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## The "Wrong" Gender? Distribution of Social Capital in Groups of Smallholder Farmers in Búzi District, Mozambique

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**Universität für Bodenkultur Wien**  
Department für Wirtschafts- und  
Sozialwissenschaften

# **The “Wrong” Gender? Distribution of Social Capital in Groups of Smallholder Farmers in Búzi District, Mozambique**

Elisabeth Gotschi

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# **The “Wrong” Gender? Distribution of Social Capital in Groups of Smallholder Farmers in Búzi District, Mozambique**

Elisabeth Gotschi\*

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## **Abstract**

*Despite the potential of local groups for contributing to rural development, it remains questionable, whether social capital - as the “missing link” in development - is compatible with the idea of equity strived for in “gender mainstreamed” development projects. This paper will examine gendered differences in groups of smallholder farmers in Búzi district and how social capital is generated and distributed. While men and women equally invest into groups, in terms of participation in group activities or contribution of communal work, the benefits of social capital are significantly unequally distributed. Women find it harder to transform the number of social relations into improved information, access to markets, or help in case of need.*

**Keywords:** associations, gender, Mozambique, rural development, social capital

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## Introduction

Research on farming in “groups”, such as, synchronized farming and collective management, has confirmed that organization of smallholder farmers through group-approaches serves as an effective intervention for development or extension agents to educate farmers, help them improve their technologies, reduce transaction costs, increase production, reduce costs of cultivation, gain access to markets, services and technical assistance (Srinath et al. 2000:558, Choupkova and Bjornskov 2002, McClelland et al. 2004, Swanson 2006, Springfellow et al. 1997). Groups “facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam 1995:69), can help overcome problems that need to be addressed through collective action, address regional issues (Bebbington and Carroll 2000), and reduce the costs of collaboration and collective action (Andersson et al. 2002). Membership in groups allows farmers to link “the traditional with the modern in their resource management strategies” and to stimulate rural markets and economies (Bebbington 1996:1162).

Groups do provide a number of attractive and valuable incentives among the farmers themselves such as to constitute a forum for their members to share ideas and seek ways of mutual support (Herriot et al. 2000), networks and develop personal relationships (Pretty and Smith 2004:635). “Social life, interpersonal relationships, and membership in groups are important aspects of persons’ lives because so many goals and satisfactions are attainable most easily in groups” (Festinger 1953:92). Despite the attainment of individual and collective goals, membership in groups also requires investments in terms of money, labour or in-kind contributions (Narayan 1997:54). When joining a group, members “must be convinced that the benefits derived from the group (...) will be greater than those from individual ones” (Pretty 2003a:17) to pay off their investments and their compliance to “[c]ommon rules, norms and sanctions” (Pretty 2003b:1912).

The difference between a “group” and a number of people gathering at a market is that members of groups develop “the ‘I’ into the ‘we’” (Putnam 1995:67), “have a clear sense of belonging, of collective identity and probably also a sense of common purpose” (Dunford 1992:103).

Consequently, the character of the group is of double-fold character: it is a *collective actor* that performs in its own right, works with other institutions (e.g. extension, governments, traders...), fulfils tasks in society, and eventually allows members to overcome collective action problems, develop and implement common ideas, or to provide public goods (Putnam 1993:163ff.). The group is also a platform where individuals meet to negotiate their personal interests, struggle over influence and power. Group development processes do not occur linear, but are subject to group dynamics, conflicts over divergent interests and access to scarce resources. More mature groups, however, appear to be more resilient to shocks, and less likely “to regress to a previous stage, as worldviews, philosophies and practices have fundamentally changed” (Pretty and Ward: 2001:220). Groups, such as associations

and unions, rely on mutual cooperation, agree on a set of norms, and are built on the willingness of *individual actors* (its members) to work together on shared objectives (Baron et al. 2000, Coleman 1990). Consequently, the group enables members to draw personal benefits that compensate for invested time, money or labour by providing networks, achievement of goals that are otherwise out of reach etc. These two interdependent levels, group (“we”) and individual (“I”), are complex and difficult to disentangle because they are mutually conditioned. More so, people do not only perform roles as group members but take a set of roles in their families, political parties, traditional society, church etc. Divergent role expectations have to be balanced and can lead to conflicts (Fuchs-Heinritz 1995:315,567ff.).

In recent years, groups become subject to the growing social capital literature (e.g. Pretty and Ward 2001, Pretty 2003b, Bebbington and Carroll 2000, Uphoff and Wijayarathna 2000 etc.). Relatively little is known on how social capital forms, and on how the benefits from the group are actually translated to the individual level, or distributed within the group. Especially gender or gender relations have yet hardly been addressed, both in the social capital literature, as the literature on groups and associations (Molyneux 2002:177, Korvajäri 2006:1).

