is formed by

50 *quartierões*. It lies alongside the main road and contains a small food market, even if people mostly sell and trade foodstuff and other goods directly on the road.

Since a population of 10,000 inhabitants is still quite high, relative to an average village's population, the household survey interviews were conducted only in 8 of the 50 *quartierões*, which resulted in 5 interviews per *quartirão*. Each of the 8 *quartierões* is formed by 40-50 houses, so considering that a household is composed on average by 3-4 people, a very rough estimate of the population (i.e. sampling frame) from which the random sample was extracted is 1,200-1,600.

Of the 40 respondents interviewed in Pemba, 28 were Macua (from either Cabo Delgado or Nampula), 10 were Maconde, 1 was Mwani (originally from Mocimboa Da Praia, in Cabo Delgado) and 1 was Shangana (originally from Inhamabane, she relocated to Pemba upon marriage). Virtually all households interviewed in Pemba were not originally from Pemba but moved to the town about 10 or 20 years ago from all districts in Cabo Delgado and the neighbouring province of Nampula.

#### **ALDEIA DE NANGUA, DISTRICT OF METUGE**

The *aldeia* (village) of Nangua lies on an *estrada terciária* (third most important road out of four) that connects the centre of the district of Metuge To Pemba, or the North of Cabo Delgado. This road, on which Nangua is situated, is not tarred but public means of transport are quite frequent and relatively reliable - i.e. every day numerous trucks connect Metuge to Pemba and other districts in the province. This is mostly due to the economic interactions observed between Metuge and Pemba, in which the latter represents the biggest local market where agricultural produce from Metuge is destined.

Nangua is about 15 minutes' drive from Metuge sede (centre of Metuge) and and 30-40 minutes' drive from Pemba. The *aldeia* is headed by a *Chefe da Aldeia* (Head of the village) and, according to information supplied by the *Chefe*, it is composed by about 300 houses overall. The village is divided in *bairros*, each of which headed by a *Chefe do Bairro*. As in the case of Pemba, the lowest administrative authority is the *Chefe de 10 casas*.

The 40 interviews were divided equally by the number of *quartierões* and distributed randomly within them. The population from which the sample was extracted is approximately the same size as that used as sample frame in Pemba.

All of the respondents interviewed in Nangua were Macua. They were either from the district of Metuge or, frequently, from the district of Chiure (southern Cabo Delgado). Displacement due to civil war was the main reason given for relocating from Chiure to Metuge. Near today's village of Nangua was situated the sisal plantation run by a German company that left the country when Mozambique became independent.

#### **ALDEIA/BAIRRO DE NANDIMBA, DISTRICT OF MUEDA**

Nandimba was turned from *aldeia* (village) into *bairro* (neighbourhood) of Mueda sede (centre of Mueda) five years ago. Beyond administrative issues though, it maintains the features of a village. The road that connects Nandimba with Mueda sede is the main road linking Mozambique and Tanzania, through the recently opened *Unity Bridge*; yet, it is in very poor conditions, Nandimba is about 7 Km from Mueda sede but it takes more than half an hour by car to get there due to the bad condition of the road. Transport links are existent but very expensive and unreliable and, as most of Mueda district, Nandimba did not have public electricity supply at the time of fieldwork.

Nandimba counts approximately 400 houses. It is divided into five *quartierões*, which used to be called *bairros* before Nandimba was declared *bairro* of Mueda sede. The village is headed by a *Chefe* and then each *quartierão* is administered by a *Chefe do Quartierao*. To conduct the interviews, 8 households were randomly selected per *quartierão*.

All of the respondents interviewed in Nandimba were Maconde. Many of the interviewed households reported having some relatives who live in Tanzania or have lived in Tanzania and then returned to Mozambique. Yet, regular remittances or economic links did not emerge in any of the interviews. What instead was very visible and often reported by the respondents is the informal trade of goods, mainly clothes. Traders, mostly men, buy clothing in Tanzania and sell it in Mueda and other districts of Cabo Delgado.

Of the 40 respondents, 6 received the veteran pension. As described in chapter 5, the veteran pension scheme is an important element of the current political economy configuration of Cabo Delgado and, especially, Mueda. In the other two sites, 5 respondents received the veteran pension in Pemba and no one did in Metuge.

## ANNEX 4

### ASSET INDEX CONSTRUCTION

In the context of this research, ownership of assets (complemented with information on housing conditions) was used as a proxy for household wealth. As shown in chapter 4, there are general and context-specific reasons for measuring household wealth with assets, instead of income and/or consumption indicators. In this annex I explain the construction of the asset index.

