

Social Capital among Farmer Association members and non-members

- A field study on inter-and intragroup trust in rural
Mozambique

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Abstract

Farmer associations are suggested a good tool to increase rural income and strengthen social ties among small-scale farmers. Strong social bonds can in turn generate social capital which is identified to matter significantly for development outcomes and poverty alleviation.

Not much research has been devoted to how the formation of a farmer association affects group dynamics and social capital between villagers. Thus, using empirical data from a field study in two villages in rural Mozambique, this study examines trust between farmer association members and non-members and further explains the results using concepts derived from social capital theory such as *bonding*, *bridging* and *linking* social capital.

Findings show great divergence in the level of intra- and intergroup trust in the villages. While one village shows fairly high overall trust, the other reveals fractions between association members and non-members. Thus, drawing on the result from the analysis, this study also illustrates the positive and negative outcomes derived from social networks and strong social capital.

Finally, this thesis argues for increased horizontal cooperation between farmer associations and highlights the importance of a supportive government and a progressive legal framework aimed at facilitating the commercialization of small-scale agricultural production.

Key words: social capital, farmer association, small-scale farming, Mozambique, trust

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List of Acronyms

| | |
|---------|---|
| ADRA | Adventist Development and Relief Agency |
| CBO | Community Based Organization |
| CLUSA | Cooperative League of the USA |
| FAO | Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations |
| GOM | Government of Mozambique |
| GTZ | Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit |
| IFAD | The International Fund for Agricultural Development |
| JICA | Japan International Cooperation Agency |
| MADER | The Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development |
| MINAG | Ministry of Agriculture |
| MAE | Ministry of Provincial Administration |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| PAPRA | GOM's Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty |
| PROAGRI | Agricultural Sector Public Expenditure Programme |
| PRODEZA | Projecto de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento Rural na Provincia da Zambézia |
| OECD | Organisation of Economic Co-operative and Development |
| ONS | Office of National Statistics |
| WVI | World Vision International |

1 Introduction

1.1 Background and rationale

Poverty in developing countries is predominately a rural phenomenon characterized by family-oriented small-scale farming¹. The agricultural sector is usually poorly developed and many smallholder farmers face a number of challenges that impede agricultural growth: low agricultural production due to lack of modern inputs such as fertilizers; limited access to government extension services and low levels of literacy and human capacity due to physical isolation (IFAD 2000:vii). Many also have difficulties understanding how the market works and lack organization and negotiation skills which make it difficult to engage in agricultural trade. In sum, these constraints make it hard for farmer to establish farm-market linkages which in turn leads to low household incomes (ibid). As a result, development partners are to an increased extent designing poverty reduction project aimed at targeting these constraints, build rural capacity and ultimately increasing agricultural growth.

One way of achieving this and making smallholders a more integral part in the food supply chain is by organizing them into farmer associations². Since poor households have few assets and little access to services they can gain from associating (Carroll 2001:35). The aim of a farmer association is to create and strengthen linkages between the farms and markets, scaling up on and improving quality of the agricultural production and facilitating farmers' access to market information. As such, farmer associations have been suggested a good tool to improve the living conditions of small-scale farmers (Bachke 2009).

An additional objective of a farmer association besides economic gains is to enhance human and social capital and strengthen ties among community members. Social capital resides in relationships among individuals or groups (Woolcock 2000:6) and research suggests that it matters significantly for development outcomes (Krishna 2003). It is argued to be a valuable resource for communities in developing countries and in the *World Development Report 2000/2001*, published by the World Bank, social capital formation is promoted as one of the major strategies for poverty

¹ Small-scale farms are usually small in size and a contrast to factory farming.

² Rural groups can be referred to as farmer associations, farmer organizations, cooperatives etc. In this study the term farmer association will be used.

reduction (WBR 2000/2001). Studies identified by Woolcook (2000) show that a community endowed with a rich stock of social capital has greater potential to confront poverty and vulnerability (Moser 1996; Narayan 1996), resolve disputes (Schafft and Brown, 2000), and share beneficial information (Isham 1999). In the context of farmer associations, social capital is essential for yet another reason – ensuring sustainability of the trade and association when external development partners are no longer assisting in the community.

While associations may have positive impacts on communal social ties, introducing a farmer association in rural areas where a majority of the community is dependent on farming for income and livelihood, may also change group dynamics in a less desirable way and possibly effect social ties between association members and non-members negatively. According to Lane participation is risky because it challenges local power structures (Nelson et al 1995:13).

Most studies about rural organizations examine the correlation between farmers association and market performance; social capital related to gender within farmers groups; social capital and institutional effectiveness; and social capital and the management of common resources such as irrigation management. However, few if any studies examine how the formation of a farmers association affects group dynamics between villagers. Traditional rural societies differ from modern societies as the latter “consist of a large number of overlapping social groups that permit multiple memberships and identities” while the former allows for fewer social opportunities (Fukuyama, 1999) which makes trust among villagers essential.

1.2 Purpose and research questions

Drawing on this lack of research, the aim of this thesis is to provide a balanced understanding of the opportunities and constrains of a social network such as a farmer association. To illustrate it, empirical data is used from a field study conducted in two villages located in the second largest and most populated province, Zambézia, in central Mozambique. More specifically, this study takes a closer look at the social capital and ties between and among farmer association members and non-members. Using concepts derived from social capital theory (*bonding*, *bridging* and *linking* social capital) and from social exclusion and network theory (*social exclusion* and *social inclusion*) the objective is further to explain the findings from the field study. Drawing on these objectives the central questions addressed in this thesis are:

- Do farmer association members possess a larger stock of social capital than non-members?
- Is there any disparity in the type of trust? (this thesis distinguishes between general, money and help trust)
- How can the presence and absence of trust be explained using social capital theory concepts?

- Based on the measured inter- and intragroup trust and levels of social capital, what positive and negative social outcomes can be derived from the farmer association?

The empirical findings are derived from Mozambique where approximately 80% of the population is dependent on agriculture for income, with small-scale farming accounting for around 90% of the production (Irish Aid). Previous attempts to establish farmer groups have produced mixed results. Cooperatives and state farms created by the government in the 1980s had little success and during this time the family farm sector was basically neglected. Farmers associations initiated by international NGOs in the mid-1990s have proven successful.

Nevertheless, a majority of small-scale farming families live below the poverty line and recently many have been evicted from their lands to give room for investors groups and commercial farms (War on Want). According to the World Bank (2006), sustainable growth of rural income is identified as one of the major challenges facing the country and it suggested that that agricultural growth, and in particular smallholder growth, is the main determinant of poverty reduction in Mozambique. This focus on improving and scaling up on farming of smallholders implies a shift from subsistence farming to commercialized farming producing for profit.

1.3 Disposition

Chapter 1: has introduced the research problem and given a brief description of the qualitative case study in Mozambique. In addition, objectives and research questions have been presented.

