

**Securing Women's Access to Land:
Linking Research and Action**

**Empowering Women through Access to and
Control over Land in context of Gender-
biased Green-Revolution Policies:
Action Research Project in Manhiça District**

Final Report

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Empowering Women Through Access and Control over the Land

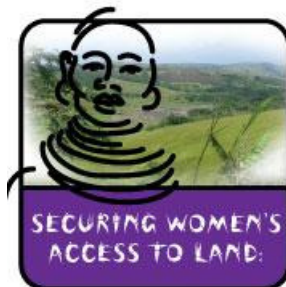
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LINKING RESEARCH & ACTION

Introduction

In light of the different dimensions that endanger rural Mozambican women's rights to land, it is important to emphasise that the land, how it is used and the debates around it constitute a key to the country's development. Nearly 70% of the population lives in the rural areas and is dependent on agrarian resources, and therefore the majority of Mozambican women, of all ages, is directly involved in and survives from land based livelihoods.

Since Mozambique won its independence and became a Republic (and also while it was still a province of Portugal), the exploitation of agrarian resources has been the basis of accumulation for the country. It was only eight years ago, with the introduction of the production of aluminum that agrarian production became the second most important contribution to the national GDP. However, its economic and social basis continues to be of utmost importance. What is envisaged is a kind of 'green revolution', with the introduction of policies oriented towards producing bio-fuels. These can be produced through the making of ethanol from sugarcane and/or bio-diesel from the production of jatropha.

It is, however, possible that these new political strategies for the agrarian sector can endanger the right to land for rural family who own small portions of land, and can particularly affect the women, who are traditionally the ones to work the land.

In this regard, the access and control of land by women is a crucial issue to the rights of women in a patriarchal society. This is clearly visible in the Convention of Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women, which is the main tool for protection of the rights of women.

According to the provisions of article 14, member states will firstly take into account the specific problems faced by rural women and the important role that they play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in non-monetary sectors of the economy, and in particular that the provisions of the Convention apply to women in rural areas. Secondly, it declares that member states will adopt all the appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, in equal condition between men and women, their participation in rural development and in the benefits thereof and, in particular will warrant the right to have access to credit and agrarian

loans, to commercial services and appropriate technologies, and have equal treatment in the plans of agrarian reform and relocation.

Accordingly, concern over the situation of rural women regarding access to resources, mainly land-related, was announced for the first time at the Land Summit of 1992 in Rio de Janeiro. This was expressed by the Platform of Beijing, and then at the summit at large, in the context of “Woman and the Environment”.

In the CEDAAW committee’s evaluation report in the account rendered by the government it was stated that: “the Committee is worried about the situation of women in the rural and remote areas, which is characterized by poverty, illiteracy, difficulties in obtaining access to health and social services and a lack of participation in the decision-making process at a community level.” The Committee also expressed concern about the difficult situation of women “head of family”. The Committee felt that rural women typically lacked control of land, though there are legal provisions for such access. The committee also expressed concern over the impact of environmental degradation on the situation of rural women.

Adding to that the Committee “recommended that the Member State takes measures to increase and strengthen the participation of women in the construction and implementation of local development plans, and to pay special attention to the needs of rural women, particularly women heads of families, ensuring that they have improved access to health, education, portable water and sanitation services, fertile land and to income generation projects. The Committee recommends that the impact of environmental degradation on rural women be evaluated and that the adopted solutions and policies take such evaluation into account. The Committee also recommends the Member State to disseminate information related to the rights of women contained within the Law of Land on a large scale.”

According to the Constitution of the Republic in Mozambique, land dispossession is regulated in three articles: (See Box 1)

Box² ¶ 1: Constitution of Republic

Article 110. (Land Use and Provisioning)

1. The State determines the conditions of use and exploitation of land.
2. The right of use and exploitation of land is granted to individual or collective persons taking into account their social or economic purpose.

Article 111. (Rights gained by inheritance or occupation of land)

In the utilization of the right of use and exploitation of land, the State acknowledges and protects the acquired rights by inheritance or occupation, unless there is a legal reservation or if the land had been legally given to another person or entity or exclusive exploitation of the State.

Article 109 (Land)

1. The land is the property of the State.
2. The land must not be sold, or in other form be alienated, not even by mortgage or seized.

According to the Law of Land (1997), two important clauses are determined: protection of the rights of peasants and the opportunity for foreign investment. This situation brings debate and disagreement between the government, the World Bank, donor agencies and the Mozambican civil society, as to which actors will be prioritized, due to contradictory dimensions that the rural development strategy implies.

The right to land of peasant women in the Mozambican legal framework would be protected constitutionally by the principle of equality before the Law and by the article related to gender equality.

Also, in the central document of Public Policies of the Country Relating to the Development of Women, the main aim is stated as “to implement policies and action plans conducive to the reduction of poverty, particularly in rural areas, taking into account the gender issue” while the specific objective stated is “promotion and training of the establishment of strategic partnerships to fight poverty through minimization and facilitation of associations within the most vulnerable groups” and “implementation of income-raising and self-employment to support women heads of families of poor economic capacity”, as well as “identification, selection and establishment of partnerships with organizations that work to reduce poverty”. (PARPA pg: 112).

At the same time, “inequality of gender and disadvantages of women in the opportunities of access to various resources” (pg: 17) is recognized as one of the weak points for the implementation of the Rural

Development Strategy. In light of this situation, the Public Policies of the Country Relating to the Development of Women aims “to combat the discrimination of women in order to make use of natural resources”, as this is directly related to productive and sustainable management of environmental resources. As a result of this, actions “are distinguished for the implementation of Law of Land, involving public, private and communitarian sectors in overcoming discriminatory ways and tendencies to put women in vulnerable positions with regard to access of land and other resources.” (pg: 34 – 35)

Theoretical and methodological focus

The action research carried out for project aims to raise awareness and influence the rights to land for women. These objectives were intended to be fulfilled in all phases and steps of the study.

Knowledge of the different dimensions that affect women’s right to land is understood as the object of study in our research. For its investigation a theoretical scope was outlined to enable us to identify the different elements that compromise the access to and control of land by women, in any way.

From this human rights perspective (the rights to land for women), three methodological concepts have been selected:

- 1 Gender analysis of the visibility of women as human beings, considering the principle of equality, and from this consideration the special measures needed to be taken for their empowerment;
- 2 The understanding of legal pluralism; and
- 3 Access to land for women under the conditions of traditional standards, of the statutory normative and capitalist contexts, as employees.

Gender analysis allows us to observe the social relationship between women and men in different dimensions of the society in differentiated ways, according to the class rights of property, age, position in the family and ethnicity, among other elements, that define female and male identities. We understand, therefore, that gender is a category constituted historically, that manifests in relation to inequality. In other words, talking about gender is talking about power.

This perspective allows us to capture the inequalities of power between women and men and the way these manifest in the different social relations in which they are set in.

Focusing on the issue of natural resources, we try to understand the thoughts of agro-industrial investments and in the patriarchal model of social organization the access and control of land by women. These are situated simultaneously in different clusters of power, and analysis on how these relations are constituted and developed is very important. In this perspective, not only does understanding the mechanisms and conditions of production of power matter, but also understanding the ways of eventually claiming that same power's existence.

With regard to human rights, they fulfill the previous points by giving emphasis specifically to the observation of equality and not to discrimination in the control of land by men and women.

Finally, the importance of legal pluralism in our work derives from the recognition of two structuring realities of the Mozambican society. Firstly, that the State does not have a monopoly on standard production or even on conflict resolution, sharing that function with other social actors whose legitimacy does not derive necessarily from the law. Besides, depending on the contexts in which those actors are situated and intervene, they relate to each other and to the State in various ways, contributing in this way to reinforcing the social legitimacy that they allows them to remain a privileged group. Secondly, that as a result of reciprocal interference among the regulators, in various instances of conflict resolution, different legal bodies meet and conceptions of justice are discussed that enrich, at least theoretically, the rhetoric field and the possibilities of confirmation of the rights. In these procedures, discussions and in the content of decisions, human rights, national laws and customary norms are evoked in an isolated and hybridised way. We shall try to analyze here, on the one hand, how the different normative scopes and the practices that legitimate, interfere with or condition the access to land possession by women operate. On the other hand, we shall try to reveal the mechanisms of access to justice and human rights protection at the disposal of women.

In relation to the aforementioned, our categories of analysis are human rights, legal pluralism, power relations and social relations of gender.

Objectives

The general objective is to identify the problems faced by women concerning access to and control over the land in the District of Manhiça. The more specific objectives are to:

1. Analyze how women respond to and negotiate the access and control of land in the context of rights, pertaining to the state and customary spheres.
2. Analyze how women locate themselves in order to get grants to land, in a context in which the land for subsistence agriculture has been gradually allotted to commercial agriculture, especially for bio-fuel production.
3. Empower women, taking into account local experiences of the fight for access to the land.

Target group and key respondents

On the one hand the peasant and employed women are categorized according to their relation to land in terms of their position in the family and community and their marital status. On the other hand individuals were categorized according to rank or position, such as formal and informal authorities at district and central level, agents of justice administration, company management and leadership of civil society, among others.

Literature Review

Socio economic structure and Geography: District context

The district of Manhiça is in Maputo province, is 80 km away from the capital of the country, with a population of approximately 200 thousand inhabitants, the majority being female (rate of males 44%) and youth (41% corresponding to the population aged below 15). It is also a district with a high population density.

It has an area of 2,373 Square Kilometers with 236 potential hectares of arable land, being used from 20% for agriculture and 23% cattle breeding.

The district has about 28 000 agricultural explorations with an average area of 1.2 hectares, predominantly family agriculture (60% of total of concessions). There is an unequal distribution of land,

with 40% of the cultivated area occupied by about 9% of the concessions of the district. For the majority the possession of land is not titled and, when used by families, it is largely controlled by men (two out of three of all cases).

Two of the four vast plantations of sugarcane existing in the country are in this district. Xinavane and Maragra (company names) use about 20 000 hectares of land and employ 65% of the local labor force. It is important to emphasise that until now, the major investments in the agrarian sector of the country are in sugarcane. Moreover, it must be pointed out that the sugar industry is the second largest employer after the State.

Regarding farming and cattle-raising natural resources, the district presents in some parts problems linked to erosion of soils and deforestation.

Within the district the following sites were selected according to the objectives:

1. MANHIÇA Sede. Maciana: (I) Eduardo Mondlane Cooperative and (II) Cambeve Village. Individual peasants in cooperatives and associations.
2. UEE/SITE: MARAGRA. Individual and employed peasants.
3. UEE/SITE: TZAKANE. Individual and associated peasants involved in jatropha production.

Methodology

The literature was selected from the categories of women's human rights, national legislation and public policies and national, regional and international studies about the research themes under investigation and theoretical, as well as some methodological books.

The synthesis of applying different methods of data collection is condensed into the following list. In annex 3 a detailed description of field work is presented; and in a separate file we provide the data base transferred from SPSS to Excel.

Data collection Instruments

The following instruments were selected:

1. Literature review
2. Semi-structured, individual interviews (target group and key respondents)

3. Interviews for a focal group (collective interview, target group and key respondents). (See Questionnaire in appendix 1).
4. Baseline Inquiry into target group. (See Questionnaire in appendix 2).
5. Observation-oriented to look at: judgments, conflicts, negotiations, resistance, agency, people working, natural resources, and family relations, among other observations.
6. Field notes.

Gaps

The first one, given the structural character of the patriarchal paradigm, refers to disrespect of women's rights. The traditional standards, awash with disparity for women rights, provide women with a way to guide their lives such that that they imagine duties as rights or the right way to improve their lives. Men and women both accept this notion, entrenched since the primary socialization, as well as by the whole community as a method of governing valued entities in relation to their power position, operating hierarchically in gender social relations.

Apart from the problems raised regarding rights to land in the issue of marriage, this phenomenon has negative consequences for women in cases of separation, divorce and widowhood. In the specific case of right of succession, polygamy has disfavored women.

The population ignores laws. Although the Law of Land in particular must have been widely disseminated, the process of awarding a title of land is complicated and very often it involves corruption by the people in charge of the process.

Mega projects and the conversion of processed sugarcane for the production of bio-fuel (ethanol) can bring about land conflicts between businessmen and peasants, since commercial agriculture by definition needs the best possible land, as well as vast extensions of land.

The introduction of transgenic crops, which is still polemic regarding conservation of environment is, in fact, a practice which leads to the total dependency of peasants, risking more and more of their food security.

Development strategies

All phases of the project were participative. Consequently, this proposal results from a joint discussion between team members and the main project stakeholders - for instance, with AMUDEIA and UNAC associations. This option allows for the appropriation of the project and its study by women and representative associations. The goals to achieve in this project, as well as the actions to be used to undertake them, result from a combination of the dimensions of the research and the priorities identified by the target group and key respondents.

This strategy demanded additional methods, namely the need for the assessing and permanent sharing of the flow of research by introducing new approaches whenever the process rendered them necessary to achieve the goals.

Synthesis of field work

		Nº. /Sex			
		F	M	FM	
	Semi-structured Interview, individual	3	1	-	4
	Focal group (collective interview)	2	0	0	2
	Observation	-	-	-	3
	Inquiry	28	2	-	30
	Semi-structured interview, individual	0	1	-	1
	Focal group (colective interview)	1	0	4	5
	Observation	-	-	-	2
	Survey	37	11	-	48
	Semi-structured interview, individual	11	0	-	11
	Focal group (collective interview)	2	0	0	2
	Observation	-	-	-	1
	Inquiry	126	1	-	127
	Semi-structured interview, individual	5	4	-	9
	Focal group (collective interview)	0	0	1	1
	Observation	-	-	-	1
	Survey	18	5	-	23
TOTAL					270

ANALISYS OF DATA ACCORDING TO SITES

Eduardo Mondlane Cooperative: From People's cooperatives to new types of cooperatives

Summary

The cooperative was founded in 1997 by 47 members, of which 45 were women and two were men. There are two age groups which correspond to women's marital status: those over 50 years old who are widows and married through customary law, and those aged up to 35 who are married or single mothers. The two men are over 50 years old. The high rate of illiteracy, as well as the high birth rates, is worth highlighting - to the extent that one woman may have up to 19 children.

