



Trade – not Aid! On the Road Towards Empowerment?

A Minor Field Study of the Small-Scale Farmers'
Empowerment of a WFP Local Food Procurement Initiative
in Mozambique

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Abstract

This is a field study conducted in Mozambique of the empowerment of small-scale farmers in the initial process of commercialization. The WFP initiative named *Purchase for Progress* intend to purchasing crops locally directly from farmer organizations. The study's aim is capturing the farmers' perceived empowerment, defined as access to purposive choices, through a theoretical framework where opportunity structure and asset-based agency interactively determines empowerment. Opportunity structure is the structure of which actors operate, while assets are interrelated resources determining agency; one's ability to act upon self-defined goals.

Based on material generated from focus group and semi-structured interviews, main findings point to poor access to warehousing, transport and inputs (credit, chemicals and training) resulting in lack of incentives for commercialization. Signs of assets as capacity to aspire, access to contracting, possibility of negotiations point to enabling agency and existence of choice to sales, also the use of this choice. However much remains on the road towards empowerment, achievement of choice, as farmers identify continued obstacles in price fluctuations, lack of support and need for assets such as credit, tools, techniques and training. One may produce and sell but to make commercialization truly transformative towards empowerment one needs support in assets to increase low productivity.

Keywords: empowerment, small-scale farming, commercialization, WFP, Mozambique

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Acronyms

CLUSA – Cooperate League of the United States of America

CO – Country Office

FA – Farmer Association

FAO – Food and Agriculture Organization

FM – Field Monitor

FO – Farmer Organization

HDR – Human Development Report

HO – Head Office

IFAD – International Fund for Agriculture and Development

NOVIB – Oxfam, Nederlandse Organisatie Voor Internationale Bijstand (Dutch Organization for International Aid)

MZN – metical or plural meticais, the local currency of Mozambique

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

P4P – Purchase for Progress

SIDA – Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

SO – Sub-Office

Sr – *Senhor* in Portuguese for Mister (Mr.)

UN – United Nations

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

WFP – World Food Programme

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1 Introduction

The number of people going to bed hungry has increased last years due to several reasons. High fuel- and food prices combined with globalized environmental- and financial crisis have resulted in unprecedented food needs worldwide and a continued global poverty crisis (WFP, Hunger Stats 2010). Sub-Saharan Africa is hit hard. All this means constraints towards reaching the Millennium Development Goal number one: Eradicating extreme hunger and poverty by 2015, as agreed by the world's governments. These challenges call for new and powerful tools to counteract the increasing scale and complexity of global poverty. The vast majorities of the world's poorest people live in rural areas. Most rely on small-scale agriculture for their food and survival. Extreme poverty continues to be mainly, however not exclusively, a rural phenomenon in spite of extensive urbanization. In Sub-Saharan developing country of Mozambique, for example, 50 % of the population is expected to live in urban environments by 2020, giving rise to the demand for agricultural products (IFAD 2010; WFP CO IPP, 2008) Supporting smallholder farmers' ability to produce food and increase their income is considered critical to address hunger and poverty at their roots (WFP CO IPP, 2008). Thereby small-holder agriculture may hold vast opportunities for the future of world's rural poor.

The latest tool for the world's largest food aid actor is the World Food Programme (WFP) led support for direct food purchases and commercialization of small-scale farmers around the world. Here with the focus on commercialization it means the shift from subsistence farming to semi-subsistence as a part produced for sales-for-profit.

The subject of local procurement has been addressed by, among others, researchers such as Judith Tendler where the findings in northeastern Brazil have been highly positive both in cost efficiency and quality of goods (Tendler, 1998). However, can local food procurement be a tool in reducing global poverty and hunger? Can purchasing directly from smallholder farmers lead to development and empowerment? Hence may a study of farmers' commercialization in the context of a development initiative be interesting in a broader perspective when considering the vast possibilities of public procurement and moreover channeling development assistance. Some research though points out that any such commercialization attempts with social development aims is doomed to fail (FAO, 2001:15). However it seems like FAO came around years later when 2008 together with WFP and IFAD initiated UN (United Nations) Joint Programme in Mozambique named "*Building Commodity Value Chains and Market Linkages for Farmers' Associations*" in line with local government and national poverty reduction strategies¹ (UN Country Team, 2007).

¹ PARPA I and II- The National Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty

In rural Mozambique, where more than 80 % of the population subsists, agricultural activities are the main means of survival and income (IFAD, 2010). 95 % of the rural production in the country consists of small-scale farming although the main part remains poor due to high transaction costs such as poor post-harvest treatment, lack of infrastructure and unequal competition (WFP CO IPP, 2008). Mozambique still remains one of the poorest countries in the world ranked 172nd out of 182 countries in the 2009 Human Development Index (UNDP - HDR 2009). The threat to development in the country is often called the combined effects of the ‘Triple Threat’ of long-drawn natural disasters, HIV and AIDS² and weak national capacities to provide basic social services (UN Mozambique). Its state budget is considered to consist of 50 % foreign aid capital; as a result much attention has been given to the country’s poverty reduction and rural development strategies (UN Mozambique).

1.1 Case

The phenomenon will be examined by performing a case study of an initiative supporting the commercialization of small-scale farmers. One of WFP’s currently most innovative programs is a five year pilot initiative named *Purchase for Progress* (P4P)³ with the aim of using donated funds to purchase food commodities locally creating long-term agreements with poor small-scale farmer groups. This as complement to, or in the long-run as replacement for, receiving external food aid in-bulk from overseas or purchasing food commodities from surrounding more competitive markets and countries.

1.2 Purpose

The central aim of this research is to examine the perceived empowerment of the smallholder farmer through the initial process of commercializing agriculture. The main focus will be on the process of commercialization as the change from self-subsistence to semi-subsistence farming. Important to stress is that the purpose of the study is not to evaluate the initiative itself, given that it would be too early to determine the definitive outcomes, but further to study poor farmers’ own perceptions of this ongoing process.

What kind of empowerment can be achieved for farmers within the process of such a commercialization initiative? What does development mean for them and what are the possibilities and obstacles for these farmers to engage in a brighter future of their own? Are they, and where are they, on the road towards empowerment?

² National adult prevalence rate is 16 % and there are an estimated 1.6 million orphans due to HIV/AIDS epidemic (UNICEF Mozambique).

³ Detailed description in chapter 4.

Following a six month UN internship with WFP Mozambique as a Public Information Intern I have had an opportunity to get a good view of and build an understanding for WFP's operations, Mozambique and its development challenges, where the idea for this thesis was born.

1.3 Research Question

Not all questions concerning the phenomena can be answered in the scope of this thesis. Therefore the range of the study will be limited to the following research question:

- **What kind of empowerment can be perceived by the small-scale farmer within the process of commercialization of the P4P initiative?**

1.4 Thesis Outline

This introductory chapter will be followed by the theoretical framework used in the study together with methodological considerations. First, a brief chapter giving contextual background to the field of interest is presented.

After, the results are presented in three parts in line with the theory: Opportunity structure, assets and agency is assessed and last recapturing how these affect the degrees of the farmers' empowerment. Ending, major conclusions from the study will be given addressing the posed research question.

1.5 Delimitations

The study seeks to grasp the initial processes of commercialization. Are they, as the title of this thesis reveal, on the road towards empowerment? The respondents will be asked to focus on their perception and perform comparisons of their own situation the time before the initiative and the current process of the P4P initiative.

The concept of the small-scale or small-holder farmer can be somewhat relative depending on how one defines "small", acknowledging the often value-laden, backward and negative associations to the term. Is it land-size, type of crops, output or input which counts? In this context, the WFP P4P definition of the small-holder farmer has been selected as:

“...a semi-subsistence farmer cultivating a plot not bigger than two hectares and producing a significant portion for its own consumption alongside a limited production for the market.”

(WFP CO IPP, 2008)

To this definition WFP lines up classical obstacles for the small-scale farmers describing them as vulnerable with limited inputs and outputs (Ibid.). Furthermore the only crops purchased within P4P in Nampula are beans and maize, primarily grown by small-scale farmers in Mozambique (WFP CO IPP, 2008; Interview 18).

Further have several, as will be referred to as *non-P4P farmers*, been posed related questions in the quest for similar or different statements giving contrast to the understanding of the ongoing commercialization process. These are farmers not yet directly associated with any structured commercialization initiative or Forum; FAs organization leading sales⁴. The meetings with non-P4P's were not initially planned, although occurred in the field and results obtained from these turned out to be enriching to the study giving it a useful contrast to some points raised. Although important to stress, is that it has *not* been neither sufficient material nor true to the purpose to conduct a complete comparative study.