Chapter 2: outlines the theoretical framework consisting of a conceptualization of social capital and social network/exclusion theory. Lastly the analytical framework on which this study is based is outlined.

Chapter 3: this methodological chapter discusses chosen research design and following methodological considerations. It further reviews interview techniques and measures taken to ensure validity and reliability of the study.

Chapter 4: describes the rationale of farmer associations and the emergence of organized small-scale farming in Mozambique. Finally government policies and laws concerning farmer associations are reviewed.

Chapter 5: provides a background description of the villages and farmer associations as well as how the international NGO ADRA is working with them.

Chapter 6: presents the empirical results of the examination of trust among farmer association members and non-members in Alto Benfica and Namarebo. Findings are then discussed using concepts from the theoretical and analytical framework.

Chapter 7: summarizes the empirical findings and gives some concluding remarks.

2 Theoretical framework

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework consisting of a conceptualization of social capital and social network and exclusion theory. Forms, levels and subdivisions of social capital are described and lastly the analytical framework on which this study is based is presented.

2.1 Conceptualizing Social Capital

2.1.1 Definition and previous research

The multifaceted connotation of social capital as a concept has made it favorable for interdisciplinary analysis and the concept has been widely invoked by political scientists, economists and sociologists. In the recent years the concept has become an important political tool, especially in relation to poverty reduction (Øyen 2002). International organizations such as the World Bank, International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) have incorporated social capital as a component or decisive indicator when designing development programmes³. The initiative by these organizations has augmented the debate and highlighted the importance of social capital in a developing country context (Grootaert et al. 2001). Nevertheless, due to the multi-dimensional nature of the concept, academics and practitioners have had difficulties agreeing on a common definition of the concept.

Social capital refers to the ability of people to work with each other in groups (Fukuyama 1999) and whereas human capital is said to exist between individuals, social capital is claimed to reside in relationships (Woolcock 2000:6). The central notion of social capital theory is that “social networks are valuable assets” (Field 2003 in Smith 2009).

Three of the main proponents of social capital; Pierre Bourdieu, James S Coleman and Robert Putnam come from different backgrounds and they have all from their own perspectives contributed to the current debate.

³ For further information on the usage of social capital in development programmes, please see *World Development Report 2000-1: Attacking Poverty*

Bourdieu is credited as the one who introduced the concept and term *social capital* to the current debate (Claridge, 2004). In his work "The Forms of Capital" (Bourdieu 1986) social capital refers to social responsibilities, connections and linkages. Bourdieu views social capital as a resource in social struggles of people and he is particularly interested in understanding social hierarchy, inequalities and power struggles. His work is disparate from Coleman and Putnam in the sense that he analyzes social capital within the context of his critical theory of society, whereas Coleman and Putnam adopt a more normative approach (Claridge 2004).

Coleman's conception of social capital derives from his background in sociology and economy. He suggests that: "Social capital is defined by its function, it is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities having two characteristics in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure" (Coleman 1990:302 in ONS 2001). In his research, Coleman combines principles of rational choice with a sociological framework. Unlike Bourdieu, Coleman's work draws on extensive empirical data and he uses own formulated indicators.

Putnam is acknowledged as the one who has popularized the concept social capital and he remains one of the most cited researchers of the theory. Putnam argues that participation in social networks and membership in organizations give rise to social norms and trust which in turn facilitates collective action (Putnam 2000). He claims that that the more people that work together the larger stock of social capital is produced as an outcome (Cooper et al. 1999 in ONS 2001). His comparative study on regional governance in Italy, *Making Democracy Work* (1993), shows how civic engagement can generate political stability and economic prosperity.

In a following work *Bowling Alone*, which is considered a modern classic, Putnam shows that social capital in the US has declined as a result of reduced associational activities and a wider distance between neighbors, friends and family (Putnam 2000).

One common distinction between social capital scholars is where the focus of the study is put. Putnam focuses primarily on horizontal social networks (Putnam 2000) and as shown in the Italian study, he is particularly interested in the effects of social capital on institutional efficiency (Englebert 2000:58). A contrast to Putnam's interest in institutions can be seen in the work of Coleman, who gives more attention to the economic mechanisms of social capital and less to institutional issues (Coleman 1990 in Englebert 2000:58). Moreover, the literature of social capital proposes different indicators of measuring social capital; Putnam measures social capital primary in terms of quantifiable social relations and membership density. A person who is member in a network has through the many contact it generate, greater access to social capital (Putnam 2000). A contrast to Putnam's approach is seen in the work of Bourdieu, who gives less focus to quantifiable density and more to emotional, social, and cultural quality (Daly et al 2008).

Besides associational networks, forms of social trust are seen as a component of social capital. While most scholars acknowledge the importance of trust, they differ in how they view the relation between trust and social capital. For instance, some equate trust with social capital such as

Fukuyama (1995, 1997) who in a cross-national study examines the role of trust in relation to relative economic performance of nations and cultures. Putnam (et al 1993) sees trust as a source of social capital (derived from associational membership for instance) while others consider it (e.g. Coleman 1988) a form of social capital (Claridge 2004).

2.1.2 Forms and levels of analysis

Scholars distinguish between two different forms of social capital, *structural* and *cognitive*. The former refers to social networks, roles, and interaction patterns that are rather objective and visible; it comprises institutionalized forms such as group membership, informal networks and loose contacts. Subjective and mental processes like norms, trust and beliefs which are shared within a group or in society is on the other hand known as cognitive social capital (Uphoff and Wijayaratna 2000: 1876).

A second distinction relates to the level of social capital analysis; *micro* (individual), *meso* (group) and *macro* (societal); and whether social capital is possessed by an individual or if it is public good. Coleman asserts that physical and human capital are private goods whereas social capital is public good since the social capital benefits are enjoyed by a group at large (Coleman 1988:116; Daly 2008). The same view is shared by Putnam who considers it a collective attribute of communities (Putman 2000), whereas scholar such as Fukuyama, Dasgupta and Lin differ as they consider social capital to be an individual asset deriving from social relations (Claridge 2004; Daly et al 2008).

2.1.3 Functional sub-types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking social capital

The most common distinction in the social capital debate is between *bonding*, *bridging* and *linking* social capital (ONS 2001:11). *Bonding* social capital refers to ties and connections between people in homogenous groups such as family, kinship and members of the same type of group whereas *bridging* social capital in which bonds of connectedness are formed across diverse social groups (Beugelsdijk et al 2003). Poor communities are usually considered to have a large stock of bonding social capital but are lacking bridging and linking social capital due to disconnection with external actors and policy makers (Prakash 2000). Consequently, as Xavier de Souza Briggs states, one can say that bonding social capital is good for “getting by” while bridging social capital is crucial for “getting ahead” (de Souza Briggs in Putnam 2000:23). Thus, it is the bridging form of social capital that is particularly relevant for favorable democratic and economic outcomes (Titeca et al. 2008).