The cooperative currently possesses 60 hectares in the low lands, of which two are ploughed and cultivated. Vegetables (such as lettuce, tomato and cabbage), cassava, banana and sugarcane are all produced here. The crops are sold through the cooperative and/or at the market. The income is kept for purchasing fertilizers for the members. The remaining production is divided equally among the members of the cooperative.

Practically all women possess land individually; which can be from previous possession and/or from the cooperatives that supply those who do not possess it.

The problems they face are as follows:

The first and most serious issue is the insecurity of land possession. Nobody possesses titles of land possession, neither the cooperative nor single people, even though it was said that people should join the cooperative "because together we can work better and be safe in the land so that nobody will take it from us" (M: 29/07/09). The cooperative's fight for land title-holding stretches as far back as 1978, but "people are not being attended to by the municipality." And when a staff member does attend to people, that person is fired. "It happened last year to a staff member who attended to a UNAC member." The insecure tenure of cooperative land, therefore, is serious. For instance, three months ago the municipality took three hectares of dry arable land claiming that it was not demarcated.

Obviously it should not be, provided that there was no existing title to those portions. According to respondents, these portions of land were sold by the secretariat of the post to build houses. The only portion left is less than a third of a hectare, which is for building the office (or Post Office) and a small portion of a pineapple plantation. If no rapid measures are taken to secure the title, the land will be lost.

Secondly, for the people who possess land out of the cooperative, the problem of titling has to do with a shortage of money. "If I could afford 3,000 MZM I would title my land," said one peasant. Another individual, who possesses 24 hectares, said that "I could only if I could get a loan of 24,000 MZM which is what is needed to title my portion of land". The process of titling (inspection, demarcation and titling) costs approximately 100 MZM per hectare.

The third set of problems has to do with implements. The work is undertaken using very rudimentary tools, which reduces production. Hiring of more advanced tools is generally beyond the capacity of the cooperative members. A yoke of oxen costs 350 MZM per two hours. 0.01 hectare is cleaned during this period.

The following situations of access to land by women were also noticed:

1. The widow can expect one of two possible scenarios. The first is that she inherits the husband's land without family conflict and no levirate. "It is considered that the continuation of the woman working in the field ensures the future of the children". The second is that she is expelled by the family of the late husband. If she has relatives, she goes to their house and land. If she does not have relatives, the secretariat of the post gives her a portion for housing and cultivation.
2. Married women are sent out from the portion of land just as can happen to widows. However, there are cases in which situations like these are resolved by the formal justice authority, supported by the concept of sharing of goods just after the dissolution of a marriage found in the Law of Family.

Access and control of land

In the last book of Vandana Shiva, entitled *Manifesto for Land Democracy, Sustainable Justice and Peace*, there is an important analysis related to privatization of common spaces as a way to privatize resources (land, water, etc.), that capitalism used and uses as *modus operandi* for its expansion, which is

sometimes justified as “public utility”. In many places, particularly in the Third World, the exploitation of agrarian resources that feeds the people is carried out by women. They are directly affected by this process. Therefore, paying attention to the women’s concerns, their priorities and their perceptions position them, from a gender perspective, as subjects deserving of rights, “thus justifying their fights, demands and resistance upon the usurpation of their working means”. (Via Campestral).

In Mozambique, in keeping with its neo-liberal model according to the Republic Constitution of 2004, the land belongs to the State. This can be read in article 109, and confirmed in the Law of Land 1997 in article 3. Therefore access to land allows only for the use and profiting of the land, but no case can be submitted regarding alienation. So, the process of the capitalization of the field previously described, at least from the Positive Law, would not take place. Yet, by virtue of the force of neo-liberal agenda in the context of a macroeconomic scale for the agriculture of new globalization, the situation is not like that. Land conflicts, which are the everyday topic of the country, represent this process with varying intensity throughout the country.

It should be noted that Mozambique differs from other African countries, particularly Southern African, in that it has only one system of recognized legal regulation. However, practices differ from the law since the norms of the system and customary dictates are still in existence for the population, as well as in different places of justice administration. This is why, when we talk of land conflicts, understood as the obstacles to access and control of land particularly for women, they become even more difficult to solve - seeing as the two legal orders are of different rationality, with a similar intensity of power behind them both, and which interact at the same time and space to rule access and control of land and the resources of the rural population, particularly all women.

Primary results of the investigation will be reviewed, looking at the five data collection instruments that were used, namely: i) literature review; ii) interviews with key respondents; iii) collective interview with the target group; iv) individual interviews with members of the target group and v) inquiry, according to different samples from the target group in different UES.

Context

Consider the following situation: land cooperatives were created from the utopia of socialism as the people’s cooperative and then transformed into a new style of cooperative after 1998, but without any legal procedure. This means that the portions of land people use do not have legal recognition, and have no acknowledged registration. The size of the portions of cooperative land is 60 hectares in the low

lands and approximately 10 hectares of high land, over which there is conflict. There is equal (0.5 hectares) distribution of land among the 47 members. This includes the elderly and two aged men, but the majority are women of all ages (44 in all), as it can be seen in the table that follows.

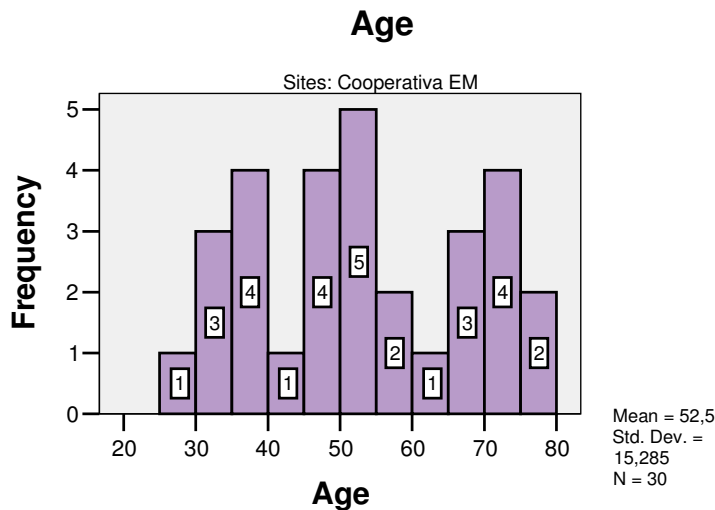


Table X: Age statistic relation, Histogram

Statigraphs	Values
Nr	30
Mean	52,5
Median	51
Mode	36

Apart from the cooperative productive lands, there are other land portions, but nobody knows of their extent and they are being distributed to other people who did not have a portion of land for many reasons that will be explained hereafter. These portions are granted through a formal process only acknowledged in the scope of the cooperative and in its formation, which according to the president of the cooperative was created with the aim to “have a

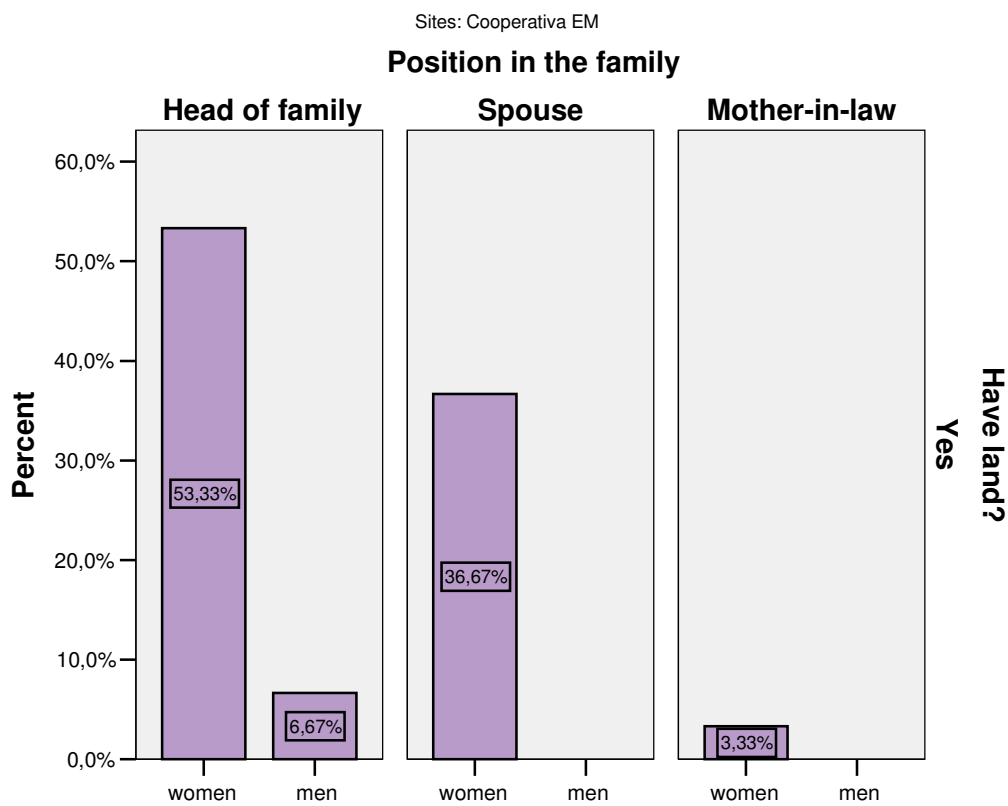
safe working field, as union is strength, so that they don’t lose the land.”

The aforementioned process, according to respondents (EC1C), means that “nobody has got title”. The portions which are granted are within the cooperative premises and are distributed by the secretary of the post. These portions are given to the women who did not have any portion of land.”

Duty access to land

If we observe the information that follows, we see that in this site all the people have access to land: women and men, including women in any family position. The position of women as heads of family is highlighted, which is usually the position of the men. From this the following situations can be supposed: (i) they are single; (ii) they are single mothers; (iii) they are widows; (iv) they are in fact the heads of family in the absence of the husband.

Graph N° X Access to land, position in the family, according to gender identity. % (N° 30)

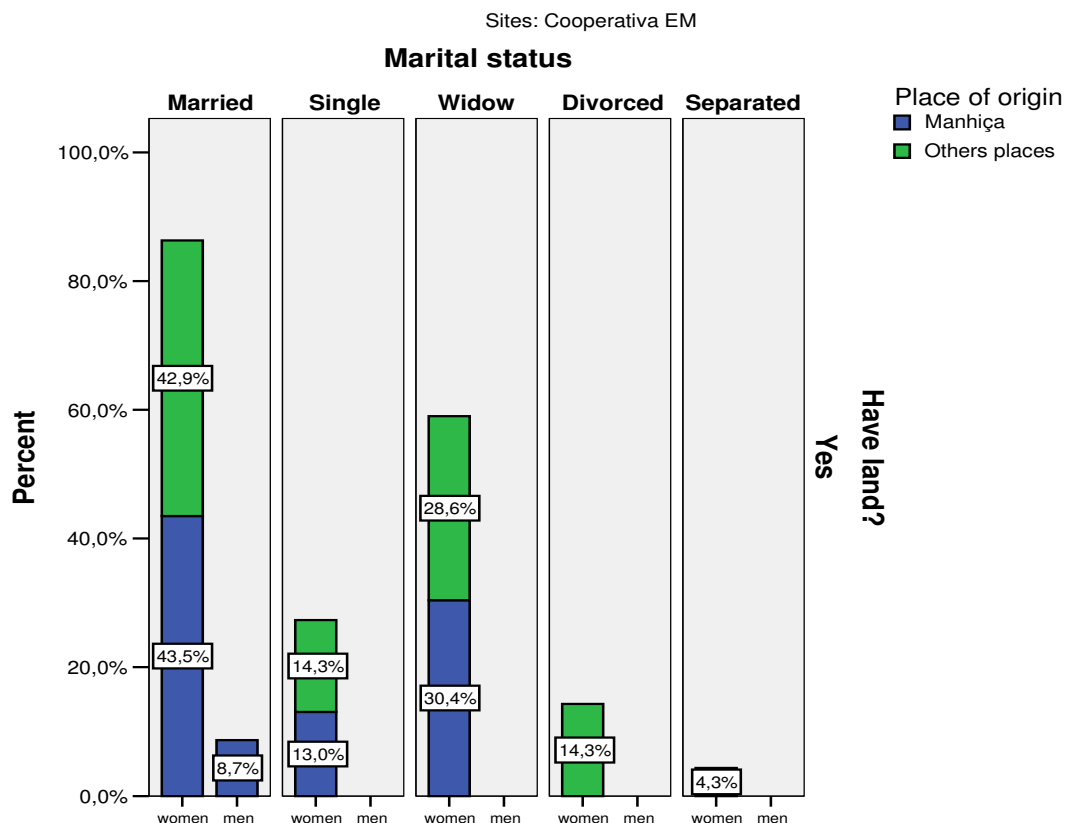


This last situation is explained by one of the interviewees, a manager of AMUDEIA: “The woman stays at home while the husband is working in South Africa and she in fact manages the house as the head of family”. If we consider the relationship between land possession and marital status we can have a more elaborative table about who these women are who have access to and can profit from the land. In relation to possession and control, it is nearly always a very weak case. If we look at the variables in

relation to women, we notice that more than 14% of women have no men. Does this call into question the statement that says access to land for women depends on customary norms marked by the power of gender, at least in the south of the country? Are there changes in informal and formal laws, or in the sociability link and/or interference between the two normative worlds? According to an opinion of one of the AMUDEIA managers, who spoke about the situation of an expelled widow from the in-laws by her grown up children: *“It is tradition, when a man dies ... that the woman keeps the children, (but) if they are old enough, they decide.” She carries on to say: “There are changes now; we try to make them understand that the first heir is the mother, then the children.”*

Maybe this is one of the situations which should be compared with the situation of other sites, linked to the role of the civil society in the probable changes, if the changes are only about the remodeling of the old into “modern” context, and the new style only to maintain the status of modernity of color and face power.

