

ASP Gender Program in the Eastern Province of Zambia.

A Minor Field Study evaluation of the social, economic and
environmental development in the Kawoozi Camp.



By

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Minor Field Study (MFS) Scholarship Programme

This study has been carried out within the framework of the Minor Field Study (MFS) Scholarship Programme, funded by the Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency (Sida).

The MFS Scholarship Programme gives Swedish university students the opportunity to carry out fieldwork in a Third World country. The extent of the work can lead to Bachelors or Masters degree. The studies focuses on areas and issues of relevance for development problems, and are conducted in countries supported by Swedish development assistance.

Sida's main purpose with the MFS Scholarship Programme is to stimulate the students' interest in, and increase their knowledge about, as well as their understanding for, developing countries and development issues. The MFS scholarships provide the students with practical experiences of the conditions of development. A further aim for Sida is to strengthen co-operation between Swedish University Departments, Institutes and organisations in countries in Africa, Asia and South- and Central America.

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Abstract

The report aims to investigate how a gender program, under the supervision of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) through the Agricultural Support Program, has affected the social, economic and environmental situation in the Kawoozi camp in the Eastern province of Zambia. The study is based on field work and data that was collected by means of structured and semi structured interviews with individuals and groups. The paper discusses how the gender program has engaged men and women in the program and how it has affected the relationship between the sexes both socially and work wise. It also looks at how the gender program has affected the economical situation for the family and the environmental situation in the camp. The study shows that the gender program has spread well into the lives of the villagers and that resources given by the program are divided equally between the sexes in the program. The findings of the paper show that the introduction of the gender program has changed the interrelation between the sexes in the camp and has tended to decrease the workload calculated over the year for the whole family. Women have had a decrease of working hours on a daily basis since the introduction of the program, whereas, men work longer daily hours. Men and women are now sharing the work in areas that were previously, by tradition, strictly divided by genus. The findings of the paper show that men as well as women are satisfied with the effects of the gender program. They find the program to have changed their every day life in a positive manner and that it has had a good influence on the traditional culture. The paper points out that there is an economical change in the interaction between the sexes. The economic responsibility is traditionally the sole concern of the man; however, it is now the mutual responsibility between the men and women to plan the management and budget of the fields. The responsibility of the family economy, for the families in the gender program in the camp, has also become mutual. The economy has been rising since the introduction of the gender program due to the better conservation of farming techniques being introduced through the involvement of the women in management discussions that has better made it possible to take advantage of the rainwater in the fields. The gender program has changed the structure of decision making in areas that were traditionally divided between the sexes. Moreover, the implementation of conservation farming techniques has increased since the introduction of the gender program supporting the environment in the camp. The conservation farming techniques have given the participants of the GP the opportunity to use the higher precipitation experienced during 2003 more efficiently. The HIV/AIDS situation has improved since the buying and selling of sex among the people in the gender program has decreased. This study shows a positive discrepancy towards other contemporary research. Taking into consideration the short period of time used for the very study itself this is of importance to the external validity of the study. I have addressed this by testing the results that I found to be exceptional, compared to other research, by employing multiple questions posed from different angles using PRA tools and by extending the study, including individual deep interviews, group interviews, key and structured interviews. Finally, the paper discusses the change made in the Kawoozi camp and the factors that have made this change possible. It points out five distinctive reasons that give a possible explanation of how the gender program has affected the lifestyle, economy and environment in the camp.

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1	INTRODUCTION.....	6
1.1	MINOR FIELD STUDY BACKGROUND.....	6
2	OBJECTIVE AND MEANS	7
3	DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA.....	8
3.1	POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY CONCERNING GENDER ISSUES	8
3.2	THE EASTERN PROVINCE.....	9
3.3	DESCRIPTION OF THE PEOPLE AND ENVIRONMENT IN THE STUDY AREA	10
3.4	PRACTICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ASP GENDER PROGRAM.....	12
4	THEORY.....	13
4.1	WID – SPECIAL FOCUS ON WOMEN	13
4.1.1	<i>The anti-poverty approach.....</i>	<i>13</i>
4.1.2	<i>The equity approach.....</i>	<i>13</i>
4.1.3	<i>The welfare approach.....</i>	<i>13</i>
4.1.4	<i>The efficiency approach</i>	<i>13</i>
4.1.5	<i>The empowerment approach</i>	<i>14</i>
4.2	TRANSGRESSION FROM WID TO GENDER APPROACH	14
4.3	GENDER – FOCUS ON WOMEN AND MEN	14
4.4	THEORETICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ASP GENDER PROGRAM.....	15
5	METHOD.....	16
5.1	SELECTION OF METHODS - SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS	16
5.1.1	<i>Individual interviews.....</i>	<i>16</i>
5.1.2	<i>Group interviews.....</i>	<i>16</i>
5.1.3	<i>Key interviews</i>	<i>17</i>
5.2	SELECTION OF METHOD - STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS	17
5.3	SELECTION OF INTERVIEWEES.....	18
5.4	PRA TOOLS USED IN THE STUDY	19
5.4.1	<i>Ranking and scoring.....</i>	<i>19</i>
5.4.2	<i>Diagramming working calendars.....</i>	<i>19</i>
6	RESULTS AND ANALYSIS.....	21
6.1	GENDER HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN THE KAWOOZI CAMP.....	21
6.2	THE SITUATION WITH THE GENDER PROGRAM.....	21
6.3	FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN THE FAMILY	22
6.3.1	<i>Analysis: Freedom of speech in the family.....</i>	<i>22</i>
6.4	EQUITY IN THE KITCHEN	23
6.4.1	<i>Analysis: Equity in the kitchen</i>	<i>24</i>
6.5	EQUITY IN THE FIELD	26
6.5.1	<i>Analysis: Equity in the field.....</i>	<i>28</i>
6.6	WORKLOAD CHANGES WITH THE GENDER PROGRAM	28
6.6.1	<i>Analysis: Workload changes with the gender program.....</i>	<i>30</i>
6.7	IMPLEMENTATION OF CONSERVATION FARMING	31
6.7.1	<i>Analysis: Implementation of conservation farming.....</i>	<i>31</i>
6.8	CHANGES IN ECONOMY	32
6.8.1	<i>Analysis: Changes in economy.....</i>	<i>33</i>
6.9	ECONOMIC EQUITY IN THE FAMILY	35
6.9.1	<i>Analysis: Economic equity in the family</i>	<i>36</i>
6.10	CHANGE IN EXTRAMARITAL CONTACTS	36
6.10.1	<i>Analysis: Change in extramarital contacts.....</i>	<i>38</i>
7	DISCUSSION.....	39
8	CONCLUSION	42
9	RECOMMENDATIONS	43
10	REFERENCES	44
11	APPENDIX	47

1 Introduction

The need to focus on both women and men in mainstream programs is the fundament of the gender approach. The approach is based on an analysis of roles and responsibilities, access to resources and decision making, constraints and potentials of both women and men. This Minor Field Study is undertaken to look at women's roles and reality as well as for men and the involvement of both groups in the village social life in the Eastern Province of Zambia.

Gender roles are socially determined and are hence changeable with time and culture. They are often in a process of change due to change in society at large. Socially determined roles vary according to different social contexts. Women's productive roles have largely been invisible in Zambia and this has had drastic consequences for development planning, particularly in the areas of agriculture, soil conservation, and integrated rural development (Kasuta, 1993).

Women and men generally play different roles at a community level. Men are normally involved in program goals, strategies, and activities with all stages of planning plus are consulted in decision making at top administration levels, which contributes to their status. Women are normally involved in child care or health issues. These efforts are generally seen as an extension of their role as women and is performed without payment. (Grönberg, et al, 1988)

Today, gender needs are normally handled within all donor programs, not as a goal in itself, but as a general policy throughout the programs. By ensuring that women are fully involved as active players in all aspects, such as planning and decision making with in the family and concerning the development programs, it is possible to influence the overall situation in the communities and households. Through recognition and giving value to a woman's role, thus increasing their status, these programs meet strategic gender needs and give the women the position in society they actually hold (Hannan, 1992).

1.1 Minor field study background

I have, through my studies, come to develop an interest in gender issues in the South as an obvious extension of my interest in democracy and equity. I have chosen to look at how education of women in the South changes the society and how this change leads to development for the individual as well as for society at large.

I see the gender issue as a key to development and the education of women as the most important part to the solution of many problems that is evident in the South. Zambia is one of the poorest countries in the world today and has a social structure that gives women few opportunities to develop individually (Schlyter, 1999).

In this paper, I look at a gender program that is held under the supervision of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) that is called the Agricultural Support Program (ASP). I have chosen to look at how this program addresses gender issues in a village called Domisa in the Kawoozi Camp, located in the Eastern Province of Zambia, three kilometers east of the province capital, Chipata. The study was conducted between March and June 2003.

2 Objective and Means

The objective of this study is to investigate how a gender program, under the supervision of Sida through the Agricultural Support Program, has affected the social, economic and environmental situation in the Kawoozi camp in Eastern province of Zambia. The camp, at the time of the field study conducted in 2003, had been in contact with the gender program for the period of one year.

The study primarily addresses:

How the gender program engages women and men and how it has affected the relationship between the sexes. The study also looks at how the workload has been affected in general and especially concerning the differences between the sexes in areas that traditionally are divided between the sexes.

The study also endeavors to see how the relationship in the family has changed with the gender program and how this has affected the economical situation for the family and the environmental situation in the camp as a consequence of the implementation of conservation farming techniques. The intention is to investigate how the gender program has changed the immediate lives for the women and men in the program as well as the social, economical and environmental consequences in the total structure of the camp.

Special focus is placed on:

- How well the gender program has been spread into the lives of the villagers and the reason for how the gender program has been received.
- How the program has changed the workload in the village; generally, for the women and for the men on a daily basis.
- How the program has affected the time put into work on a yearly basis for women and men.
- How the gender roles have changed through the gender program.
- How recourses are divided between the sexes in the program.
- How women and men have been involved in program goals, strategies, and activities at different stages of planning, if they have shared the same responsibilities and are consulted on equal terms, plus, who has the right of controlling the land in the village.
- How the economy has been affected since the introduction of the program and what is the cause.
- How the program has affected the structure of decision making in areas that are traditionally divided between the sexes.
- How the women and men feel that the program has affected their position in every day life and how it has affected the traditional culture.
- How the HIV/AIDS situation has been affected by the gender program.
- How the program has affected the environment through changes with the implementation of conservation farming techniques.