Another sub-type is *linking* social capital which refers to social capital obtained through relations with groups from different social strata for example groups with more power or higher social status. While bonding and bridging take place through horizontal social connections, linking social

capital is acquired through vertical connections with external agencies and organizations. Societies with strong communal ties can benefit from complementing extra-community linkages (Carroll 2001:87) as it enables access to resources, ideas and information from formal institutions beyond the immediate community radius (ABS 2002). Examples of linking social capital are communities that acquired social capital through health care providers and NGO officials working in their village (Woolcock 2002). It is in social capital literature suggested that the three forms follow linear progression and that community organizations ought to have a dynamic balance of bonding, bridging and linking to reach the optimal democratic and economic outcomes (Titeca et al. 2008).

2.1.4 Bridging social capital with social exclusion theory: downsides of social capital

Social networks are identified by David Halpern (2005) as one of three components of social capital; “(a)lmost all researchers would agree that non-family social networks in which people mostly know each other, such as a traditional locally based community or Coleman’s example of diamond merchants, are clear examples of social capital” (Halpern 2005). The very same attributes of social capital that can facilitate prosperous social outcomes have the potential to cause negative externalities (Claridge 2004). Nevertheless, social capital literature tends to focus more on the positive consequences of social ties and less on the non-desirable outcomes of social capital (Portes et al 2000:531, Prakash 2000). Complementing the previous theoretical social capital framework with concepts originating from social exclusion and network theory will help capture the complexity of social structures and provide a more nuance picture of the impact of social capital. *Social exclusion* is defined as:

“a multidimensional process of progressive social rupture, detaching groups and individuals from social relations and institutions and preventing them from full participation in the normal, normatively prescribed activities of the society in which they live” (Daly et al 2008)

Definitions of social exclusion and inclusion focus generally on the access to rights and resources (Oxoby 2009:1135-36) and the two concepts together with social capital are frequent topics in debates about interrelations between economy and society under conditions of social change (Daly et al 2008). Drawing on the distinction of social capital forms from the previous section, we can conclude that communities with large stock of bonding social capital and in-group loyalty may create a strong out-group antagonism (Putnam 2000:23). Thus, negative external effects might be particular common in this form of social capital (Putnam 2000:23). For this reason, scholars assert, it is imperative that bonding capital is combined with bridging and linking social capital as the two latter forms connect groups with different social backgrounds and enhance more inclusive forms of coherence (Putnam, 1995, 2000). The bridging and linking forms can

among other things contribute to economic growth, more efficient government and other positive development outcomes.

Another potential problem with a large stock of bonding social capital is that an extreme in-group bond can foster counter-productive activities such as crime, emergence of gangs and corruption. The same consequences can arise from weak social capital which in turn can undermine social connections (Putnam et al. 2003). Ku Klux Klan and mafia are example of groupings with strong bonding social capital.

Other social capital related non-favorable outcomes derived from social exclusion and network theory include *inequality*, *marginalization*, *segregation* and *abandonment*. These barriers of social mobility can in turn deteriorate economic performance and democratic governance (Aldridge et al. 2002). The duality of social capital, with positive (trust, reciprocity and lower the transaction costs of cooperation) and negative (marginalization and social exclusion) implications of social capital, are both of significance in a poverty alleviating context (Prakash, 2000).

Social exclusion in social capital theory can refer to various things. As Mary Daly (et al 2008) points out, Putnam considers inequality a possible negative outcome and he does not problematize the fact that resources may be unequally distributed. In Putnam's work the positive characteristics of social capital are supposedly accessible by everyone (ibid). A contrast to this opinion, Daly continues, is the recent work by Li, Savage, and Pickles who claim that participation and memberships are pervaded by inequalities, especially those deriving from social class. Hence, this stand argues that not all members of a community may have the opportunity to access the social network and they can consequently not enjoy the benefits such a network can generate.

2.2 Analytical framework

Departing from the literature review and the conceptualization consisting of elements from social capital, social exclusion and network theory outlined above, an analytical framework on which this study is based is here presented. Since this study examines the level of inter-and intragroup trust between members and non-members, it is a highly subjective form of *cognitive* social capital that is being analyzed. As previously mentioned, social exclusion can refer to various things and "network analyses reveal different consequences of social ties, depending upon context" (Daly et al 2008). This thesis adopts the view of Putnam and some other social exclusion and network theorists as it focuses primarily on social exclusion and inclusion as an *outcome* of social network and the social capital produced through them. Thus, social exclusion/inclusion becomes a *by-product* which implies that it is the consequences of social capital that are the primary reason for the interest in social exclusion (Daly et al 2008)

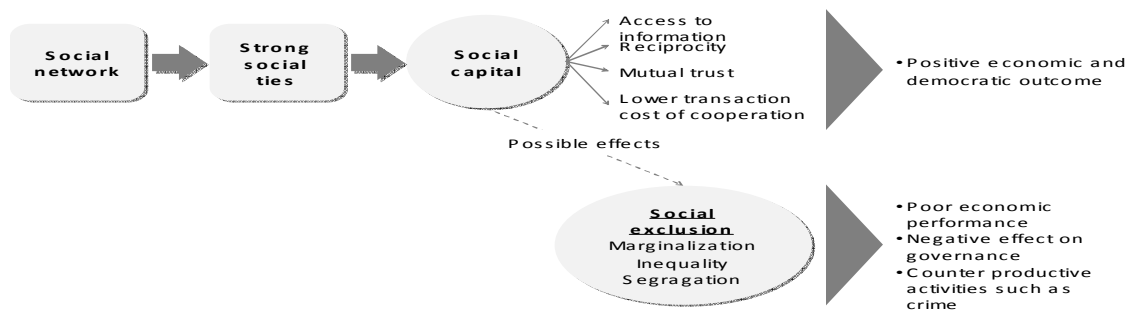


Figure 1. Unifying and dividing role of social networks and social capital with possible outcomes and impacts. Source: Author

To examine the group dynamics between association members and non-members, trust is used as an indicator of the level of social capital existing within and between members and non-members. As such, a total of four directions of trust are examined which are illustrated in the figure below:

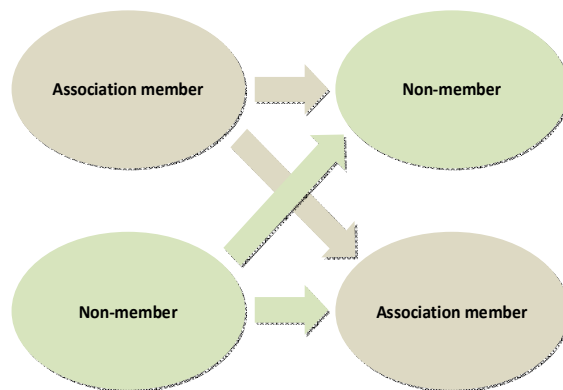


Figure 2. Analytical directions of trust

Source: Author

This study is founded on the premise that for social capital to exist between two groups, the trust has to be reciprocal. Hence, if only one group trusts another but not the other way around, then no social capital is claimed to exist between them. This implies that the four directions of trust illustrated in the figure above create three levels of analysis.