Graph X Relation among marital status, land possession and gender identity (Nº 30)



What do women say in this respect? In a collective interview various situations that can occur were raised. The respondents built up their information and perspective.

1. This occurs when a woman is expelled from her in-laws' house. She goes back to her parents' house. There she has her portion of land. This is a common problem in the district of Manhiça, and mainly widows are expelled by the relatives of the husband.
2. It is better when the widow leaves to avoid conflicts such as being accused of killing the husband or of being a witch.
3. In other situations the widow stays in the husband's land and continues cultivating as she did before his death to ensure the future of the children.
4. The widows who do not have relatives, go to the secretary of the post and get a portion of land for housing and cultivation when they are expelled by the husband's relatives,. This always happens.

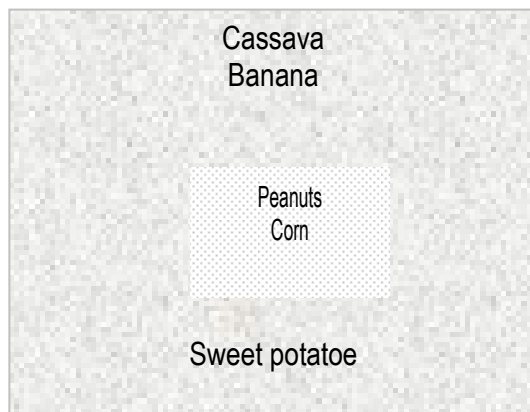
In relation to the previously stated, in the general context of how women obtained the land was that they (or the men) got the land from the secretary of the post. In other words, cooperative members are the ones who have access to land, although for women the family continues ensuring them access to land (20% of the sample).

Table X. Ways of accessing land and gender identity % (Nº 30)

Answers	Gender identity				
	Woman				Man
	Ways of access				Ways of access
	Inherited from the family	Inherited from the wife	From traditional authority	From the secretary of the post	From the secretary of the post
Yes	21,4	7,1	3,6	67,9	100
No	78,6	92,9	96,4	32,1	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Present situation – internal and external – Does it introduce the cooperative?

What do they produce and sell?



All the area in circles and horizontal lines in the cooperative’s individual field are cultivated, for instance, as in the sequence of crops observed on the right side.

The cultivation of crops that are carried out by the majority of people involved is according to their importance, as follows: cassava, maize, banana and sweet potatoes. Apparently, in the cultivation of vegetables there are less people working. However, there is a need to identify whether or not there are mistakes whereby vegetables and horticulture are considered the same by the population. (See table below).

Table x. Relation of compromised people in agrarian production. % (Nº 30)

Peanuts	Beans	Cassava	Horticulturels	Maize	Sweet-Potatoes	Banana	Vegetables	Others
27	20	100	7	97	57	63	20	13

Fish farming is another activity of the population. There are many fishing ponds. However, there are two problems people face. According to the president of the cooperative:

“One is the fact that we do not have the capacity to manually clean the fishing ponds and very little money to hire the machine.” She added to this that “there is an animal which surprisingly

appears when the fish is ready to sell and eats it all. Therefore, it is necessary to fence the area and we do not have the money for that. If this did not happen we would have enough to sell every quarter.”

The sale of products is undertaken *in situ* directly to the consumers, although most of them are retailers. The remainder is shared equally by the cooperative members. This is one of the benefits of being one of the members. They do not get any money. “Part of the harvest is sold and the rest is divided up among the members. The money is used to hire a yoke of oxen and plough.”

The harvest consists of four crops that are produced in the cooperative. (See table below). This situation makes us think that among the crops, maize is for consumption by the members. During the field observation at the informal market in the main road in Manhica, we noticed that these are the crops sold there. Yet it is possible that this situation is simply due to the season that the observation was carried out in. However, there is no doubt that the peasants feed their families from their production, just like the majority of the population of the country.

Table x. Relation of agrarian products sold by women
 . % (Nº 30)

Cassava	Horticultruals	Sweet-Potatoes	Banana
18	4	11	14

Who are the women who are selling? The widows are the majority, with single and married women in equal proportion (14.3% of the sample), but with a much lower average than that of the previous group.

What resources are missing?

The field work is carried out using rudimentary instruments, and the watering is done using small ditches. At the moment a yoke of oxen and plough are hired at 350 MZM per day to clean approximately 40 square meters. In one of the collective interviews, when asked the question: If you had opportunity to do something else, what would you do? The answers were as follow:

1. I would increase producing cabbage, garlic and lettuce because I would sell them to support my children.

2. I would cultivate the two hectares that I have and have products to sell. Therefore I need a yoke of oxen and a plough.
3. Do the same I did before, but with a yoke of oxen and a plough, which would help to support our livelihoods.

What kind of support have you received?

According to the president of the cooperative, they have only received support from UNAC expansionists who help in the horticulture. "They teach line seeding and according to crop type (maize and different vegetables). In the past they were mixed. This teaching started in 2002, and there is an increase in the income of different crops." It is a contradictory result to what was said by women in a collective interview, stating that they have never seen the rural agrarian expansionists, adding that from UNAC they received 750 MZM, turned into four watering cans, a can of tomato seeds, a can of onion seeds and a can of carrot seeds. Each of them is enough for one hectare. They also underlined that "There is no support from government organization."

What are the current and future conflicts?

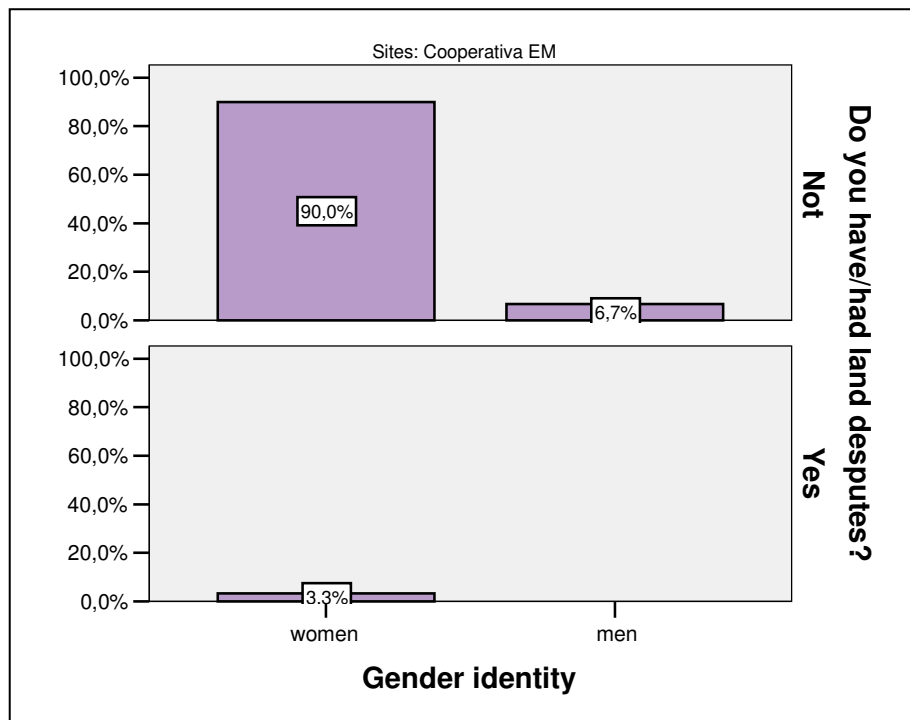
The cooperative has got 60 hectares currently in the low lands as it was mentioned before. The upper land (of two hectares) was taken by the Municipality some months ago. The argument was that the land was not demarcated. "They were not demarcated because we did not have money to afford it," explained the president of the cooperative.

The lady said that it is very difficult to have an appointment with the municipality workers to present complaints. She reported the case of a person who lost their job because of an appointment with a UNAC representative. She carried on saying that "the people will not be served. They do not want to give us titles. This struggle has been in place since 1967 till the present." About the cooperative upper land she said that "the secretary of the post sells the upper land for housing." We observed that and saw the demarcation markers. One of the members lost her portion of land and the cooperative portion of land remains the corresponding pineapple plantation and for the office of the cooperative.

Taking over upper land of Eduardo Mondlane cooperative is not the only example of land conflict of converting agrarian land into urban areas. These encroachments on rural land are as the result of the following:

1. Population ignorance and misinformation, of women in particular, of their rights to land;
2. Non-defined formal powers: Municipality and Administration, power abuse causing conflict between both powers;
3. Maybe a peasant movement, which has not acquired that character, limited to the work of two organizations, one a national associations (UNAC) and the other local (AMUDEIA), and
4. A lack of attention and/or compliance and/or impotence of population upon the usurpation of their land by formal powers. According to the graph that follows, how is it possible that 90% of the women and the two men of the cooperative do not acknowledge the existence of land conflict, when the upper land has been taken away? They are already delimited and neither is titled. What should be done in this situation? The question is left to be answered in the final result of the action research process.

Graph X. Ratio of land conflict vision according to gender identity (Nº 30)



Cambeve: Bio-fuels, Rhetoric and Reality

Summary

In recent years, the demand for bio-fuels has spread throughout the world and is increasing fast. Production of ethanol has tripled between the years 2000 and 2007, with Brazil and the United States of America registering the highest increases. Furthermore, the world production of biodiesel increased, during the same period, from less than 1 billion to about 11 billions liters. Apart from the USA and Brazil, many other countries have started or extended bio-fuel production. Initially, the European Union produced 90% of the world's biodiesel but with the arrival of new producer countries, the load of production from the European Union decreased to 60% in 2007 (OECD-FAO, 2008).

The issue is, nevertheless, controversial with proponents and sceptics in disagreement over bio-fuels. The enthusiasm mainly arises from the governments, the World Bank and private investors who spread the idea that bio-fuels may not only be a good business opportunity, but also a fundamental factor in promoting rural development, energy security and contribute to combating problems of climatic changes and environmental degradation. Capitalization and concentration of power in bio-fuel economy have grown fast. In the last 5 years, the world investments in the field of bio-fuels increased in more than 800%.

Scepticism has been above all arising from some sectors of civil society, particularly peasant-representative organizations, indicating a series of risks related to bio-fuel production, including risks in relation to the environment, the rights of peasants to access land and other natural resources for food and other livelihood provisioning, and their participation in decision-making and work conditions.

Apart from political disputes that the theme generates, studies on the impacts of bio-fuels are still scarce. Apart from that, those documents focus on analyzing the outputs of bio-fuel production at the expense of the problems created for family social clusters and land dependent communities. Far from trying to exhaust the fields of analysis that the theme generates, in this study we are intending to show some of the dilemmas that rural communities face in bio-fuel production in Mozambique, as one of the

consequences of mismatches between the rhetoric of development and daily reality for the fight for survival. To that end, we report on a case study of the Tsakane association, based in Mitelene community, in Manhiça district. The Tsakane example shows us that while the biofuel agri-business is profitable for major private investors, for local peasants it is merely a dream and indeed may be a factor in conflict or disturbance of survival strategies.

Debate on bio-fuels

Bio-fuels are at the center of the political agenda of core economies, particularly the United States of America (USA), Canada, Latin America, members of the European Union and some Asian countries. The growing interest in bio-fuels is related to the need to reduce dependence on fossil fuels, which are subject to greater price fluctuations and cause disastrous environmental damage. The dominant discourses on the politics of bio-fuels indicate a number of advantages in the production of bio-fuels that are listed below:

- *Bio-fuels are environmentally friendly*: it is widely known that the growing use of fossil fuels is one of the main factors in the increase of pollution. Bio-fuels are said to be advantageous as they are biodegradable and emit fewer toxic gases than fossil fuels.
- *Bio-fuels can be produced in less fertile lands*: this characteristic of bio-fuels (except sugar cane) means that they can be produced on marginal lands or lands not initially intended for agriculture. In this regard, the production of bio-fuels does not encourage conflicts over land or around other natural resources, particularly water. It is also claimed that bio-fuels combat soil erosion, and do not spread by themselves, which makes it possible to control areas under cultivation, thus posing no threat to biodiversity.
- *Bio-fuels are rarely attacked by diseases or pests*: not being vulnerable to diseases or pests, there are less risks of loss of production and the use of insecticides and other chemical products is minimized.
- *Bio-fuels are compatible with food production*: due to the fact that they can be cultivated on marginal lands and don't require a lot of time in the production process, bio-fuels do not compete with food production. Indeed, it is possible to intercrop jatropha with other food crops.

Currently, Brazil and the United States produce about 90% of the world's ethanol, about 16 billion liters per year. In Brazil, 40% of the fuel used in transportation is already made of bio-fuels (Hazel and Pachauri, 2006). Taking into account underlying strategic interests in the growing demand on bio-fuels, more industrialized countries have established ambitious goals. The European Union foresees that, by the year 2030, 25% of its transportation needs may be satisfied by the supply of bio-fuel from internal and external markets (European Commission, 2006). These goals exceed the agricultural capacities of northern countries by a long way. For instance, Europe would need about 70% of its agricultural lands to produce bio-fuels; for ethanol or bio-fuel production, the USA would need to exchange all the soy and maize it produces, which is not likely. So, the conversion of arable lands into bio-fuel production sites would destroy the agriculture and food security of the more industrialized countries (Holt-Giménez, 2007).

The agricultural potential that is missing in the developed world is found in developing countries that supposedly have abundant, fertile lands and available labour. As well as the virtues mentioned above, it is therefore highlighted that developing countries gain economic advantages: namely, an increase in employment, which can contribute towards the improvement of living conditions, and export revenue, an important source of public funding.

The political legitimization of bio-fuels in Africa was a topic at the 'first top management workshop'¹ held by the African Union Commission, UNIDO and the government of Brazil in August 2007. One of the most important premises of the workshop was the awareness that the African continent possesses a lot of land and very rich, natural resources. Bio-fuels could be a determining factor in industrialization and poverty reduction. Thus, the workshop put forward the following goals:

- Increase key partners' knowledge (especially government members) on the potential of a bio-fuel market;
- Promote sharing of experiences around bio-fuels, especially in the case of Brazil and other countries;
- Explore the potential and challenges around technological priorities for Africa as they relate to

¹ The workshop targeted the Ministers of African Union, Representatives of multilateral organizations/institutions, private sector, civil society representatives and research institutions.

bio-fuels;

- Design a plan of action for the development of bio-fuels.