3 Description of the study area

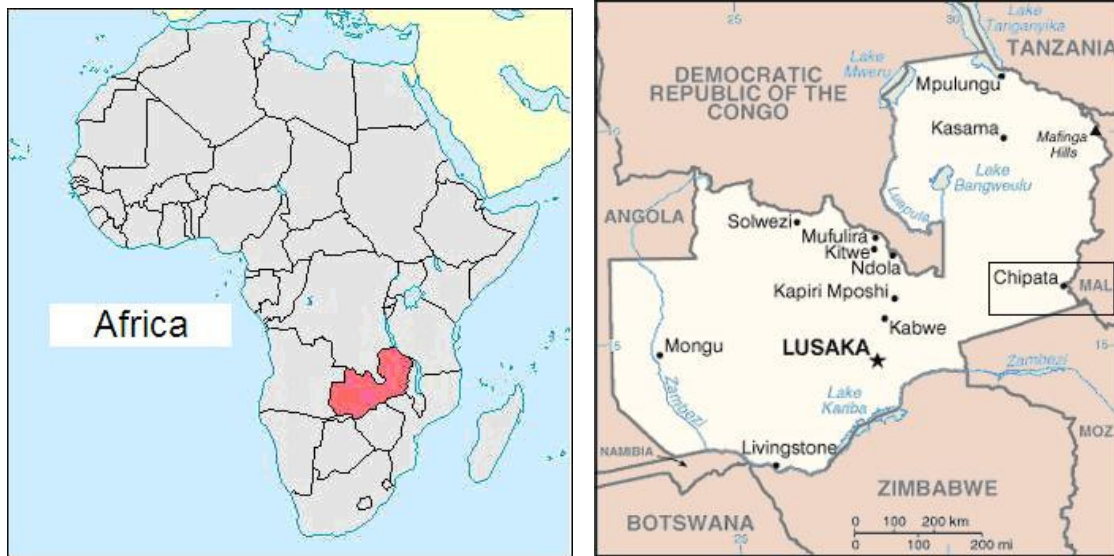


Figure 1. Maps regarding location of Zambia regarding the study area. (NE, 2004; CIA, 2004)

Zambia is located in South East Africa (See Figure 1). The Capital of Zambia is Lusaka. The population of Zambia is approximately 10 million. The life expectancy, for both male and female, is 35 years with the total fertility rate, in 2003, being 5.25 children per female.

The HIV/AIDS rate in 2001 was estimated at 21.5% of the total population. The population growth today is 1.52% with 86% of the population being below poverty line; UDS 1 per person per day (CIA, 2004).

3.1 Political and economic history concerning gender issues

The area of Zambia, from an early age, has been inhabited by different Bantu people that had migrated from different parts of the African continent (Bryceson, 1995). In 1923, the United Kingdom governed the country. The name Zambia was initiated at its independence in 1964. After gaining independence, there was a 25-year period of strong advancement through donor-support. These donors made it clear from the start that there was an interest in making the situation for women in Zambia more equal to men.

The donors in Zambia, hence, made Women In Development (WID) an explicit part of their programs and equity between the sexes became one of the more important policy issues for the donors (CIA, 2004). In the 1980s and 1990s, declining copper prices and a prolonged drought hurt the economy, which then led to major national debts. Formal sector employment opportunities decreased with informal sector employment increasing. Men with low incomes began to take over small-scale enterprises previously monopolized by women (Hannan, 1995).

Formerly, the United National Independence Party (UNIP) government promoted a form of socialism in which the economy was centrally planned and managed; social equality between classes and sexes and a number of goods and services were provided on a fee-free basis. Numerous programs were provided to raise the standard of living amongst both the women and men and to ensure a minimum standard of social welfare through state intervention (Kasuta, 1993).

The party in Government today, Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD), has removed these measures and is now in the process of establishing new policy directions. MMD advocates a liberalized market economy in which government plays a minimum role in regulating the economy and in the provision of social services (Kasuta, 1993).

MMD endorses gender related issues in political announcements and policy statements. A department was created in the National Commission in order to ensure that gender issues are integrated into development planning. However, the MMD has been less sensitive to gender equality than UNIP. The former government ensured that women were not excluded in contributing to the decisions within the society. In contrast MMD has been late in recognizing the potential of women individually and as a group (Hannan, 1995).

3.2 *The Eastern Province*

The Eastern Province of Zambia is located at the Zambian border of Malawi to the east and Mozambique to the south covering an area of 69 000 km² (See figure 2; Appendix 1).

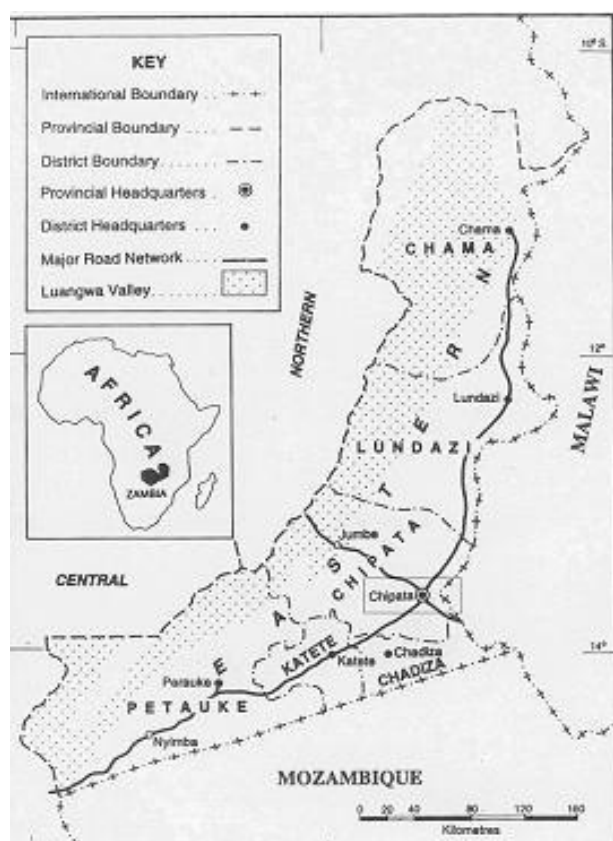


Figure 2. Eastern Province regarding study area (Phiri, 1998) Figure 3. Chipata.

The administrative centre of the Eastern Province is Chipata (See Figure 3). The population in the province was, in 1990, approximately 1 million. The per capita land availability is 8 ha. If evenly divided this would have been enough for survival from agriculture. Unfortunately, the people are living in villages and the topography of the area makes much of the land useless for living and agriculture (Phiri, 1998).

3.3 Description of the people and environment in the study area

This study focuses on the rural area small-scale farmers in the village Domisa of the Kawoozi camp, approximately 3 kms south of Chipata (See Appendix 2). The farmers are cultivating a land holding area of 0.5-5.0 ha of arable land per household, with an average family size of 5 to 6 people. They have problems getting a surplus for their work effort (MAFF, 1998). No more than 40 percent of the farmers regularly produce a marketable crop surplus where they are easily affected economically by environmental changes.

The districts in the Eastern Province have 150 000 farm households. 95 percent of these are small scale farmers that farm their crop area by hand. The farmers rely on family labor only and use hand driven tools. This category of farmers produces 65 % of the food crops in the country (MAFF, 1998).

All the cultivation in the Domisa village is done in the corn land, called Munda. The people live below in the village area, called Masala (See figure 5). The houses are located in the center of the village and the fields are scattered around (See figure 4). Just below the village the Dimba Garden is located. This area is flooded during the wet season and is rich in organic matter used for growing bananas, sugar canes, papaya and mango (Phiri, 1998). Next to the Dimba Gardens at the bottom of the valley is the fishpond area, called Dambo.

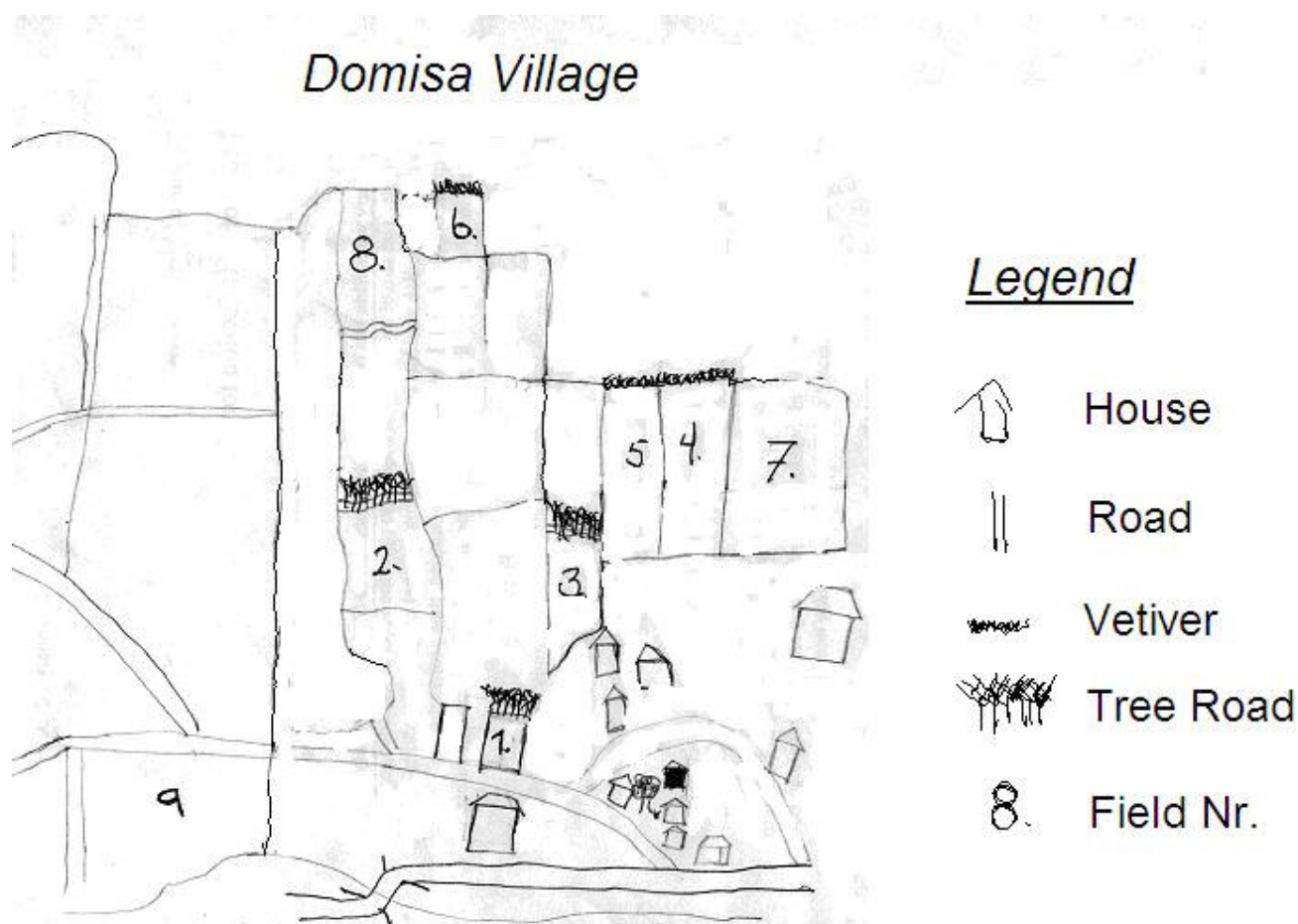


Figure 4. Pencil drawing of Domisa village by Camp Officer. Study fields numbered.