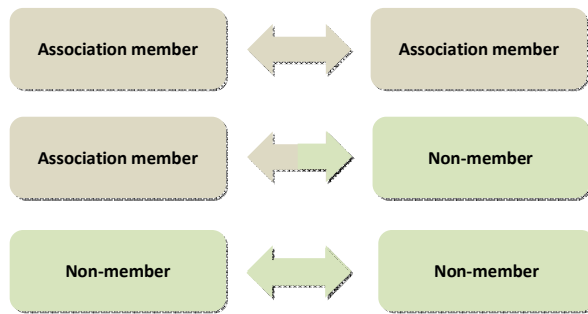


Figure 3. Relations of mutual trust

Source: Author

With regard to the levels of analysis of the social capital outlined in a previous section, this study departs on a *micro* (individual) analytical level when examining trust among villagers and continues to a *meso* (group) level as it is the trust level of the entire groups (members or non-member) that is in focus. The social capital sub-forms bonding, bridging and linking social capital are later used to elucidate the result from the analysis and the presence or absence of social capital observed in the empirical field study.

3 Methodology

This methodological chapter discusses chosen research design and following methodological considerations. It further reviews interview techniques and the measures taken to ensure validity and reliability of the essay.

3.1 Research Design

Case studies can be of either single or multiple-case designs (Tellis 1997) and are usually a chosen method when the aim is to formulate hypotheses, develop theories or exemplify and illustrate findings (Lundahl et al. 1992:151). This research draws on empirical data from two cases, villages, and develops a conceptual theoretical framework using conceptions from social capital and social exclusion/network theory. Using analytical tools, the findings from the analysis illustrate how social capital among villagers has been obtained.

Qualitative research methods are particularly useful when the aim is to grasp the subjective experiences of a respondent (Devine 2002:199). Thus, the aforementioned is therefore very applicable in this study which aims to measure the level of trust which is a highly subjective notion. While quantitative research seeks causal determination and generalization of findings, qualitative studies seek instead illumination, understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations (Hoepfl 1997). Analyzing qualitative findings is mostly an inductive, as opposed to deductive, process meaning that the examiner attempts to distinguish patterns in the data rather than formally test pre-determined hypotheses (Dudwick et al. 2006).

3.2 Method

Empirical data of this study was collected on a field study in southern and central Mozambique, October - December 2009. The immediate field work with the farmer association members and non-members was conducted in two villages, Alto Benfica and Namarebo, located in the province of Zambézia in central Mozambique. The province has great agricultural potential and is strongly dependent on agricultural and natural resources but is also one of the provinces with the lowest rates of human development

(PRODEZA). It has not had as much experience of associated farming such as for instance neighboring province Nampula in the north, which was one of the reasons it was selected. Besides primary material from the field study, this work draws on secondary sources focusing on social capital, social network and exclusion theory and farmer associations.

A total of 36 structured and semi-structured interviews and 2 focus group discussions (consisting of 5 respective 7 villagers each) were conducted in Alto Benfica and 31 structured and semi-structured interviews and 1 focus group discussion (consisting of 4 villagers) in Namarebo. In the capital Maputo and the provincial capital of Zambézia, Quelimane, interviews with government and provincial officials, foreign affairs officials, NGO representatives, civil society representatives and academics were carried out⁴. The communities and farmer associations are given technical assistance from the international NGO *Adventist Development and Relief Agency* (ADRA) which implements capacity building and poverty alleviating projects. After consultation with NGO representatives from ADRA, Alto Benfica and Namarebo with their respective farmer associations were chosen as cases for the empirical study.

3.2.1 Interviews

Open-ended focus group discussions were held upon arrival in the villages to get an initial response of the meaning, implications and levels of trust in the villages. Open-ended interviews are “designed to allow respondents to identify and articulate their priorities and concerns free from researchers’ restrictions and assumptions” (Dudwick et al 2006). Using this technique it was revealed not only *if* villagers have trust in each other but *why* they have it/do not have it. Thus, the mix of interview methods allowed for further analysis of the reasons behind the presence or absence of intra- and intergroup trust. Individual interviews were mostly conducted in homes of the respondents whereas focus group discussions took place in an isolated shaded place in open-air. Group discussions allowed for women to make their voices heard which in the presence of men they were usually intimidated of doing. Committee members of the farmer associations served as key informants. Key informant is someone who has a certain perspective relevant for the study (Dudwick et al 2006) and discussions with them usually took place in a storage room or outside. An interpreter was present during the interviews. The initial plan was to record the discussions using a dictaphone, however this turned out to be challenging as many respondents were very intimidated by having their thoughts recorded. This was particularly apparent in one of the villages where trust in other villagers was a very delicate issue of discussion. Due to the sensitiveness of the topic, individual in-depth interviews were allowed to take longer time, that way gaining the trust of the respondent. The result was fewer but more profound interviews and discussions. This corresponded well with the objective of the

⁴ For a complete list of interviews, please see Appendix I

study which is not only to measure the level of intra-and intergroup trust but also examine the motives behind the presence and absence of trust. Doing this will enrich the study and give it more depth.

3.2.2 Validity and Reliability

Material and sources were selected after the following criterias: *accuracy*, *impartiality*, *concurrency*, and *tendency* (Eliaasson et.al. 2004:304). There were difficulties finding statistical documented data on the two villages and the farmer associations, consequently, I had to rely on the information provided by non-government representatives. Reliability is associated with the trustworthiness of the source and as my informants from the civil society sector were working on a grassroots level with the communities on a daily basis, I had great reliance in their accuracy. Nevertheless, the provided information was in as many cases as possible verified with other sources.

3.2.3 Measuring trust and social capital

Scholars distinguish between *generalized* and *particularized* trust, where the former refers to trust in people in general and the latter, which is the key indicator of social capital density of this study, to trust in people around you. Although particularized trust is in focus, some interview questions were asked to determine the generalized trust and see if the level of trust is coherent with the particularized trust. Making comparisons between the two forms will only enrich the analysis. This study distinguishes between *general*, *money* and *help* trust. The former refers to general trust in a villager who is an association member/non-member. Respondents were asked to grade their level of trust on a scale ranging from “very much” to “not at all” or “agree/disagree”. Help trust refers to help in general such as the traditional Mozambiquan *ajuda mutual*, informal household exchange of labor which is explained later.

Measuring trust and social capital require certain methodological considerations such as how to frame questions. For instance when the aim is to measure the level of money trust one could ask: “If you dropped your money/wallet and X found it, would you trust that he/she gave it back to you?” instead of “ Would you trust X with your money”. Villagers were asked both structured questions as the one above as well as semi-structured questions where the aim was for villagers to elaborate further on their thoughts.