On the basis of early qualitative investigation and review of relevant secondary sources, I elaborated a list of assets and questions on housing conditions that were included in the questionnaire used in the household survey. It is important to note that the formalisation of the asset index is necessary in the context of the household survey; nonetheless, the broader information on material signs of wealth is also useful to conduct qualitative research and analyse qualitative evidence.

The first step in the construction of an asset index is to choose a technique to assign weights to each asset. This could be done manually or by using a statistical technique, there are debates over what methods is better suited (see Howe et al. 2008). I used principal component analysis (PCA) as a weighting technique, thus following Filmer and Pritchett (2001), Wall and Johnston (2008) and Abreu (2012). Some have not recommended the use of PCA with categorical variables (this case), but it has also been shown that when comparing indexes generated by PCA and the alternative Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) they tend to agree (Howe et al. 2008). Therefore PCA may be chosen for the greater computational simplicity (*Ibid.*).

I followed the practical steps used by Abreu (2012) to run PCA on the data set:

- (i) Preparing a subset of the survey data including all 120 observations x 13 asset variables (all categorical – ‘1’ if owned by the household, ‘0’ if not);
- (ii) Running PCA on this data set, subject to the specification that only one principal component was to be extracted – the assumption is that the principal component corresponds to household wealth<sup>1</sup>;
- (iii) Saving the 120 *component scores* into a new variable that consists of the values assumed by the asset index  $s_i$  for each household ( $s_i$  is automatically computed by SPSS).

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<sup>1</sup> A case can be made for using more than one component as household wealth is multidimensional however it was shown that using of higher order principal components is unnecessary (McKenzie 2003 in Howe et al. 2008).

Then, for each household  $i$ , the value of  $s_i$  is associated with the sum of 13 asset scores  $s_{ij}$  in the following way:

$$S_{ij} = \text{score of household } i \text{ on asset } j = (\text{value of asset variable } j \text{ for household } i - \text{mean of asset variable } j) / \text{standard deviation of asset variable } j \times \text{weight (score coefficient)}$$

In other words, PCA substitutes a set of correlated variables (assets) with one uncorrelated variable (the principal component), which represents household wealth. So those assets that are more unequally distributed are assigned higher weights (Howe et al. 2008). Each household is then assigned a score on the basis of *how many* and *which* assets it owns.

Running PCA on the data set in SPSS resulted in the following output:

Table A3.1

Component	Total Variance Explained					
	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	<b>3.697</b>	<b>28.440</b>	<b>28.440</b>	3.697	28.440	28.440
2	1.832	14.089	42.528			
3	1.223	9.409	51.938			
4	1.111	8.547	60.484			
5	.904	6.950	67.435			
6	.844	6.493	73.928			
7	.671	5.165	79.093			
8	.607	4.672	83.765			
9	.562	4.324	88.089			
10	.473	3.639	91.728			
11	.444	3.413	95.141			
12	.374	2.876	98.018			
13	.258	1.982	100.000			

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

This table (A3.1) shows that the extracted principal component accounts for 28.4 per cent of the variance in the data set. This means that principal components of higher order account for 71.6 per cent of the variance in the data set. However, Abreu (2012) explains that the assumption is that household wealth does not account for all variance in asset ownership, but rather it is the single most important factor accounting for the largest share of the variance. A percentage of 28 is considered good to proceed with PCA.

Table A3.2

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.767
	Approx. Chi-Square	389.886
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	df	78
	Sig.	.000

Two tests are normally run to verify the appropriateness of PCA on a data set (Table A3.2). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (KMO) measures the partial correlations of the variables. It takes values between 0 and 1 and it is considered to be *very good* when it scores >0.8, *good* when it is >0.7 (this case), and *not-good* when its value falls below 0.5. The Bartlett's Test of Sphericity tests the hypothesis that the variables are unrelated, so the resulting p-value indicates the probability of the variables being uncorrelated. In this case, the p-value is 0.000 and therefore I reject the hypothesis and proceed with PCA.

Table A3.3

	Component
	1
B9_TV_SingleResponseQuestion	.748
B9_Bed_framed_SingleResponseQuestion	.746
B10_Fridge_SingleResponseQuestion	.745
B4cement_walls	.655
B3tin_roof	.654
B9_Mobile_Phone_SingleResponseQuestion	.638
B9_Table_SingleResponseQuestion	.634
B9_Radio_SingleResponseQuestion	.404
B10_Car_SingleResponseQuestion	.300
B10_Motorbike_SingleResponseQuestion	.299

B9_Mosquito_net_SingleResponseQuestion	.086
B10_Clock_Watch_SingleResponseQuestion	.086
B9_Bicycle_SingleResponseQuestion	.048

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 1 components extracted.