## **Social Capital and Groups**

Social capital has received increasing importance (Woolcock 1998, Pretty and Smith 2004, Pretty and Ward 2001 etc.), and “become one of the most popular exports from sociological theory into everyday language” (Portes 1998:2). The concept “social capital” has been included as the “missing link” (Grootaert 1998) into economic analysis suggesting that social capital “can have an impact on development outcomes – growth, equity, and poverty alleviation” (ibid.) improving “the way in which economic actors interact and organize themselves to generate growth and development” (ibid.).

Despite the rapid increase in research on social capital, the concept and its potential to be included in economic analysis remains contended. The character of social capital is not “private” in the strict economic sense, as social capital is not in the possession and under direct control of individual actors, but embedded in the social structure (Coleman 1990, Lin 2003): “Whereas economic capital is in people’s bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships. To possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage” (Portes 1998:7). “

Besides, the character of social capital remains contested: A number of scholars (Bourdieu, Coleman, Lin etc.) have understood social capital as an individual asset that actors use to achieve personal goals (Portes 1998:7); others understand it as a collective asset or public good (Putnam 1993:170). As a collective concept social capital refers to “civicness” (Molyneux 2002:170) of communities, groups or entire societies and has been defined as “features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating

coordinated actions“ (Putnam 1993:167). Research demonstrated that communities, groups or societies well endowed with social capital are “safer, cleaner, wealthier, more literate, better governed and generally ‘happier’ than” others (Woolcock 1998:155), and the organization of people paired with their compliance to shared norms has a positive impact on economic growth (Grootaert 1998).

Despite these divergent views there is a shared understanding “that social capital is not a single entity, but is rather multi-dimensional in nature” (Grootaert et al. 2004:3). Thus, different types, such as structural and cognitive social capital, have been distinguished. The first form refers to social networks, roles, rules, interaction patterns and procedures which are relatively objective, fairly visible and can be elaborated in group discussions. The second form refers to norms, values, attitudes, beliefs (e.g. reciprocity, solidarity etc.) and is based on subjective, mental processes (Krishna and Uphoff 1998:7, Uphoff and Wijayaratna 2000:1876).

Other authors have distinguished social capital based on the intensity or type of relation between actors: Granovetter (1973:1361) for example defines the “strength of a tie” as a “combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (...) and the reciprocal services”. Strong ties such as kinship relations and close friends are good for local cohesion, but through weak ties, such as loose contacts at work, random acquaintances etc., more and different people can be reached, and new knowledge or information accessed.

Alike, the further development of Putnam's work on social capital has distinguished bonding social capital that integrates and holds people with similar demographic characteristics together. Bridging social capital refers to linkages with different people or between organizations at the same level while linking social capital accounts for hierarchical relations, for example with authorities (Bebbington and Carroll 2000, Grootaert et al. 2004).

Besides refining the concept of social capital and applying the concept in studies on poverty and well-being around the world (Bebbington and Carroll 2000, Bebbington 1996, Narayan 1997, Uphoff and Wijayaratna 2000, Westermann et al. 2005 etc.), critique has been raised. Molyneux (2002) for example argues that reproduction of power and issues of equity especially in relation to gender have hardly been analyzed in the social capital debate. Further, social capital of groups or communities found in the United States is of a very different quality compared to the social capital of the poor for example in Latin America, Africa, or Asia and theories developed in the western context (e.g. Putnam, Bourdieu, Coleman) cannot be exported. Yet another difficulty associated with social capital is that it is not essentially “good”, but draws costs and obligations on members: it can be exclusive to non-members but also accumulated in unwanted, criminal organizations (Krishna and Uphoff 1998:7, Woolcock 1998:158, Portes 1998:15f.). It is therefore “important to ask how the positive consequences of social capital – mutual support, cooperation, trust, institutional effectiveness – can be maximized and the negative manifestations – sectarianism, ethnocentrism, corruption – minimized” (Putnam 2000:22). It needs to be further considered that positive outcomes of social capital are not cost-free but

require members of groups and communities who invest into the creation of social capital. However, being an aspect of social structure, social capital – like other types of public goods – “tends to be undervalued and undersupplied by private agents (...) [and] must often be produced as a by-product of other social activities” (Putnam 1993:170).

## **Social Capital and Groups in Mozambique**

### ***Traditional Forms of Social Capital***

Informal cooperation in rural Mozambique exists in form of *xitique* - informal savings and credit arrangements, *ajuda mutua* - rotating work schemes based on reciprocity, *buscato* or *ganho-ganho* - labour in exchange of money, food, or traditional drinks (Marsh 2003, Vugt 2001). Traditionally, people rely on their “strong ties” (Granovetter 1973) and “social capital” is associated with the networks over and within the extended family. Kinship ties are an important aspect of (bonding) social capital as they are based on mutual help and offer social protection in the absence of governmental structures to guarantee social security in case of sickness and old age (Ministerio do Plano e Financas 1998).