Empowerment theory gives special attention to the important dimension of gender equality which is not directly and specifically addressed in the scope of this thesis. This study will not include this important dimension to the concept of empowerment. First of all, the study of sensitive gender relations deserves larger room in a study not possible in this thesis due to its focus and limitations. Secondly, the main part of the respondents was male. There were merely one female among 17 individual participants, even though at all times specifically requested farmers from both genders. This is an important yet telling observation. However it should be considered as something that reflects upon the patriarchal structures of the rural Mozambican society and the opportunities of who may and may not speak the behalf of being a farmer in a FA.

This study is limited to the local, micro level where these farmers traditionally subsist and work. The domains researched will be both market (as access or no access) and society (as the farmer/associational domain).

Since the purpose of the study is to get a deeper understanding for what the WFP P4P local procurement initiative means for the empowerment of the Mozambican small-scale farmer the starting point of this study is idiographic, as it stresses that every phenomenon have to be looked upon from its unique conditions (Teorell, 2007: 11). Therefore, this thesis does not hold any generalizing ambitions but rather providing an understanding to the specific research problem. The answers to the interviews will only be representative to that exact moment, interpreted by me in the role of the researcher. The aim is not to “uncover” an objective truth but to interpret and understand the respondents’ subjective and perceived truth (Pettersson, 2003:35).

⁴ For a somewhat more detailed explanation, of their function please view section 4.

2 Theoretical Framework

The following chapter introduces theoretical discussions on empowerment theory and its relation to the concept of power. Together with the concept definitions central to the study, given here is the practical theoretical framework chosen to lead the analysis and results of the study.

2.1 Why Empowerment Theory?

As social science philosopher Martin Hollis argues, the choice of theory, particularly when it comes to poverty and development research, is indeed “value-laden” and inevitably contains normative elements (Hollis, 1994:214-217). He argues that the choice of theory has “...very different implications for what counts as poverty and so for what is involved in policies to relieve it.” (Ibid. p. 215) Concurring with Hollis that political science and development studies are far from value-free consequently the choice of theory is essential to this study. Centered on views on humanity, poverty and power, empowerment theory will work as a theoretic framework for the findings, assist in approaching the collected material and later also answering the posed research question.

Much has been written about the concept of empowerment, mainly encountered within the study field of women’s empowerment, however also been central in other social science studies of working environments, social work, health and education.

Empowerment has been one of the leading concepts in the field of development studies the latest decade though its meaning has been vastly elastic. Part of the problem, and perhaps also its appeal, lies in the concept’s multidimensionality and somewhat diffuse meaning. Nevertheless theorists presented in this study argue that empowerment can indeed be theoretized as well as assessed and may well correspond with development industry’s thirst for cost/benefit calculations.

Theories on empowerment are seen to be viewed from the “little person’s” perspective and as “development from below⁵” opposed to the hegemonic, growth centered, top-down approach to development initiatives. Theories of empowerment are, by a lot of researchers in the field of development studies since the 1990’s, considered to be feasible for the understanding and development of strategies to poverty alleviation. It too serves the purpose of this study as it puts the individual and its’ own perception in focus opposed to solely quantitative income-based poverty theories. United Nations Development Fund (UNDP), a

⁵ For details please view (Stohr and Taylor, 1981; Chambers, 1983)

strong actor within the development field, devotes the 2004 Nepal National Human Development Report (HDR) exclusively to the concept of empowerment (Nepal HDR, 2004). Also the important World Bank publication World Development Report has since 2001 and following development strategies emphasized empowerment (Alsop et al. 2005:22). Ruth Alsop, a development sociologist with experience within the field of empowerment and methodology, is the one of the authors behind the World Bank publication *Empowerment in practice: from analysis to implementation* solely devoted to the practical use of the concept of empowerment within the field of development, hence also the theoretic framework chosen to work with in this thesis. Further indeed worth mentioning are both theorists Naila Kabeer and Jo Rowlands who are frequently cited in the literature of women empowerment, which contributed to the development of the concept.

In a development context, empowerment can be understood in the terms of power to rule oneself, to make decisions and choices in one's own life and it has to do with the ability to escape from extreme poverty. It is built in the concept of power as decision-making with near connections with Lukes' (1974) concept of *power to* and the concepts of *capabilities* and *freedoms*, an approach to views on poverty originated from the development economist Amartya Sen (1997). This view on power contrasts the traditional analysis of power as a zero-sum game, with one gaining "power over" the other (Dahl, 1961 and Bachrach – Baratz, 1962). Empowerment can both be viewed upon as a driver and as a goal in itself, giving it both an intrinsic and instrumental value (Alsop et al. 2005:2).

The concept of choice has to be defined, as it is just not merely any choice we are examining within empowerment studies. Kabeer clarifies the association between poverty and disempowerment as "...an insufficiency of the means for meeting one's basic needs often rules out the ability to exercise meaningful choice." Important to the conceptualization of empowerment and choice are linking poverty to the "...inequalities in people's capacity to make choices rather than in differences in the choices they make" (Kabeer, 2004:437ff) The relational aspect of empowerment becomes clear as it is not *which* choices we make but the ability or *inability* to make choices that matter to your life and livelihood.

2.2 The Framework

The definition chosen for this study is the one of Alsop et al. with close similarity to Kabeer's definition. In this study, empowerment refers to:

“...the process of enhancing an individual's or group's capacity to make purposive choices and transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes.”

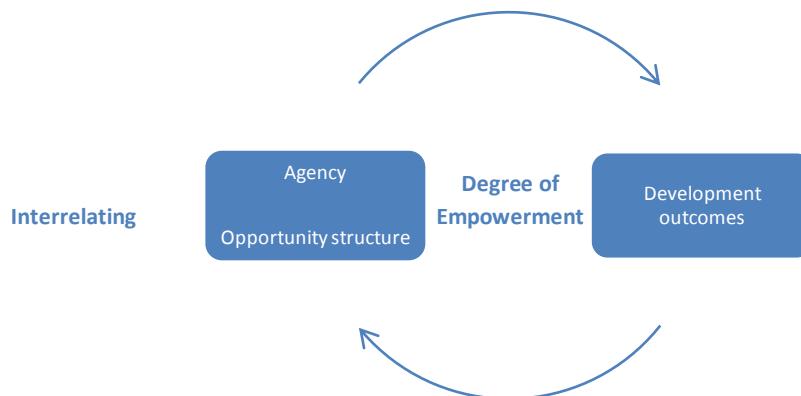
(Alsop, 2005:1)

Empowerment is therefore centered on choices and conceptualized as a process, not as something linear. The concept must be understood in relation to disempowerment as being denied, or experiencing limited, ability of choice. People can therefore be empowered or disempowered in relation to others but also in relation to themselves in a time perspective which is central to this study.

Many social theorists underline the relationship between agency and structure (Giddens, 1984 among others). The framework used in this thesis rest upon this supposition. According to Alsop et al. two factors influence empowerment: *Agency* and *opportunity structure*, where agency is defined "...as an actor's or group's ability to make purposeful choices - that is, the actor is able to envisage and purposively choose options."(2005:10) *Asset endowments* are interrelated indicators of agency described as "...stocks of resources that equip actors to use economic, social and political opportunities, to be productive and protect themselves from chock."(Ibid. p. 11) Assets can be psychological, informational, organizational, material, social, financial and human. Psychological assets, for example one's *capacity to aspire*, essential to conceiving and attaining an alternative future, (Ibid. p. 55:84 from Appadurai 2004) are meant as key to transform assets into agency often go unrecognized in many studies. Since this study does not focus upon definite outcomes, capturing psychological assets indicating agency will be key, as believed to be fundamental to attaining other assets and agency. (Alsop et al. 2005:12)

Opportunity structure is the context that constrains or promotes the actor's agency, a structural environment also referred to as "the rules of the game". Alsop et al. defines opportunity structure as "...those aspects of the institutional context within which actors operate which influence their ability to transform agency to action."(Ibid. p. 10) These are institutions and can be either formal (rules, laws, markets, and public services) or informal (firms, cultural practices, value-systems and norms) and are indicators of opportunity structure. Thus by establishing this together with agency one determines the *indirect* degree of empowerment. (Ibid. p. 13; 59).