The component matrix (A3.3) shows the correlation coefficients between the variables and the component (household wealth). The assets with correspondent coefficients  $>0.7$  are highly correlated with the underlying principal component (Abreu 2012). In this data set, TV, framed bed and fridge are the assets whose variation is mostly explained by household wealth. Cement walls, tin roof and mobile phone are also strongly correlated with household wealth whereas mosquito net, clock/watch and bicycle are assets whose ownership may not be explained by household wealth. I discuss the reasons why this may be the case below.

Table A3.4

**Component Score Coefficient Matrix**

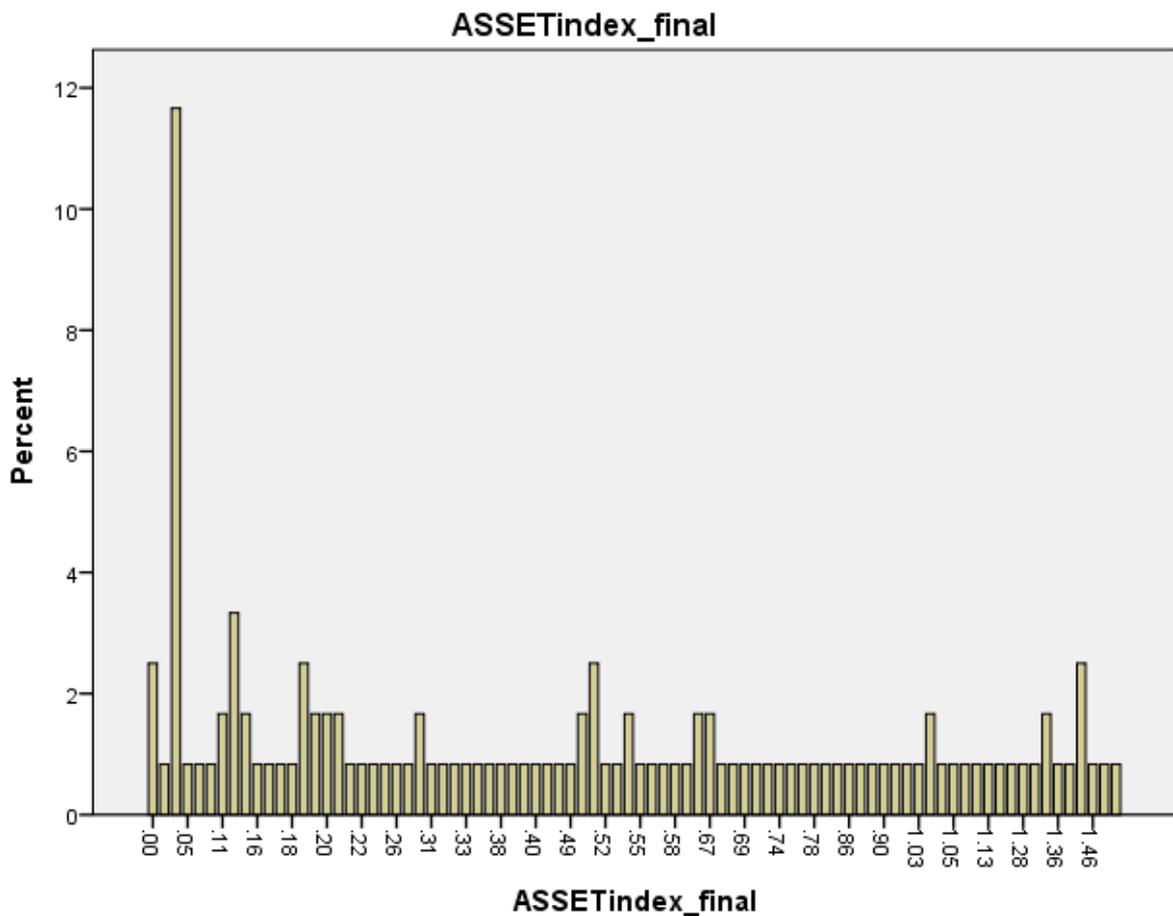
	Component
	1
B9_Radio_SingleResponseQuestion	.109
B9_TV_SingleResponseQuestion	.202
B9_Mobile_Phone_SingleResponseQuestion	.173
B9_Table_SingleResponseQuestion	.171
B9_Bed_framed_SingleResponseQuestion	.202
B9_Mosquito_net_SingleResponseQuestion	.023
B9_Bicycle_SingleResponseQuestion	.013
B10_Clock_Watch_SingleResponseQuestion	.023

B10_Fridge_SingleResponseQuestion	.201
B10_Motorbike_SingleResponseQuestion	.081
B10_Car_SingleResponseQuestion	.081
B3tin_roof	.177
B4cement_walls	.177

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Finally, the last table (A3.4) shows the component score coefficients, which are obtained through a linear transformation of the correlation coefficients (previous table). These values correspond to the weightings used to derive the household scores ( $s_{ij}$ ). It can be seen that the assets that contribute more to the household score are TV, framed bed, fridge, cement walls, tin roof and mobile phone.