Since then many African countries have been adapting or deepening specific policies on bio-fuels. However, a recent study concludes that in most of the countries these policies only contain generic ideas, without articulating any other national development plans, and do not include specific institutional coordination of research and development activities around bio-fuels (Jumbe *et. al.*, 2007). The same study recommends that the governments of sub-Saharan Africa adopt the necessary mechanisms to make good use of opportunities arising from the fast-growing, international bio-fuel market, advising that they take the precaution of protecting environmental and rural communities so that they are not destroyed by bulk production.

Scepticism regarding the bio-fuel potential results precisely from unclear policies and the absence of action on environment and community protection. Studies on large-scale bio-fuel production raise this question, pinpointing the following problems:

- *Bio-fuels do not encourage land conflicts because they may be produced in marginal lands:* contrary to the statement, bio-fuels tend to occupy more fertile lands, thus increasing pressure. The so-called marginal lands also play a key role in the survival of more vulnerable groups, particularly women (Rossi and Lambrou, 2008). According to data from the International Energy Agency: in 2006 about 14 million hectares of land was used for bio-fuels. That corresponds to 1% of the grand total of arable land. The same document foresees that in 2030 the amount of arable land needed will be equivalent to the total area of France and Spain (IEA, 2006). If access to land and other natural resources is already a well-known issue, then it is likely that the rapid growth of the bio-fuel business will exacerbate the problem, becoming increasingly detrimental to the more vulnerable communities and social groups.
- Cotula et al show that the impact of bio-fuels on access to land varies depends on the type of crop produced, the process used, the destination of the crop and the legal system on the land. The authors state that there are more problems with mass production because it uses vast tracts of land and in the process rural communities are dispossessed from their land, especially when supervision systems are inadequate.
- In this regard, bio-fuel production is more harmful to countries (and communities) whose survival

strongly depends on agriculture and to access of natural resources.

- *Bio-fuels are not necessarily environmentally friendly:* the promoted idea that bio-fuels do not harm the environment must be held in reservation. Large-scale bio-fuel production leads to monocultures and all the disadvantages thereof, such as related deforestation; that is, it can lead to simplified agro-ecosystems and consequent reduction in biodiversity. Apart from that, there is evidence that plants such as jatropha can spread without human intervention, which represents risks for biodiversity. For this reason a ban on jatropha as a bio-fuel was recommended (Low and Booth, 2007).
- *Beyond land, bio-fuels need plenty of water:* the production of some bio-fuels, especially ethanol, requires availability of plenty of water. In the case of jatropha a study in Mozambique illustrates that all projects required large amounts of water for irrigation, including use of groundwater (Ribeiro and Matavel, 2009). This situation is liable to diminish and degrade water resources. A recent report from the United Nations Environment Programme clearly shows the link between large-scale bio-fuel production, land degradation, water pollution and loss of biodiversity (UNEP, 2007).
- *Bio-fuels may also be vulnerable to diseases and pests:* by reducing the variety of cultures and species in cultivated areas, bio-fuels can contribute to the increased vulnerability of an ecosystem, becoming necessary to resort to more and more pesticides. In addition to the environmental disadvantages pesticides mean the production process is dependent on “external” factors, which may cause higher costs of production and prices.
- *Bio-fuel production may impair access to food and food security.* Together, the aforementioned problems may cause a negative impact in food production for the communities and thus contribute to the rising price of food.

Having been provided with all of the above issues, African civil society organizations signed a petition demanding a moratorium on the development policy of bio-fuels and the targets set by Europe and other countries, until the social and environmental effects are better known and effective methods of problem prevention have been established. This moratorium does not refer to the traditional use of biomass by the communities or to small-scale cultivation of bio-fuels (which is usually integrated in the process of growing food), but only to privatized, large-scale production and the international market.

The reasons behind the proposed moratorium included concrete examples of the negative impacts of

bio-fuel production controlled by large multinationals, namely, removal of farmers from fertile lands. This occurred in communities in Tanzania (in the districts of Kisarawe, Usango, Bagamoyo and Kilwa, as well as many millions of hectares identified by the government in other districts); deforestation in Uganda (specifically in Mabira forest, Kalangala and Gugala islands, as well as Nile river and Victoria lake); destruction of natural conservation areas in Ethiopia (a European investor received 13,000 hectares of land in the Oromia State, where 87% of the territory is occupied by the Babile Elephant Sanctuary); disadvantageous contracts for peasants in Zambia, who were forced to cede their land for periods as long as 30 years.

For some African governments, such as Mozambique, one of the central challenges is to ensure the link between the bio-fuel issue and local development programmes. However, evidence has shown that this objective is far from being achieved, as we shall see later.

Bio-fuels in Mozambique

In the last five years the government of Mozambique has introduced the issue of bio-fuels as a safe and sustainable alternative to fossil fuels and a way of increasing local food production. In mass meetings and through the mass media, prominent government staff (such as the President of the Republic) presents bio-fuels (in particular jatropha) as the key to attaining a prosperous future for rural communities. Moreover, the politics of bio-fuels in Mozambique emphasizes the need to become involved because the production of jatropha has been directed personally by the President, which reflects a “strong commitment at the highest level of national policy leadership”.

Initially, the government called for small and medium-scale production of bio-fuels by peasants, whose output would be bought by private companies. However, there has been growing interest in investing in Mozambique by multinationals, especially in sugar and jatropha production. Until June 2008, investors from Brazil, Italy and South Africa delivered 21 new projects linked to agro-fuels and to the government (Action Aid, 2008). The amount of land allocated to or required for bio-fuel production has increased at an astounding rate. In 2007, investors requested about 5 million hectares; in 2008, the numbers increased to 12 million hectares (Arndt *et. al.*, 2008; Ribeiro and Matavel, 2009). Market dynamics set forward to regulate fuel economy by the Mozambican government. Only in 2009 was the “policy and strategy of bio-fuels” approved, by resolution of the Cabinet n.º 22/2009, of the 21st of May. It is made clear in the document that the “policy and strategy” resulted from a study undertaken on the potential

of bio-fuels, as well as a regulatory framework and orientation of public and private investment. In addition to replacing fossil fuels with minimal technological adaptation, with positive impacts for the balance of payments, the government cited the following advantages to bio-fuels:

1. Creation of jobs in agriculture and industrial processing (estimated at about 150 thousand jobs);
2. The possibility of producing bio-fuels following a model that prevents “excessive predominance of monocultures”, ensuring, simultaneously, production of food crops;
3. Better use of existing assets, including deep-water ports, railways, roads and pipelines;
4. Existing breaks, including deep-water ports, railways, roads and pipelines;
5. Better use of water and other natural resources;
6. Better use of business opportunities offered by free trade areas in SADC;
7. Giving the poor the opportunity to transform their agricultural products into energy sources for export, “instead of being mere producers of raw materials” (the government estimates that bio-fuels may, in the near future, represent about 20% of the total exports undertaken in 2008);

The government “policy and strategy of bio-fuels” is based on six basic principles:

1. Inclusion: creating opportunities for private investors, communities and small producers;
2. Transparency in pricing and the involvement of all stakeholders;
3. Environmental and social protection: strategy implementation should focus on models that emphasize social and environmental benefits of production and the use of bio-fuels and at the same time, preventing or mitigating any adverse effects;
4. Gradualism: to be implemented flexibly, enabling all interested parties to acquire the necessary institutional capacity for the process of execution;
5. Fiscal sustainability;
6. Innovation: promoting research and supplying incentives for raising small and medium enterprises.

The issue of potential negative effects of bio-fuels dominates the political discourse in Mozambique. For instance, when asked what he intends to achieve with bio-fuels before the adoption of the “policy and strategy”, the President made the following statement:

“We know what we do not want for sure. What we do not want is that the production of bio-fuels will disinherit Mozambicans from their land. Those bio-fuels have a negative impact on food production. We want the production of bio-fuels to take place in areas where it can help increase the income of Mozambicans, and where it can industrialize our country. [...] At government level we are working on zoning areas that can be used for the production of crops that will produce fuel, taking into account what we don’t want to happen and what we want to happen.”

Despite institutional rhetoric, the reality behind the culture of bio-fuels is dramatic. The study on social and economic impacts of large-scale production of jatropha in Mozambique shows this discrepancy between rhetoric and reality (Ribeiro and Matavel, 2009). This is a study conducted in five districts of the country, four of them in the South (Moamba, Bilene, Panda and Jangamo) and one in the centre (Gondola), whereby a case study was carried out in three production companies of jatropha. The results of the study make the scepticism regarding bio-fuels legitimate:

1. The processes for the acquisition of the right to use and profit from the land used by investors do not always respect the law - the public consultations are manipulated, with communities deliberately excluded from the negotiations because corrupt traditional authorities represent them at these negotiations. There is no fulfilling of the promises which investors make in relation to community and infrastructure development in order to secure the contracts. In most cases, these promises are related to investments in the social area (hospitals, schools, etc.);
2. In all observed plantations, jatropha is produced on large areas of land, with plenty of water, competing with the resources available for the survival of communities;
3. The plantations do not get rid of pests, which is the main reason for resorting to chemical pesticides;
4. Delays of several months occur in the payment of wages to workers in the plantations, even though many of them work only seasonally;
5. There is not enough information on jatropha in the country, especially from the government and rural communities.

The study concludes that, on the one hand, the government is not ready to face the challenges resulting from the production of jatropha. The national policy on bio-fuels does not include a strategy and a clear

action plan to assess and prevent environmental problems, similar to what happens in most African countries (Jumbe et. at., 2007). On the other hand, the propaganda surrounding bio-fuels obscures the reality and the need to inform citizens. As with the statements from several organizations of African civil society, the study recommended the suspension of production of jatropha until issues related to subsistence agriculture and food sovereignty of rural communities are made clear. Moreover, this is the previous central recommendation (in 2008) made in the Declaration of Mozambican Civil Society on bio-fuels.

Although this study is centred on large-scale production, it brought up two important points relating to family production - that is, basic subsistence. Firstly, peasants do not cultivate jatropha on marginal land. Expectations regarding income force them to choose more fertile lands for jatropha cultivation, contributing to the reduction of good land for food production. Secondly, many peasants who relied on jatropha in 2007 have quit their plantations, due to technical constraints they faced and market limitations. During the political campaign for jatropha cultivation (in 2006), it was expected that jatropha seeds would cost 50,00 MT/kg (nearly USD 2,00), - a price about 75% higher than staple food crops, such as maize, beans and cassava. These estimates have stimulated greater interest in these rural communities in jatropha, but they were forced to leave their plantations (Ribeiro and Matavel, 2009:26). As we shall see further, disappointment in jatropha is a harsh reality of the Tsakane association.

Failure of small-scale production: the case of Tsakane association

The Tsakane association is headquartered in the Mitelene community. From an administrative point of view, Mitelene is one of the nine communities in Manhiça village. Manhiça village is comprised of an urban cluster surrounded by a large rural area. The headquarters are based in the urban area, consisting of the main social area and the State institutions (such as district government, presidency and municipal assembly, court, police, schools, hospitals, etc.). Mitelene is a small agricultural community which has a single social institution: two primary schools, receiving pupils up to grade 5.

Like the majority of the Mitelene population, members of the Tsakane association practice subsistence agriculture, predominantly rain-fed. The following are the main crops produced: cassava, peanuts, beans and sweet potatoes. Unavailability of water sources and wells makes production of other crops dependant on rainfalls.

The production is mainly for the purpose of family consumption, although some products are sold in the village market. Stock farming and small animals are almost nonexistent. In the entire community there is only one stock farmer, who occupies more fertile lands than others (in his own right, according to our interviewees).

Mitelene's population faces the plight of most peasants in Mozambique. They live in areas with scarce investments in social affairs; they occupy marginal lands; they do not have enough equipment to maintain adequate irrigation; they do not benefit from incentives for agriculture; they have no transportation network which would enable quicker access of products to markets; amongst other constraints. It is against this background, given the government rhetoric and optimism, that the production of jatropha has emerged as an opportunity to reverse the situation of Mitelene peasants.

Access to land in Mitelene community

All association members have land parcels to cultivate. Because they are less fertile and relatively dry lands with little access to water and located far from the village centre, there is virtually no competition for it. This is probably why locally there is no registry of land conflict, contrary to what happens in other communities of Manhiça, which attract the interest of agricultural investors, water exploration and securities. This fact may also explain why there is less presence of customary law regarding access to land in Mitelene. In fact, as we shall see in the graph below, the women of the Tsakane association access land via succession or donation, regardless of whether they are or have been married, or otherwise constituted as family.

According to one of our interviewees:

“In the case of separation, the woman is forced to leave the family field. The husband is the owner of the land. As a principle, adults have a right to possess the family land parcel. That parcel must be kept by that woman. In the event of a divorce, the woman who returns to her parents' home should get that land. But what happens is that when women leave home (when they get married) they lose the land, both from her husband's family and from her own family.”

This is common customary practice in Mozambique. As shown in several studies, regardless of whether we are working within a system of matrilineal nature (predominant in the north of the country) or patrilineal (in force in the south of the country), patriarchy is still the dominant model for family organization. Meanwhile, it is important to highlight that, the customary law not being stable, none of these systems is in place in its “pure” form. Interacting with political, economic, social and cultural dynamics of local, national and world contexts, these lineage systems, as well as the organizational structure of families, means that they are subjected to continuous changes. However, it is possible to point out some aspects that structure access to land and natural resources.

Access to land by women is in practice through the family (male dominated) or through marriage. As has been said, when a woman gets married, it is her husband’s family who cedes her a land parcel to cultivate. In matrilineal societies, though, when the succession is made through the woman’s family, control over land is undertaken by men, usually the woman’s uncles or nephews (Martins e Zimba, 1992; Waterhouse, 1998; Gawaya, 2008).