2.2.1 Figure 1. The Correlates of Empowerment



Source: Alsop et al. 2005:10

Not just existence of choice empowers people, but being able to use it does, although using choice does not mean that you can bring about desired outcomes. Therefore agency or structure does not by themselves define empowerment. There are furthermore three *direct* degrees of empowerment:

- **Existence of choice**
Whether an opportunity to make a choice exists
(*Whether opportunity of commercialization exists*)
- **Use of choice**
Whether a person or a group actually uses the opportunity to choose
(*Whether farmers actually sell crops and increase production*)
- **Achievement of choice**
Whether a choice brings about the desired results (highest degree)
(*Whether commercialization brings desired results*)

(Alsop et al. 2005:17)

The fact that the agency result in desired outcomes intended is key to empowerment, especially in a development context, however results here are not referred to as the definite results of the initiative and sales, as it is too early to determine. However the search is the one of assessing the degree of empowerment in the initial phase of the commercialization process.

Empowerment can be examined within three arenas, or what Alsop et al. calls *domains* of empowerment; state, market, society and is described to operating at three different levels; macro-, intermediary- and micro level. All these depend upon the subject of interest to the field of study. (Ibid.)

2.2.2 Empowerment and Farmer's Commercialization

In the context of small-scale farming, empowerment can be understood in terms of non-vulnerability and the ability to be self-sustaining but furthermore to be able to produce a surplus to obtain options and means to grow and invest in one's future. Strategies such as bargaining, negotiation, manipulation, subversion, resistance and protest are all related to the process of change and agency, both found at collective and individual level (Kabeer, 2004:439). One's dreams and goals in life are interconnected with ones perceived empowerment both at resource and agency level (psychological assets).

Furthermore the collective factor of empowerment is stressed in this thesis by studying farmer organizations. Hence too argues the author of one of the empowerment case studies in Alsop et al.: "...[L]ocal-level power may be manifested through a collective capacity that groups express in ongoing processes rather than in one-off actions by individuals."(Alsop et al. 2005:174)

To be able to operationalize the concept of empowerment when developing the interview guide, one can pose questions concerning changes indirect empowerment, and later connected to the tree degrees if direct empowerment. Analysis of results consists of assessment of changes in assets, agency and opportunity structure. Constraints and obstacles perceived by farmers can be labeled indicators of opportunity structure limiting their empowerment as farmers.

Material changes and changes in monetary means are believed to be too early to determine. However perception of choices, abilities and their constraints in the environment of research are possible to assess. Furthermore personal views on the concepts of development help us understand the desired outcomes and attitudes about the future. What was their situation before the initiative and what are the major changes? Their perceptions on advantages when starting to produce larger quantities of food commodities for sale and signing long-term agreements, their future aspirations, possible increases in production and planting may all tell something about the road towards empowerment. Can there be traced any differences in the farmers not yet engaged in organized sales, the so called non-P4P farmers? Furthermore, what is left on the road towards empowerment? Such questions above, together with assets defined in Table 1 below, have been the foundation for developing the interview guide used in the field work (Annex I). These above questions can be conceptualized and structured into indirect indicators of empowerment: assets endowments as agency and opportunity structure (Alsop et al. 2005:33f). In the table below are the context-specific (Ibid. p. 92) indicators chosen for the study.

2.2.3 Table 1. Asset Based Agency Indicators

Recapturing, asset endowments are interrelated resources equipping actors to use opportunities.

Asset endowment	Indicators
Psychological assets	Capacity to envisage change; attitude towards the concept of development, views of the future and expectations, self-esteem, what contracting means, capacity to engage and aspire, self-actualization, possibility to negotiation.
Informational assets	Access to price information.
Organizational assets	Enhanced capability of collective action, associational participation, engagement and influence, contracting, participation in meetings and voting.
Material assets	Ownership of land, access to inputs (tools, pesticides, high quality seeds), access to transport, warehousing.
Financial assets	Product demand, increase in production, credit access and use, change in type of income and financial decision-making, market participation, control over self-earned income.
Human assets	Participating in training, yield-increasing skills

Source: Alsop et al. 2005:33.⁶

The actual concept of empowerment has not literally been raised in conversations, however, interviews and discussions have focused upon farmers' own concerns, experiences and perceptions of the process with the initiative together with the framework above. It would indeed have been possible using a different set of indicators, as well as quantitative ones, however, the indicators used were determined by the purpose and limitations of the study.

The analysis of the material consists of categorizing and interpreting the respondents' statements through this theoretical framework (Esaiasson et al. 2003:280).

⁶ Indicators chosen to suit the study.

3 Methodology and Material

In this chapter the methodology and material used in the study is presented, furthermore considering its possible implications to the results of the study.

3.1 Methodology

Qualitative methods to field based case studies are seen as suitable when aiming at understanding the experiences and perceptions of individuals concerning a specific phenomenon (Rosenqvist – Andrén, 2006). The method enables the researcher to collect information from the primary source, as well as, presenting the opportunities of discovering unexpected information. The basic strength of interviewing is that it allows the researcher to get close to the individuals (Petersson, 2003:39). Both Kabeer and Alsop et al. though suggest mixed-method approaches to the study of empowerment but agree that a qualitative approach can be sufficient at its own. Kabeer expressively states that: "...‘statistical’ perspectives on decision-making should also be remembered for what they are: simple windows on complex realities." (Kabeer, 2001:34). It could have been possible using statistical tools and perhaps conducted a survey except due to the field of interest and purpose of this study together with lack of time and resources this was not a priority. Furthermore some of the respondents were illiterate or required additional explanations and personal interaction.

Since the purpose is to capture peoples subjective experiences empowerment perceptual data have been generated by conducting *semi-structured interviews*. This is to be able to pose follow-up questions and skip to the subject irrelevant questions (Teorell, 2007:89).

Due to practical and complimentary reasons *focus group discussions* were also used. Focus group discussions are planned talks with contestants from five to twelve members. They can act as a good compliment to individual interviews which further gives the possibility to study how opinions are constructed and formulated in groups and sheds light on the social context of the respondents (Wagnsson, 2003:86f). This has been both time effective and helped contrasting posed questions.

The northern province of Nampula is the location of one of Mozambique’s P4P initiatives. It is one of the 4 provinces where the P4P initiative is initiated due to rich production and where farmer associational life is somewhat developed (WFP CO IPP, 2008; Interview 15, WFP FM Sr. Juma).

From a list provided at a meeting with the field partner IKURU⁷, contracted by WFP for conducting purchases, contacts were indicated to heads of different farmer groups. Places were selected accessible by local transport, personal contacts and WFP transport. In each FA there was one responsible for the Forum or FA who provided meetings with individual farmers and focus groups. The respondents subsist in rather remote areas of interior part of Nampula, with extremely poor means of transport and road conditions. To access some of the particularly remote villages in the districts, I accompanied the work of WFP FM Sr. Juma and a 4X4 vehicle was needed when conducting these field visits, otherwise only accessible days by foot. Thereby the material originates from both relatively accessible and extremely remote villages.

The established Forums, which have been involved in sales of beans and maize to WFP in 2008/2009 are essentially groupings and councils of representatives from different FAs working as a center for commercialization and sales. Farmers considered as *P4P-farmers* throughout the study, have had at least one harvest sold to WFP via the Forum and IKURU since early 2008 (Interview 18, IKURU Manager Sr. Raposo).

The primal material for the field study is based on interviews of 45 minutes up to 1 hour; 15 individual P4P-farmers, of which some served as presidents of FAs and Forums (importantly all themselves counted as farmers). 3 focus group interviews were conducted with 2 groups of 9 farmers and one of 10 farmers participating⁸. 2 of the focus groups and 2 individual semi-structured interviews consisted of non-P4P farmers, not yet directly associated with any structured commercialization initiative. Thereby the study includes a total of 45 farmers of which 24 P4P-farmers and 21 considered non-P4P. Interviews were conducted until experiencing extensively repeated answers and interview responses to some extent had reached redundancy (saturation) and that additional information did not add much to already acquired knowledge (Seale, 2004:289).

To strengthen my understanding for the initiative and the processes involved, the manager of IKURU and 5 official WFP staff members were interviewed of which the P4P Officer Billy Mwinga interviewed twice at Maputo CO, 2 FMs in Nampula SO also twice, the Procurement Officer and the Head of SO in Beira.

Considerably some, however not all, of the respondents were selected by the FA responsible and were most likely considered “successful” and somewhat articulate. However these responsible farmers gave more detailed and useable descriptions within their answers. This may have biased results in favor of the well-informed and well-articulated farmer, however a randomized selection was quite difficult to attain due to long distances and little formal access. However all farmers were considered as beneficiaries of the initiative.

⁷ A farmers owned company. IKURU means strength (<http://www.ikuru.org/>)

⁸ For a detailed list of respondents please see chapter 8.

3.2 The Delicate Interview Situation

There are several challenges that can emerge while carrying out a field study. One problem is the cultural differences when conducting interviews, some even speak of “cultural chock”. However, with an open mind much can be overcome and I have had an advantage of having close contact with WFP officials together with a good insight in Mozambican life, culture and language. This made it possible to come closer to these farmers than many foreign researchers would.