Graph A3.5



In the graph above (A3.5), it is possible to see the distribution of household scores by percentage of households. It can be observed that the index is slightly skewed towards the bottom of the distribution, with almost 12 per cent of the households presenting a household score of approximately 0.4. This indicates that a considerable percentage of households own few assets and some are likely to own the same assets (which results in equal household scores). This is known as *clumping* issue, which occurs when the asset distribution is so skewed that it becomes difficult to differentiate households (Vyas and Kumanarayake (2006). However, I consider this problem to be only mild for this asset index and therefore it does not create a serious reason for rejecting the use of the index.

In addition, moderate clumping in the asset index is driven by the inclusion of urban and rural households in the same sample. Given the difficulties potentially involved in the construction of only one asset index for both urban and rural households, I run several trials to verify the appropriateness to use one index for the whole sample, as opposed to two different ones (one for urban households and one for the rural ones). The results of the tests show that using the same index for urban and rural households make rural households appear less wealthy than they would be if a separate index for rural households only was used. Yet, the difference is consistent across the board. The matrix below (A3.6) shows that when an index for the entire sample is used, as opposed to one for rural household only, almost half of the rural households move to a different quartile but the vast majority of those households (34 out of 38) shift consistently to a lower quartile. The consistency of the difference offers a justification for using one index for all households.

Table A3.6

**Percentile Group of assetindex1 \* Percentile Group of assentindexRURAL Crosstabulation**

Count		Percentile Group of assentindexRURAL				Total
		1	2	3	4	
Percentile Group of assetindex1	1	17	11	0	0	28
	2	3	9	10	0	22
	3	0	0	9	13	22
	4	0	0	1	7	8
Total		20	20	20	20	80

Some issues remain open though. For instance, while bicycle ownership is highly correlated with household wealth when a separate index for rural households is computed, the same asset has a very small weight in the overall index used. This makes logical sense because a bicycle may not be a desirable asset for urban households while it certainly is for

rural households and therefore wealthier rural households may prioritise the purchase of a bicycle. However, the *bias* in favour of urban households, who also tend to own other assets such as TV or framed bed, is transferred to the entire sample, which is one of the reasons why rural households may appear poorer when pulled together with urban ones.

Is it sensible to assume that rural households may be on average poorer than urban ones? I believe that this is a central question that is often overlooked in studies that make use of large data sets, in which the differences between rural and urban households are easily brushed-off by dummy variables ('1' if urban and '0' if rural). I am aware that the asset index used in this research does not do better justice to the complex interactions between urban and rural residents and areas, although these are extensively discussed elsewhere in the thesis. If we consider though only the issue of wealth for a moment, it may not be a completely misplaced generalisation to assume that rural households may be on average poorer than urban ones, especially if the indicator is represented by material possessions. Certainly, it is acknowledged that wealth and, similarly, poverty are multidimensional phenomena so focusing on specific aspects of them inevitably entails understating (or even ignoring) other dimensions, which may be equally important. So in this sense, an asset index is not better than income- or consumption-based measures of poverty as, in fact, it similarly looks at only one dimension of wealth (or poverty).

Yet, although its imperfections and limitations (described here and elsewhere in this work), I believe that the asset index used does capture some important traits of wealth differentials observable among the interviewed households. Importantly, I am confident that the data upon which it is constructed is fairly accurate as each interview was conducted at the respondent's house, thus allowing the researcher and her research assistant to cross-check the reliability of the information on assets and housing conditions collected.