Another understanding of social capital refers to the traditional organization of the rural society where a specific system of laws, norms and values developed to ensure the “production and reproduction of social groups, and of the communities” (Messer 2001:14). Customs, traditional laws and norms define how social capital can be accumulated, passed on and transformed into individual assets. Messer (2001:14) argues that the prevention of theft for example is an indicator of stocks of (cognitive) social capital in a given community, and that frequent or unsanctioned theft is an indicator for its deterioration. Similarly, the existence of systems of wealth distribution, mutual assistance, and respect of reciprocal norms indicates high levels of social capital. While traditional authorities embody social norms, are in power to sanction deviation or solve conflict, “*the social capital embodied in traditional community leaders should sometimes be ‘tapped’ only with great care, as much of that capital, although grounded in traditional networks of mutual assistance and solidarity, is also nested in clientelistic relations among kinship groups of unequal social status*” (Messer, n.d. quoted in Marsh 2003:17).

### ***Social Capital in the National Development Debate***

Restricting social capital to strong kinship ties and the hierarchical traditional system<sup>2</sup> has reasons: in central Mozambique farmers do not live in “villages” but often miles apart from each other. Due to these scattered settlement patterns people

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<sup>2</sup> On forms of traditional organization in Mozambique see for example Cau 2004, Roque and Tengler (2001), Messer (2001), Marsh (2003).

predominantly organize their social life around their kin. Social ties within the communities have been largely destroyed during the armed civil war (1984-1992) which has dislocated about 50 % of the population. The massive return of refugees and displaced persons in the 1990s was problematic in many ways, but re-emerging traditional structures have been mediating for example access to land, resettlement and conflicts at the local level (Messer 2001, Unruh 1998).

Diversification of social relations and creation of “weak ties” (Granovetter 1973) to complement the social networks provided by the family is of growing importance. Besides the aftermaths of the civil war (ruptured families, victims from landmines etc.) it becomes increasingly hard for the extended family and traditional rural society to cope with the growing number of orphans and vulnerable people due to HIV/AIDS, rural to urban migration or natural disasters (G20 2005, RoM 2004, RoM 2006, UNDP 2001, UNDP 2005).

Strengthening social capital at the grassroots level to respond to some of these challenges has found its way into the Mozambican development debate: The annual poverty report (G20 2005) for example suggested promoting civil society organizations (CSOs) to deal with “social poverty”, structural and social disparities. Similarly, the Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (PARPA) recommends “strengthening locally and/or community-based organizations and promoting horizontal communications (...) creating sustainable locally-based associations and organizations” (RoM 2006:72, orig. emph) as one way to reduce poverty and achieve better development outcomes.

### ***Groups in Mozambique - Modern Forms of Social Capital***

Working in or as formal groups<sup>3</sup> was introduced after independence (1975) when the socialist FRELIMO government forced people to work in agricultural cooperatives and live in communal villages. With the transition to a market economy, cooperatives were privatized, and transformed into associations, often without explaining the implications of these changes to farmers. After the end of the civil war (1992) international donors preferably allocated emergency relief to people who were organized as groups and hence created an expectation of people to receive free goods other than looking at the group as a framework to overcome problems out of their own capacities (Vugt 2001, pers.comm. Sr. Ismail 3.3.2005).

Following the Mozambican law individuals are free to associate. According to national statistics only 2 % of the total number of 3 million smallholdings is officially organized

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<sup>3</sup> For the purpose of this paper formal groups are defined as associations, cooperatives, business clubs, groups etc. that have established explicit rules and norms that determine conditions of membership and leadership. Legalization or official registration with state authorities is possible but not necessary.



in groups (Mole 2003:140, Tostão and Mlay 2003:126); however, there are a growing number of non-registered groups all over the country.

Legal principles of associations include being of non-secret character, minimum age of 18 for members, members must be in full possession of their civil rights. An association can acquire legal personality when it has a minimum of ten members, its articles are compliant to the law, and they prove ability to perform and function according to their articles. The legal personality gives associations the capacity to acquire and exercise rights, to contract obligations or to register in the Civil or Commercial Registry (ACDI-VOCA n.d:2). Besides, NGOs encourage principles of equity between group members, accountability of leaders, voluntary and non-discriminatory membership, contribution of money and labour, etc. (FAO 1998a and b, pers.comm. different rural development experts).