The traditional right still has a lot of influence, in the form of the constitution and reproduction of the family. Most of the Tsakane association members got married following tradition, much like what happens with a considerable part of the district’s population. The fact that women in Mitelene received land, as we saw earlier, by donation or succession, may be related to circumstances in which the lands are less fertile (and, therefore, less valuable). This thought may explain the tactic used by the association, which possesses abundant land for production of jatropha. As we saw in the case studies, unless the problem is related to land tenure insecurities around Manhiça village, land conflicts are related to access to drinking water and for irrigation, as well as for sugarcane plantations (which need arable land and plenty of water).

The size of land of the Tsakane association members is relatively large, ranging from 2 to 16 hectares. However, the capacity to work the land is low.

The potential of the land’s use varies between 4,35 and 17,30% of the total land allocated to each member. In numerical terms, it means that no member of the association can produce more than 2 hectares in the same year, whereas the majority of respondents (12 members) work on only 0,5 hectares. These limitations have to do with a lack of working tools; namely tractors, ploughs, yoke of

oxen and wells. As a rule, the production depends mainly on available manpower in family clusters. Occasionally, association members resort to paid labour (*chitoco*), for accomplishment of specific tasks such as ploughing, similar to what other Mitelene inhabitants do. *Chitoco* is undertaken on money exchange (25,000 Meticaís by work journey is equivalent to nearly USD 1,00) or exchange of food products, if the land “owner” cannot pay cash.

Local dilemma of production of jatropha

About jatropha

The term ‘jatropha’ is usually used to refer to one of the 170 species of *jatropha curcas*. It has to do with a family plant of *euphorbiaceae*, which reaches a maximum height of 6 meters. The size of its leaves vary between 6 and 15 centimetres. The plant produces fruit (about 40 mm long), which have, on average, 3 seeds. Nearly 1333 seeds are needed to get 1 kg. Jatropha is originally from Mexico and Central America, but currently it exists almost throughout the world. Its name changes between countries or regions. Historically, jatropha was used as fencing to protect land and crops or/from animals. In many African countries, apart from being used as fuel, it is also used to make home soap and candles (Fact Foundation, 2006).

The value of jatropha as a bio-fuel depends on the quantity and quality of oil produced from its seeds. This is dependant on a series of factors, storage conditions and timing of oil extraction being the most important. As Ribeiro and Matavel (2009) explain regarding rural communities, because they do not have the means to extract oil, it is recommended that after drying seeds in the sun for a week, they store them in Nylon bags. The maximum period of storage is 3 months, after which the level of seed acidity rises rapidly. The same authors state that the communities are not aware of technical issues surrounding jatropha.

Of all bio-fuels, jatropha is the most promising plant, attracting more interest all over the world than any other and particularly in Mozambique. But Jatropha is also one of the causes of much frustration for the poorer peasants.

Disappointment of Tsakane association

The promises surrounding jatropha as an income-generating crop reached Mitelene. In a context of low agricultural harvest and poverty, the Mitelene community quickly became optimistic about jatropha as an opportunity to increase income and improve the quality of living.

“As a result of what the President kept saying about jatropha, the news travelled far. And therefore it reached us. That is why we accepted it. It is like what is happening with sugarcane. There are people who produce sugarcane for sale. They say that jatropha is good, and it shall raise the market.”

Answering the government’s call, some Mitelene inhabitants met in 2006 as a collective in order to produce jatropha. It is a group of 25 people, 20 of whom are women and five men. The women are all heads of family, amongst which we found widows, divorced, separated and single women. The men are all married. They take part in the association for pragmatic reasons: need for physical stamina to clear lands. We were given the following explanation for the fact that women are privileged, especially those

“We started work without monthly pay. We waited for jatropha produce and how they [district government] would show us the flowing channels. They said that as we sold the produce we would raise funds for later planning the wages for everyone. Then UNICEF arrived with Agricultural staff from Manhiça [District Directorate of Agriculture]. They said they have peas (5 kg per individual/month) and rice (30 kg per individual/month) for us. The thought was to increase the extension of land. Therefore, they increased the number of people working on the land, in exchange of rice and peas. They supplied that food for 3 months. After finishing the food, those support people [peasants] vanished.”

who are heads of family:

“When we listen to the radio, it is said that mothers, heads of family are the most preferred. That is why we get into this. They say jatropha is good for mothers who are heads of family. We saw that there would not be the same number of men and women because the radio itself says that underprivileged women should be given priority”.

However, there is another identifying and unifying element of the association members. All the women and the counselor are members of the same religious congregation, the Presbyterian Church of Mozambique. The association counselor is also the church counselor. The church has been one of the

meeting venues and a place for the exchanging of ideas. A total number of 25 members were initially proposed although the criteria for selecting candidates were not clear. In a further assessment of the outcomes of experience with jatropha, one of the members said that it was a good option to have limited the number of candidates because, given the failure of the project, the problems would have been worse.

Encouragement about the future of jatropha was beyond political rhetoric. The government, through the District Directorate of Agriculture, supplied seeds for the first plantations. There was also, in the first stage, a joint intervention by district government and UNICEF in order to support the beginning of jatropha production:

“We started work without monthly pay. We waited for jatropha to produce and then they [district government] would show us the channels. They said that as we sold the produce we would raise funds for later planning the wages for everyone. Then UNICEF arrived with Agricultural staff from Manhica [District Directorate of Agriculture]. They said they have peas (5 kg per individual/month) and rice (30 kg per individual/month) for us. The thought was to increase the extent of land. Therefore, they increased the number of people working on the land, in exchange of rice and peas. They supplied that food for 3 months. After finishing the food, those support people [peasants] vanished.”

Land for jatropha cultivation was given to the district administration, with participation by the local traditional authority. Currently, the association cultivates 3 hectares of jatropha. The members spend two days a week (Tuesdays and Thursdays) on jatropha fields, which conflicts with food production. As we have seen, because of a lack of equipment, the work of peasants in Mitelene depends on their own power and their relatives'. Therefore, the outcome of the production is strongly conditioned to the time they spare for the field. The peasants are aware that there is tension between jatropha and food production.

But the odd experience with jatropha has provided the peasants themselves with a good opportunity to adapt the situation to their own needs, namely, to plant peanut or beans seeds in between the jatropha plants from which they managed to produce about 400 kg per season. Driven by the need to satisfy their basic needs (they were hungry, they said) this harvest was sold and the money shared among the members of the association. For them the future of Tsakane is clearly identified: formalize the

association in order to respond to the administrative requirements for the institutional relations and make sure it is eligible for civil society projects; and finally invest more production in food crops. In fact, this is one of the possible ways that the name Tsakane (which means “be happy”) can effectively satisfy the needs of its associate members.

Conclusion

Like other countries in the world, the race for bio-fuels has been launched in Mozambique. The intention is to get an alternative source of energy to fossil fuels. On the one hand, the urgency and the future chances for mass production of bio-fuels vary a lot as regards to economic development of the countries. The central countries have set up ambitious goals for use of bio-fuels especially in the transports sector. On the other hand, the social and climatic conditions that are good for the production of bio-fuels are unevenly distributed throughout the world. Like in the past, tropical countries, the African countries in particular, are requested to supply the raw materials to satisfy the industrial and consumption needs of the central countries. This results in labour division at the world level. The African Continent is allegedly abounding in land and water resources. In addition, there are favorable and attractive conditions for private investment: cheap labour force, liberalized market, flexibility of labour legislation, financial incentives, and so on. Therefore, bio-fuels stand as a good opportunity for expanding business, despite the fact that studies show associated environmental, social and economic risks.

In Mozambique, two different views are held concerning the production of jatropha as bio-fuel: one entails the production of jatropha at large scale and the other at minor scale.

In terms of the production of jatropha at a large scale, it is envisaged that this will be led by major private investors, who would secure large land holdings, possess the technical production and disease prevention know-how, as well as being themselves well placed to gain advantage in the international market. Case studies of certain companies operating in Mozambique confirm, however, that the problems arising from the production of jatropha at a larger scale include depriving the communities of their lands (who are placed in less suitable locations, thus compromising their livelihoods); pressure over water resources and disintegration of their conditions; corruptive behaviour in the way the communities participate in decision taking (such as giving away their land as well as access to the benefits gained

from the investments made); and environmental risk due to the practice of monoculture and use of pesticides.

Rural communities, in response to government's appeals and incentives, carry out small-scale production (though minimal) of jatropha. The environment for spreading the information about economic benefits entailing the production of jatropha has driven a greater number of peasants to embark on the dream of obtaining major gains. In circumstances whereby the sales of the little food they produce do not allow them to enhance their savings, the promise to integrate themselves in a competitive international market has increased the level of enthusiasm among the peasants. The distribution of land, food and jatropha seeds remains a key stimulus for securing adhesion of the peasants. As regards to Association Tsekane, which mainly comprises women members, it is expected that there will be increased gains. In fact, the promotion of equality is one of the core policies of the government, which is present in all development strategies.

Right from the start, Tsakene members had to choose between the production of food crops and cultivation of jatropha, risking, to some extent, the sustainability of their households. They also became aware of the fact that the bright promises of jatropha were far from being real. Given the conditions of land and unavailability or precariousness of equipment, they ended up having a poor harvest (only 20 kg), which was too little to even think of placing it in the market. It should be stressed that that amount was achieved in a season when Mitilene recorded satisfactory levels of rainfall.

Furthermore, the plantation of jatropha was infected by a pest which may result in a decrease in the levels of production. Peasants lack technical know-how related to production of jatropha because it is a new crop to them. They know nothing about the plant except that its production can generate a high amount of profit. In the place of providing the peasants with the required information, the main promoters of jatropha – the government - do nothing but silent.

The Mitilene experience shows us that the widely outspoken speeches and rural development policies do not always respond to the real needs and problems people face and are not always perceived in their full social, economic and cultural diversity. Furthermore, the slogan words do not always result in concrete actions of social change and improvement in the standards of living, thus leading to speeches that do not accommodate the day-to-day needs. Likewise, the Mitilene experience also shows us that

the communities, as social actors, have the capacity to perceive the tensions and inconsistencies of certain development projects and from there find alternative means and conditions for survival and replication of their own. At least they now seek appropriate solutions to the dilemma and with certain confidence, exclaiming: "Jatropha? Never!"

Maragra: Subsistence and commercial agriculture in the context of the green revolution in Mozambique.

The History of the Sugar Sector

Sugar cane was introduced commercially in Mozambique at the end of 19th century in the Zambezi and Buzi valleys where the soil conditions climate and water were suitable. In 1908 the_ Companhia do Buzi constructed the first factory. After six years, a small factory located next to the Incomati River started to produce sugar. This was substituted in 1923 by another bigger, modern factory. In the mid- 1920s two more factories, Marromeu and Luabo, both belonging to the Sena Sugar Estates, started production. The sugar industry expanded in the following decades stimulated by British investment and after 1950s with increased Portuguese investment. The increase of the sugar cane areas and the modernization and expansion of the existing factories contributed to the growth of sugar production.

After the construction of two new factories, Maragra (1969) and Mafambisse (1970), Mozambique reached a capacity of 360,000 tonnes and in 1972 reached a production record of 325,051 tonnes, 60% of which was for export (INA, 2000). The sugar sector started to play an important role in the Mozambican economy. At the beginning of the 1970s sugar was the country's third major export product and was the main source of jobs. But in the 1980s a number of factors contributed to the collapse of the sugar cane industry namely:

- 1 The scaling-up of the armed conflict in Mozambique, which provoked the massive destruction of infrastructure including inflicting significant damage to the equipment and infrastructure of sugar companies.
- 2 The prices and exchange rate policy which exacerbated the financial difficulties being faced by the sugar companies that did not have the financial resources to introduce new technologies.

Intensive attacks perpetrated by rebel forces forced Marromeu and Luabo to stop sugar production in 1985. Both factories had just benefited from a reconstruction and expansion programme. Maragra also ceased production in 1985. The continuous pressure of war, the lack of financial resources and the decline in the efficiency of production led to the closure of the Búzi factory in 1991. As a result the only Mozambique distillery belonging to Companhia do Búzi stopped production due to lack of molasses (the

main raw material used in the production of alcohol). Only two of the six factories, Mafambisse and Xinavane (Incomáti), continued to cultivate sugar cane and to produce sugar.

The sugar Industry today

After the end of the civil war in 1992 the Government's strategy for the sugar sector was to promote privatisation, investment and reconstruction of the sugar factories. As a result, the sugar industry is gradually getting back to normal although the four functioning factories are now mostly under foreign investment ownership: some South African and others from Mauritius. This means that not all the profits stay in country. As a result of the rehabilitation works, production has rapidly risen from a low of around 20,000 metric tonnes in the early 1990s to around 265,000 tonnes in 2005 confirming the high potential of the country. This has been achieved by a combination of:

- 1 Low cost production: Mozambique can produce sugar at a low cost when compared to other regional and global producers.
- 2 Government support to the domestic market through the sugar pricing policy. This policy imposes a variable purchase rate on sugar imports in order to compensate for the low level and volatile nature of the world sugar price. Domestic price support also provides a form of compensation for the inherent risks involved in investing in the rehabilitation of the sector.

In 2005, the sugar industry achieved its highest production levels for 30 years (Figures 1 and 2). Despite still not reaching its maximum production capacity, there have been considerable improvements in terms of technical efficiency making Mozambique much more competitive internationally.

All sugar in Mozambique is produced purely from cane. Cane is grown predominantly by millers-cum-planters (MCP). The area under production has steadily increased during the last five years, though not significantly after 2001. Increase in supply of cane is now achieved through contracting independent cane growers (outgrower schemes) which began in 1998.

Female agricultural labour and small peasants of Maragra – The impact of public policies on access to land by peasant woman.

In 2007, the Government approved the strategy of Green Revolution, undertaken in 2008 with an action plan for food production (PAPA), as a measure to stimulate agricultural production and productivity, of mainly basic food products.

According to some critics, such as Carlos Nuno Castel-Branco in his reflection notes about the Green Revolution in Mozambique, the strategy was one part of a broader agricultural strategy that included rural development, bio-fuels, food production and other aspects, often, as a campaign. The Green Revolution is thus not seen as a form of developing the economy (IESE, 2008).