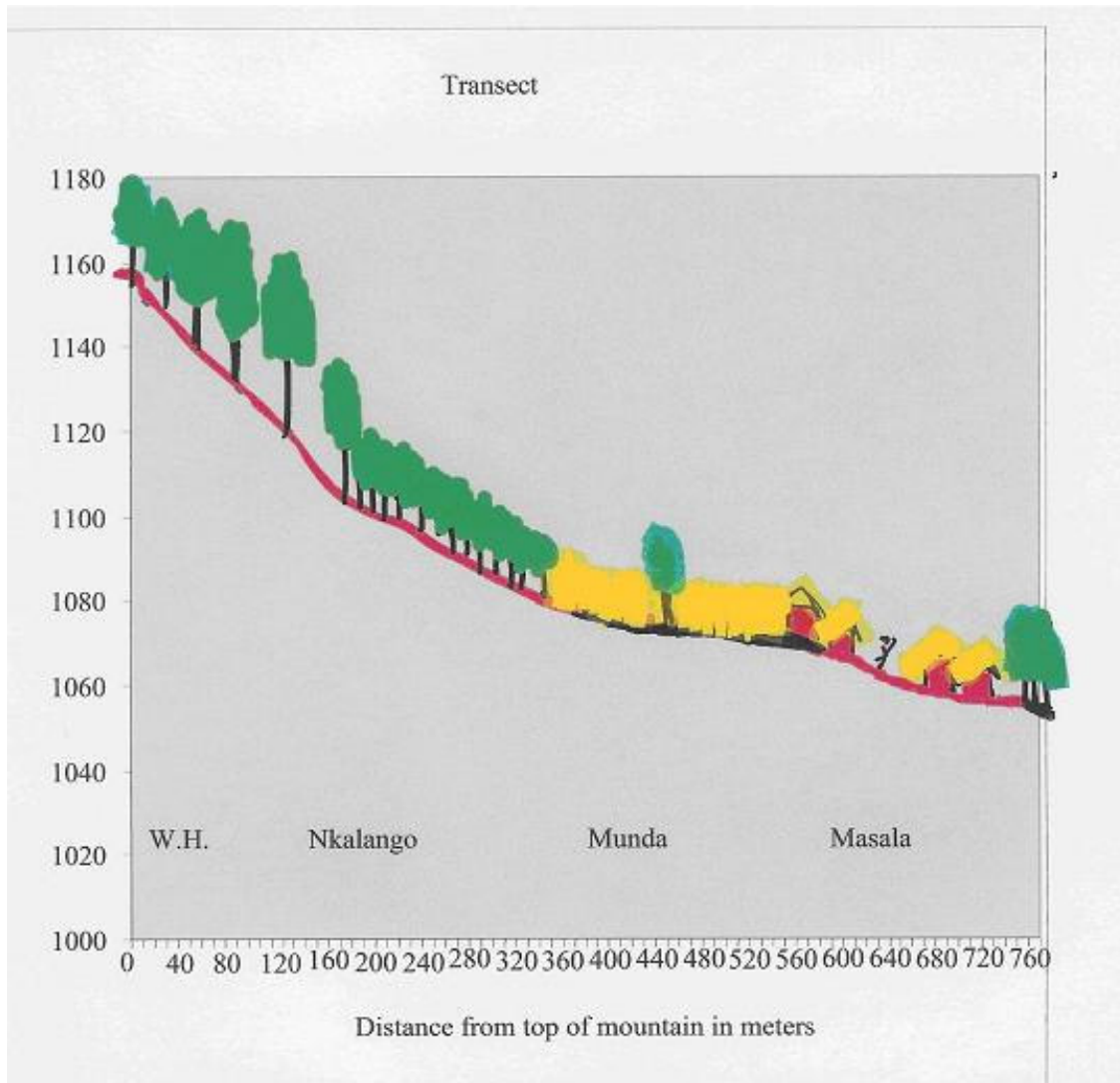


Figure 5. Transect of study area. W.H. as Woodland Hills. The Dimba and Dambo area is located 760 m from the top, at the very bottom of the valley. Nkalango woods, Munda Corn land and the Masala living area marked.

The study area hill is situated at an altitude between 1055 and 1156 meters above sea level giving a mountain related climate. Zambia is located in a sub tropical zone giving the country three seasons. May to August is the cold and dry season, during September to October is the hot and dry season and from October to April is a tropical wet climate, which is strongly modified by altitude that forms the rainy season (Phiri 1998).

The average temperature varies between 15° and 18° C during the coldest months in June and July. During September to October, which are the hottest months, there is an average temperature of between 21° and 26°C (CIA, 2000).

The study area is, as is common for this part of Africa, dominated by the Savanna Woodlands biome with an irregular distribution of rainfall (See Appendix 3). Only during the brief rainy season water is sufficient while soil-water storage is low during the dry season. The soils are not well suited for water storage (Phiri 1998).

The wet-dry climate of the Savanna biome permits a dense lower layer of grass and a higher layer of trees where fire is a frequent occurrence during the dry season. As the trees are fire resistant and water efficient, the woodland prospers (See Appendix 4).

3.4 Practical description of the ASP gender program

Small-scale farmers are people with a limited economy. Therefore, it is important that a program in this area does not cost the farmer a substantial amount of money. Until now, the gender program has been free for the farmers; however, the ASP is looking at letting the participants pay for the education in order to make sure that the intention of the course is genuine. The very cost per person for the program is, however, insignificant compared to the sacrifice the time invested in the courses constitute for the farmer.

The costs for ASP for running the gender program education in Kawoozi camp are low. The average cost for the gender education after approximately one year totaled 1400 Kw per person. This is equivalent to € 0.2 per person. The cost for educating each of the 30 extension officers is 24 500 kwacha (Kw) per person, which is equivalent to 735 000 Kw or € 120 for the extension officers in total and € 4 per extension officer. These extension officers have, without any extra donation from the program, during a period of 10 months in 2002 – 2003, held 10 seminars with an average of 50 people at each seminar and have in their turn educated about 500 people of the total amount of 2995 people in the camp. The extension officers continue to educate people and the interest for the gender program is rising.

The ASP Sida program generally gives more funds to women than men in the Eastern Province, which is unusual according to research (Butierman, 1985). ASP states in the monthly report for February 2003 that 80% of the donor funds went to women. From the people that receive funds, in the province, women constitute 72% and men 28% (Nandazi, 2003).

Furthermore, women receive more funds per person than men do as women, according to the ASP headquarters, are more reliable with their money and pay back on time. Generally, the donors for fund receivers and project groups prefer the women.

In the Kawoozi camp there is, however, an emphasis on dividing funds and services equally between women and men. Since most of the funds are used for educational purposes, as the gender program, the funds are, in fact, evenly divided. The extension officers put an effort into getting an equal amount of women and men to the gender seminars being run in the camp (Zulu, 2001). The farmers, however, have little time to participate in educational programs since their economic situation is limited.

4 Theory

4.1 *WID – special focus on women*

The Women in Development (WID) approach is the first attempt, in creating development support from donor countries, to take women into more consideration. This approach was trying to give women exclusive treatment in order to give them a quicker donor appointed part in the change of development in society.

The WID approach, therefore, entails an exclusive focus on women. The initial WID approach focused on establishing separate or parallel development projects specifically designed for women. However, since the 1990s, more and more emphasis has been given to the need for the integration of women into mainstream development programs, with the WID approach expanding to work with this form of goal as well.

The WID approach in reality has thus not been one single, uniform approach. WID in Zambia has been focusing on the political and governmental level (Bardouille, 1992). The Sida programs, in the Eastern Province of Zambia, have generally given women and men equal access to resources within the program. There have been many policy approaches in effort to involve women more fully in development programs with different policy approaches to WID: welfare, antipoverty, equity, efficiency, and empowerment (Hannan, 1992).

4.1.1 The anti-poverty approach

The anti-poverty approach focuses on women as the poorest of the poor. It promotes special women's projects, which are aimed to provide income and overcome poverty with emphasis on women's productive roles. This has, in many cases, led to increased workloads for women. The projects were often small scale and have given little attention to marketing of products where they have failed or have given little benefits for women (Hannan, 1992).

4.1.2 The equity approach

The equity approach, which became prominent during the UN decade for women, recognized women's key roles in development and focuses on women's subordinate position in society. The confrontational nature of this approach has made it hard to handle for governments and donors. Moreover, the need for outside involvement in analysis of problems with the approach is hard to operate and tends to be looked at as western feminism (Hannan, 1992).

4.1.3 The welfare approach

The welfare approach sees women primarily in terms of their reproductive roles aiming to meet basic needs arising out of these roles. Women in this context are treated as passive and conservative receivers of development inputs. Moreover, the women in this approach are not involved as active players and are locked out from long term impact by the programs (Hannan, 1992).

4.1.4 The efficiency approach

The efficiency approach, which has been the predominant approach within development cooperation organizations, does recognize women's key roles in the developing world. Women are looked upon as an important resource which should be employed in order to ensure the success of the programs and projects and for the development of the society at large (Hannan, 1992).

4.1.5 The empowerment approach

The most recent policy approach within WID, with its origins within the South, is the empowerment approach. This approach sees the deficiency in self-dependence as the major hindrance to women's participation in development and society at large. The efforts are, therefore, mainly placed on emphasizing the empowerment of women in development (Longwe, 1990a). However, today, it is discussed if supporting women's empowerment at the expense of men is actually beneficial to development for the whole society in the long run (Cleaver, 2002). The concrete strategy arising from this policy approach is focused on inputs in the areas of education, training, information and communication networking (Hannan, 1992).

4.2 *Transgression from WID to gender approach*

The WID approach has not been successful. It has created a specific development for women and has, hence, marginalized women by excluding them from the mainstream long term development. This has made the position for women regarding access to assets such as land, credit, information, partaking in decision-making processes, policy formulation and development of program planning even less beneficial (Idemalm, 1989).

Due to these problems the approach changed towards an integration of women into mainstream long term programs (Hannan, 1992). Donor agencies started to look at gender issues in relation to their large mainstream projects. It also looked at how the roles, needs and problems of women and men affect their projects and how the projects affect women and men regarding their special needs and priorities (Mutukwa, 1990). Within the donor organizations this led to a need for the gender approach to ensure that policies and programs adequately addressed the realities and needs of both women and men in order to ensure full integration (Hannan, 1992).

4.3 *Gender – focus on women and men*

As seen, the WID approach was focused on having specific women's projects apart from the general development strategies for the society at large. However, it became obvious that having a focus on both women and men, not only as beneficiaries but also as active players, in order to move efforts for women from the sidelines of the programs, was a necessity (Hannan 1992). The gender approach emphasizes integrating women into the mainstream development in all parts of society (Lwanga et al., 1988). It also demonstrates the importance of a strong connection between women's issues and development activities in general (Mooto, 1990).

The gender approach does not focus on the specific situation for women but recognizes that men as well as women are socially and economically suffering from the present social structures, and promotes human dignity and a life free from poverty and oppression, for both women and men (Oxfam, 1993; 1998). The concrete approach taken to ensure an adequate focus on women as well as men will vary according to the specific geographic, social and religious contexts. (Hannan, 1992) The long term planning provision of all types of services and resources for women is made within the context of integrated projects by involving both women and men (Myrstad, 1987).

The gender aspects have, over time, become more important in development programs in the South. These programs today integrate the gender perspective of looking at women and men as equal parts of society and the progression of the development. This perspective is getting a wider recognition both in the administrative centers for the donors as well as the receivers.

4.4 Theoretical description of the ASP gender program

Today, the Sida programs in Zambia are gender biased and concerned with any issue that has a gender related plan and that women are taken into consideration economically as well as socially (Phiri, 1986). The ASP program emphasizes the gender aspect. Gender is supposed to be integrated into every part of the program activities according to the program goals.

The program looks at the pragmatic needs for gender related work in the field and gives guidelines for gender planning. Furthermore, the gender concept definition in the program is supposed to be based on the differences between gender and sex. It looks at how these aspects of the individual traditionally is socially reflected through different roles in society, such as productive and political, and how these roles change over time and cultural context (Mulenga et. al, 2000).

The ASP program gender course is designed to encourage the people in the program to take an active part in its development and form the content themselves. The program is designed to be interactive where the participants are asked to explain how they understand the different concepts of interest, such as empowerment, equity, and gender. The discussions are performed in smaller groups and then the groups as a whole present their conclusions in front of all the participants giving the groups an opportunity to compare their thoughts.

In some cases, the concept of the discussion is explained afterwards in order to give a general opinion on the issue; for example, what is development? Interactive role-plays and sessions between the participants are used in the course. These role-plays are implemented in order to engage the participants and to get the message through to the people on their own terms.