## REFERENCES

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## APPENDIX 5

### GLOSSARY

**AGUA (GELADA)** (cold) water (Portuguese)

**ALDEIA (ALDEIAS, PL.)** village (Portuguese)

**AMUCI** (extended) family (Macua)

**ANTIGO (COMBATENTE) (ANTIGOS COMBATENTES, PL.)** old soldier (literally), veteran (Portuguese)

**ARROZ** rice (Portuguese)

**ARROZ NOVO** freshly harvested rice (Portuguese)

**BAIRRO (BAIROS, PL.)** neighbourhood (Portuguese)

**BAIXA** lowland (Portuguese)

**BAJÍA** balls of fried bean flour (possibly Mozambican Portuguese)

**BARRACA (BARRACAS, PL.)** small shop (Portuguese)

**BARRIGA** belly, stomach (Portuguese)

**CABANGA** home-made alcoholic drink made of dried maize (possibly Mozambican Portuguese)

**CARIL** relish (Portuguese)

**CAPULANA (CAPULANAS, PL.)** type of a sarong (Mozambican Portuguese)

**CHAKULIA** food (Shimaconde)

**CHAKURIA** food (Kimwani)

**CHAPA (CHAPAS, PL.)** mini-bus (Mozambican Portuguese)

**CHEFE (CHEFES, PL.)** head, boss (Portuguese)

**CHIBALO** forced labour (Mozambican Portuguese)

**CHIBALUGWA** task-based wage employment (Shimaconde)

**COMIDA** food (Portuguese)

**CURANDEIRO** traditional healer (Portuguese)

**DEMOCRACIA** democracy (Portuguese)

**DONA** wholegrain maize porridge (Shimaconde)

**EMPREGADO/A (EMPREGADOS/AS, PL.)** domestic servant (Portuguese)

**ENCHER** to fill (Portuguese)

**ENTREGAR** consign, hand in (Portuguese)

**EXTENSÃO RURAL** rural extension (Portuguese)

**GANHO-GANHO** task-based wage employment (Mozambican Portuguese)

**GELINHO** home-prepared iced fruit juice (Portuguese)

**INBONGUA** relish (Shimaconde)

**IOLIA** food (Macua)

**KAJA** settlement (Shimaconde)

**KIBARUA** task-based wage employment (Macua)

**KUKULANA** healer (Macua)

**LIKOLA (MAKOLA, PL.)** matrilineal kinship (Shimaconde)

**LUTA** struggle (Portuguese)

**LUTA ARMADA** armed struggle (Portuguese)

**MACACA** fresh or dry cassava (Macua)

**MACARÃO** spaghetti, pasta (Portuguese)

**MACHAMBA (MACHAMBAS, PL.)** field

**MACHIMBOMBO (MACHIMBOMBOS, PL.)** bus (Mozambican Portuguese)

**MADENGO** work (Shimaconde)

**MADRANGA** cassava porridge (Macua)

**MANDAZE** balls of fried bread (possibly Mozambican Portuguese)

**MAPIRA** sorghum (possibly Mozambican Portuguese)

**MATAPA** relish made with green leaves (Mozambican Portuguese)

**MILHO** maize (Portuguese)

**NANG'OLO MWENE KAJA (VANANG'OLO VENE KAJA, PL.)** settlement head (Shimaconde)

**NDAMBALA** cassava porridge (Shimaconde)

**NEGÓCIO (NEGÓCIOS, PL.)** business (Portuguese)

**NEGÓCIO DE MATAPA, DE LENHA** trade and/or sale of matapa, firewood

**NHEWE** amaranth (possibly Mozambican Portuguese)

**NICURI** relish (Macua/Kimwani)

**NIHIMO (MAHIMO, PL.)** matrilineal kinship (Macua)

**NIPA** home-made alcoholic drink (Macua and Shimaconde)

**NKUMI** practice of helping neighbours and relatives with agricultural work in exchange for a meal or alcoholic drinks (Macua)

**NPUNGA** rice (Shimaconde)

**NRAMA** rice (Macua)

**NTECO** work (Macua)

**OLAKA** counsellor (Macua)

**PALISI** maize porridge (Macua)

**PEDIR** to ask (Portuguese)

**PENSÃO** guesthouse

**QUARTIERÃO (QUARTIERÕES, PL.)** area of a town or village (Portuguese)

**RECUSAR** to refuse (Portuguese)

**REFRESCO (REFRESCOS, PL.)** soft drink (Portuguese)

**ROUPA** clothing (Portuguese)

**SAÍDA** exit (literally); **TER SAÍDA** being sold (Portuguese)

**SHIDUDU** matapa made with cassava leaves (Shimaconde)

**UGWALI** maize porridge (Shimaconde)

**UGWALUA** home-made alcoholic drink made of maize (typical in Mueda) (Shimaconde)

**UNIDADE (UNIDADES, PL.)** unit (literally), portion of a town or village (Portuguese)

**VINHO DE FOLHAS DE CHÁ** alcoholic drink made of tea leaves (Portuguese)

**VITAMINA** vitamin (literally), but in the thesis it refers to a unspecified substance that is good for human health (Portuguese)

**XIMA** maize porridge (Mozambican Portuguese)

**XITIQUE** saving mechanism (Mozambican Portuguese)