4 Contextualizing the commercialization of small-scale farming – the agricultural sector and farmer associations of Mozambique

This chapter describes the rationale of farmer associations and gives an account of the emergence of organized small-scale farming in Mozambique. Finally government policies and laws concerning farmer associations are reviewed.

4.1 Farmers movement in Mozambique

Small-scale subsistence farming accounts for around 90% of the agricultural production of Mozambique (Irish Aid). The basic idea behind organizing smallholders into farmer associations is the benefit of a reduced individual cost of each farmer that comes when sharing means of production such as labour force, farming equipment and marketing costs (Bourgeois et al. 2003). Being associated also facilitates market linkage access, investments in new production techniques, access to microcredit and implies greater bargain power for farmers. Moreover, strengthening of social ties between community members is another vital component of these programmes and many development programmes explicitly list capacity building and strengthening of social capital as important programme components. Thus, investments in production techniques and technology required comparable investments in human capital in order to achieve agricultural development (Schultz, 1961 in Bingen, Serrano etc). Farmer associations also serve as an important political voice of smallholders (Bingen et al 2003).

Shortly after gaining independence from Portugal in 1975, Mozambique was struck by a 16 years long civil which had devastated effects on the country. At the end of the civil war, in 1992, the country was ranked one of the world's poorest and one sector that had faced most destruction was the agricultural sector. As a response, *Mozambique's National Programme for Agricultural and Rural Development* (PROAGRI), managed by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MADER), was developed through World Bank funding in 1999. PROAGRI is now in its second phase and it brings together over 70 donor-funded projects and aims to effectively deliver agricultural services to farmers (USAID).

Approximately at the same time, in the mid-to-late 1990s farmer associations began to emerge aiming at empowering small-scale farmers and alleviate the rural poverty. The international American NGO, *Cooperative League of the USA* (CLUSA) has provided technical field assistance and management training to farmers since mid 1990s and is

currently operating in five provinces in Mozambique. UNAC (*União Nacional de Camponeses*) is the national farmers' movement founded in 1987 by the farmers themselves. It was created to give small-scale farmers a voice in agricultural and rural policy making and the movement is now comprising over 32 000 member farmers (UNAC; Waronwant).

4.2 Government support and legal framework

Government policies can have major impact on the strength and shape of association life. In the 1980s, the Government of Mozambique (GoM) made an attempt to create farmers groups but the initiative had little long-term success (CLUSA). The problem was that national agrarian development investments prioritized the state farm sector whereas the family farm sector was neglected and disappeared until the beginning of the 1990s (Prommer). Peasant cooperative movements following independence happened in many countries in Africa however, due to top-down approach, excess administrative control, political interference, loss of control by the farmers many of these initiatives failed (Bourgeois et al. 2003). In addition, lack of appropriate training of the farmers groups was another reason of failure. It is essential to be aware of this history of farmer cooperatives of Mozambique to fully understand the farmer association movement of the country today. Due to the memories of the former poorly-run, state-controlled farmers groups, the word cooperatives have a rather negative denotation today which is why peasant movements are simply referred to as farmer associations, organizations or groups.

The GoM is very supportive of the associative movement of small-scale farmers and in the second and latest national poverty reduction plan, the *Action Plan to Reduce Absolute Poverty 2006-2009* (PAPRA), GoM explicitly commits to invest in agricultural development. Mozambique is today considered to have one of the world's most progressive agricultural, cooperative laws (CLUSA; Waronwant) after important amendments to the legal framework concerning farmers associations have been done. A few years ago, the *2006 Decree Law of Farmer Associations* was passed. A farmer association needs to register with the Mozambique government to become a legal entity. This used to be a long, time-consuming and complex process administered at national level. The Decree Law from 2006 facilitates the registration process by decentralizing it to the local Administrative Post level which implies a faster, less costly and less administrative registration process (CLUSA). Furthermore, with the support of non-government partners such as CLUSA, another important cooperative law was passed in 2009. This law "ensures the autonomy of associations and member-owned businesses, guaranteeing their right to democratic control and financial autonomy" (CLUSA). More work to improve the legal environment for smallholders is in progress.

Several studies point at the inability of local groups to create associational life with a non-supportive government (Stewart, 1996; La Ferrara, 2000 in Sabatini 2006). Thus, government action and policy

support is a prerequisite for the creation of social capital and substantive results (Putnam et al. 2003:273). Mozambique's history of farmer cooperatives and associations illustrate this very well.

5 Case studies – Alto Benfica and Namarebo

This chapter provides a brief background description of the villages and farmer associations as well as an account of how the international NGO ADRA is assisting the communities.

5.1 The villages

Located in the central region of Mozambique, Zambézia is a highly densely populated province, characterized by favourable weather conditions for agriculture production. The average income level for Zambézia is below national standard and the province, which used to be an important Portuguese settlement, came to be one of the regions that suffered most physical destruction and displacement after the civil war. This has had serious implications on human resources and capacities. The villages Alto Benfica and Namarebo are located in the central lowlands of Zambézia province in the third most populated locality, Mocuba district. Mocuba consists of 17 district subdivisions, *Postos Administrativos* and the population of the district is young – 46% are under the age of 15 years (MAE 2005:10).



Figure 4. Map of Mozambique with Zambezia province highlighted

Source: Google

Major crops grown in the area are maize, cassava, groundnut and charcoal. Studies suggest that maize will continue to be highly in demand and a major commercial crop in the future (World Bank 2007). The

population consists of ethnic groups derived from the linguistic groups chumbo, lomwe and manhau. Catholicism is dominating in Alto Benfica while both Catholicism and Islam are prevalent in Namarebo. Both villages lack electric and telephone network and health facilities in the area are next to non-existent and access to water used to be a major problem, however, Alto Benfica recently got a water pump installed funded by the Japanese International Development Agency (JICA). Agricultural techniques are very basic and work is realized essentially by hand. Work is often executed through the traditional informal household collaboration - *ajuda mutua* - referring to mutual assistance in daily work (Marsh 2003 in Gotschi 2008). The war-damaged infrastructure has had serious consequences on the commerce of agriculture products which is why the establishment of farmers associations has been fruitful for the villages. Nevertheless, a majority of the agricultural trade in the villages is still carried out by *ambulantes* - small-scale buyers operating on a bike. It is especially non-members who rely on these for trade.

5.2 The farmer associations

Farmers associations are usually a) profit driven contract/business; b) NGO initiated and run projects; or c) process oriented human capacity development projects (Bingen et al 2003 in Bachke 2009). The associations examined in this study are examples of NGO assisted projects but it also integrates characteristics of human capacity development since the objective of the project not only is to establish functional farmer associations but to e.g. tackle low literacy rates and increase access to health facilities and education among villagers.