The interviews have been conducted in Portuguese and although, I am considered to be fluent, it must be recognized that there could be misunderstandings due to differences in the way of expressing myself and interpretations of what was said. A small part of the farmer interviews have been interpreted from Portuguese to the provincial local language of *makhuwa*⁹ and since being in quite remote areas therefore being forced to use interpreters at hand. Some of the interpreted interviews have been conducted with the presence of the WFP FM, who intervened if any translations seemed distorted or misunderstood by the interpreter, minimizing this risk.

There are two main obstacles to interviews used in this study. Firstly, what Swedish researcher Petersson calls *instrumentality*¹⁰ had to be taken into consideration. Instrumentality is what can affect the respondent when he/she sees gains or losses in the answers of the interview (Petersson, 2003:46), indeed is essential to considering in a development context.

Secondly, what the researcher cannot completely avoid, but need to be aware of, is something called *interviewer's effect*¹¹. My socio-economic state, gender, age, skin-color and accent will matter and affect the answers of the respondents to some extent. However, an interview is what Petersson calls, a social meeting (2003:48f) and removing the existence of the researcher from the field of research is not even desired (Neumann, 2003: 34).

Nevertheless one can indeed minimize both instrumentality and the interviewers' effect by avoiding leading questions, stating and clearly presenting myself, the objectives and how the results were to be used (Petersson, 2003:50ff). Since the identity of the respondents is not of importance to the study all interviews are coded in numbers in order to keep the farmers' identity confidential. I have been very careful as the interviewer to clearly state the purpose of interview and the study prior to the interview stating that I am not affiliated with WFP or IKURU in any way, as they may perceive personal gains or losses to their answers¹². (Teorell, 2007:89)

All interviews were both taken down in a personal notebook and digitally recorded, in order to capture the statements accurately. However, to not make the recorder affect the answers their confidentiality and the purpose has been explained and each respondent has been able to decline (Petersson, 2003:51). The

⁹ Local language spoken by most people in the Nampula province. Many *makhuwas* speak Portuguese as it is taught in all primary school.

¹⁰ Author's translation

¹¹ Author's translation

¹² Please consult the Interview Guide in Annex I.

practical advantages have been numerous, going back to the interviews to clear misunderstandings and get more detailed compliments to notes.

3.3 Former Studies

The challenges of small-scale farmers in the developing world are many as they are vulnerable to changes in both global and local market which will directly affect their quality of life and survival. There is sufficient evidence that smallholder farming can be productive and engage in competitive markets when provided the necessary support. This can be indispensable to development and have considerable effects on poverty reduction (Jama – Pizarro, 2008:218).

Farmers selling their crops are an ancient phenomenon traced back to the early Greek and Chinese societies (FAO, 2001:1). The process of moving from self-subsistence farming to commercialized farming in a development context has been studied by both organizations and researchers, however, as of what was encountered few centralized around the farmers' perceived empowerment but rather on macro-economical change for increase in growth and export. Furthermore according to Alsop et al. relatively little has been done in the tracking of empowerment at project level (2005:172). Much of empowerment studies seem to focus upon policy level and aid actors. Many studies on rural development refer to the Green Revolution in Asia and its ties to poverty alleviation, letting poor farmers increase production and income. (Spielman – Pandya Lorch, 2009:29).

4 P4P in Mozambique

The following chapter gives short but essential contextual information to the P4P initiative.

“Most farmers in the region produce for themselves and it ends there.”¹³

(Sr. Juma, WFP FM)

The P4P initiative was launched in early 2008 although local procurement has been a goal for WFP for many years. WFP aims to procure at least 22,000 tons of cereals purchasing directly from farmer organizations and small traders between 2008 and 2013 (WFP Mozambique). The main funding for the initiative comes from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (WFP CO IPP, 2008).

4.1 Box 1. P4P at a Glance

The main goals for the P4P programme are;

- Giving small-scale farmers access to reliable markets and the opportunity to sell their surplus at competitive prices.
- Increase smallholders capacities and thereby their income.
- Reducing the risks faced by low-income farmers.
- Linking small-holder farmers directly to markets with more products to sell and more experience as market players, the farmers will connect to other clients besides WFP.
- Creating incentives of improving ways of farming and increase investment.
- Supporting the formation and management of farmer groups and associations, bringing together the collective power of individual farmers.
- Contracting directly on long-term basis with farmers and farmer associations.

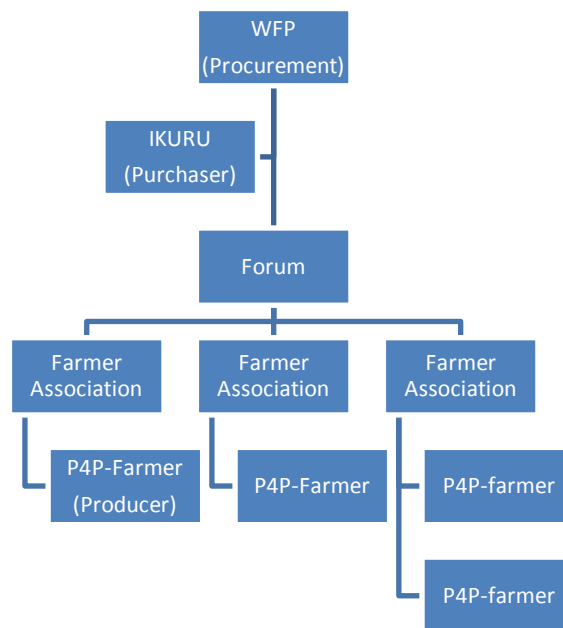
(WFP, Mozambique)

IKURU contract directly with Forums, consisting of FAs, and later collecting products at Forum level or in some cases at farm gate. “We work with already

¹³ Interview 1. Quoted WFP FM Sr. Juma

existing quantities, programmed in advanced. Each FA reports how much they are able to produce”, states Sr. Juma the WFP FM responsible for the region (Interview 19).

4.2 Figure 2. Structure of the P4P-initiative



Source: The empirical study.

5 Results

The following chapter will simultaneously present and analyze the major findings from the collected material. The aim of this section is to address the research question with the guidance of the theoretical framework in chapter 2. Section 5.1 gives an indication of what the development concept means in the context of the respondents. Next two sub-chapters examine opportunity structure and agency. Finishing is a concluding section which aims at assessing remaining obstacles together with the three degrees of direct empowerment.

5.1 Farmers' View on Development?

This section will give room to respondents dressing the concept of development in their own words, giving it meaning in their context. This portrait what are desirable outcomes for choice and to draw parallels to theories of empowerment. Questions posed capturing this are what they would do if they would have access to more resources and their perceptions on the actual concept.

5.1.1 Production

“[Development] [...] is to grow. It is production.”

(Interview 13)

Most farmers relate the concept of development to their own or common production. Another stated that the concept means “...to increase what you have. To grow.”(Interview 16) Growth can be interpreted in its double sense in English, both to cultivate but more correctly “to increase”. This is not so unexpected, given that the interviews focused upon them as farmers and production being their main livelihood.

5.1.2 (Collective) Change

“Development is change. [Pause] One day you are barefoot the other day you have shoes - that means you are developing.”

(Interview 14)

The process of change is what is related to the theoretical definition of the concept of empowerment. Some farmers explicitly establish this connection as the quote above indicates. For many, development and empowerment is when you get to change the situation you are in for the better (Interview 1 Non-P4P Focus Group), hence enhancing one's opportunities for choice. This can relate, and also to some extent confirm, Kabeer's theories of empowerment as change to be applicable to this context.

Furthermore, two farmers explicitly expressed the importance of collective development to change (Interview 1). The second farmer articulate:

“For example, if I have a bicycle I can then go and buy a motorbike. That is individual development. For the Forum, better infrastructures would mean development for us. Then speaking of the margin, if it was higher, like 2 meticais¹⁴, we could give 1 metical to the Forum and one to the FAs”.

(Interview 16)

This point is giving significance to a sense of collective progress. This signs of a collective identity associated with the farmer group emerging and its importance to the commercialization process.

5.1.3 Freedom

One of the respondents strongly expressed development in terms of freedom, as described by capabilities and freedoms theorist Sen (1997), stating:

“Without development no one becomes free. It means liberty, to live without problems.”

(Interview 11)

Another illustrating quote from the interviews has near connections with our definition of empowerment is “[Development means] ...satisfaction of our needs, like to be able to buy a car or a tractor. We work to lift ourselves.” (Interview 13) What the farmers is referring to can be interpreted as *power to* raise one-self from poverty and access transformative choices. Empowerment is something that comes from *within* the person, interconnected with one's needs, here directly associated with work thus farming, here expressed as means of transport often lacking in these sites.