In fact, when we attempted to understand the Services of Economic Activities on how this strategy was conceived and implemented in practice, the answer was that:

“The Green Revolution is seen as being a program of Agriculture related to revitalization of fields. The idea is maintenance of green lands. From the analysis carried out on the implementation of Green Revolution strategy, the answers taken were on what was done, when the production was and what is expected to be done.”

Among actions of major importance in the process of implementing this strategy in Manhiça District is the strengthening of agricultural extension with the introduction of Fields of Demonstrations and School programs in the Farmland, as well as investments in irrigation systems and the introduction of holidays and agrarian inputs.

Regarding support to peasants in the context of agricultural extension programs, the Government did not adopt any strategy focusing specifically on women, but appeared to believe that there are no policy barriers to women accessing these programs. However, the Government does acknowledge the cultural constraints against women in terms of their access to these programs, mainly around those that imply travelling. With the implementation of the Field Demonstrations, the perception is that *“Women still do not feel free to move to a demonstration field for fear of eliciting resentment from her family and being accused of children abandonment”*.

This aspect deserves special attention both by the Government and in the scope of advocacy actions of this study since it is a fact that in the patriarchal society we live in, women have multiple tasks at home, in the farmland and in the collective life placing limits on their ability to access Government programs. With economic difficulties in the family, women's work increases and in practice they have double tasks like producing in the farmland and fulfilling housework duties, taking care of the children and often looking after the husband. This aspect deserves special further attention.

In an interview with the General Secretary of the Union of Peasants of Manhiça relating to this issue, the concern was mainly about the situation of women as workers. Despite the fact that 80% of the union's members are women, the approach of gender issues has not yet been introduced in their programs.

There have been various explanations of this reality. As it happens in all cases, as well as in union related issues, we assume that socio-cultural factors influence the position of women, placing them at the core of discrimination. This discrimination is reflected in the following:

- 1 The appointment of men as the head of the family,
- 2 The non-registration of property of goods and land,
- 3 Prevalence of appointing men as the title-holder of goods and land and the role of food production appointed to women,
- 4 Rating women's work as of secondary importance,
- 5 The underestimation of women's contribution in the society and to the family and commercial economy is not assessed, nor is the work of women in the farmland qualified.

Commercial agriculture in Maragra

The Maragra sugar industry still has a significant socio-economic impact in the District, mainly at employment level. During the first half of 2009, four current operating sugar manufacturers in the country (Maragra, Xinavame, Mafambisse and Marromeu) employ a total of 25,239 permanent and seasonal workers, equivalent to 21,033 full time job positions (Centre of Agriculture Promotion, 2009). Of this total number of jobs, the Maragra sugar manufacturer employs 3,281 workers of which 988 constitute female labourers. Of this group of female workers, 824 jobs are seasonal and 164 women are permanent workers working in the field and industry.

Looking at the Government programs, there is a trend, almost generalized, for the need for investments and approval of projects for sugarcane production, financed in the scope of “7 million”. Shops, cattle breeding and the growing of fowls used to be the first projects to be approved. There have been changes as regards to financing projects aimed at agriculture since 2008. An incident happened in Ribangue in which some women got land and benefited from local development initiative for sugarcane production. Such sugarcane is then sold in the main market called Maragra.

According to the Services of Economic Activities, some people prefer investing in sugarcane through bank financing, but not very many peasants are able to obtain financing from the bank. The evident reasons for this situation are the difficulties peasants have in meeting the banking requirements for the approval of credit. The fact is that many peasants have lower level of education, which hinders them in the setting of their investment plans.

Women prefer seeking for funds from the “7 million” initiative as it offers a simple plan and it is a process which involves monitoring either by the extension agents, or by the technicians of the Services of Economic Activities who guide the women in meeting the requirements.

Agricultural workers and small-scale peasants of Maragra

This study envisages obtaining a representative sample and attempting to stratify each of the peasant women groups. These can be permanent or seasonal agrarian workers, District small-scale peasants of the Makonde groups, whose irrigation happened in the context of the civil war in the country. Apart from these women, the study selected some analysis criteria which describe the situation of women in the district. These can be a group of young women, entrepreneurial women or leaders to get cases of success or failure and assess their everyday struggle and finally widows and single mothers to evaluate the levels of vulnerability of these women in land access and control. For each of these groups, we bring life stories that better illustrate the situation shown in the field.

As the District does not have jobs to employ the available labour, most young people have been employed by the sugar manufacturers of Maragra and Xinavane, the biggest recruiting companies of the local workers. Most women in Maragra devote themselves to subsistence agriculture and some of them produce sugarcane and bananas commercially.

Sugarcane producers are small peasants; some of them belong to peasant associations that, under Maragra incentives, have been producing this type of produce, which is mainly bought by Maragra. In this process, the sugar manufacturing companies have been making efforts to raise funds from donors in order to stimulate small agricultural markets in the production and promotion of the sugarcane.

Though there is shortage of land for production, peasants in Manhiça District have two production possibilities, in the higher and lower areas. To be able to cultivate in these areas women hire contract jobs (services rendered on farm for seasonal work) in exchange for some commodities.

The study shows that, in the case of young women, the issue of contract jobs is generally an adopted alternative because of the pressures on their time, which, divided between daily tasks between seasonal work in Maragra and domestic tasks, does not leave them much time to allocate to family food production. Seasonal work thus assists them to solve their financial concerns.

The group of seasonal employed women we interviewed mainly comprises young women, with an overall age of 26 years. The women are mostly single mothers who expressed dissatisfaction with their work as their salaries cannot cover expenses relating to the basic food for the family and education of their children. However, they cannot find other solution for these problems, so they resort to working in the lands of Maragra. Questioned on what activities they would opt for if they had to choose one, many of them said that they would prefer having land to ensure food for their families and to produce cane as “there isn’t any other activity in Maragra”.

The analysis, extracted from the employment situation of the women and their vulnerability in terms of the shortage of land, shows that seasonal work is often assumed to be a precarious way of employment. The work satisfies the immediate demands of the company and implies little consideration in terms of benefits, either in enabling the women to benefit from the marginal lands, or employment conditions that provide old age pensions. The rights they have also tend to be limited. In addition, seasonal work is characterized by reduced rights to trade union participation, in that any attitude of claim/ or entitlement to their rights threatens the possibility of renewing the contract in the following season.

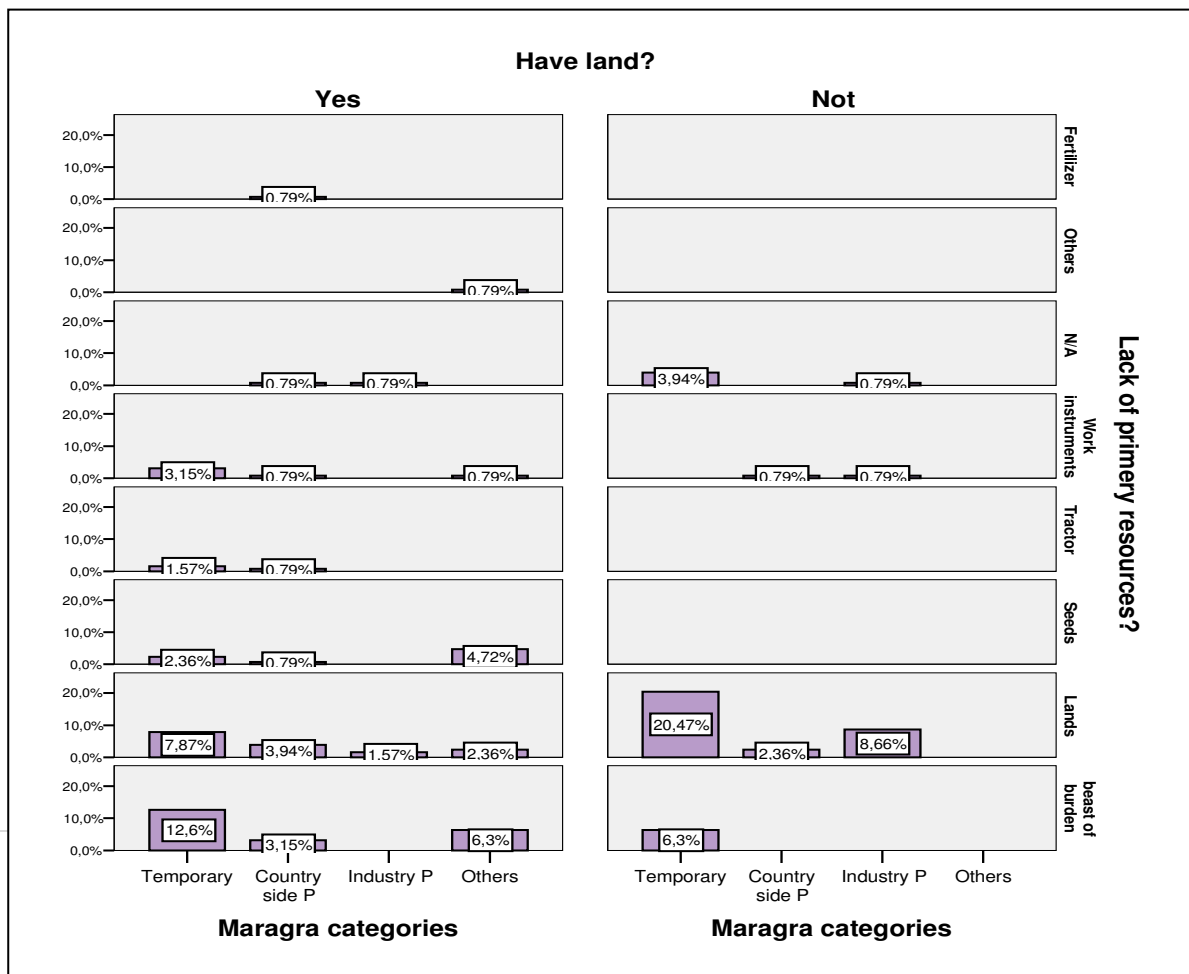
On the other hand, seasonal work brings advantages as it allows especially single mothers to both retain some employment and to take care of their family needs and in some cases for education. For Maragra, the hiring of seasonal workers can adjust the need for workmanship with the real needs of production as per market demands.

Issue of Access to land

Access to land constitutes one of the main worries for the peasants of Maragra. The available land for familial production is small and many peasants do not have the capacity and instruments to clear new land, which is nearly always many kilometers from the residential place, making the access difficult.

In Maragra, a big portion of land is occupied by the company Maragra Açucar, SARL or by families of peasants who worked many years ago for the company but today are retired and have been granted the land by the farmers.

Graphic X. Main Resource Missing (Nº 127)



The graph below in fact shows that land comes first in the list of missing resources for peasant women from Maragra, representing 7,87% of landless women in the seasonal group, 3,94% for the group of peasant workers and 1,57% in the group of company workers and lastly 2,36% in the group of peasants whose husbands are retired. The range in the categories of “Yes” answers contains a missing resource and “No” is highly visible in this graph and showing that women are still working on their land under difficult growing conditions.

Some portions of land which belonged to the sugar company, today occupied largely by old women, were abandoned during the civil war. These portions of land were later occupied by peasants who, according to their means and resources, keep the land. Those who occupied bigger portions of land did not get more than 1 hectare, while others do not even have access to half a hectare. This scenario is evident above all in the communities of Mapatuine and Urukunine where a considerable number of women have individually cultivated fields.

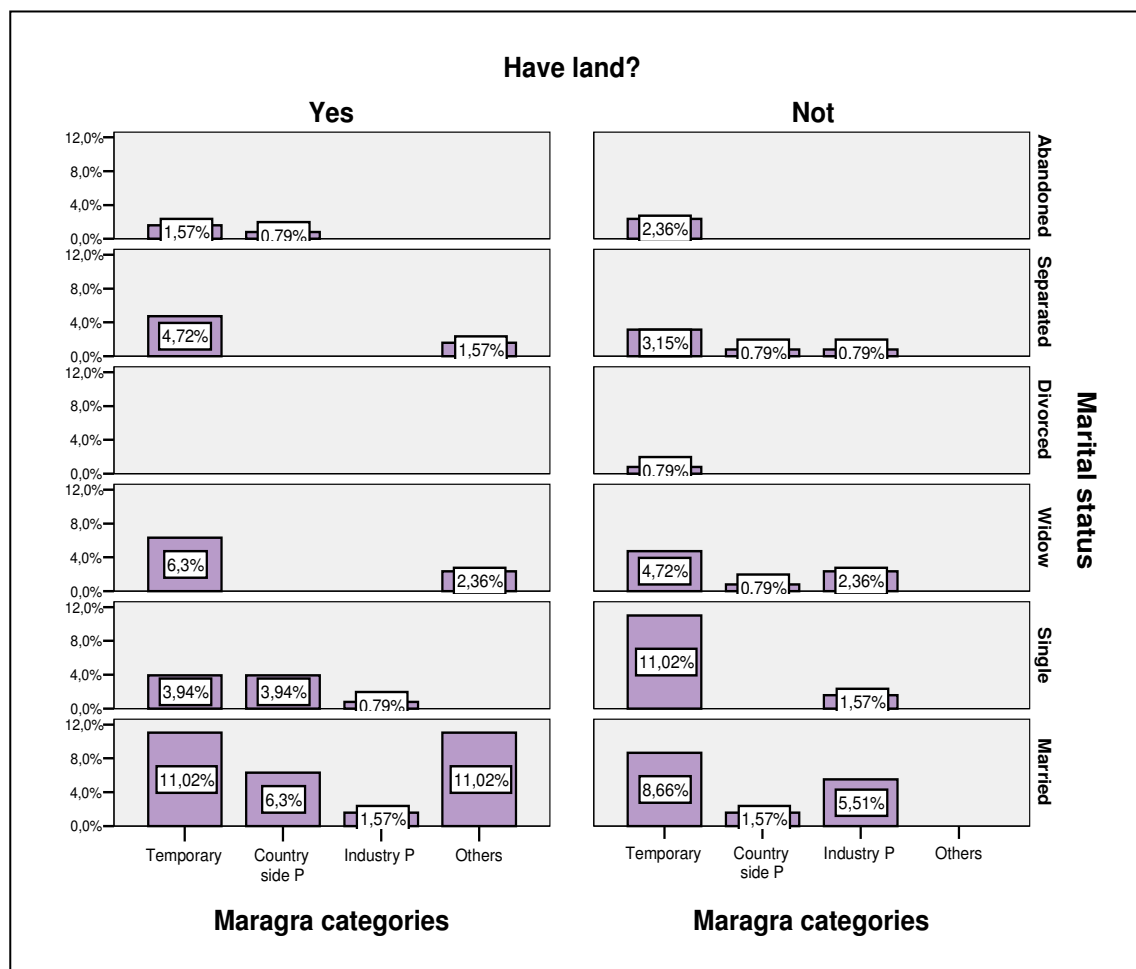
The younger women mainly do not possess land. The portions of land for individual cultivation are rented in Maciane-sede, Macandzene and in Galama. For a woman to access rented land, she in many cases needs 300 Mt per year to afford the rent.