The humanitarian agency *Adventist Development and Relief Agency* (ADRA) initiated in October 2008 the project *Osanzaya Zambezia* (Making Zambézia Happy) which aims to increase the agricultural growth among smallholders by organizing them; promoting the use of higher quality seeds; providing marketing training; improving post harvest methods and maximize the commercialization of the agricultural production. The project is scheduled to last until 2011 and is financed by a \$12 million grant from USAID and a \$1 million match from ADRA international (ADRA 2009). Before the farmer associations were established each farmer sold their agricultural production individually but after ADRA came into the picture sales has increased drastically.

The farmer associations have 250 members each and are grouped into 10 groups with 25 members in each. Association members gather on weekly and monthly basis. The associations have relatively low entry barriers as the operation costs are covered by project partners. In Alto Benfica the entry is 20 kg of maize, in Namarebo a farmer has to pay crop equivalent to 20 Mtz. Every farmer association member has 5 *apadrinados*. An *apadrinado* is a non-member who an association member is forwarding information about marketing, new agricultural techniques etc. Members are usually appointed

apadrinados who are neighbors or geographically in the proximity of the member's household. The rationale for appointing apadrinados is to transfer information to villagers who are not part of the farmer association as beneficiaries of the project is the entire community. Besides administrative, financial and management support, ADRA is assisting the villages with two technicians; one commercialization technician and another who is residing in the community providing assistance on a daily basis. Decentralized field staff who are working directly with the communities is an important element of the human capacity investments (Bingen et al 2003). In addition, ADRA has facilitated the establishment of a community storage facility to make the village better equipped for post-harvest handling.

In Alto Benfica the farmer association *Wandana wa Namalima* was formed in 2002 with the assistance of the international NGO CLUSA. After the termination of the CLUSA project the village was without external assistance for 2 years until ADRA entered with its project. Approximately 20% of the villagers in Alto Benfica are members of the farmer association and of the members around 40 % are women. Livelihood options besides farming are limited but some individuals set up small shops selling soda etc. Among the comparative advantages of Alto Benfica is its strategic location on the main road to Malawi. Malawi's agricultural food crop production has had difficulties serving the growing population which has made Mozambique an important supplier of maize. It is estimated that Mozambique supply Malawi with 95% of its maize. As such, Alto Benfica's proximity to Malawi has implied substantive economic gains for the village's farmer association. The farmer association *Associação União Faz a Força* of Namarebo was established a few years ago and became legal in 2008. Around 50% of the members are women and several females hold leadership positions. The community has had experience of several development projects. The first was a government project initiated in 1999 focusing on improving villagers' health and nutrition. It should be added that Zambézia is one of the most HIV affected provinces in the country. An agricultural project took place between 1996-1998 and in addition the international NGO *World Vision* has implemented a project targeting children and education. Moreover, in 2005 Project Hope initiated a 3 year long project aimed at providing health care.

6 Analysis and empirical findings

This section presents the empirical results of the examination of trust among farmer association members and non-members in Alto Benfica and Namarebo. Findings are then discussed using concepts from the theoretical and analytical framework.

6.1 Alto Benfica

6.1.1 Result

It is clear that trust is a very delicate topic of discussion in Alto Benfica and interviews reveal great disparity in the intra- and intergroup trust between association members and non-members. Among members the level of trust in general is fairly high. Approximately 66 % assert feeling trust in other members and many claim that the intra-group interaction has intensified and gone beyond traditional associational obligations, and over to a desire to socialize with members as friends. The in-group cohesion is reflected in the high measured trust among members. Contrastingly, an overwhelming majority of non-members claim to lack trust in members and other non-members. Out of the non-member respondents only 13 % reported feeling trust in other non-members. Money trust received an even lower score and help trust a slightly higher.

Association members cooperate and share responsibilities to a much greater extent than do non-members. The traditional form of *ajuda mutual*, mutual assistance in daily work is being employed, especially in farming activities. “Today I help, or send a family member to help in his farm. Tomorrow I will get help from him”, a male association member responded. When asked if he practiced *ajuda mutual* with community members who are not part of the farmer association he responded that he did not want to do that. He claimed that he had greater trust that an association member would return the favor and he did not want to take any chances. Non-members also practice *ajuda mutual*, however in a less organized way. Lack of trust in reciprocity of favor was the most common motive for not using this traditional help agreement. Hence, help trust is essential for everyday village activities and is particularly high among members.

When the farmer association does business, ADRA identifies potential buyers and two association members are selected to negotiate on behalf of the entire association. After prices are agreed upon the two members are responsible for taking care of the payment. A business arrangement like this

requires that members have to have great money trust in other members otherwise this system would not be sustainable. Still, out of the different forms of trust, the money intra-group trust among members reported to be lower than general and help trust. When asked about this, a number of members responded that they feel that only a few members of the association can be trusted with money. These few individuals on the other hand, are very much trusted by their peer members interviews reveal. Not only is there social capital among members, the farmer association has increased the trust in buyers as well. The association can now use own scales to weight the merchandise and do not have to fear getting ripped off by fake scales of buyers as has occurred in the past.

One could assume that due to the frequent dialogue and interaction between a member and his 5 apadrinados, the trust among these 6 individuals would be greater than between members and non-members in general. Results show great divergence. While 70% of non-members responded feeling more trust in their member, only 22% of the members claimed to trust their apadrinados. On the other hand, some 1 member + 5 apadrinados groups have established an exceptional good contact which probably has to do with strong personal chemistry among them.

Examining the local regulations of the farmers association in Alto Benfica, it is not surprising that members have a high level of intra-group trust; if a member is not complying with the code of conduct set out by the farmers association, he/she will be expelled from the association. Since the beginning of project Alto Benfica has experienced 7 cases of misconduct which have lead to expulsion. Thus, members are aware of the fact that other members have to be well-behaved if they want to be part of the association and consequently they trust each other. On the other hand, more than handful incidents of eviction indicate that some members still disregard the code of conduct and that there consequently are reasons not to trust every peer member. In addition to legal misconducts, the village is frequently permeated by recurrent conflicts, jealousy clashes and antagonism.

Upon marriage, the loyalty of the woman is directed exclusively towards her husband and the husband's towards his wife. Indeed, the absolute highest level of trust exists within households, between spouses. This is reported regardless of membership in the farmer association. Further discussions about intra-household trust reveal that the trust seems to be derived from a notion based on an economic security that the marriage brings. In households of association members, the wife is often in charge of the finances as men tend to spend in on alcohol, tobacco and other counter-productive activities. This shows the importance of economic trust.

There is substantive difference in incomes of association members and non-members. In Alto Benfica, particularly non-members commonly have an additional livelihood besides farming (e.g. minor cloths or soda shops). The entrepreneurship is sensed throughout the village and the feeling of not belonging to the group with strong cohesion seems to give non-members more motivation to find alternative income. Non-members usually have very clear ideas of what they wanted to buy or invest in if receiving a higher income. Inspired by the latest attainment of association members, brick houses, motorbikes and things for children are on top of the list. Many non-

members are striving to become members. Local regulations say that a non-member can only join the association when a member leaves the farmer association. Association members frequently employ people to work for them in the field which can be seen as another implication of the gains of being associated.