## **Methodology**

### ***Research Questions***

The analysis of social capital in farmer groups in Búzi district, central Mozambique, focuses on the following four propositions concerning gendered differences: (1) Efforts to promote female participation in projects appears to give both, men and women “a stake a voice and a choice” (Cornwall 2003:1325), but it remains unknown how farmer groups are composed in terms of gender and other socio-demographic variables (e.g. civil status, age, education...), and which positions are taken by men and women. (2) It is often assumed that women display more altruistic or solidarity behaviour (Cornwall 2003, Haan 2001, Westermann et al. 2005), and the family (a predominantly female domain) is often conceptualized as a primary source of social capital (Mayoux 2001, Molyneux 2002). However, it remains unclear whether there are any gendered differences in term of investments into groups, e.g. willingness to contribute money and labour, participation in group meetings, time of membership in groups, or helping other people. Finally, (3) it will be assessed how benefits from social capital are distributed: Are men and women equally able to create supportive social networks, develop trust and access information or services? Is it possible for women to increase their benefits when occupying a leadership function? Does the presence of women in groups really lead to higher social capital as suggested by Westermann et al. (2005)?

## **Data and Survey Instrument**

The analysis draws on field work carried out in Búzi district, Mozambique between February and June 2005. The basic population was compromised of all members of farmer groups in Búzi, i.e. 73 groups with a total number of about 2.000 members<sup>4</sup>.

The main source of data constitutes a survey on social capital (n=160 farmers), which was complemented with a group inventory (N=73), detailed records on membership in 20 groups (n=491), a number of focus group discussions in each of these 20 groups, and semi-structured interviews with development experts in Maputo, Beira and Búzi.

Two-stage quota sampling was used for the survey: first, 20 groups have been selected, based on a group inventory compiled from the district government and local NGO/CSO (N=73). Quota included 'affiliation to NGO', 'foundation year of the group', 'number of total members', 'gender of the group president', 'region', and 'legalization status'. Second, to select individual respondents, quota was developed based on membership lists for the selected 20 groups. Data provided for each member included 'gender', 'function', 'age' etc. (n=491).

The survey instrument was developed based on a review of existing measurement tools, adapted to the regional context and research interest (Grootaert et al. 2004, Stone 2001, Ruston and Akinrodoye 2002, Bullen and Onyx 1998, Narayan 1998, Schaik 2002, INE 2003). The variables and their codes used for this paper appear in the Appendix.

## **Context of Research**

In Búzi district, central Mozambique (Figure 1 and 2), smallholder farmers depend on rain-fed agriculture, use simple tools and next to no external input (Mole 2003:140, Matsinhe 2003:13f.). From the 73 groups found in the district, basically two different types can be distinguished: Groups related to the *União Nacional de Camponeses* (National Farmers Union, UNAC) with its district division (UDAC Búzi) and *Promoção Económica de Camponeses* (Promotion of Economic Activities of Farmers, PROMEC) an Austrian funded development project.

UDAC has collaborated with different donors in the past, but primarily follows a strategy of auto-reliance, in the conviction that farmers have to improve their own livelihoods to achieve sustainable development outcomes (UNAC 2004). The Austrian funded project PROMEC has been established in 2001 to support existing but mostly

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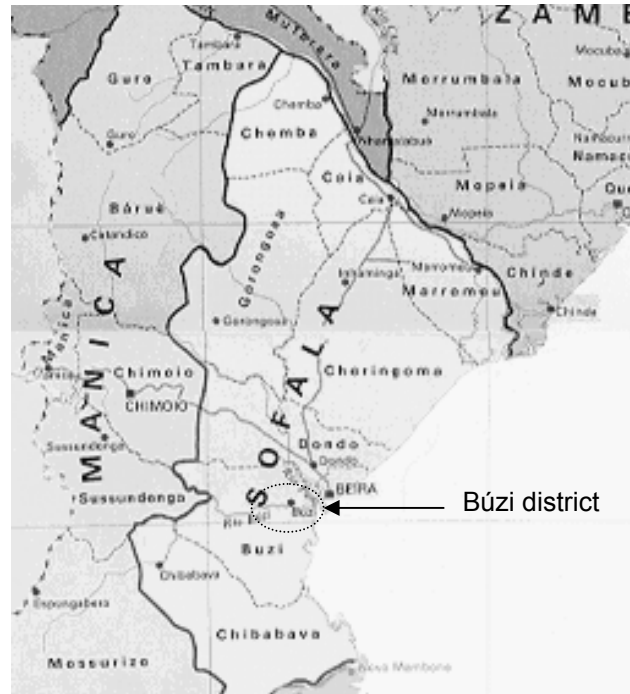
<sup>4</sup> Other forms of local cooperation initiated by development projects, such as committees to manage natural resources (e.g. resulting from the revised land law) or preventing natural disasters (e.g. resulting from the big floods 2000/2001) have not been included as the principles of „membership“, „leadership“ do not comply with „groups“ as discussed earlier.

create new groups of smallholder farmers, so-called *clubes de negócio* (business clubs), identify commercialization opportunities and establish links with traders.