What can the non-commercialized farmers then tell us? Their view on the concept of development happened to defer quite to a great extent from the P4P-farmers'. The major part of the definitions was straightly biased towards monetary means with tendencies to being more abstract. (Various from Interview 2 Non-P4P Focus Group and 12).

¹⁴ The local currency

“[Development means] to be rich. To have money. Like yesterday, I was suffering, to have some things a lot bettered.”

(Interview 2, Non-P4P Focus Group)

He speaks of ending suffering, denial of one’s basic needs to live a decent life. One farmer explains what this denial means to agency: “With money one can do what he wants. Without money you cannot do anything.”(Ibid.) Here, the farmers relate economic assets to agency, as access to choice. Nevertheless they also see connections with freedom of choice to act upon self-defined goals in “to be able to do what one wants”. This indicate them as indirectly defining themselves in a state of disempowerment, as someone “who cannot do anything” – thereby denied choice, without agency as a farmer.

5.2 What are the Main Obstacles to Commercialization?

This section aims at establishing opportunity structure, which they as actors operate within. Questions presented in interviews referred to main difficulties to commercialization and towards achieving hopes and dreams.

5.2.1 Access to Warehousing

“Warehousing is a huge problem!”

(Interview 16)

Many farmers identify the essential need of access to warehousing in order to store crops safely from threats like rodents, insects, and humidity providing an even temperature and dry conditions until sale. This is to ensure quality and survival of harvested crops. (Interview 14, 16)

The majority of farmers interviewed warehouse their products in their own homes, made out of straw, clay or if lucky bricks, which due to poor conditions often jeopardize crop quality and sometimes the entire yield. Crop failure rate is extremely high, with examples of near 15 %, with peasants witnessing of products ripening too fast (Interview 6, 18).

“With good warehousing we could guard the products in a good warehouse and sell it or much higher prices later and then get higher revenues. With these [current] conditions our products get destroyed.”

(Interview 16)

The possibilities with good warehousing are many. As the farmer cited above, one can store the crops awaiting higher market prices. These farmers are currently dependent on selling close to harvest times not to lose their products, when supply is high and prices are low.

Existing examples of common warehousing is often too poor, small or as in one village visited, vulnerable to extreme weather.

5.2.2 Access to Inputs

“We are working with manual tools. A farmer’s limit is 2-3 hectares with these. If there would be assistance of animals or something like it we could increase our production much more.”

(Interview 16)

A further difficulty expressed is the need for access to practical inputs such as technical support, tools and tractors (Interview 13). These farmers are currently conducting all work in the field with manual tools, as expressed above. This method is extremely labor-intensive resulting in a slow work-demanding process with limited production outputs. The type of inputs required varies between farmers and context, however, they share the wish to grow, develop their techniques to increase outputs. The need for pesticides is also apparent in affected areas as some complain about outbreaks of hazardous insects attacking crops and chemicals are told to be very expensive (Interview 7b, 9b).

An additional difficulty two of the farmers expressed is the need of increased funds to be able to employ labor, as one identifies it as one of the major obstacles (Interview 4, 5). Farmers alleged to having access to lands not yet cultivated due to the lack of resources such as labor and access to more seeds (Interview 8, 10).

Farming is hard on the peasant as well as on his or her family. They often witnessed of long distance walks to the field or *machambas*¹⁵ each day, many working hours per day and using their children for labor. One farmer claimed to have dropped out of school herself due to the need to work in the fields of which she was responsible (Interview 4a). This is an example of how opportunity structure directly limits farmers to increase of human assets.

“To have a big *machamba* is my dream. The biggest obstacle of achieving this is financial funds”

(Interview 5)

Many of the farmers claim that the need for credit and access to financial means is the greatest (Interview 14, 16). There is knowledge about the possibility of lending systems but no or little formal access, by some farmers expressed as a source of frustration (Interview 16).

¹⁵ The local word for one’s field.

5.2.3 Access to Transport and Information

“The problem is transport.”

(Interview 9b)

Interconnected with constraints above are difficulties with transport and pricing. The closer one gets to the nearest city or town the higher prices are at the markets, is often a rule for sales (Interview 14). Seldom traders come close to where remote small-scale farmers subsist restraining them from commercializing and obtaining fair prices for products due to lack of infrastructure such as poor roads and long distances. Some say if they had access to transport it would pay better to sell their products in the near community or town. For example, one witnesses of price differences of near 65 % (Interview 9b) to the closest village.

Transportation contracting is expressed to be too expensive to even regard as an option (Interview 14). This shows of limited choice and agency for farmers due to structural limitations.

5.2.4 Conclusion: Lack of Incentives

“Before, without them [the sales], it was like robbery.

(Interview 16)

Prior to sales at Forum level, farmers expressed to have sold near small roads (if having access to existing) but in major part of the cases simply exchanging farm products for other goods at the local village store (Interview 1, 5, 16). Some used to sell sporadically but witnessed being victims of traders passing by offering disgracing low prices.

“Now we are selling at minimum prices with suffering. The buyers come with cars or trucks. They buy little quantities”

(Interview 2, Non-P4P Focus Group)

Yet another non-P4P farmer speaks of suffering. This farmer tells of traders buying little quantities at a low price. The restraining opportunity structure result in of lack of incentives to produce, some witnessing of simply not selling at all:

“There is a lack of buyers in this part of the province. When they do come we get a low price. We don't get motivated to sell or even to produce.”

(Interview 2, Non-P4P Focus Group)

This, if compared with the P4P-farmer they are still struggling showing signs of passivity and hopelessness, inhibiting them to envisage change: “We are mostly waiting.” (Interview 1, Non-P4P Focus Group) This implies that markets for their products could be physically available but not structurally accessible to farm households. They have little or no access to markets, denied any form of choice to

sales and do not reach any of the degrees of empowerment and are to some extent disempowered in the process of commercialization.

5.3 P4P - Creating Assets and Agency?

The following seeks to analyze if opportunity structure is affected by the initiative by examining the second sign of indirect empowerment; agency. To recapture, *agency* is one's ability both visualize and purposively choose options. Agency is indicated by *asset endowments*; interrelated resources enabling opportunities, productivity and chock protection. Interview questions posed related to this section are access to assets and what commercialization together with the Forum structure have changed for the farmer.

5.3.1 Capacity to Aspire

When posed questions about ones hopes and aspirations for the future many were positive. As the major survival tool in rural Mozambique is farming, their statements were naturally colored by that fact and being interviewed for the reason of being farmers. Therefore most, if not all, farmers expressed dreams and expectations of the future in terms of increased production (among others; Interview 5, 7, 8). When further developed, their hopes for the future were described in material means such a vehicle (a car, motorbike or bicycle) often as means as overcoming transaction costs of transportation (Interview 8, 9).

While talking about a vehicle, one farmer expressed the dream of getting a driver's license, suggesting a connection with psychological to human assets (Interview 7). Interestingly some farmers articulated different ideas and dreams concerning entrepreneurships, as investing in a street bar or a common food place for the Forum (Interview 9, 11) and becoming a big company in the future free of external aid (Interview 13, 1). This suggests two things: the collective importance with asset building, secondly these statements witness of clear indications of *capacity to aspire*, an important psychological asset.

However, it was first after interviewing non-P4P farmers the role of this asset became clear. Sudden silence breaks out when posing questions to both of the focus groups and individual interviewees about their future hopes and dreams. What is not said, says much. Furthermore, when later expressed, they were indeed more modest and related to ones domestic domains (such as house improvements). Quite surprisingly, although posed similar questions, no one of the non-P4P farmers mentioned increased production as future aspirations. This strengthens the lack of incentives of production together with lack of ability to aspire and envisage change. (Interview Non-P4P Focus Group and interview 1, 2 and 12)

5.3.2 Creating Demand – Overcoming Transaction Costs?

When organizing themselves in FAs non-P4P farmers seem to experience gains with selling communally, although what is lacking is access to a market for their products. With P4P farmers looking back at their own situation prior to sales one can then argue that the P4P initiative is creating this demand, which was not there before, overcoming parts of the opportunity structure for these farmers providing the existence of choice to sell.

WFP and IKURU were even in some cases buying *everything* produced from a FA and farmers bore witness of WFP being the only player buying from them (Interview 11, 14).

Creating this unique demand help must say to be bridging (however not overcoming) some constraints such as access to transport, lack of buyers and incentives. Here the initiative is supporting the first direct degree of empowerment, the *existence of choice* to commercialize. As P4P farmers are also realizing sales it indicates that the second degree of empowerment, *use of choice* is there.