In addition to this, few women get support from the government or husbands who appear not to care about satisfying their needs.

The situation of widows and single mothers

The issue of widows and single mothers is among the main problems women face in Maragra. Widows are very vulnerable – traditional habits deprive them of most of their rights, especially in the areas of land and inheritance. While the Law of Land provides for gender equity in the use of, and profiting from land, women are often put aside when her husband’s assets are divided. Even worse, the widows are sometimes expelled from the house of their father-in-law after the death of their husband. The graph below shows that in fact the widows and single mothers have greater variation in response category “No” on the question whether they have land or not.

Graphic X. Marital status versus Access to land (Nº 127)



According to the graph, 11.02% of single mothers, all of whom are from the group of seasonal workers, do not own land. In order for this group of women to have access to the land, they must choose renting which often becomes difficult because of the rental costs. Yet in this study, it was possible to hear stories experienced by widows who lost everything on the deaths of their spouses. Below we tell a story of a widow and single mother named Arlete.

Regarding the role of the judiciary, we tried to find out in an interview with the Judge of Manhiça District Court, how they deal with cases of division of property when they reach the Court. According to explanations, the head of the couple often makes statements on monetary values but does not declare all family assets, including land, fearing that the court shall seize the goods. However, there are few

cases that were brought before Manhiça District Court related to division of property. During a period of three years, only two cases to claim housing were filed.

Regarding conflicts on land, it was found that no case was lodged in Court. According to the judge, these conflicts are resolved at district level, where there is articulation of powers between the police, prosecutors and the court.

Concerning single mothers, the study found them to be the least protected women. The story of Arlete portrays a bit the situation faced by single mothers around the District.

Arlete has grade 5 primary education and is a 29-year-old single mother of three children, all minors. She has been married three times, and is currently married in a polygamous marriage. The children are from her second marriage, as a result of an attempt to ensure social and economic stability after the failure of her first marriage. The fact is that Arlete did not find the security through this second marriage that she was looking forward to

She says that she lost her first husband in the year 2000. At that time they had been married for four years. Arlete had hoped to brighten her home with the births of three sets of twins, who unfortunately lost their lives in the first period of gestation. When her husband died, she had not yet given birth to any living children. From this marriage, she was granted land by her husband's family who later took it away from her, and she was forced to begin with new life without many choices.

In search of new opportunities, Arlete moved away from her homeland, Gaza, and immigrated to Manhiça, where she had her second marriage. From this union, she managed to get land from her savings. Meanwhile, the second marriage ended after Arlete found out that her husband was in fact married to another woman who resided in a place where he had gone to look for a job. Arlete thus found an explanation for her husband's long absences and his failure to support his family.

Because Arlete had trusted her marriage, the land she possessed was in the name of her husband who had now abandoned her. Arlete then became the partner of a married man who, being well

positioned, is a teacher and assists the children. From this husband she gets 700,00Mt per month.

Regarding the land on behalf of her second husband, Arlete says she does not know what to do as she has tried several times to talk to him to retrieve it.

Recommendations according to reality of Maragra site

- 1 Take all necessary measures in order to ensure women access credit and training on financial management;
- 2 Disseminate the right to possess land (Law of land);
- 3 Train women as promoters and extension workers;
- 4 Increase access to water;
- 5 Train women on co-operatives;
- 6 Disseminate the right of women to inheritance (Law of Family);
- 7 Undertake integration of women in associations and decision-making processes;
- 8 Promote integration of the approach on gender in implementing public policies;
- 9 Ensure that outcome analysis of program implementation from the Government is stratified by sex, bringing benefits to both women and men;
- 10 Ensure major involvement and performance of the judiciary in this process;
- 11 Raise partnerships with economic activity services, education, justice, magistrates, micro finance institutions and banks.

Conclusion

Concluding this study, we want to highlight that the problems related to access and control of land are not the only ones faced by women in the fight against discrimination because there are other sources of gendered power relations, for instance, cultural issues founded in myths and beliefs, economic relations and ways of participating in political and social life.

To add to the difficulties, the integration of women into the active economic population has been a great burden for them, not only in the fight against stereotypes of a patriarchal society, but also against their own preconceptions and stereotypes transmitted throughout their entire existence.

Advocacy: Actions Taken

As a result of the tenure insecurity arising from customary marriages following the death of husbands, the research supported the collective marriage of the association members and women from the community. In total there were 30 marriages celebrated. These also had the support of the local administration and government of the province. The importance of marriage is that it helps widows retain access to their marital or husband's land when relatives of the husband attempt to dispossess them. In Maragra it is common that when the husband dies, his widow has to give the marital property and goods to his family. The action around marriage will encourage other couples to normalize their unions. Men are also getting conscientized about the women's rights and the importance of legal marriage. This community says it will continue this practice. Legal marriage is not expensive and members of the broader community can help couples organize the ceremony. Since the initiative started, various people have said they want it to continue.

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Appendices

APPENDIX 1

ITNERARY FOR SINGLE PERSONS

INTREVIEW N° __; DATE: __/__/__

A. GERAL INFORMATION/DATA

1. Sex: F_ ; M_
2. Age: __
3. Schooling _____
4. Marital status: single__ married__
(kind of marriage) _____ abandoned__ widow____ divorced, separated____
5. Number of children: Total __; Girls: __; Boys: __
6. Origin _____
 - a. If not from this place, where are you from? _____
 - b. Why not?
7. Condition/position held in the Family: _____
8. Occupation/activity: _____

B. CONNECTION WITH THE LAND (ACCESS) OBJECTIVE 1.

1. What kind of relationship do have with the land?
2. Do you own land?
3. Does the land belong to her/him?
4. How did you manage to get it?
5. Do you have ownership certificate?
6. How much did it cost it obtain the ownership certificate?
7. How did you get it?
8. How long did t take to get it?
9. Under whose name is the ownership certificate?
10. How can you get land in your community (natives and immigrants/individual persons and businessmen)
11. In the event you haven't got your own land how do you get access?
12. What size is your land?
13. What use do you make of this land?
14. What do you produce in this land?
15. What do you do with the production/income you get?
16. Do you have any information about land conflicts in your family or community?
17. Have you heard anything of the kind?
(Check cases involving immigrants carefully)

C. OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OBJECTIVE 2

1. Who does the land you work on belong to? Who can make decisions about this piece of land? In case you want sell who do get authorization from?

2. (in the event of a married woman) If you divorce who remains with the land? If you die? If you get married?
3. Is there any risk of losing the land you have/use? What is the risk?
4. Do you have any land that you don't use? Why don't you use it?
5. Have you heard any information about this in your family/community?
(Check cases involving immigrants carefully)

D. ACTIVITIES (OBJECTIVE 2)

1. How long have you been working in this piece of land?
2. What do you do exactly?
3. Who do you work with?
4. Are these people paid for the work they do?
5. How much do they get?
6. How do you calculate the amount to pay?
7. What do you do when you are not working the land?
8. How long do you work per day?
9. Is it the same long throughout the year?
10. If you are an employee, what kind of contract do you have? (provisional/seasonal)?
11. What does your work consist of?
12. If you could choose or change, what would you like to do?
13. Do you think there is a difference between men and women in the work? (her/his own/employment work)? What is the difference?

E. RESOURCES (OBJECTIVE 2.)

1. What quality does the land you use possess?
2. What resources do you have to work your land?
3. And how did you get these resources?
4. Does the land belong to an employer? (In the event you are an employee)?
5. Do other people from your community/family have the same resources?
6. How did they get them?
7. What other resources do you have?
8. Do those resources belong to you/them?
9. Are there any differences between men and women as regards to possession, access to production means and other resources?

F. AGENCY (Objective 3)

1. Are there any other ways of addressing the risks of losing land and means you have? What are they?
2. What about other people, what means do they have available to protect their goods?
3. How are the problems tackled?
4. Who are the people involved?
5. Which institutions are involved?
6. And how do they operate?
7. How did you get to about these institutions?
8. Do you have any preference among them?
9. In your opinion, what helps to handle the problems you have identified?
10. What would need to improve?

G. AWARENESS ABOUT THE RELATION WOMEN HAVE WTH LAND

- How do women complain about the neoliberal policies (development focalized in accumulation of wealth and unequal distribution of resources and income as well as other opportunities)

H. ACCOUNTS OF SUCCESS:

To what extent the work you have been involved in has contributed to improvement of your income and your autonomy, and they haven't been disruptive?

APPENDIX 2

SURVEY: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW WITH THE TARGET GROUP

Code __ (How will we codify?)

SURVEY: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW WITH THE TARGET GROUP

Nº _____

DATE: __\ __\09

Name of respondent . _____

GENERAL DATA

1. UEE/Site: 1. Manhiça town ___; 2. Maragra___; 3. Tsakane___
2. Target group: 1. Only individual Peasant ___; 2. Only Association ___;
3. From association and individual ___; 4. From cooperative and association ___;
5. Employee ___; 6. Employee and individual; 7. Others ___ (Specify that _____)
3. If you belong to the association/cooperative/community do hold any post? 1. Yes ___; 2. No ___ (if
"Yes" what is your post _____?)
4. Sex 1. Female ___; 2. Male ___
5. Age ___ (if you don't know, could guess the approximate age?)
0. Place of birth: 1. MANHIÇA___; 2. Other place ___ (Specify _____)
6. Marital status: 1.Married ___ (Civil ___; Monogamic traditinal ___; Poligamic traditional ___; Union of
fact ___); 2. Single ___;
3. Widow ___; 4. Divorced; 5. Separated ___; 6. Abandoned___
7. Position in the family: 1. Head of family ___; 2. Wife ___; 3. Mother-in-law ___;
4. Daughter-in-law ___; 5. Second wife ___; 6. Others ___
8. Number of household: _____
9. Total number of children ___; 1. girls ___; 2. boys ___
10. Total number of children alive: ___; 1. girls ___; 2. boys ___
11. Schooling: 1. N/A ___; 2. Grade 1 to 3 ___; 3. Grade 4 to 6___; 4. Grade 6 ahead___

SPECIFIC DATA

12. Do you have land? 1. Yes ___; 2. No___

13 How did you get it? Tick the alternative where applicable:

1. Received by inheritance from family ___;
2. Received by inheritance from wife/husband;
3. Got by borrowing ___ (say who _____);
4. Got by offer ___ (Say who _____);
5. Traditional authority _____;
6. Secretário do bairro _____;
7. Rent ___;
8. From the husband _____

14. Activity do you develop: 1. Agriculture only in personal field ___;

2. Agriculture in personal field and cooperative/association ___;
3. Employer's field ___;
4. Employer's and personal field ___;
5. Personal field and vendor in the local market ___;
6. Only vendor in the local market ___;
7. Personal field and other activities ___

15. Who do work with? Alone ___; 2. With other family members ___ (Say who they are

_____; 3. With other people ___ (Say who they are: _____)

16. Size of the field/s you have ___

17. Size of the field you presently work on ___

18. Size of the land of the cooperative/association you work for ___

19. Crops produced? Tick where appropriate:

1. Peanuts, ___;
2. Beans ___;
3. Cassava ___;
4. Garden products ___;
5. Maize ___;
6. Sweet potatoes ___;
7. Banana ___;
8. Sugarcane ___;
9. Jatropha ___

0.1. Do you sell the products Yes ___; 2. No ___

20. Products sold: Tick where appropriate.

1. Peanuts ___;
2. Maize ___;
3. Beans ___;
4. Cassava ___;
5. Garden products ___;
7. Sweet potatoes ___;
8. Sugar cane ___;
9. Banana ___;
10. Jatropha ___

0.2. Do you have shortage of resources? Yes ___; 2. No ___

21. What resources are missing? Tick where appropriate:

1. Land ___;
2. Water ___;
3. Seeds ___;
4. fertilizers ___;
- 5 Work implements ___ (Say which _____);
6. Others ___;
7. Not in possession ___

22. From all the missing resources, which one is the core resource? _____

Why is there shortage of these resources? _____

- 23.** Do you have livestock/animal species? 1. Yes ___; 2. No ___
- 24.** What kind of livestock/animal species do you have: Tick where appropriate. 1. Cows ___ 2. Goats ___ 3. Chicken ___; 4. Ducks ___; 5. Others ___
- 25.** How many do you have from each category? Indicate the number. 1. Cows ___ 2. Goats ___; 3. Chicken ___ 4. Ducks ___; 5. Others ___
- 26.** Have you ever had land conflicts? 1. Yes ___; 2. No ___
- 27.** If "Yes", who did it involve? Tick where appropriate. 1. Husband ___; 2. Husband family ___; 3. Your own family ___; 4. Traditional authority ___; (Say Which _____); 5. The City Hall ___; 6. Administration authority ___ 7. village/bairro; 8. Investor; 9. Others ___
- 28.** Do happen to know other people faced with the same problem? 1. Yes ___; 2. No ___
- 29.** Who are they and what kind of problems do they face?