5 Method

5.1 Selection of methods - Semi structured interviews

Prior to my arrival in Zambia, I decided to use Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) through semi structured interviews and calendars with scoring practices as described by Mikkelsen (1995). In semi structured interviews the questions are open ended so that issues of great interest can be followed up, even when they appear unexpectedly. This gives both a possibility to understand and widen the perspective of what is of interest in the study. This is important, as in order to understand the results of a study there is a need to understand the context where these results originate (Mikkelsen, 1995).

The semi structured interview technique was used for conducting individual, group and key interviews using a checklist. The checklist is the interview core and a guide for the study. The collected experience of the interviews is then drawn from the interviews in order to understand the situation and to present the results in an accurate way. The check list was put together before going into the field in order to point out the information of interest for the study (Appendix 5). During the interviews, the village people presented matters that I had foreseen, giving reason why the questions in the check list were altered through the study, so that they then became clear with time in order to explain the results based on the context.

5.1.1 Individual interviews

At one stage in Zambia I realized I would have to expand the study since the results were differing from other reports of gender programs given by different researchers. Due to time limitations, I had originally expected to do eight individual interviews using the semi structured technique; however, I extended my study to twelve interviews. The individual interviews are focused on one person using the check list.

5.1.2 Group interviews

After the individual interviews I felt the need to check the information I had gathered as it was differing from previous investigations of similar programs. Among the villager's, one group of eight women and one group of eight men were randomly selected in order to discuss the questions that had shown to be of greater interest in the individual interviews. The group interviews were conducted without the presence of the other sex during the interview using a random generator to pick out the women and men. I then conducted a third, newly mixed group that was asked to discuss the answers from the two former groups. The group interviews were focused on the differences in perception and living conditions for women and men and the economic consequences of the gender program (See figure 6).



Figure 6. Women group interviews.

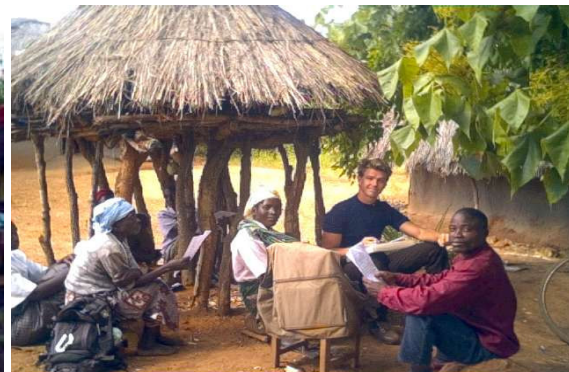


Figure 7. Structured interviews.

5.1.3 Key interviews

The difference in the results stood out more clearly compared to other reports of gender programs in Africa after the three group interviews. I therefore chose to view the situation from the perspective of the people that were selected to educate the villagers about the gender issues. In order to gain a better understanding of the gender situation in the Kawoozi camp I decided, through the snowball method, to seek a group of extension officers. These key representatives were interviewed in-groups of 2 men and 2 women. The questions were put to them as representatives of their sexes and as individuals. The answers from these four key interviewees were used to clarify the results from the individual interview (Mikkelsen, 1995).

5.2 *Selection of method - Structured interviews*

After the forty semi structured interviews I found that there were some areas that needed further investigation in order to be presented adequately. The differences to other research results in the subject and geographical area were evident. Therefore, I used the answers in the individual, group and key representative interviews to form a questionnaire for structured interviews. This form concerned the 24 most interesting questions that had come up in the individual interviews and the group interviews. The camp and gender officers were asked to participate in the forming of the questionnaire regarding content, design and translation to the local context and language. All economic matters were counted as ox loads of maize to match the everyday perspective of economic calculation.

This, context bound version, was translated into the local language and then translated back into English in order to make the question understood both by the interviewees and myself (See Appendix 6). Through random selection, 92 interviewees were asked to participate in the follow up study. The interviews were conducted with the interviewees on a one to one basis. I filled out the forms while the camp officer interpreted the questions and answers. All of the interviewees participated fully in all the questions (See figure 7). PRA tools were used in the structured interviews to make the aspects of time and workload understood by both interviewer and interviewee.

The study was carried out through with assistance of interpreters. There is a risk that one will be deceived by the information given in order to find some kind of references in the situation that can be applicable to the study. I have tried to avoid this situation, if not fully, by using three different interpreters, the camp officer, the province officer and a local student, interpreting at different stages. I then compared the contexts described to me through the various answers.

I have found that the interpretation in itself was carried out with professionalism. In view of the interpretations having its expected imperfections, I valued and accepted these insufficiencies as the cooperation between me and the interpreters was a fruitful, challenging and rewarding situation. This cooperation has given this study its assets and fulfillments, and without it, the study would not have been possible.

The PRA methods are used in order to make the context of the study clear to both interviewee and interviewer and to secure accurate results. Naturally, both clarity and accuracy are difficult to achieve, as there is no method that can secure this. However, the PRA method does give the possibility to find out what the actual life looks like for the interviewees.

5.3 Selection of interviewees

The people that attended the welcome meeting, and were interested in the study, were asked to pick a piece of paper from a hat in order to randomly select who would be participating in the individual interviews in the study. The people with a cross on their papers were chosen for the study. The number of crosses on the papers corresponded to the 12 interviewees and served as a non biased method of selection of 6 women and 6 men for the individual interviews (See Figure 8).



Figure 8. Selection of interviewees by drawing of X marked papers from a hat.

Four gender extension officers were selected through the snowball selection method as key interviewees. The snowball selection method is conducted by asking for people who could function as key representatives and when ask them for another interviewees. In doing so, I reached people that were educated about the mechanism of the program and how it operated. This would not be possible if a random method of selection was used.

For the three group interviews, I used random generator. The people that were interested in the study were then noted on a numbered list. The generator was then used to randomly pick out numbers that would then correspond to the interviewee's that were selected for the study. For the 92 people in the structured interviews I used the random generator and randomly picked names (See Table 1).

Table 1. Number and selection methods of interviews.

	Number of Interviewees	Selection Method
Semi structured Interviews		40
Individual Interviews	2 groups * 6 people = 12	Marked papers
Group Interviews	3 groups * 8 people = 24	Random Generator
Key Interviews	2 groups * 2 people = 4	Snowball
Structured Interviews		92
		Random Generator, Randomly picked names
Total amount of Interviews		132

5.4 PRA tools used in the study

I used Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) method in the study. PRA is a context related method that takes the prerequisites of the interviewees into consideration (Mikkelsen, 1995).

5.4.1 Ranking and scoring

The interviewees were asked to measure the value of matters of interest for the study through PRA scoring method. This is done by giving the interviewee 10 stones. Then the interviewee put down as many stones on the ground as the person finds to be corresponding to her/his valuation of the issue being discussed (See figure 9; Appendix 7; Mikkelsen, 1995).

This was done with corresponding questions in order to see if the total amount stones were exceeded. If the answers exceeded 10 stones the questions were worded in a different manner. This also made it easier for me to understand whether my questions were inadequately expressed according to the context. This made me realize that the questions in some cases were irrelevant or at times, considering the context, incorrect. From this experience I was then able to ask questions that were accurate giving a fuller understanding to the interviewees and to the study.

This also made it possible to see where there was a tendency for the interviewees to provide me with answers that might be assumed as being positive. I also used different ways to ask the same question by either directly to the interviewee or through ranking and scoring in order to avoid answers that were intended to please the study. This provided a more accurate perspective of the situation showing what actually takes place through the gender program.



Figure 9. Man scoring with stones.



Figure 10. Calendar of the working year.

5.4.2 Diagramming working calendars

The people in the structured PRA interviews were asked to state verbally what their daily and yearly calendar looked like. This was done by writing a description of their situation on the ground with an evaluation of the workload by scoring together with the interviewee according to what the interviewee stated. This was used in order to see how the implementation of the gender program had affected the villager's economically and work wise (See figure 10; Appendix 7; Mikkelsen, 1995).

I also used the PRA method in this situation as it gave me the opportunity to identify answers that one would assume I would be seeking.

With the calendars I used different ways to ask the same questions. I asked the questions directly to the interviewee in order to find out their own perception of the situation. I also used the PRA diagrams and counted the time given through the calendars. By doing this I was able to avoid the perception of the answers as being based on the interviewee's present situation. My intention has been to reach the differences between the perception of the results of the program and the actual changes that have occurred as well as avoiding answers that are meant for pleasing the aim of the study.

The validity of the method used was altered by the variation in interview techniques. The PRA method was used in both semi-structured and structured interviews. The reliability and repetition differs between the methods and is dependent on how the questions are expressed and then followed up. In the semi structured interviews this can be altered quite easily during the interview and the result can therefore be controlled while conducting the interview.

With the group interviews, I choose to create a follow up group interview consisting of both women and men. The results from the mixed gender group interviews were discussed giving me the opportunity to get opinions on the interesting matters, from a distanced perspective, by the interviewees. By choosing this method, the semi structured interviews provided an auto feedback that was useful when forming in the structured questionnaire.

The structured interviews, on the other hand, were fixed and created from the 24 most interesting questions from the semi structured interviews. In this case I developed questions from different angles in order to make the results from the interviews reliable.

The repetition is questionable for the semi-structured interviews since the checklist is only the core of the interviews. Even though all the questions in the checklist are answered, the interviews would be hard to repeat from using the same checklist as many of the questions were asked as follow-ups to the ones on the list.

The structured interviews correspond well to the needs of repetition. The questions were followed strictly. All interviewees were given the questions in local language and the answers were given as multiple choice. In some cases the multiple choice questions were not answered directly by the interviewee. When it comes to how many hours the interviewee was working before and after the gender program the interviewee did not answer in actual hours, instead, described the day through the PRA calendar. Time is generally not counted in hours, and therefore, the PRA method was used to translate the local context into information, which I have been using in the study, as calculated in hours.

The PRA method was created in order to make the context of the study clear to the participants and to ensure the information received in the study was adequate. If the person conducting the study does not understand the information given by the interviewee, the results will be vague. If the interviewee does not understand the questions and does not know how to respond to the question, the effect is the same.

The PRA method has, hence, been used in order to secure accurate results. As there are no available methods that can secure complete accuracy, it is difficult to guarantee completely accurate results. However, the PRA method gives the opportunity to delve into both parties providing a tool to gain an understanding as to what is happening within the study.

6 Results and analysis

6.1 Gender historical background in the Kawoozi camp

Equality between women and men was implemented in the Kawoozi Camp, as far as accesses to program resources, education and seeds were concerned, from as early as the start of Sida program Soil Conservation and Agroforestry Extension Program (SCAFE) in 1984. All of the interviewees stated that anyone from this period were treated equally, receiving seeds, education or concerning program goals, strategies, and activities on all stages of planning. Furthermore, they were consulted on equal terms in decision making with the same responsibilities at the top administration level of the camp.

However, within the family situation, it was as before the introduction of the Sida program. There had been no specific gender program (GP) performed in the village, before June 2002, that implemented gender issues at a family level between the husband, the wife and the children. The introduction of the GP has, according to the people in the village, changed the life for both the women and men.

The women group interviewees found life before the gender program to be bad. They state that after waking up at 06.00 in the morning they were drawing water and sweeping the floor in the house. After this they went working with the men in the field and walking back they carried firewood and the tools from the field, by themselves, while the husband was walking empty handed. After working in the field, the husband would be seated the whole day while the woman was sweeping, cooking, taking care of the children and getting the house in order (Longwe, 1990b). The male group interviewees completely confirm this picture. They stated that before the GP they could just leave the women to do what was considered as female work such as cooking and washing clothes as well as working in the field (Mwamwaja, 1986; Roelofs, 1988). In the field the women were collecting vegetables and on the way back they were, also, according to the men, carrying the hand hoes, crops and wood to the house. The men could not carry anything according to the tradition and they complied with that tradition.