6.1.2 Analysis and theoretical reflections

Members of the farmer association have through frequent interaction and cooperation created strong in-group ties and using social capital terminology, they have *bonded* social capital. The social inclusion is expressed through the high level of intra-group trust and through the shared values and practices that the association implicates. Moreover, another important determinant of the in-group cohesion can be seen in the amplified identity that members share being an association member. According to Verwajj (2007) shared identities:

“grow(s) among those who feel they are part of the same community, such as members of a nation, ethnic group, region, or social class. The conferring of this kind of trust is much more based on the desire to feel part of a community than on an all-out drive to reduce the chances that one is being played for a fool. Extending this second type of trust reinforces group ties and reaffirms that the trust-giver is a signed-up member of the community”. (Verwajj 2007:471).

This bonded social capital has had important implications on village life. It can for instance be seen in the traditional *ajuda mutual* assistance which is more organized among association members. Findings from the interviews show that association members would rather turn to a member for assistance than to a non-member. This is rational because why would he/she look elsewhere when the membership has already provided him/her with an established social network? Hence, the intra-group interaction and shared group identity have laid the foundation for the emergence of a strong network of trust and dependence between association members. A second implication is illustrated in the business agreement of the farmer association which require a high level of trust in members in charge of the finances. Streeten (2002) points out that the “primary objective of having joined an association is often not material benefits: this is an incidental result of it”. In Alto Benfca, both material and financial benefits as well as positive relational outcomes are clearly observed.

As elucidated in the theoretical and analytical chapter, analyses of social networks can reveal diverse outcomes of social ties (Daly 2008). “Networks and the associated norms of reciprocity are generally good for those inside the network, but the external effects of social capital are by no means always positive” (Putnam, 2000:21). When discussing the lack of trust that non-members assert that they feel in members and other non-members, it becomes explicit that this distrust derives from a feeling of exclusion and marginalization from not being part of the farmer association. Social networks can isolate non-members, while members benefit at their expense (Turner 2007). The strong in-group cohesion among members is apparent throughout the village and is a decisive factor of segregation

between members and non-members. The result of the feeling of not being part of a group creates agnosticism and distrust among non-member towards members. Hence, findings from Alto Benfca explicitly illustrate the unifying and dividing impact social networks and strong social capital can produce. Social inclusion may give insiders advantages from which outsiders are excluded, allowing at least some group members to advance up the social ladder (Daly 2008). This is apparent as many non-members strive to become members themselves, the farmer association has become an elite group with material and social benefits that non-members wish to get access to.

The examination from the apadrinado relationship shows mixed results in trust and social capital. In some cases trust only exists from one side, the side of non-members. But there are also examples of relations were mutual trust - social capital – has grown between the members and his 5 apadrinados. These cases illustrate *bridging* social capital, acquired from one group to another.

Villagers in Alto Benfca are engaged in individualized income-generating activities and their strong sense of entrepreneurship is noted throughout the community. This applies to both association members and non-members however several non-members admit feeling an urge to achieve as much as association member and this have motivated them to work harder. An interesting finding is that a great number of the non-members who reported to have a close contact with the member responsible of forwarding information to them, seem to be more likely to start their own business. They explicitly stated this member had been an inspiring factor.

Finally, the case study above shows that the formation and increased income from the farmer association has had implications on gender roles as women feel empowered since they are to a greater extent trusted with the money of the household.

6.2 Namarebo

6.2.1 Result

Compared to Alto Benfca, intra- and intergroup trust levels in Namarebo show less divergence between association members and non-members. Out of the interviewed respondents part of the association, a great number, 83 % feel trust in non association members. Villagers assert that community members interact and cooperate with each other regardless of farmer association membership. Out of non-members, 65% feel trust in other non-members.

However, results do show that the intra-group trust among members is the highest of all the trust relations examined. This implies that although the community might have had strong social bonds before the farmers association, the association might still have had a positive impact on trust

and communal ties. Just as in Alto Benfca, money trust is slightly lower among both members and non-members.

In association with the many project interventions that have taken place in the community, a number of informal social networks have established over the years. During one of the first projects, which was implemented in 2000 targeting infants and women, a church group was formed. After this a health committee, carpenter group and several women groups have established. These informal groups have positively affected trust among villagers as explained by a female respondent, not part of the farmer association; “he is in the same health group as my friend, therefore I trust him because I trust my friend”. The strong community spirit becomes evident during interviews as villagers tend to speak more in collective terms, commonly using *we* and *our* instead of *I* and *mine*. Several development interventions have been initiated through communal initiatives where villagers themselves have assessed needs of the village and reported this to external agencies.

Although trust is high among villagers, the community has had a few experiences with disagreements and misconducts over the years. These have usually involved an individual committing a lawbreaking or a dispute between limited numbers of people. Community members assert that these events have been rather undramatic and have not had any serious implications on the social environment of the community. Instead villagers have together with community leaders solved the issue and mutually agreed on a reprimand for the felony.

6.2.2 Analysis and theoretical reflections

One possible explanation to the large stock of intergroup trust reported in Namarebo, could be the village’s previous experiences with NGO projects. Even if previous interventions have had other objectives than increasing social capital per se, working together as a group has developed strong social ties among community members; they created *bonding* social capital. Moreover, through the repeated contacts with NGO officials the community has vertically obtained social capital from external agencies from different social strata with more power – in other word they have *linked* social capital. Vertical connections with the outside world are important to achieve independence and gain economically (Krishna 2003).

Thus, due to the already high level of social capital among villagers in Namarebo, the formation of a farmers association has not negatively affected group dynamics between member and non-member. In fact, villagers report that group interaction has only increased as more informal social networks have been created and previous formed groups have intensified. As Streeten (2002) points out “it is not necessary to be member of a network in order to benefit from it.” Similarly, Putnam claims that “(t)he benefits of social capital spill beyond the people immediately involved in the network and can be used for many other purposes” (Putnam et al. 2003:269). In the case of Namarebo, these claims are evident as the whole community has benefited from the positive social outcomes of the

farmers association. In contrast to the segregated effect the intra-group solidarity among farmer association members has created in Alto Benfica, the social capital of Namarebo has acted as a facilitator for social inclusion and social mobility and has through this united the community.

Drawing on Putman's theoretical reasoning on how membership in multiple social networks can facilitate the creation of social capital, this logic applies perfectly to villagers in Namarebo. The numerous informal social networks have created a foundation of trust as villagers who are member in one or several networks report to have greater trust in other villagers than those who are not members. An interviewed civil society representative claim that they have experienced that isolated communities are more likely to adopt and conform to new projects. Namarebo being a remote community has done exactly this. In addition, the community has a high ratio of women who are traditionally known to possess much social capital and several women, many of them widows, assume leadership positions.