5.3.3 Farmers Planting More

The interviews indicated farmers producing increased quantities, hence use of choice to sell and produce more as the second degree of empowerment and future aspiring. All farmers interviewed alleged to have been planting more compared to last year. Farmers tell of increased outputs this harvest due to mainly two concrete factors: good rains and increased planting (Interview 10, 4). One further explanation could be the fact that IKURU and WFP specifically requested the FAs to produce and plant more to be able to buy bigger quantities (Interview 18, IKURU Manager Sr. Raposo). Farmers confirm this telling that IKURU specifically requested more quantities and another farmer claimed that WFP instructed them in planting techniques resulting in better production (Interview 4, 14).

This point to indications of increases in access to assets and farmers transforming agency to actions, thereby the second degree of empowerment, *use of choice*.

5.3.4 Better Pricing

“Selling at the Forum is much better in terms of prices. The margins are better.”

(Interview 5)

Many experience better prices with Forum ad P4P sales than prior to this. Farmers say, with Forum sales there is difference (Interview 5, 8, 11, 14). Better prices and the existence of sales should be indications of increased financial assets, as increased economic opportunities. One could argue that in commercialization

versus no commercialization, being able to sell your crops gives crucial family-income and promotes some kind of autonomy and openings to bettering one's life and choices, ones agency.

To have a choice what to do with your income gives the *power to your own funds* which should increase the opportunities for famers and thereby their agency. To what extent is too early to tell as these changed opportunities do not say anything about the effective choice of farmers, transforming agency into desired action, thus *achievement of choice*.

5.3.5 Possibility to Negotiate

The many contact points between the FAs, Forums and IKURU together with WFP suggest to the opening of channels for both communication and perhaps negotiation. The existence and possibility of negotiations can be seen as a psychological asset - an indicator of agency. The interviews with farmers in different positions such as managers or presidents of Forums and FAs named negotiation as something desirable nevertheless also possible (Interview 11 and 16):

“We are planning to negotiate at the next meeting with IKURU to increase the margin to 1 metical.”

(Interview 16)

This further indicates ability to envisage change, showing a sense of collective self-esteem. This may act as preconditions for creating possibilities for agency; as without the possibility to visualize change no change can occur.

“The advantage [with negotiating contracts] is now we sit down and we inform and we can communicate our needs and worries.”

(Interview 11)

Supporting and promoting cooperative cultures and associational life is one of P4P's objectives. The existence of choice of negotiations may exist and occur at a collective and indirect level on the behalf of its members, enables it as an indirect choice (Alsop et al. 2005:18). Also what could indicate increased agency here are organizational assets such as collective decisions and participation in meetings.

The major part of the farmers interviewed claimed to have participated in planned weekly and monthly meetings, voting, and elections of their representatives. Representatives for FAs attend meetings at Forum level exchanging experiences, information, what implementation is working and what is not, according to one Forum president (Interview 14).

All this point to existence of a culture of common decision-making (organizational assets and collective dimension to empowerment) and the possibility of a flow of information (informational assets) between different districts and areas and levels. Even though these assets may be weak, it is an indication of *increased agency*.

5.3.6 Access to Contracting

“Signing a contract helps the majority. The big idea is that we know that our products will be bought [...] Instead of exchanging our products [...] contracting means cash. This [the exchange] does not help my children to school or hospital and to resolve problems in our community.”

(Interview 11)

Contracting means trust, guarantees, security and stability for the producers, further making it more accessible for farmers to plan and create incentives to increase planting (Interviews 1, 8, 9, 14). Essentially contracting guarantees sales at a pre-determined price and quantity and create many psychological assets as described by the farmers above indicating increased agency.

5.3.7 Collective Advantages

As indicated in section 5.3.5-6 above, the collective factors can create agency for farmers in creating a platform and position for common bargaining. As the P4P initiative specifically aims at supporting the joint forces of small-holder farmer groups by gaining a margin with sales, how can these collective structures in themselves function as empowering?

Supporting the same may also contribute to their development by strengthening them as collective actors. Some Forums and FAs offered, although limited and indeed expensive, much needed financial- and material assets such as monetary credits, seed- and chemical credits as well as limited warehouse facilities. This relieves the vulnerability to shocks, as indicated by Alsop as the actual definition of assets.

In conclusion, much indicate Forums are acting as a collective voice which is an important organizational asset and creates paths for future political empowerment initiatives. One farmer president even told of the Forum as a platform providing linkages to the local government (Interview 14). However, only few farmers tell to have gained actual access to these types of associational assets.

5.3.8 Conclusion: Market Access - Sales Making a Difference

“Last year one could sell for about 2000 meticaï¹⁶, this year one has to produce for 5000 or even 10 000. That means you can buy a bike or a motorcycle.”

(Interview 13)

What does it mean to sell and produce? Almost all farmers agree that sales contribute to some kind of change and most define it as for the better (Interview

¹⁶ More or less equivalent to 50 USD of 2010-08-14

11, 14). Farmers told that the *only* sales that occur nowadays are at the level of the Forums (Interview 4). What the farmer and Forum president describe above is support of greater opportunity of economic gains connected with material assets many defined as development. This expresses a capacity to envisage change within gained financial assets.

“With the FAs this [exchange of crops for goods] does not happen anymore. The person can do whatever he wants with the money.”

(Interview 16)

The quote above connects economic assets with increased freedom and *power to* do whatever he/she wants with a surplus. One farmer uses one word to express what commercialization means to him: “Success/.../the one who can sell more have more money. The one that have more money have clothes and school material for their children.”(Interview 14) These statements strengthen the importance of income-generating economic assets and shows that they are interrelated with other assets, in line with empowerment theory.

The P4P initiative seems to provide and support a different set of assets contributing to farmers becoming closer to expanded choices and agency in their community and life. Perhaps most important is the creation of demand as the existence of choice for commercialization, bridging some of the otherwise disempowering high transaction costs.

Furthermore the organizational assets in joint Forum structures may contribute to collective empowerment when bringing together farmers, overcoming one of the reasons to their vulnerability to by passing traders, creating a common bargaining position.

5.4 What Remains on the Road Towards Empowerment?

This concluding section aims at focusing on the major remaining needs and obstacles (opportunity structure) for empowerment that the farmers identify so far within the initiative. It further aims at concluding the three direct degrees of empowerment: the existence-, use of- and achievement of choice discussed in the sub-chapter above.

5.4.1 Price Fluctuations

Importantly, access to different assets described in 5.3 may enable agency but do not automatically contribute to use of purposive choices to desired outcomes, thus the third and most desirable degree of empowerment. One of the major obstacles the farmers identify is frustration towards pricing. Two farmers said to experience

little price information together with limited possibility of negotiation when addressing the question of pricing:

“Sometimes when we send someone to negotiate with IKURU we just discover the price there”.

(Interview 11)

Another farmer too perceived buyers to solely decide the price (Interview 4). Even though many respondents agree that Forum sales provide *better* market prices than before, price fluctuations were identified as one the major concerns about the initiative (Interview 4,6a, 9B, 11).

This may seem contradictory. Many farmers were comparing current sales to 2008 expressing frustration of the developments (Interview 14). This year (2009), due to lowering regional prices, good rains and increased production the price of crops is lower.

Interview results indicate that if price expectations are not met it may provoke a sense of frustration for the newly commercialized farmers.

5.4.2 High Expectations versus Lack of Support

To be approached by WFP, a well-known actor within the development world, certainly create hopes and expectations about ones future as a farmer. Promises made by WFP to the farmers representatives trickle down to all farmers and the objectives not yet realized create disappointment, frustration and anger as exemplified by a farmer: “We got our hopes up with WFP. But they went to other producers last year. That made us become disappointed.”(Interview 1) Another farmer states that these expectations remind them that they do not have means (Interview 13). Moreover many expressed a certain frustration in the lack of additional support as:

“We just work and sell. There is only purchase, no support.”

(Interview 9)

An additional farmer concurred to needing more as a producer naming the assistance as very weak (Interview 14). However, important to bear in mind is that it is a five-year initiative and what this study is about the farmer’s perceived empowerment in the *initial* part of this process. P4P-policies aims at, together with other actors, create opportunities for developing such assets.

However if experiencing simply working and selling, as expressed in the citation above, it shows of awareness of their own needs for assistance to develop and increase their output implying that for many small-scale farmers just simply purchases is not enough for empowerment.