To be filled up by surveyor

Name of the surveyor _____

Signature of the surveyor _____

Nº of interview: ___

APPENDIX 3

LINK BETWEEN FIELD WORK AND TARGET GROUP PER SITE AND KIND OF OBSERVATION METHOD

MANHIÇA SEDE: COOPERATIVA EDUARDO MONDLANE

ID	Kind of interview	Target	Date and the person who conducted	Remarks: data about the target, place and other relevant information
1	Semi-structured. Individual	Target group		Rebeca Mabuie, executive secretary from Cooperativa Eduardo Mondlane and UNAC district secretarial staff member
2	Survey	Target group	28/07/09 A 19/08/09	30 surveys equivalent to 64% of the universe (47 persons). See Table 1

			S. Helena	
3	Focal group (Collective interview)	Target group	29/07/09 XA	Peasant members of the cooperative. Six ladies of varied age
4	Observation	Fields belonging to the Cooperative	29/07/09 XA	Crops, irrigation system, fish tank, tomato, lettuce and cassava and ploughing using yoke of oxen
5	Semi-structured. Individual woman	Target group	29/07/09 XA	The President of the Cooperative, Margarida
6	Focal group (collective interview)	Target group	19/08/09 XA	Colective interview to women age til 30. There were 6 ladies.
7	Semi-structured. Individual woman	Target group	19/08/09 XA	Young female member of the Cooperative
8	Semi-structured. Individual	Target group	19/08/09 XA	Male member of the Cooperative
9	Observation	Fields belonging to the Cooperative	19/08/09 XA	Crops, irrigation system, fish tank, tomato, lettuce and cassava and ploughing using yoke of oxen. Photo and video records were obtained.
10	Observation	Space and Fields belonging to the cooperative	20/08/09 XA	The upper side immediately following the lower side, where part of the land belonging to the cooperative was urbanized.

MANHIÇA TOWN: BAIRRO CAMBEVE

ID	Type of interview	Target	Date and the person who conducted	Remarks: data about the target, place and other relevant information
1	Focal group (Collective interview)	Target group	22/07/09 RI, AJ, NZ e XA	Peasant man and woman from the community. It involved 2 males and 5 females.
2	Focal group (Collective interview)	Target group	25/07/09 RI e XA	Peasant man and woman from the community. It involved 2 males and 5 females.
3	Survey	Target group	30/07/09 24/08/09	48 surveys conducted from home to hoime equivalent to \cong a 50% of the 200 families removed from the adry

			S. Elena	arable lands in the outskirts of Maragra. See table 1.
4	Focal group (Collective interview)	Target group	22/07/09 XA, RI, AJ e NZ	There were two participants involved: 2 males and 4 females and the secretary from Cooperativa ED who is a local dweller and member of AMODEIA
5	Focal group (Collective interview)	Target group	25/07/09 XA e RI	There were six participants involved: 2 males and 4 females from the above participants plus a widow who will be interviewed individually.
6	Observation	Places of land conflict and/or other agricultural resource	25/07/09 XA e RI	i) Water spring was privatized for commercial purposes. ii) urbanization plots equivalent to 200 plots of the arable land removed from 200 families from Bairro Cambeve
7	Focal group (Collective interview)	Target group	20/08/09 XA	Extended familia facing 3 particular problems (i) Celeste Joaquim Sambo, (ii) Leonor Joaquim Sambo e (iii) e Cecília Manhiça (v) including their household and a neighbour.
9	Semi-structured. Individual Homem	Target group	20/08/09 XA	Francisco Fernandes, Celeste Joaquim 's son has to come from South Africa to solve family problems.
10	Observation	Places of land conflict	20/08/09 XA	(i) urbanization site – about 200 plots – of arable land removed from 200 families fro Bairro Cambeve. Devastation of productive fields, fruit tree and removal of tombs. .

MANHIÇA SEDE: MARAGRA

ID	Type of interview	Target	Date and who conducted	Remarks: data about the target, place and other relevant information
1	Focal group (Collective interview)	Target group	16/07/09 XA e IA	Peasants form Maragra. 18 women
2	Focal group (Collective interview)	Target group	16/07/09 IA	Agricultural mployee from Maragra. 9 women. Within the category of seasonal employed women.
3	Semi-structured. Individual Woman	Target group	18/06/09 IA e NZ	Mrs. Felizarda Mónica Manhiça – entrepreneurial woman – has around 10ha of land obtained from an investor where she produces csugar-cane she sells to Maragra. She a stakeholder of the 7million government loan allocated to the districts with overal amount of 100 thousand meticais. (A case of success).
4	Semi-structured. Individual	Target group	27/07/09 NZ	Mrs. Cristina (Favor consultar apelido no inquérito), a peasant with a retied hisband but who does not

	Woman			benefit retirement pension from Maragra, and gives the land to let. (História de vida)
5	Semi-structured. Individual woman	Target group	27/07/09 IA	Mrs. Anita (please refer to her surname in the survey), a peasant in Cabo Delgado and who has afford all expenses because her retired husband cannot afford the expenses due to age related physical limitation. She rents land to cultivate. História de vida)
6	Semi-structured. Individual Woman	Target group	29/07/09 IA	Mrs Helena (please refer to her surname in the survey), a retired peasant from Maragra and member of Association – got land from Maragra 1980 and has benefited some income as member of the Association from selling the product (sugar cane) to Maragra. (A case of success)
7	Semi-structured. Individual	Target group	30/07/09 IA	Mrs. Matilde Nhaca, Inês Pedro Manhiça, Sra. Fátima, Sra Adélia Fumo, Sra Celeste, Sra. Elisa Nhlale, Sra Carlota Chicuamba, Sra Anita, Sra Rosita, Mapatuine and Urukunine representative peasant women for Maciana land – have lost their crops and have no tituration of the land they have been allocated – some sign of weakness in DUAT's. (A case of land conflict)
8	Semi-structured. Individual woman	Target group	30/07/09 IA	Mrs. Laurinda Massingue, received land by inheritance from her aunt in Mapatuine which was later removed from her by Maragra. She lost her crops including maize, casava sugar cane etc. (A case of land conflict)
9	Semi-structured. Individual woman	Target group	30/07/09 IA	Mrs. Aneta Mulhui, Deputy Secretary for social affairs from Adjunta Associação Maciana, she handles cases involving peasants who miss the work of the association (an interview to evaluate associativism regarding land issues)
10	Semi-structured. Individual woman	Target group	11/08/09 IA	Mrs. Inês Augusto Manhiça, Mrs. Maria, Mrs Rebeca Mandleia, Mrs. Elisa Mondlane – Maragra women employees working in the fields sector with labour conflicts and weakened health condition (an interview to evaluate performance of trade union and COMUTRA). Note: photos of Mrs Maria taken.
11	Semi-structured. Individual woman	Target group	19/08/09 IA	Marta Zacaria, unionist from Maragra as permanent employee, presently suspended by the company, for she does not have land of her own na condição de assalariada permanente, agora com suspensão temporária da empresa, não possui terra (an interview to evaluate performance of trade union).
12	Semi-structured. Individual woman	Target group	19/08/09 IA	Helena Chachuaio, Coordinator of Comité da Mulher Trabalhadora (COMUTRA), Maragra full - employee (an interview to evaluate performance of COMUTRA at Maragra).
13	Semi-structured. Individual man	Target group	19/08/09 IA	Carlos Cossa, Chairperson of Associação Maciana and Mapatuine e Urukunine peasants' representative (an

				interview to evaluate associativism regarding land issues).
14	Inquérito	Target group	30/07/09 24/08/09 Teresa, Juscelino, Helena e Lizete	127 interviews were conducted by means of a stratified sample, in accordance to the type of link with Maragra and the size of respective universe. See tables 1 and 2.
15	Observation	Places of land conflict	20/08/09 IA	(i) Urukunine e Mapatuine communities– about 50 peasants from these communities were removed from the lands they were occupying around Maragra dyke since 1968 and resettled in new lands in Maciana – which resulted devastation of production fields and allocation of outcast lands (a complete jungle that need clearing up with irrigating and ploughing problems) without ownership certificate.

MANHIÇA SEDE: TSAKANE

ID	Type of interview	Target	Date and who conducted	Remarks: data about the target, place and other relevant information
1	Focal group (Collective interview)	Target group	22/07/09 RI, AJ, NZ e XA	Peasants Cooperativa Thzakane. 3 men e 7 women
2	Observation	Jatropha fields	22/07/09 RI, AJ, NZ e XA	Size and condition of jatropha plantation
3	Survey	Target group	30/07/09 24/08/09 André e Lizete	23 surveys of a universe of 27 (85% of total). See table 1
4	Semi-structured. Individual man	Target group	3/08 09 André	Inocencio Xerinda (Member of associação Tsakane)
5	Semi-structured. Individual woman	Target group	3/08 09 André	Luís António Xerinda (Member of associação Tsakane)
6	Semi-structured. Individual man	Target group	3/08 09 André	Claudino Boane (Member of associação Tsakane)
7	Semi-structured. Individual man	Target group	3/08 09 André	Augusto José Cossa (Member of associação Tsakane)
8	Semi-structured. Individual woman	Target group	5/08 09 André	Fátima Daniel Ntsuca (Member of associação Tsakane)
9	Semi-structured. Individual man	Target group	5/08 09 André	Gertrudes Tembe (Member of associação Tsakane)
10	Semi-structured. Individual	Target group	5/08 09 André	Rita Cossa (peasant, worked on contract basis in the fields of associação Tsakane)

	woman			
11	Semi-structured. Individual woman	Target group	5/08 09 André	Avelina Manusse (Member of associação Tsakane)
12	Semi-structured. Individual woman	Target group	5/08 09 André	Marta Uamba (Member of associacção Tsakane),c'cc'

*Size of the survey sample per site and sex***Table 1. Size of the survey sample per site and sex**

Site	Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Cooperativa Eduardo Mondlane	Woman	28	93,3
	Man	2	6,7
	Total	30	100
Maragra	Woman	126	99,2
	Man	1	0,8
	Total	127	100
Tsakane	Woman	18	78,3
	Man	5	21,7
	Total	23	100
Bairro Cambeve	Woman	37	77,1
	Man	11	22,9
	Total	48	100
TOTAL		228	100

*Distribution of stratified sample - Maragra***Table 2. Distribution of stratified sample.3 - Maragra**

Categories	Nº permanent	Nº respondent	% Sample
Seasonal Workers	822	74	9%
Needed workers in the field	82	18	22%
Needed workers in the Industries	82	16	20%
Total Maragra	986²/	108	11%
Others (peasants living in the lands belonging to Maragra and /or in conflict with the company)	36	19	52%
Total		127	

² / The total number of workers employed by Maragra is presently around 3 281, of which 30,1% women of the permanent in different categories of labour division

RELATION OBSERVATION: KEY RESPONDENTS

ID	Type of interview	Target	Place	Date and the person that conducted	Remarks: data about the target, place and other relevant information
1	Semi-structured. Individual	Key respondent.	AMODEIA Office	30/04/09 Graça, Nzira, Ritu e André)	Lúcia Matusse (Deputy Chairperson of Amudeia)
2	Semi-structured. Individual	Key respondent.	AMODEIA Office	30/04/09 Graça, Nzira, Ritu e André	Jossias Maulela (Paralegal/Activist of Amudeia)
3	Semi-structured. Individual	Key respondent.	AMODEIA Office	30/04/09 Graça, Nzira, Ritu e André	Rebeca Mabuie executive secretary of Cooperativa Eduardo Mondlane and UNAC secretariat member
4	Semi-structured. Individual	Key respondent.	Fórum/Maputo	7/06/09 XA	Jurist Technician working for the Gabinete de Atendimento à Violência doméstica em Manhiça. Works with AMODEIA
5	Semi-structured. Colectiva	Key respondent	UNAC/Manhiça	9/06/09 IA	2 men from the Associação de Camponeses de Manhiça
6	Semi-structured. Individual	Key respondent.	AMODEIA/Manhiça	9/06/09 XA e IA	Primary school teacher and educator
7	Semi-structured. Colectiva	Key respondent	Serviuce Office, AMODEIA Manhiça	19/06/09 XA e NZ	3 Women activists from AMODEIA
8	Semi-structured. Individual	Key respondent		15/06/09 André	André Novidade Reis. Manhiça; Tradicional. (28/05/2003) (régulo máximo do distrito de Manhiça)
9	Semi-structured. Colectiva	Key respondent		15/06/09 André	Boaventura Manhiça (paralegal) e Teresa Manhiça (activista da AMUDEIA), ambos membros do Gabinete de Atendimento
10	Semi-structured. Individual	Key respondent	Serviuce Office, AMODEIA Manhiça	17/06/09 XA	Office Member: Psychology; Paralegal and 1 woma activist
11	Observation	Atendimento Gabinete	Serviuce Office, AMODEIA Manhiça	17/06/09 XA	Users of the Offie * Husband, who says the woman is harrasing * Conflict resulting from sail of property

					* Alimony.
12	Semi-structured. Colectiva	Key respondent	ASSOMUDE Marracuene	17/06/09 XA	3 Clerks
13	Semi-structured individual	Key respondent	Manhiça Sede	10/07/09 AJ e NZ	Rosa da Conceição (polícia); head of Gabinete de Atendimento da Mulher e Criança Vítima da Violência District of Manhiça
14	Semi-structured individual	Key respondent	Manhiça Sede	16/07/09 XA e IA	District Judge – Manhiça
15	Semi-structured individual	Key respondent	Manhiça Sede	16/07/09 NZ e IA	District Attorney – Manhiça
16	Semi-structured individual	Key respondent	Manhiça Sede		Director for Economic and Agriculture Service
17	Semi-structured individual/ colectiva	Key respondent	Manhiça Sede		Agrarian expansionists
18	Semi-structured individual	Key respondent	Manhiça Sede Maragra	IA e NZ	Maragra managers
19	Semi-structured individual	Key respondent	Manhiça Sede. Bairro Cambeve	XA	Zacarias A. Mbeve. Manhiça Sede. Bairro Cambeve Leader