### Figure 1 Map of Mozambique



### Figure 2 Map of Central Mozambique



(Figure 1: <http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca>; Figure 2 – amended Gotschi - <http://www.mozambique.mz>)

## Gender Differences in Group Composition and Economic Activities

The ethnic homogeneity and the overall gender composition of the rural society in Búzi district (Roque and Tengler 2001:21) is displayed also in group membership: 95,6 % are Ndaú; and 52,5 %<sup>5</sup> are female.

However, a number of socio-demographic characteristics distinguish male from female group members (Table 1): female members are significantly younger, less likely to read and have enjoyed school for a shorter period of time. Despite the younger age, female group members are significantly less likely to stay in permanent

<sup>5</sup> Based on data obtained from membership lists (n=491).

relations<sup>6</sup> but more likely to be divorced or widowed compared to their male colleagues. Upon marriage, the construction of female identity includes the woman's subordination, restricted mobility and dependency on the male household head.

Intra-household division of labour and power imbalances between husband and wife usually restrict a woman's active participation in groups. It has been reported that the husband would typically become member in a group to represent the household. Consequently he would sell "his" crops through the group, even if the crops have been grown as a family, or by his wife. Because group members need to pay a monthly membership fee, it is rare that both, husband and wife, become group member. In case of female-headed-households<sup>7</sup> a woman's autonomy increases so she can be member in her own name, register and sell the products as her own.

**Table 1 Overview on membership in groups<sup>(a)</sup>**

Variable	Total (%,mean)	Gender (%,mean)		T-tests (indp. t-test,t-value)
	(n=160)	Female (n=87)	Male (n=73)	Gender (1=female, 2=male)
Age	41,7	37,8	46,1	-3,554 ***
Years Schooling	2,62	1,78	3,62	-4,685 ***
Ability to read	53,1%	31,0%	79,5%	-6,939 ***
Ethnic group Ndau	95,6%	97,6%	93,2%	1,369
Household size	7,0	6,8	7,3	-1,079
Civil Status				
Single	6,9%	9,2%	4,1%	1,265
Relation	76,3%	63,2%	91,8%	-4,459 ***
Divorced/widowed	16,9%	27,6%	4,1%	4,131 ***

Significance levels: \*\*\*<0,01;\*\*<0,05;\*<0,1; <sup>(a)</sup> Definition of variables is included in the Appendix.

In mixed groups, gender relations as prevalent in the household or community are not neutralized, but rather manifested and perpetuated. Women are not able to talk in front of men, disagree with them, or take leadership responsibilities as long as men

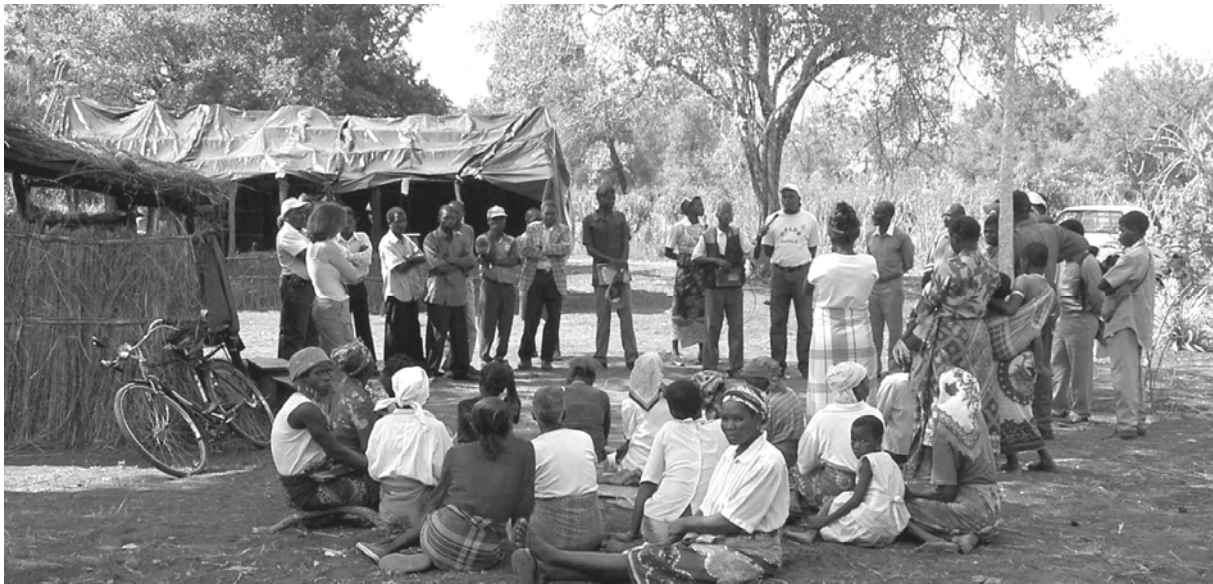
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<sup>6</sup> The category "permanent relation" comprises officially registered monogamous or polygamous marriages and "informal", traditional weddings where *lobolo* (bride price) has been paid, but no official documents received.