At Streeten (2002) points out, communities with a high stock of social capital tend to have better community characteristics with e.g. less crime and conflicts. Drawing on this observation it is not hard to see why Namarebo with its abundance of social capital have few conflicts or tensions whereas Alto Benfica reportedly has experienced several. However, when disputes or misconducts do occur, the way Namarebo as a united community is solving them, according to social capital theory, they are actually increasing the social capital by deliberating and agreeing on consequences for the person responsible for a felony. The same can be said for the communal development assessments initiated by villagers themselves. Hence, instead of feeling part of a certain group or association, such as the case of Alto Benfica, villagers in Namarebo feel part of the entire community. Vertical connections with outside agencies have had positive effects on horizontal communal ties and the formation of the farmer association has only amplified them.

7 Conclusion

Voicelessness and powerlessness are recognized as some of the central causes and dimensions of poverty and it is claimed that the formation of coalitions such as farmer associations can empower beneficiaries and speed up the development process through the social function that they possess (World Bank Report 2000/2001 in Bingen et al 2003). This thesis has empirically showed the social capital capacitating potential a farmer association has and how this social capital can be acquired. As illustrated, farmer associations can serve as “bridges or islands of development” (Whiteside 2005) and can both unite and divide communities (Li et al. in Daly 2008).

Returning to the research questions previously outlined, findings from this analysis show that members of the two farmer associations do possess a larger stock of social capital than non-members. Moreover, in both communities money trust is slightly lower than general trust and help trust. The social capital has been acquired from horizontal *bonding* or *bridging* of social capital or vertically *linked* social capital. The main difference between the two villages is seen in the intergroup trust between members and non-members and the intratrust among non-members, which reveal low levels of trust in Alto Benfica but fairly high in Namarebo. Drawing upon the previously outlined theoretical assumption that linking social capital is the preferred form for getting ahead it can be confirmed, using empirical data, that Namarebo community has experienced several positive outcomes from their contact with external agencies. Thus, increased vertical contact with government institutions and external organizations can be greatly beneficial and should continue to be promoted.

It should be noted that the trust measured in this study is a highly subjective notion. Those non-members who report feeling distrust and exclusion do not claim to feel this way because they are not receiving information about the market or new agricultural techniques. Instead, in-depth interviews reveal that they feel excluded for not belonging to the privileged group. NGO representatives working with the communities in Alto Benfica and Namarebo stressed that although the main objective is to commercialize the agricultural production through the farmer associations, the beneficiaries of the project are all community members not only farmer association members.

Moreover, findings reveal different strengths of the communities: Alto Benfica can be said to possess the characteristics that Namarebo is missing (entrepreneurship and motivation) while Namarebo have the qualities that Alto Benfica could benefit from (strong social ties and group thinking). For a farmer association of a capacity building project to be sustainable, last beyond the project cycle and at the same time be economically successful, community members need to possess all these characteristics. Only then can these small-scale farmers become an integral part of the food value chain.

Regarding the sustainability of such an association Eade (1997:106) points out that: “(o)utside agents such as NGOs, may stimulate action and encourage positive change, but cannot themselves sustain it”. Consequently, the two villages could greatly benefit from communicating and exchanging ideas with each other. However, NGO representatives explain that there is currently no horizontal cooperation between farmer associations which is the case in other parts of the country. Hence, a channel which enables horizontal cooperation ought to be established. Moreover, there is a lack of coordination in funding arrangements of development partner as projects are left with gaps instead of being succeeded by another projects. A stronger dialogue between partners would be beneficial. It is also imperative to acknowledge that building trust takes time and human capacity building projects ought to be seen as long-term commitments which may require alternative, more qualitative forms of measurement instead of commonly used indicators such as market transaction cost and sales volume (Bingen et al 2003). Likewise, several informants from the civil sector and academia have during interviews mentioned that the true challenge is organizing and strengthening social bonds among smallholders, not agricultural input techniques.

Another aspect this thesis has highlighted is the importance of a supportive government which lays the ground for a progressive legal and policy environment aiming at making small-scale farming flourish. The farmer associations in focus may not have existed had it not been for the recent legislative amendments. Yet, legislation can only be prolific if complimented by functional government institutions capable to implement, monitor and assess them.

Farmer associations are not just any organizations; they are associations targeting the main livelihood of poor people aiming at increasing their income. Because of their significance, they can potentially affect local structures and trust in communities. Elaborating further on this, it would be of interest further researching power relations and examine how social ties and social capital influence decision-making, participation and leadership on a local level. If social bonds are not intact, they can create divisions and impede development progress. However, if social bonds and social capital are allowed to flourish on local level they can lay a solid foundation for future successful, sustainable farmer associations generating income for rural generations to come.

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APPENDIX I - List of Interviewees

| | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Paulos Berglöf | Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden | Maputo | 26/10/2009 |
| Eugine Macamo | FAO | Maputo | 9/11/2009 |
| Alejandro Acosta | FAO | Maputo | 9/11/2009 |
| Jorge Machanguana | FAO | Maputo | 9/11/2009 |
| Diamantino Nhampossa | UNAC | Maputo | 27/11/2009 |
| Johan Sävström | Groups of Africa | Maputo | 27/11/2009 |
| Prof. Rui Brito | UEM | Maputo | 30/11/2009 |
| Prof. Castillo Amilai | UEM | Maputo | 30/11/2009 |
| Americo Mahica | MADER | Maputo | 30/11/2009 |
| Ademar | ADRA | Mocuba | 17/11/2009 |
| Horacio Moisés Mordgado, | ADRA | Mocuba | 17/11/2009 |
| Crispim Jaime | ADRA | Mocuba | 17/11/2009 |
| Junior Libra | ADRA | Mocuba | 17/11/2009 |
| Belarmino Rocha | World Vision | Mocuba | 16/11/2009 |
| Jesus Gunia | MADER | Quelimane | 24/11/2009 |

APPENDIX II – Interview and discussing guide

- Interaction between villagers in general and association members/non-members in particular
- Activities and organization of the farmer association
- Villagers perception and thoughts of the farmer association
- Meaning and perceptions of trust
- Generalized trust
 - e.g. ▪ Would you say that people in general can be trusted or should one be cautious when dealing with people? Why/why not?
- Particularized trust (among family members, households and between apadrinados)
- Intra- and intergroup trust between association members/non-members
 - e.g. general trust:
 - In general, how would you rate and describe your trust in association members/non-members?
 - e.g.. money trust:
 - Would you feel comfortable lending money to an association member?
 - Would you feel comfortable lending money to a non-association member?
 - If you dropped money/wallet, would you trust an association member/non-member to return it to you?
 - In general, how would you rate and describe your money trust in association members/non-members?
 - e.g. help trust:
 - Do you employ *ajuda mutual* with farmer association members?
 - Do you employ *ajuda mutual* with non-association members?
 - If you got sick, could you rely on help with farm/family from an association member/non-member?
- Exchange of favors among villagers
- Membership in village groups