When the men came home they said that they just sat down and waited for the wife to take care of the house: the food, sweeping, fixing the fire and washing. This behavior is recognized from other studies in the area (Davidson, 1995; Dingamo, 1991; Grönberg, et al, 1988; Hansen et al, 1991; ISS-SADCC, 1986). Physical punishment was before the GP a common way to make the wife behave as expected from the culture (Burja, 2002; Skønsberg, 1995). Taking care of the house was not regarded as work in the previous definition of the word. Hence, in that sense, it was only the men that were regarded as working. Taking care of the house was simply regarded as the women's duty (Skønsberg, 1995).

6.2 The situation with the gender program

The women, in the individual and group interviews, are generally positive towards the consequences of the gender program. They said that the differences that have been made since the GP have made their lives better. They hope for this new life to continue and are positive it will become even better with time. Nowadays, the women and men work together side by side according to the individual and group interviews. Both women and men state that they carry hand hoes, firewood, pumpkins and crops together, and 100% of the women and men state that the gender program has spread well or very well into the camp society (Mabwe, 1989). The women and men of today state that they assist each other while making food and cooking, which now takes up less time. The man might be drawing water while the woman is

preparing the lunch, if she is the one in authority in the kitchen. If the husband is the one with the authority, it is the other way around. In the afternoon, they can be maintaining storage bins together by cutting and preparing the bin and at night they plan the management and the budget together. The interviewees say that they basically do all work together nowadays.

6.3 Freedom of speech in the family

According to the men, the women had no right to speak before the introduction of the GP. The women said that they were afraid to talk in front of the man but now, they can really speak the truth. According to the men, it was not unusual to strike the women before the introduction of the GP. This was, according to the men, done to educate the women on how to follow the needs of the husband. In the survey, 100% of the women and the men stated that the man was the one to make all economic decisions prior to the gender program. All the women and men say that today the decisions are made by the woman and the man together, or together with the grown up children. According to the women, they are no longer afraid of being beaten. They feel free to express their opinions and feel that they are now at peace. They are happy and feel more open today. The women stated that before the program, they could not image that a better life could be possible and now, as an outcome of the program, they feel it is a miracle that has completely changed their lives.

6.3.1 Analysis: Freedom of speech in the family

It is impossible for me to know if the women were hit or killed before the GP, however, this behavior has been recognized by other research in this area (Momsen, 1993). The women and men in the individual interviews, group interviews and as well in the structured PRA interviews gave this picture indicating that women had a weak position in the family before the GP in the Kawoozi camp. This means that the women, one year before the field study, would have had a major difficulty in discussing their situation, the situation of the family economy or even her view of the relationship in the family. This is an example of where the women were physically abused if saying anything that would be outside the borders of their role as women. A woman living under this form of terror is likely to be subordinated in social situations, especially if the husband is present.

It is possible that women are still experiencing physical abuse if raising their voice in the family. I have witnessed women that have been modest around both women and men and less dominating than their husbands. The amount of time has been short for major changes, especially to a matter so strongly bound to tradition. To a large extent, the women of today are taking charge in discussions and are displaying that they are used to arguing in an open order in the interviews and in the everyday life which is indicating that they are no longer experiencing the fear of being beaten. All of the interviewees said that prior to the program it was the man that was the authority of the decisions partaken in the family. None of the people interviewed said that this is the situation today; on the contrary, 100% of the interviewees stated that decisions are commonly discussed and shared within the families. Nevertheless, the most convincing indication that there is a different situation today than what is said to have been before the GP is the happiness shown by the women while talking about life as they know it today. They expressed their sense of freedom having the opportunity to say what is on their mind regarding every day life, the economy or whatever she feels about her life and role in the family. This obvious amazement and gratitude shown by the women tells that it has not always been so and that there is now a change in the dynamics of the freedom of speech within the family.

6.4 Equity in the kitchen

The women, in the individual interviews, say that they are no longer the ones in authority in the kitchen, and that the work and authority in the kitchen is now shared between both woman and man. An example given being when the women return from drawing water from the well, they find that the husband has brought firewood without request; it is just there. The opinion among the women in the individual interviews is that the situation today is completely shared between the women and men as far as the workload and authority in the kitchen is concerned.

This picture, according to the structured PRA interviews in the village, is only partly correct. About 50 to 60% of the women and men state, through the structured PRA interviews, that they are working equally in the kitchen and about 40% of both sexes state that women work more than men in the kitchen (See figure 11).

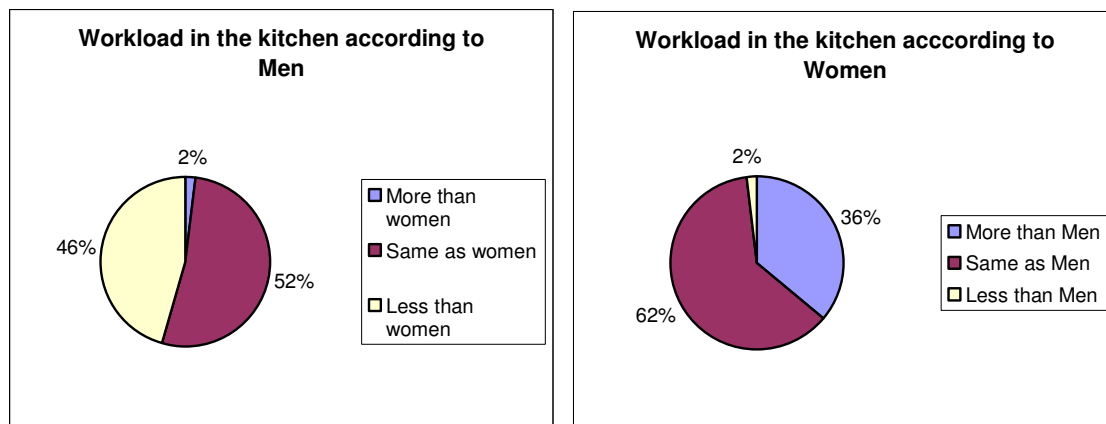


Figure 11. Workload in the kitchen according to women and men.

Out of all the men, only one was single due to the death of his wife, which represents the 2% of the men that have a higher workload than women were in the kitchen. When it comes to being in the position of authority, the men perceive themselves as less dominating in the kitchen than what the women stated in the group interviews. About 60% of both the women and the men, through the PRA interviews stated that the women are more often in authority, whereas 40% of both the women and the men stated that both sexes are of equally authority in the kitchen (See figure 12).

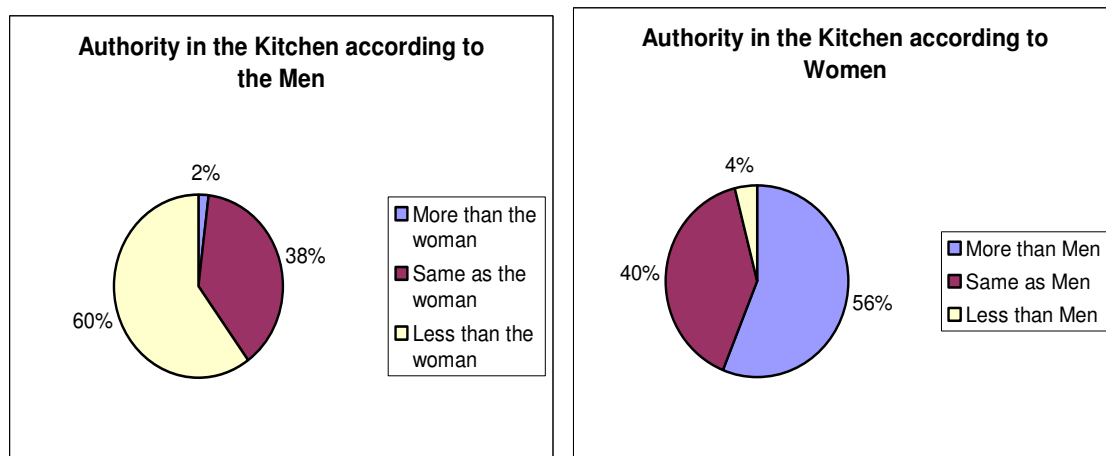


Figure 12. Authority in the kitchen according to women and men.

Despite the uniform information from the women, in the semi structured interviews, that women and men are equal in the kitchen, the results from the structured PRA interview indicate that women are still doing more of the work in the kitchen. It also indicated that they are still more in authority in the kitchen. However, both the women and the men stated that around 50 - 60% of the families actually do share the work equally between the sexes in the kitchen. When it comes to authority, the women are not leaving this to the men to the same extent as the workload, according to the PRA figures. 40% of the women and men said that they share the authority in the kitchen, whereas, a little less than 60% of the women and men said that the women are more in authority in the kitchen than the men (See figure 13).

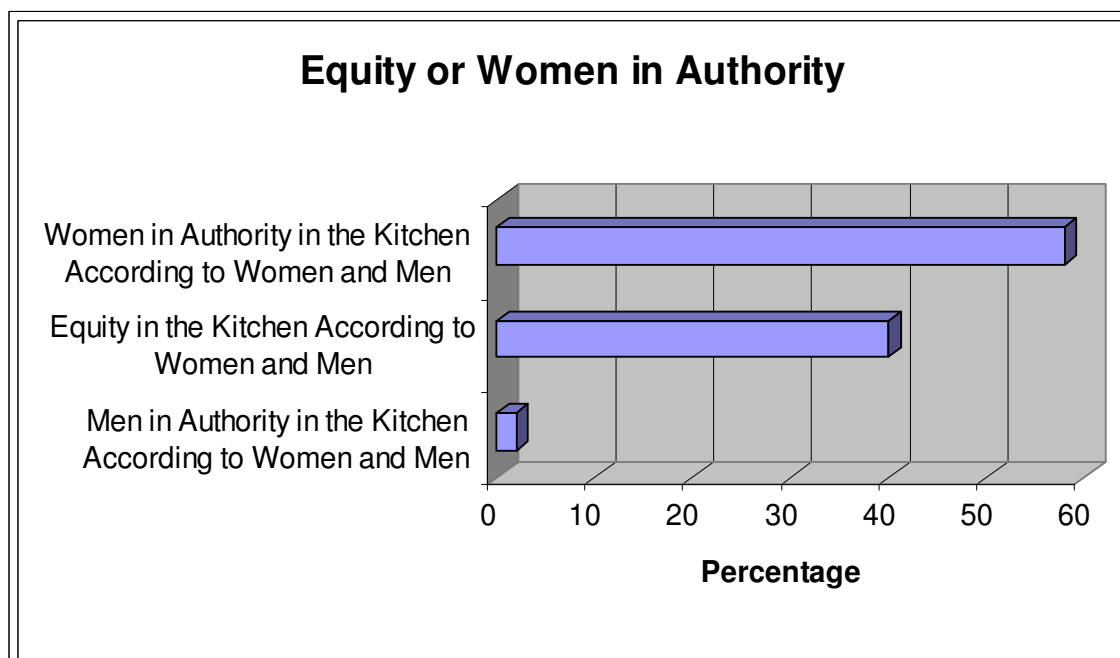


Figure 13. Equity or women in authority in the kitchen.