<sup>7</sup> Women usually do not choose to become head of household "instead, it was the absence of a man able to play this role that led them to perform these duties" (UNDP 2001:46). It shall be noted that female-headed households face greater risks of being poor (ebd.:75,91f., Ministry of Planning and Finance 1996:24).

are present. Despite anchored principles of democracy and equal rights in by-laws of farmer groups women often lack confidence to claim their chances. Due to power imbalances within the household it is impossible for a woman to participate in groups against the will of her husband. In women-only groups members have reported that in the beginning their husbands displayed lack of trust and suspicion on their whereabouts. Especially when they participated in meetings outside the household, their husbands feared losing control over them, restricting their engagement in groups. This was even truer in case a woman occupied a leadership position, which required frequently leaving the compound, travelling to the district capital (and eventually spend the night there) for administering and representing group tasks to traders, NGOs or the government (Focus group discussions, 10.3.-30.6.2005, Figure 3).

**Figure 3 Meeting of mixed group with NGO. Hardly any woman contributes to the discussion**



An assessment of men and women in respect to their occupation of leadership positions further reveals that democracy and equal chances are far from being realized: women do not enjoy the same chances as men, e.g. to become president and represent the group, participate in meetings or seminars and take final decisions. This is also true for the position of the vice-president and the secretary. Only the position of the treasurer is more often taken by women who are said to be more trustworthy and less likely to abuse ("eat") money (Table 2).

While by-laws do not formally define criteria for group leaders, informal criteria as discussed by group members typically meet the profile of male community leaders: social reputation ("be a good person"), trustworthiness ("not eat the money"), ability to read, write and represent the group.

Group members who already occupy positions in the community (traditional leader, teacher, etc.) tend to further improve their social status through their membership in

groups, especially when performing leadership positions. According to the principle “them as has, gets” (Putnam 1993:169) “privileged” community members, or their close relatives (son, brother etc.) tend to accumulate more roles through membership in groups, further increase their prominence as well as their social capital.

UDAC and PROMEC state to be equally open to men and women. The prominence of *buscato* (exchange of labour for food/money) and market-orientation in PROMEC compared to *ajuda mutua* (reciprocal exchange of labour) paired with subsistence-orientation of UDAC offers two different profiles that clearly correspond distinct gendered preferences: the share of female members is significantly higher in UDAC groups, compared to PROMEC groups (Table 2).

**Table 2 Gender-composition of groups and functions**

Variable	Total (%)	Gender (%)		T-tests (indep. t-test, t-value)
	n=491	Female (n=258)	Male (n=233)	Gender 1=female, 2=male
NGO				4,405 ***
PROMEC	51,5	43,1	56,9	
UDAC	48,5	62,6	37,4	
Position in Group				
Member-only	75,6	57,0	43,0	-4,497 ***
Function	24,4	31,3	68,8	
President	4,3	11,8	88,2	-3,325 ***
Vice-President	3,8	26,7	73,3	-1,907 *
Secretary	4,3	23,5	76,5	-2,306 **
Treasurer	4,8	52,6	47,4	0,167

Significance levels: \*\*\*<0,01;\*\*<0,05;\*<0,1

## Altruist Orientation and Benefits from Social Capital Based on Gender

The theoretical discussion indicates that social capital is produced rather “as a by-product of other social activities” (Putnam 1993:170). The achievement of benefits such as personal or common goals requires “investment of time and resources in building trust and self-organizational capacity of groups” (Narayan 1997:65). The assumption of women being more altruistic and display higher solidarity than men, as suggested for example by Haan (2001) or Molinas (1998), cannot be confirmed: there are no significant differences between men and women as far as their altruist orientation, participation in group meetings or contribution towards community work is concerned (Table 3). These findings partly confirm Westermann et al. (2005) who conclude women’s groups are not based on more altruistic motives for collaboration

compared to mixed or men's groups. However, in Búzi district a higher share of female members does not result in more frequent group meetings (as observed by Westerman et al. 2005). Men have significantly more friends, and are more willing to help other people compared to women. Women in leadership positions, however, are equally willing to help other people compared to male non-leaders and it is suggested that leadership positions bring forward social expectations to take care for other people.

Benefits from social capital and membership in groups include increasing the likelihood to receive support in case of need, access information etc. The accumulation of social capital requires transforming group membership into supportive social networks. Despite equal investments of men and women into structural social capital, men are more successful in getting the benefits, such as having significantly more people who help or provide credit in case of need, larger number of contacts, and greater likelihood to access different institutions or information. Men also are less likely to report suffering from problems compared to women.