5.4.3 Training and Inputs

With initiating sales comes demand for increased investment and financing, which remains as an obstruction. Many of the P4P respondents identified this as one of the major obstacles. A reliable and far-reaching credit system is not provided for these farmers. Also training is an asset which can be empowering because some farmers claim it contributing to increases in outputs. Some associations claimed to have received different agriculture related trainings from WFP and FAO and different NGOs. In spite of this, many farmers experienced this as not sufficient to ensure achievement of choice and fully engage in sales. (Interview 4, 11, 13, 16)

Another head of a FA saw similarities with a project the village took part in together with the European Union, being given 126 cattle - 3 per family. Without the sufficient knowledge and instructions of how to train and maintain the cattle, treat them for diseases and due to lack of transport, the actual *use* of the new possibility for farming was not taken (use of choice) and is perceived as something frustrating and limiting (Interview 1). To engage fully in a commercialized process aiming towards empowerment all needs of the farmers need to be addressed in order to be truly transformative.

6 Conclusions

Recapturing, this field research aimed at examining what kind of empowerment can be perceived for the small-scale farmer within this initial process of commercialization. Through the theoretical framework findings have been categorized in opportunity structure, asset endowments and agency determining empowerment in three degrees. Furthermore what development means for these smallholder farmers presented in 5.1 is coinciding quite well with many essential parts of the theoretical definition of empowerment, and is somewhat also defining desirable outcomes.

Main findings in terms of establishing the opportunity structure perceived by the farmers point to poor access to warehousing, transportation and inputs (credit, chemicals and training) resulting in lack of incentives for commercialization. Farmers have pointed to P4P creating and supporting signs of assets as capacity to aspire, access to contracting and better pricing together with possibility of negotiations. This helps bridge some constraints enabling agency and existence of choice to sales, previously denied to them. Increased planting and realized sales indicate use of this choice. Psychological assets such as ability to aspire may act as preconditions for transforming agency into action; without the possibility to visualize change no change can occur.

The initiative connects farmers to a market not there before and this together with contracting increases their security and ability to plan for the future. There are signs that the P4P initiative in supporting collective farmer structures enables collective gains to the *existence* choice of commercialization. By attaining financial assets and *power over* the same the commercialization is to some extent enhancing choice towards empowering the small-scale farmer.

However much remains on the road towards empowerment for the smallholder farmer; especially the achievement of choice, as farmers identify *continued* obstacles: price fluctuations, lack of support and continuous need for assets such as credit, tools, techniques and training. One may produce and sell however to make commercialization truly transformative towards empowerment of the small-scale farmer one needs to support all assets to increase low productivity simultaneously. Many farmers experienced this as a need to ensure achievement of choice.

Existence of sales is a necessary but not sufficient condition for empowerment. The initiative is at this stage not showing any evidence of increasing some essential assets but instead to directly bridging some of the obstacles to choice.

6.1 Future Research

A further conclusion is that more research in the field of the small-scale farmer's commercialization process is desirable as some signs of empowerment can be argued to exist.

There is significant need to devote research to how these types of commercialization initiatives and FAs affect gender relations and the empowerment (or disempowerment) of women as opportunity structure of female farmers may differ greatly from the male. Another aspect is examining the initiative with a sustainable development approach.

Certainly one cannot deny the interest in returning and following these farmers in some time, examining more definitive experiences of the outcomes such as difference in, income, crops and exploring possible further synergic effects and development outcomes of the initiative.

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Primary Sources

The following Interviews have been coded into numbers to protect the identity of the respondents. Some, where not risking expose their identities, locations are presented.

Semi-Structured Interviews

<i>Interview number:</i>	<i>Description:</i>	<i>Date of Interview:</i>
1.	P4P Farmer, Forum Manager	2009-07-02
4.	P4P-farmer, Netia	2009-07-01
5.	P4P-farmer, Tocolo	2009-07-08
6a.	P4P-farmer, Nacololo	2009-07-02
6b.	P4P-farmer, Nacololo	2009-07-02
7a.	P4P-farmer, Netia	2009-07-01
7b.	P4P-farmer, Netia	2009-07-01
8.	P4P-farmer, Netia	2009-07-01
9a.	P4P-farmer, Netia	2009-07-01
9b.	P4P-farmer, Netia	2009-07-01
10.	P4P-farmer and FA President	2009-07-01
11.	P4P-farmer and FA President	2009-07-08
12.	Non-P4P farmer and FA President	2009-07-07
12b.	Non-P4P farmer, Mecuburi	
13.	P4P-farmer and Forum Manager	2009-07-02
14.	P4P-farmer and Forum President	2009-07-02
16.	P4P-farmer and Forum President	2009-07-08

Focus groups

<i>Interview number:</i>	<i>Description:</i>	<i>Participants:</i>	<i>Date of Interview:</i>
2.	Non-P4P farmers	9	2009-07-08
3.	Non-P4P farmers	10	2009-07-09
4b)	P4P farmers	9	2009-07-01

Official Interviews

<i>Interview number:</i>	<i>Description:</i>	<i>Date of Interview:</i>
15.	Sr. Juma and Emerson FM. WFP SO, Nampula	2009-06-24
17.	Sr. Moisés Raposo. Manager of IKURU	2009-06-28
18.	Sr. Moisés Raposo Manager of IKURU (2 nd interview)	2009-06-24
19.	Sr. Juma and Emerson FM. WFP SO, Nampula (2 nd interview)	2009-06-24
20.	Sr. Sofiane WFP Procurement Officer Beira And Tomas Macovela, Head of Sub-Office of Beria	2009-06-19
21.	Sr. Billy Mwinga WFP P4P Programme Officer WFP CO, Maputo	

Front Page Photo: Charlotte Lundqvist, Mozambique

Annex I. Interview Guide for Farmers

Presentation: My name is Charlotte Lundqvist. I am a 25 year old student from Sweden who have worked and lived in Maputo last year as an intern. My subject is Political Science and I am finishing by Bachelors Degree with this study. I wanted to come back to do field research for my university thesis and this study this WFP project. I want to stress that I am not associated with PMA, I don't work there and I am here to learn from you. Thank you.

Questions: The questions will take less than an hour. You can stop at any time. I am going to ask questions about your situation, farming organization, farming activities and food and overall situation. I will mostly ask questions that concern the entire *household*. (Household meaning the group of people who eat and sleep in the house.)

Consent: I will not use your name and your answers will be kept strictly confidential and will not be shown to other people but will be analyzed and compared in the thesis. This is completely voluntary and if you have any questions during the conversation or if you don't want to answer any questions there will be no problem. With your consent I will record this conversation. (Show and explain devise). It is mostly for my language limitations and memory reasons and it will not be played to anyone but me.

Remember to show MFS/SIDA certificates.

General Data

Date of interview: 2009/_ _/_ _

Time:

District:

Village name:

Use of interpreter: Y/N

Name/Description:

Recording: Y/N

Name of recording:

Name of participating Farmer Organization:

Name of respondent:

Heads of Household:

Spouse:

Age:

Gender:

Household composition

	First name	Relationship to Head	Sex	Age	Work/attend school?
1					
2					

3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					

- Children under 18 enrolled in school? When? If not, why? Work?
- Do you expect the children in the household to finish secondary education?
- Has anyone been continuously ill during the past 12 months? Has this person worked in the farming activities?

Farmers Organization/Association

- How and when did you first hear and about the Farmers Organization (FO)?
- Who is registered member? For how long time?
- Hold or held any position (elected)? Do you know how do the FO make decisions (voting or speaking)? Do you attend meetings? When and what kind of meetings? To what extent do you believe can you affect decisions of the FO?
- How much do you pay a year to be member of the FO? When?
- What kind of assistance does the FO provide you? (credit (for what?), inputs, transportation, storage, training, cleaning, drying, help selling, insurance, access to farming equipment)
- Did you use any of these services during this last year? If yes, did you pay and how?

Agricultural Production & Practices

Describe your farming activities freely, after I will ask you specific questions.

General

- What crops do you produce?
- How much land does this household have (hectares or other)?
- How much is owned by this household?
- How much land is used *for growing crops* this year 2008/2009? How much is rented out? Not used?

- Who works in the field? Who does what?
- Do you use ... irrigation / fertilizers / pesticides /cattle for?
- How much is produced for sale and household consumption? For WFP/FO?
- How much/what is sold at the market (do you pay to sell at the market)? How far to the market (s)?
- Have you had any difficulty selling these past two years? Why? (transport problems, no storage, price information, market fees, lack of demand/customers, quality, other)
- What are your main difficulties in terms of sales?
- How was the situation like before the initiative? Difficulties then?
- How do you obtain information about prices?
- Did you plant in one or two agricultural seasons during 2008/2009?
- Was this area of land you planted 2008/2009 more, less or about the same as you planted 2007/2008 season? 2006/2007?
- a) Why did you plant *more* (more; land, labor, money, credit, prices cheaper, better price for crops, contract)?
- b) Why did you plant *less*? (less; land, labor, credit, illness, floods/drought, someone leaving, couldn't afford seeds/fertilizer, prices less attractive for crops)
- Did you lose any crops after harvest, if so, due to what? (rains/water damage, mould, rats, broken grain)
- How do you store your crops? (indoors/outdoors /in what?)