6.4.1 Analysis: Equity in the kitchen

All women in the individual and group interviews say women and men share both the workload and the authority in the kitchen, as well as in the field, completely equal. When looking at the result from the structured PRA interviews a different picture is shown. 50 - 60% of the women and men stated that they are sharing the workload equally in the kitchen. This is a high figure. Prior to the gender program, the women were doing this work alone, according to all of the interviewees in the structured PRA interviews. There is a change in most of the families and today the work is shared more equally by the members of the family, according to the PRA statements. However, 29% of the women say they are working more than the men in the kitchen, whereas, 60% of the men say they work less than the women in the kitchen. There are obvious differences between how women and men in the group interviews regard the situation and the results given from the structured interviews through the PRA method. The general interview statements from women in the individual interviews are positive; as far as equity in the kitchen is concerned. They are, however, disregarding the fact that they are personally the figures of authority in the kitchen. Approximately, 60% of the women and men say that the women have the authority in the kitchen, whereas, 40% of the men say that the women are working more in the home. Furthermore, 60% of the men find themselves being having less authority in the kitchen, which corresponds well to what the

women stated in the structured PRA interviews. The fact that women perceive that both the men and the women are sharing the workload equally in the kitchen is, at first glance, rather surprising. All the answers from the PRA questionnaire show that this is only the case in 50 - 60% of the families. However, all of the women in the female group and in the individual interviews answered that there was no longer a difference. Personally, I accept this difference between the answers given by the women in the structured PRA interviews, and in the open interviews, as showing the impact of the dynamic situation that the women are experiencing. Previously, the women did everything in the kitchen. Nowadays, however, most families are sharing the work to a certain extent. Even the fact that the women are not entirely alone in the kitchen is perceived as sharing - which in a sense is true. But is it sharing equally?

The women are living in a situation that is rapidly changing from having been culturally stable over a long period of time. The dynamics of this situation gives the women the impression that the situation is shared equally with the men in the kitchen. The men of today are to some extent taking an active part in the housework according to the PRA interviews. For some of the women this is as much sharing as they have ever experienced. During my stay in the village I personally recognized this new life of the villagers. On a daily basis, I have seen men working with issues that were performed by women before the gender program. One day I came upon the headman in the village sitting shelling dried maize cobs and asked if I could take a picture of him for the study report (See Figure 14). I then later asked him what he thought of the Gender Program he said: "The gender issues are showing the real love between the man and the women so that they, truly, can work together. This is good for everyone as part of a family, and it is good for the development."



Figure 14. Headman Botha shelling corn cobs.

I would think that it is of great importance that the men feel that they are not only supposed to do work in the kitchen, but that they also have a saying in all the matters that concern work in the house. It is hard to expect the men to be engaged in these questions if they do not feel involved in the decisions of the kitchen and therefore do not understand the mechanism of the household. It is hard for the men, as well as for the women, to feel that they are valued equally in all fields of the working life if they do not have the opportunity to fully be part of the decision making.

6.5 Equity in the field

When it comes to the work in the field the picture is corresponding to the one in the kitchen. The men in the individual interviews are saying that they share the work with the women and so do the women. However, when asked in the structured PRA interviews, 30% of the men state that they are working more in the field than the women. Furthermore, 70% to 80% of the women and men state that they are sharing the work in the field (See figure 15).

This differs from the situation prior to the GP. According to both the women and the men in all of the interviews, the decisions of the management and practices of the fields were completely the responsibility of the man, a pattern seen in many African countries (Momsen, 1993).

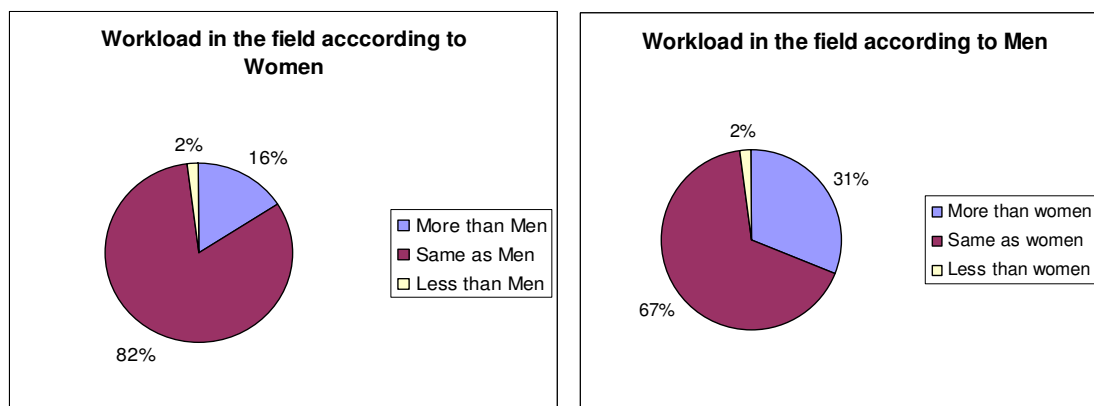


Figure 15. Workload in the field according to women and men

It has to be noted that 80% of the women doing most work and being in authority of the fields were single because of divorce or the death of the husband, which is a usual situation in Africa (Dupré, 1995; Bryseson, 1995). This gives a false impression at first glance since 80% of the women that state they are having a larger workload and authority in the kitchen are actually single. It is, however, only about 3% of the women living as couples that state that they are working more than the men, whereas, 31% of the men are stating that they are doing a larger workload than the women in the field. Also, when it comes to who is in authority, there is a difference between how women and men perceive the situation. About 70% of the women and the men state in the structured PRA interviews that they are sharing the workload in the field (See figure 16).

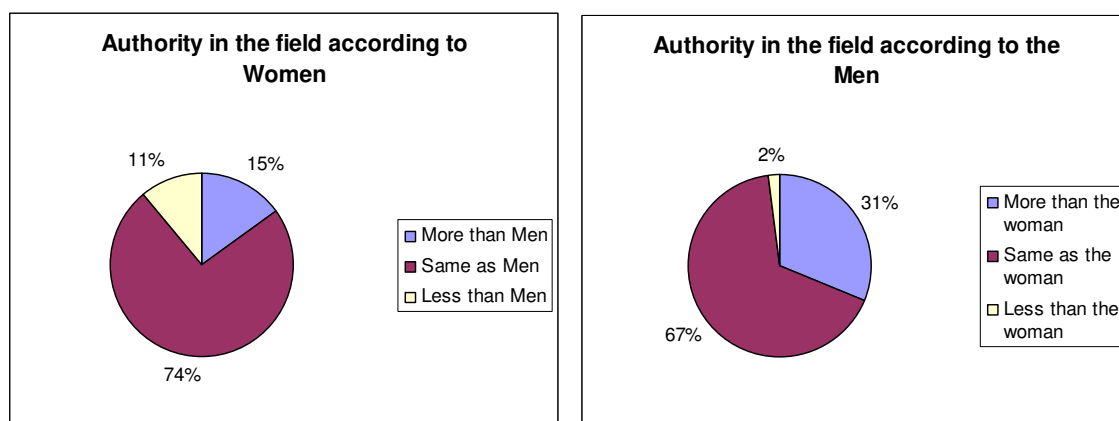


Figure 16. Authority in the field according to all the women and men.

This means that out of the women living in relationships about 15% say they are less in authority than the men in the field and about 80% state that they are doing the same workload as the men. The men to a higher extent than the women think they are doing the main part of the workload in the field and are more in authority according to 31% of the men but only according to about 15% of the women in relationships.

The women and men agree as to what extent they work and take authority together. About 70 - 80% of the men and the women stated, in the structured PRA interviews, that both women and men work and take charge together in the fields. While living in the village, I have personally seen people doing work usually made by the opposite sex. The women in the interviews displayed that they are just as conscious about the management and implementation of the new farming methods as the men.

I have followed how women and men are talking about the management in the fields in a way that is clearly showing that they are used to discussing these issues. I have met women and men in the field carrying wood together. Prior to the GP this would have been impossible to see (See figure 17).



Figure 17. Man carrying firewood.

With the question: who owns and controls the land; both the women and the men answered that it is the chief that owns the land but the control of the land is divided equally between the men and the women in the family. In the families where there was no man, the women were left in authority of the management and control of the agricultural land.

6.5.1 Analysis: Equity in the field

There are obvious differences between the results from the field and the kitchen. Some of these differences are not as outstanding as they first appear. Many women say that they are working more and are more in authority in the field than the men. The explanation for this is not gender related but more so genus as the women are still living longer than the men after catching HIV/AIDS. Hence there are a lot more single women in the village than men. This is supported from the results that 60% of the population in the Kawoozi Camp is women. About 20% of the women stated they are doing all the work in the field compared to only one man.

The women who are claiming to do all work are the single women in the interview group. The women living in relationships, once again, give a better picture of equality than the men. 2% - 11% of the women think that the men are working and have more of an authoritative role in the field, while 31% of the men stated that they are more in authority in the field. The difference could be due to a number of reasons. First of all, it is possible that the men want to stand out as stronger in the field; by tradition, the field is the male working area. They would then be interested in showing themselves as stronger, according to the former way of looking at a man, and hence, answer in this fashion.

The most obvious reason why women are more in the structured PRA interviews show to be in the position of authority in the fields, than men are in the position of authority in the household, is however that women have been in the field since ever. It is therefore much more easy for the women to adopt to the new situation of sharing the authority in the fields than it is for the men to adjust to sharing the responsibilities in the household, being a new experience.

On the other hand, in some cases, the men, by genus, being the stronger person in the family, feel that they are still bound to do more of the heavy work and therefore feel that they are still doing more work in the field. According to the PRA form interview, approximately 70% of the men and 90% of the non-single women say that they are sharing the authority in the field. This is a high figure in any case and about twice as high as the rate of sharing the authority in the kitchen. The most probable reason is that even the men's statement might be somewhat high. After less than a year of cooperation it should still be hard for the women to completely take the authoritative role in the field, as well as for the men to take the authoritative role in the kitchen. The men have always dealt with the field management on their own and it might take some time for both the women and the men to adapt to the new areas of work where the gender program is inviting them. The fact that so many of the men and women, through the PRA method, are saying that they are sharing the workload and the authoritative role in the field is giving a strong indication of a change in the standards of the family dynamics.

6.6 *Workload changes with the gender program*

The situation for the women in the past was hard according to the interviewees with generally long working hours in this area (Bardouille, 1992; Keller 1998; Momsen, 2004). According to the structured PRA interviews 100% of the women and the men stated that the women worked 16 - 20 hours before the gender program. The women now claim that there is a decrease in their workload. More than 95% of both the men and the women have stated through the PRA method that the women work between 40 - 60% less today than before the gender program. 100% of both the women and the men stated through the structured PRA interviews that the women work less today. Furthermore, the women have a perception of working less today and both the women and the men in the open interviews stated that the women are now working less.

Both the men and the women in the individual interviews 100% stated that the women work less or very much less than before the GP. When asked this question, 56% of the men say women work less, and 44% of the men say that women work much less. This corresponds exactly to the results in the structured PRA interviews. The women are more positive towards their situation and their anticipation of the workload change; however, this is not totally corresponding to the PRA results. According to what the structured PRA interviews are indicating, the women still work more than they experience. 56% of the women state they work 10 to 12 hours today and 44% say they work 8 to 10 hours (See Figure 18).