**Table 3 Gendered differences in investments in and benefits from social capital**

Variables	I (1=female, 2=male)	II (1=female leaders, 2=male non-leaders)	III (1=women groups, 2=women in mixed groups)	IV % of female members in group
Altruist orientation <sup>(b)</sup>	0,089	-0,021	0,145	-0,056
Number of friends <sup>(a)</sup>	0,446***	0,392 ***	0,014	-0,175 **
<b><i>Investments into Structural Social Capital</i></b>				
Participation in meetings <sup>(a)</sup>	-0,034	-0,145	-0,033	-0,026
Cont. community work <sup>(a)</sup>	-0,095	0,051	-0,034	0,073
Helping other people <sup>(a)</sup>	0,188 **	0,076	0,112	-0,089
<b><i>Benefits from Structural Social Capital</i></b>				
People who give credit <sup>(a)</sup>	0,321 ***	0,341 **	0,101	-0,134 *
People help in need <sup>(a)</sup>	0,278 ***	0,221	0,202 *	-0,023
Index Source-help-in-need <sup>(b)</sup>	0,162	0,107	0,482 ***	0,031
Index Number contacts <sup>(b)</sup>	0,370 ***	0,258	0,299 *	-0,009
Index Access institution <sup>(b)</sup>	0,233 **	-0,079	0,441 **	-0,010
Index Sources of info <sup>(b)</sup>	0,235 **	0,232	0,265 *	-0,110 *
Index number problems <sup>(b)</sup>	-0,235 **	-0,297	-0,365 **	-0,174 **
<b><i>Cognitive Social Capital</i></b>				
Trust in other people <sup>(b)</sup>	0,401 **	0,110	0,352 *	-0,027
Change in trust <sup>(b)</sup>	0,530 **	0,415	0,345	-0,139

Significance levels: \*\*\*<0,01; \*\*<0,05; \*<0,1<sup>(a)</sup>Pearsons R, <sup>(b)</sup>Gamma

Women in leadership positions can improve their social-capital-benefits as compared to men in non-leadership positions. Women in leadership positions do partly catch up with male non-leaders: there are no significant differences between these two groups in terms of accessing help in need, information or services, but it remains more likely for male members, than female leaders, to obtain credit and have friends (Table 3).

Women in mixed groups build up higher levels of structural social capital and report less problems compared to women in female-only groups. Though mixed groups perpetuate female subordination and restricts female participation in leadership positions, the creation of women-only groups only addresses part of the “gender problem”. Gendered differences are reflected also in distinct social networks of men and women that reproduce power relations and determine access for example to traders or political institutions. Women in mixed groups, find it easier to “tap” some of the male resources, enter the “masculine social space” (Molyneux 2002) and establish contacts, access to information, help in case of need.

**Figure 4 "Ajuda mutua" - female cooperation to fulfill reproductive activities**



Results from cognitive social capital - which gives insights into the quality of relations, networks, and interactions between people - mirror and manifest what has been discussed already: men develop significantly higher levels of trust in other people and are more optimistic in their perception on the development of trust since they joined the group. Women in leadership positions do catch up with these perceptions as compared to male members. Women in mixed groups trust other people more compared to those in female-only groups.



## Discussion and Conclusion

The analysis of different types of farmers' organizations in rural Mozambique has revealed that social capital can serve as "missing link" and have a positive impact on development outcomes (Grootaert 1998): Farmers have reported their access to markets has improved since their membership in groups, they have incentives to produce more, are able to provide public goods etc. However, this paper examined whether an equal number of men and women leads to equal chances of men and women benefiting from group membership and social capital.

Overall, development projects meet their instrumental target of "gender equity" by having equal numbers of men and women in the project. Women in Búzi district form more than 50 % of group members, they attend group meetings, invest money, labour and time in group activities equally as men. Membership, however, has an inherently gendered subtext: the participation of women in farmer groups depends on their personal circumstances, e.g. age, education, civil status. Due to the complex intra-household division of labour a "wife" can hardly participate in her name and have a voice in a (mixed) group, but is likely to be "represented" through her husband. As the head of the household, he becomes member, sells the joint production and is the one who takes leadership responsibilities.

Group membership cannot be examined without taking into account the multiple roles of men and women in their households and communities. Women and men need to fulfil duties as group members on top of their responsibilities as household members; in the case of women this means to guarantee for the provision for subsistence needs (water, firewood, food, childcare) on a daily basis. Social expectations concerning role bearers predispose the potential of men and women to travel for example outside the compound for attending group meetings, or seminars organized by NGOs or district officials, contribute labour and money towards group activities.

Organizing women-only groups solves only part of the "gender" problem, which is male domination over women within the group. The benefits from being free of gendered relations within women-only groups are at the cost of losing out male resources that are valuable for acting in the community or dealing with other institutions, e.g. government, NGOs, traders etc. (Molyneux 2002). Further, the creation of women-only groups does not increase social capital in groups as compared to mixed groups or leads to an increased capacity for collective action as suggested by Westermann et al. (1995). In women-only groups, women lose out important social resources that are predominantly associated in the male's sphere such as access to different types of institutions, accessing information, or support that is available only if there were also male members in the group.