P4P specific

- When did you first hear about selling to PMA/FO? Did you sign a contract? Who did?
- How much would you get for the P4P crop (beans) at the local market and what would it cost you to transport there?
- Do you know where the crops are used for after sale (food assistance)?
- What has changed, if anything, with the initiative/sales?

Contracting

- Do you know what does the contract specifies? Timeframe? At what price?
- Did FO buy what was already planted or did you plant more when you had information about the demand/request?

- Did you experience any difficulty delivering amount and on time?
- Did plant more/less when knowing about the contract with PMA/FO?
- What happens if you fail to deliver?
- What do these contracts mean to you and your household and production? What do you think of future contracts? Plant more next season?

Payment & Delivery

- How did the payment occur? When?
- When awaiting the payment, how does one cope?
- Delivery, where?
- Has the incomes from agricultural sale increased or decreased the last 12 months?
- Has the incomes from agricultural sale increased or decreased since contracting with FO?
- Which staple would you mostly like to grow next season? Why?
- What are the most limiting factors for increased production of this crop?
- The last 12 months, have you received any agricultural assistance? If yes, what? (loans/credit, seeds, training)? Source?

Livestock

- What kind of animals/livestock do you have? (For sale, consumption, pets?)

Livelihood

- How much is your households' monthly income? How much is from agriculture sale?
- What kind of *other incomes* does your household have? (remittances, labor, begging, artisan sales, other business, gifts etc.)
- Does anyone help you with money in difficult times (neighbors, family, friends)?
- Did anyone in your household borrow money the last 12 months?
- For what? Source? Paid back (Y/N, partially)?

Food Security & Living Situation

- In the past 30 days, have you had difficulty to access food for household? Do you go hungry?

- If yes, to cope have you; Passed entire day without eating? Reduced portions//number of meals? Borrowed food? Rely on less expensive food (if purchases)? Any wild foods? Send household members to eat elsewhere?
- Compared to the same time last year, has your situation worsened/bettered with sales?
- How much did you spend on food the last month (30 days)? On what?
- Compared to last year, did you spend more/less money on food? Why?
- During the last 12 months, how much was farm products and how much do you purchase at the market? Which commodities do you purchase at the market?
- (If market purchases is made) Compared to same time last year, has the food prices increased (examples)?
- How much food do you have in stock (from you own production)? Enough for how many months? Dried/salted or processed in any way?
- Yesterday, how many meals a day did the children eat? The adults?
- How many times the past two weeks have you had fish, meat, beans, milk? Purchased/own?
- Where do you get drinking water from? How much time does it take to fetch water?
- What kind of cooking fuel do you use?
- What kind of lightning fuel (candles, oil lantern, electricity)?
- Electricity, toilet facilities? Y/N?

General perceptions and future

- What kind of training is needed?
- What are your thoughts and indications on future cooperation and contracting with IKURU?
- In your own words, what is your view on the concept of;
 - a) Development
 - b) Empowerment

Future, Aspirations & Needs

- If you had access to more money what would you spend it on?
- Goals/dreams for the future? (personal, familiar and agricultural)
- What are the limitations to achieve that dream? What do you think will make you achieve that dream?

- Do you feel yourself closer to that dream today than one year ago?
- What are your main obstacles and needs after the initiative/Forum sales?

Anything else to add? Would you like to show me your land/house?

Thank you.

Interview Guide for Farmer Organization

General Data

Date of interview: 2009/_/_/___

Time:

District:

Village name:

Recording: Y/N

Name/Number of recording:

Name of participating Farmer Organization:

Name:

Position within FO:

Gender:

Age:

FO Contacts:

Address:

Organization Structure and Membership

Tell me freely about the FO and its history. Afterwards I will ask you more specific questions.

Year of creation:

Number of Members:

Women:

Men:

- What types of members are there? (Size, production etc)

Leadership and Staffing

Number of employees:

Female:

Male:

Paid full-time?

Female:

Male:

Paid part-time?

Female:

Male:

Volunteers?

Female:

Male:

Leadership:

Elected or not; how?

Leadership structure?

General

- What is the general objective of the FO?
- Is there an entrance fee (how much)? Who enters at what conditions?
- How do new members enter? Who looks for who?
- Is the FO legally registered? (Federação, Organização, união cooperação, associação)
- Is there a banking account?

Funding

- Where are funding from? What is the margin?
- Is there a credit opportunity (formal or informal)? Have the FO received credit?

Loans the past three years:

	Lender, Type & purpose	Amount applied	Amount received	Repayment status
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

(Bank, buyers, NGO, UN Agency, Agricultural Company (IKURU?), Government, project, private)

Assistance

- In what ways and with which organizations does the FO cooperate with? Any government?
- When did you contact IKURU/did IKURU contact you?
- Please, explain the FO:s relations to IKURU (Clusa/Care).
- Has the FO received any other external assistance? If yes, by whom, numbers of members benefitting?
 - Training (Financial management, post-harvest handling, conservation farming, price setting, conservation farming, price setting)?
 - Subsidized inputs (Seeds, fertilizer, farming implements)?
 - Financial support; cash amount _____?

Capital Assets of the FO

Trucks: (Y/N) Numbers: _____

Tractors: (Y/N) Numbers: _____

Cleaning equipment (Y/N) Numbers: _____ Drying equipment: (Y/N) Numbers: _____

Buildings: (Y/N) Numbers: _____

Shop etc. (Y/N) Numbers: _____

Other:

FO Facilities and Services

- What kind of services does the FO provide to its members?
 - (Technical assistance, supply inputs such as seeds, fertilizer etc. on credit/no, transporting to markets, grading of commodities, cash loans, food processing, storage, cleaning, drying, milling)
- Does the FO have access to storage facilities?
- If yes, how many? What type (tents, earth granaries, permanent concrete)? Capacity? Condition?
- Owned by who? Used by who?

Marketing & Production

- What commodities have been marketed (sold) by FO the past two agricultural seasons/one year?
- Largest quantity the FO has ever marketed in one agricultural season (mt)?
- What was the total volume FO has received from members in the 2008/2009 season?
- Was the quantity received from the members higher/lower or the same as the quantity of 2007/2008 season?
 - Less: (because of drought/rains, pests/disease, theft, cultivated less land, poor health, less inputs as seeds than last, less labor access, less cash, less buyers)
 - Higher: (good grains, fewer pests, better prices than other season, greater access to inputs, better training, technologies, greater access to credit, more cash, more demand/buyers)
- Volume of 'P4P crop' (beans) has received from members? Delivered?
- Do the members deliver to FO or does FO collect products?
- What do you think are the biggest challenges for the farmers in the region?

- What are the most critical problems your FO faces in selling staple commodities on behalf of your members?
- Limited demand for products, limited access to pricing information, limited access to credit to pre-pay members, low levels available from members, government trade restriction, poor transportation infrastructure, not meeting quality demands
- What would help you the most to improve you FO access to markets (national & regional)?
- Training, tendering training, own transport, cleaning/dry capacities, access to price information, had larger volumes to sell, have sufficient storage facilities, have access to more credits/funds to buy from members.
- How many individual sales has the FO made during the last year? What commodities? - (Type of buyer, location of buyer, quality, quantity, amount paid to farmers, amount ordered-amount delivered – reasons, delivery method, month of sale)
- Has this FO ever participated in a tender to sell commodities? Of yes, have you ever won?
- How is the delivery made from farmers to FO?
- How is the delivery made to IKURU?
- How is the payment to the farmers done?
- How is the payment from IKURU done?
- By whom and where is the quality check/certification done?

Decision Making

- How is decisions made within the FO? By voting or by leaders?
- What kinds of decisions are made?
- How often are meetings and where? Who is attending? (Can I attend one of these meetings as an observer? If yes, when?)

General perceptions and future

- Do you work with gender specific problems?
- What kind of training is needed?
- What does the contracting mean for the individual farmers?
- What are your thought and indications on future cooperation and contracting with IKURU?
- What are your main obstacles and needs after the Forum sales?
- In your own words, what is your/FO:s general view on the concept of;

- Development

Anything else to add? Can you show me your facilities?

Thank you.