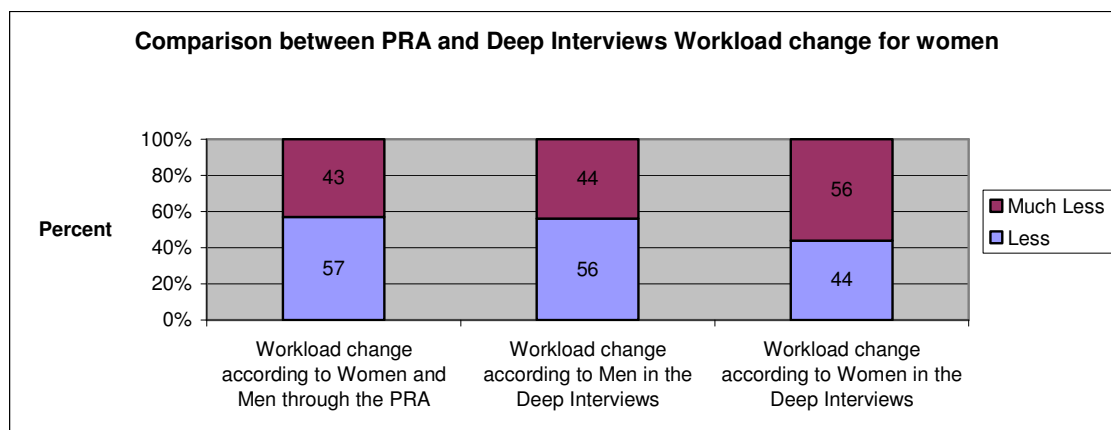


Figure 18. Comparison between PRA and individual interviews workload change for women.

The men's perception of their own situation is less correct than the women's in comparison to the PRA method. Most men, 80%, when asked in the individual interviews, stated that they work less today, whereas, in fact, most of the men, according to the structured PRA interviews, are working more. Through the PRA time calendar for the day, the workload for men has generally risen. About half of the men today are working at an average of three hours more than before the GP (See Figure 19). The women have a more accurate impression of the new workload for the men. 44% of the women say the men work more. This corresponds to the results from the structured PRA interviews.

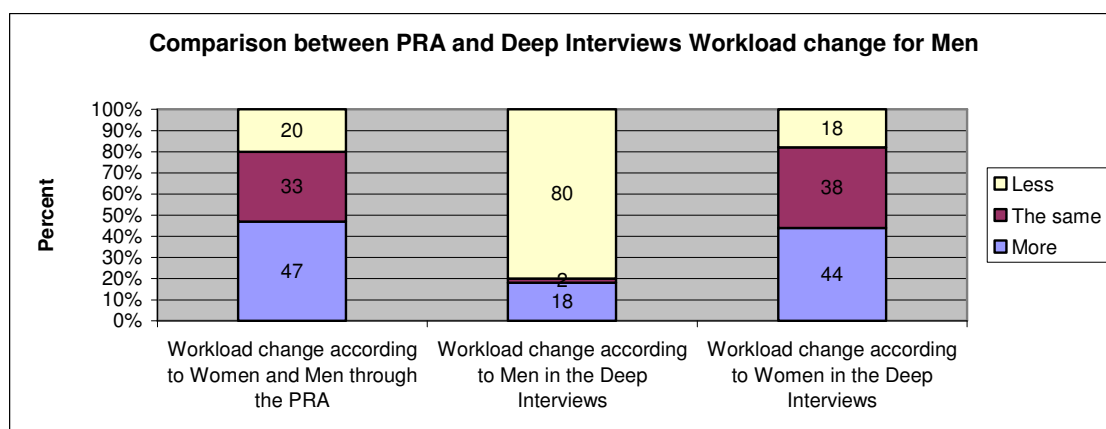


Figure 19. Comparison between PRA and individual interviews workload change for men.

When I told the women that half of the men are working more nowadays, they were not surprised. They certainly think the program has done a good job. When I asked them how this was possible they said that it had been made possible due to the education of the program and

the fact that the GP is giving progress to the families within the GP. The men said that they have come to realize that a woman is a human and not a slave that is to be bought and maltreated, but is an equal being. As one of the men in the survey expressed the situation: "We are no savages here, we are civilized men. The time is better now because we have learned to be equal and share responsibilities."

The men find that the economy is better now because they have learned to be equal and share both the responsibilities and the higher income that has been the result of a family unit. According to the women the workload with the GP is a lot less for all of the family. The women see a great benefit in the rise of income for the family. Through a PRA year calendar, the interviewees were asked how much time they were using for the preparation, management and harvesting of the yields. All interviewees stated that they had a decreased work time of 17 - 25% a year. The interviewees stated that there has been a drop in the workload for the family as a whole, counted as working days over the year in the field.

6.6.1 Analysis: Workload changes with the gender program

The women were previously working 16-20 hours, according to the structured PRA interviews, consulting both the women and men. These results are likely to be correct as there was no distortion in the statements and were given through the PRA method. This is a high figure that basically states that before the GP, women were working if not sleeping. In the past, the work done by women was not regarded as work as such, according to the interviewees. In fact, it was only the men that were regarded as working. With the implementation of the GP, this way of looking at a woman's contribution has changed. Today, most women and many men are seeing the accomplishment of the women as part of the workload in the family. Furthermore, this workload, as previously stated, is to an extent, shared in the family.

Results from the structured PRA interviews, showed that the women of today are working less and even much less. The women generally find their situation better than it is, according to the structured PRA interviews. The women feel that they are working much less today. The structured PRA interview method shows that 57% are working 10 to 12 hours a day, which is less but not a great deal as 10 – 12 hours is a long workday, whereas, 43% of the women are working much less, approximately 8 hours a day. This is less than half as much as before.

However, 60%, not 40%, of the women state that they work much less today. This is, in my opinion, because the women find their present working situation to be a lot less demanding since they actually share their workload with the men. The fact that they are still doing more hours than the men, it is not generally affecting the positive experience they are feeling with the program. The situation is better today and this is reflected in their perception of the situation. The men make a worse misjudgment of their own workload than the women do. 80% of the men think that their workload has decreased while half of the men actually work more hours, according to the structured PRA interviews. They work more; however, they say that they work less. This is, in my opinion, because the men of today share the hard fieldwork with the women. The fieldwork is perceived by both the men and the women to be, by far, the hardest over the year and of all the work in the household.

It is also of great importance that men are able to share the responsibility for the management and budget of the fields. The fact that men are working more hours does not affect their relief of not having to make all the decisions concerning management and budget on their own. In addition, they are now sharing the heavy work in the fields with the women. The men feel that

they are better off today and they do not regard the extended working hours as more work since what they do has not previously been regarded as work, as carrying water and cooking.

The facts that the men perceive the women's workload as almost exact and visa versa is interesting. It indicates that both sexes are used to their own situation and unused to the new one that they share with their partner. The women do not have a problem viewing their existing work as part of the family workload and hence they upgrade the number of working hours for the man according to the effort he puts in to the household management. The men, on the other hand, still tend to regard working in the field as the only accountable working hours and, therefore, do not think of themselves as working more, despite spending more hours engaged in household duties. Both the men and the women, in the individual interviews, stated that the time taken to manage the fields over the year has decreased. Today, it takes approximately 20% less than before. This is likely to be a result of the synergy effect that has now come into the lives of the interviewees, as they are sharing all the work and the workload more efficiently.

6.7 Implementation of conservation farming

In interviews with the Kawoozi camp officer it was stated that prior to the GP; about 20% of the families in the Kawoozi camp had implemented conservation farming (CF) methods. After the GP, the percentage rose to approximately 80% of which approximately 20% have advanced forms of CF. This is a change that has occurred over the period of the one-year that the GP had been active during the time of the field study in 2003.

The Camp Officer estimates that the implementation of CF in due terms are a result of the implementation of the GP to the extent of 80%. This means that the GP should be the reason why the implementation of conservation farming has risen. This estimation is supported by the individual interviews done in the camp. The people in the individual interviews stated that much of the improvement is due to the newly implemented CF techniques and that the progress in 2003 was due to the improved opportunities enabling them to take advantage of the good rain during that year.

6.7.1 Analysis: Implementation of conservation farming

CF management has become more widespread throughout the camp since the implementation of the GP, according to the interviewees and the camp officer. The CF has risen from approximately 20% to 80% among the people in the study village. According to the camp officer, this is largely due to the GP.

My analysis is that the management of the fields was formerly entirely the concern of the men. Naturally, this put a heavy burden on the men. Unfortunately, the discussion between the men was rather limited on this subject. According to the interviewees, success was, in the past, not only a consequence of good work and good management. Success could, according to the villagers, be limited related to whether other people were putting black magic spells on the farmer or not. In order to resist getting attacked through spells the men refrained from discussing the success and means of their CF management. By implementing this strategy they have found that they are less likely to be targets for black magic.

This means that there was a limited discussion in the camp regarding the implementation of CF methods and there was, hence a lack of dynamics and progression in the agricultural development. Moreover, there was no discussion in the family regarding the management of the fields why there were few changes concerning management in the families. Since the GP,

the women have been involved in the budget and management discussions of the fields to a full extent. This has decreased the pressure on the husband and raised the dynamics on this matter.

The dynamic improvement in management discussions has spread into the camp as a whole. This is, according to my understanding, due to the involvement of the women. The women have not been involved in any discussions or decisions prior to the GP and therefore were not affected by the same fear of black magic that was threatening the men. Since they had no fear of one another they were able to form a well-built network of information between themselves. This network is now used for spreading the information throughout all discussion on new techniques and management implementations of the fields. This new situation of women having a voice has created new dynamics at a camp level as well as in the families. It is this change of the woman's role in family that has risen the conservation farming implementation from 20% to 80%.

6.8 Changes in economy

The economic situation in the village had, according to the interviewees, changed for the better during the year the GP had been operating for the field study in 2003. According to the women and the men, in the structured PRA interviews, the income has generally risen since the GP. They share this experience with the men.

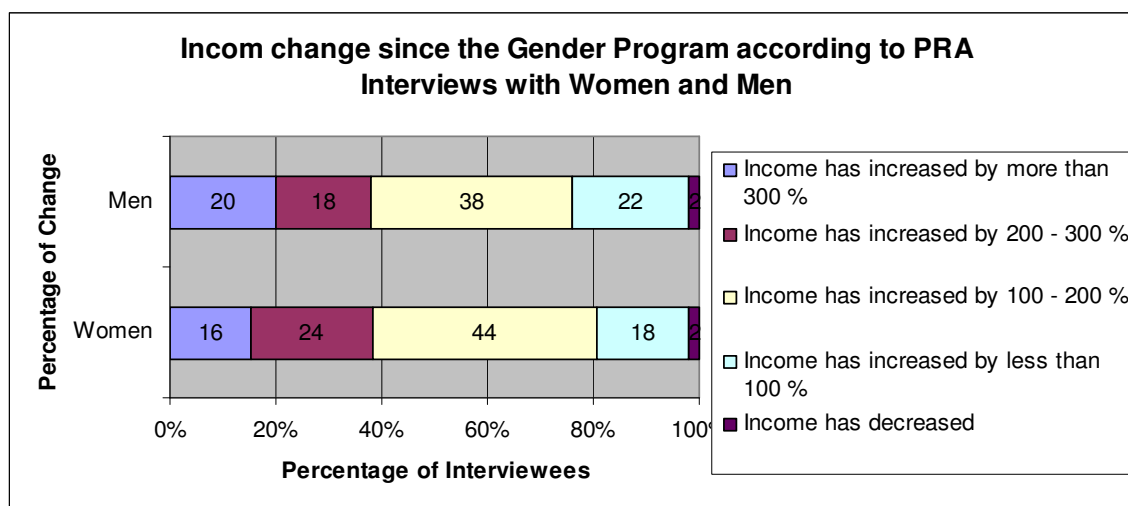


Figure 20. Income change since the gender program according to women and men.