"Gender equity" in terms of an equal number of male and female members in groups or leadership positions does not address issues of power relations or cultural differences between men and women. The creation of groups – even if it is a women-only group – does not mean that members challenge traditional gender roles towards greater equality (Kusakabe et al. 2001). Women face restricted chances in being

elected as group leader, able to influence the group agenda, strengthening ones network and capturing other benefits, such as increased probability of accessing information and help in case of need (Cornwall 2003:1330). Development of social capital in groups might foster collective action, but it will not necessarily make group members challenge issues of subordination. In contrary, it was shown that groups re-enforce and perpetuate power structures prevalent in the community or household.

Instead of promoting women-only groups or equal numbers of men and women in groups, NGOs/CSOs should rather develop new forms of group membership that consider the complex relations between men and women and their commitment to the household and community. This requires training of development/extension agents who need to develop a more critical way of dealing with collective entities (household, community, group etc.). Instead of assuming the community, household, and group as inherently good and equally beneficial to all members, they need to be aware of diverse need of different *social* groups in order to address equity issues between poorer and wealthier, educated-privileged, men and women etc.

For practical work with groups it is suggested to involve and provide services also to the wives of group members. This will require a revision of the currently promoted standards of group constitutions and by-laws (e.g. membership fee) preventing the participation of both, wife and husband, in groups. The increased number of members could be used to broaden the scope of group objectives, and form for example sub-committees that meet the interests of both, men and women. An increased number of leadership positions and sub-committees within the group allow a greater number of members to gain experience and skills.

Supporting women in leadership positions starts by considering the social norms within which she performs her roles and how being in a leadership position relates to other roles performed for example within the household. NGOs and CSOs have reported that it is almost impossible that women participate in seminars and meetings outside the community, especially if participation involves staying overnight. Planning activities for female group leaders/members requires informing men on the objectives and benefits of the meeting. Organizing meetings in the communities, allowing her to return at the end of the day, or provide for the loss of female labour could increase females' participation in such events.

The complexity of "gender" brings about the impossibility to fully achieve "gender equity" within relatively small development projects such as farmer groups as the sweltering issue of gender equity cannot be sufficiently addressed unless fundamentally challenging gender roles at all levels in the Mozambican society. Still, within the scope of projects gender issues need to be addressed to ensure that the participation of women in groups does not mean to shift costs of development on the shoulders of women but to create supportive structures for women to ensure they are not further marginalized, but can reduce their vulnerability and increase their choices.

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## Appendix. Overview on Variables

Name	Type	Measurement
Gender	Dichotom	1=female, 2=male
Age	Continuous	Years
Education	Continuous Dichotom	Years of schooling Ability to read (1=yes, 0=no)
Ethnic Group	Nominal	Open question → dummies (1, 0)
Household size	Continuous	Number of people
Civil Status	Ordinal	Recoded → dummies (1, 0): Single (1=yes, 0=no), Relation (1=yes, 0=no), Divorced/widowed (1=yes, 0=no)
NGO	Dichotom	1=PROMEC, 2=UDAC
Position	Dichotom	President (1=yes, 0=no), Vice-President (1=yes, 0=no), Secretary (1=yes, 0=no), Treasurer (1=yes, 0=no), other function (1=yes, 0=no), member-only (1=yes, 0=no)
Function	Dichotom	Recoding 6 variables of "Position" (1=member-only, 2=holds function)
Mean size of plot	Continuous	Size of plot in hectares
Production	Continuous	Rice, sesame and maize production in kg, (mean value calculated from number of producers not from N=160)
Mean value of production	Continuous	Sum of livestock (chicken, cattle, goats...) rated at average market prices Sum of staple food (beans, rice, maize etc.) rated at average market prices Sum of Oil seeds (cashew, sesame ...) rated at average market prices Total production: sum of livestock, staple food, oil seeds
Off-farm income	Dichotom	Besides agriculture, do you have any other sources of income (e.g. carpenter, teacher...)? (1=yes, 0=no)
Exposure to group	Continuous	Years respondent is group member
Altruist orientation	Ordinal	Willingness to contribute labour (=1), money (1,5) or both (2,5) towards goods that do not bring direct benefit to respondent
Structural Social Capital	Continuous	Participation in group meetings: number of times Community work: number of times Helping others: number of people People who give credit: number of people Receive help from others: number of people
Indices Social capital	Σ dich.var.	Sources of help if needed Number of contacts Access to institutions (...) Sources of information Number of problems
Trust	Ordinal	Trust in other people: In general one can trust other people that live in this community (1=I do not agree at all, 4=I agree completely) Change in trust: Since the project started do you think trust has decreased (1), remained the same (2) or increased (3)?



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