About 40% of the women and men stated that they have had an income rise of between 100 and 200% and about 40% stated that the rise was 200% and more. About 20% say they have had a rise less than 100% (See figure 20). According to the individual interviews, both the men and the women find this rise in income to be dependent on the dynamic changes of the GP to an extent of 30 to 50%. The estimation by the camp officer is that the income increase to the extent of 40% comes from the GP. Furthermore, the rest is due to the very good rainfalls and to a larger extent, the implementation of CF methods after the introduction of the GP that made it possible to take advantage of these rains. The men in the male group interviews appreciated the economic situation for the general farmer before the gender program, which gave approximately 10 - 20 000 Kw. Now they estimate the general economy among people to be to the value of approximately 200 000 kwacha. It is of interest

to point out that 15% of the 20% with a yield increase of less than 100% have, through the structured PRA interviews, stated that their rise is less than 20%. This is a comparatively small rise for one fifth of the villagers.

The amount of fertilizers available has to date, not been enough for maximizing the crops. Since the subsidy of the fertilizers was taken away some years before the field study, the farmers have basically had to stop using fertilizers except for the small extent that is permitted by their budget. Instead some 20% of the villagers have started using sophisticated CF techniques such as green manure, intercropping, agroforestry of nitrate fixing species and pit farming. The focus has been to generate better yields.

6.8.1 Analysis: Changes in economy

According to both the individual interviews and the structured PRA interviews, the economic situation is better after the implementation of the gender program. The income has generally risen between 100 and 300%. These are outstanding figures. Among the interviewees, the general impression is that the income rise, as well as the decrease of workload on a yearly as well as a daily calendar, is thanks to the effectiveness of the dynamics that has come out of the gender program. The villagers, in the individual interviews, estimate that the gender program is responsible for almost half of this rise.

This is a remarkable result for a social program that is primarily interested in the equity of the people in the small-farming households. Undoubtedly, the economic aspects of the program are welcome. The question is if the economic aspects are actually connected to the gender program after all. The year 2003 was the first year in ages with a surplus for the agricultural sector in Zambia. This means that the whole country has had a better harvest than normal. Obviously, it is not only in the Kawoozi camp that the agricultural income has risen and hence this rise in income is not only due to the GP. The rains in 2003 were greater than they had been in a long time, giving favorable agricultural times to Zambia. Furthermore, fertilizers to a higher extent than in the past had been provided in extensive parts of Zambia, which naturally, has affected the crops on a national basis. Apart from these recent favorable conditions, the Sida programs have been operating in Zambia for a number of years and in many respects the effects of the efforts made in the programs start to show. It is, therefore, expected that the implementation of conservation farming techniques will be showing better results in the yield outcome.

In my view, the rise in precipitation in 2003 is the main reason why the yields were rising in Zambia in general and as well as in Kawoozi camp. However, rain in itself is not a savior. Rains are causing more damage than good to the farmers if the fields are not well protected against erosion. The results from my field study of the soils in the Kawoozi camp show that the fields that have not implemented CF and are, therefore, unprotected against erosion are doing a lot worse than the fields that have implemented conservation farming (Jinnefält, 2004). Furthermore, the areas with no implementation of conservation farming had high erosion during 2003.

In some cases, the results from the structured PRA interviews show that there was hardly any rise, or even a decline, in the yields in these unprotected fields in the Kawoozi camp during 2003. In fact, approximately 20% of the interviewees stated that their yields were less than 20% better in 2003, whereas, 80% of the farmers have had more than 100% improvements in yields. According to the camp officer, approximately 20% of the farmers in the Kawoozi camp are still farming without CF management. The higher precipitation in 2003 for these

people was of little economical help. In some cases, the rain only caused harm to the farmers. High levels of precipitation, when not taken proper care can be incredibly hard for the small-scale farmer causing high levels of erosion damage. Conservation farming techniques are needed in order to gain higher yields from the excessive rainfalls (Jinnefält, 2004).

In fact, 75% of the farm areas in Zambia are managed in a western fashion with good soils in flat areas. These farms are contributing to the over all higher yields that were evident in Zambia during 2003; not the small scale farmers situated on steep hills with poor soils and no erosion protection. The farms using no erosion protection in the Kawoozi camp have experienced little or no increase in yields despite the rains. The rains are, therefore, not entirely the reason why the situation is better in the Kawoozi camp. According to the camp officer, the implementation of conservation farming techniques has risen from 20% to 80% of the farmers since the introduction of the gender program. Furthermore, it is with the introduction of conservation farming techniques that farmers have been given an opportunity to take advantage of the exceptional precipitation and reach the high yields of 2003.

My analysis is that the change of the yields is due to the women's involvement in the family budget and management planning of the fields changing the discussion regarding these new techniques in the family and in the whole camp. The discussion within the families and between the women in the village has caused the rise in implementation of CF methods that have given the higher yields in Kawoozi camp in 2003. Prior to the gender program, the men were alone in the decision making of the field management. They had no one to talk to about these decisions concerning management and the economic aspects of the farm. First of all, they were not expected to talk to the women since the tradition did not approve of such an order between the sexes. Secondly, the men were not talking to other men about the economy of the family or the implementation of improvements out of fear of standing out to the neighbors and attract aggression, that were believed to be expressed in forms of black witchcraft.

This situation was unfortunate, as the conservation farming methods could have changed given the opportunities to raise their income and ensure food security for the family. The information was available in the village but the communication was harmfully limited.

The men choose not to discuss improvements as they, according to the key interviewees, had a fear that others would find their improvements and success challenging. People in the camp generally believe that successful people attract black magic and witchcraft cast upon them by others. There is a belief that magicians cast spells in order to hurt a person and of course, improvement is generally expected to draw the attention of black magic. This made men afraid, as if they stood out as successful, the neighbors would hire someone to execute witchcraft upon them. Hence the farmer preferred not to talk about their economic situation or the implementation of CF methods that lead to their success. In order to stay away from black magic the men preferred not to discuss matters concerning the improvements of their economy and farming techniques. This has made the implementation of new techniques in the field management difficult and hence caused the economic situation in the camp to be static and unfortunately rigid.

The women, on the other hand, had before the GP no influence on the field management or the budget, and were hence barred from the possibilities of changing the static patriarchal situation. The women, in this formerly locked out position, were unaffected by the limited exchange of information set by the men since they did not constitute any threat. Instead, they

formed an efficient communication network for passing information within the camp in a constructive manner. This had not been considered an asset by the men, nor a problem, since the women had no control over the running of the farm or the economy in the family. They had over a long period of time, constructed not only a well organized network of information but also trust towards one another. Hence, they are now in the position to control the spread and use of the management information available, and the economic aspects of the implementation of these methods in the village. These matters are since the introduction of the gender program their concern as well as their responsibility.

Previously, any such discussions between the women would have rendered them intolerable physical and mental punishment. Since the GP, it is now a part of their right, obligation and role as a women and member of the family to understand, discuss and implement the new management techniques into the field and manage the economy of the family in the best possible way. The whole dynamics in the family and in the camp has changed. The new dynamics that have been activated in the family and in the camp, through the introduction of the GP, has dramatically changed not only the life of the women themselves but also the economic and environmental possibilities for the families and the community as a whole.

The conservation farming management, to a high extent, is unfortunately limited to simple techniques as implementation of earth ridges between the fields and level bands in the fields (Jinnefält, 2004). Generally, this is the form of conservation management implemented in the camp and constitutes more than 60% of the farms. Only 20% of the villagers have implemented more advanced CF techniques such as green manure, intercropping, agroforestry of nitrate fixating species within and between the fields, and pit farming. If the rain situation were to be less positive than the favorable rain situation in 2003, the situation would be far different for the farmers.

Considering less rain during shorter periods of time and more impetuous as is normal in this area, more than 80% of the farmers would probably face problems guaranteeing food security. Therefore, the implementation of advanced forms of conservation farming is crucial for guaranteeing food security in the camp. The women have a definite key role in this process where by spreading the information concerning the techniques.

6.9 Economic equity in the family

The women at present, state that they have total influence over the money in the family. Also, when decisions and management of the future economy of the fields are concerned, the women, according to the women and men in the interviewees, nowadays, are totally involved. 100% of the women answered that the husband was the only one making these economic decisions before the GP. 27% of the women said that they are making these decisions today together with their husbands. The rest of the women, 73%, said that, apart from the women and men, the grown up children are involved in these economic decisions. No one said that the husband alone makes these decisions today.

Among the men, 100% answered that the man was the only one taking the economic responsibilities concerning decisions and management of the field prior to the GP. Whereas, nowadays, 24% it is done by the woman and the man together and 76% of the male interviewees said that all the grown ups in the family take the responsibility. According to the male group interviews, this cooperation was between the woman and the man was unheard of before the gender program. The situation of cooperation in decision making in the family today was, in fact, an impossible thought prior to the GP, according to the female

interviewees. If they dared to intervene into the economy, the husband would have chased her out of the house. Moreover, if a woman took money to buy cloth before the gender program in 2002, she would have been beaten severely. Sometimes if the woman paid back the money to the husband, he would accept her back into the house. In other cases, the beating continued until the women died. The men also paint this grim picture.

In the survey, 100% of the men and the women stated that today, women are involved in the budget and management discussion in the family. Women are able to shop on their own accord, buying clothes etcetera without consulting the men in every case. Naturally, she discusses the major acquisitions with her husband, as would he, but everyday shopping is for each of them to handle individually. The people outside the GP, according to the interviewees, do not share the responsibilities equally between husband and wife, while women and men in the program share the responsibilities concerning economic and management decision making.

6.9.1 Analysis: Economic equity in the family

All the interviews in the survey indicate that women and men share the responsibility for the budget nowadays. Neither the men nor the women show any hesitation on this subject. The fact that the women and the men are answering questions regarding economic matters of the family in much the same manner indicate that both sexes are involved in the budget discussions. The answers are not identical, but give basically the same impression of how the situation has changed over the year that the GP had been active (See figure 20). This indicates that women today do have an influence on the budget.

It is unlikely that the women and men of today are equal in regards to the budget. We have seen in the interviews given on workload changes in the kitchen and in the field that the perception of the reality and the reality in itself do not entirely follow each other. It is also unlikely that this kind of change would be implemented fully in such a short time as less than one year. However, it is clear that women are involved in the economic discussion today. In their responses, discussed in the last chapter, they are aware of the management situation and their consciousness regarding the budget is not in any way differing from the one held by the men.

In the structured PRA interviews, where I asked for the yearly production change, counted in Ox-loads of maize, the answers from women and men were remarkably similar. This indicates that women are aware and involved in the economic situation in the family. There were no hesitations towards economic questions among any of the women that were of any consequence than among the men.

The sharing of economic responsibilities is one of the cornerstones of the GP. Hence, this matter is discussed over and over in the GP during the courses and is implemented roughly to the same extent as when it comes to the sharing of the authority and workload in the kitchen and the field. If this is so, this means that today, the women have a totally new arena where they can play, if not fully, at least to a greater extent than before the program.

6.10 *Change in extramarital contacts*

In the village sexual relations outside the marriage was generally connected to an economic transaction and therefore correlates to the frequency of buying and selling sex in the village. The frequency of buying and selling sex has, according to the group interviews, changed with the gender program. The individual and group interviews stated that the frequency of

extramarital contacts before 1993 was about 90 - 95% in the village among women and men. This figure takes into consideration both the selling of sex by the women and the buying of sex by the men. When the information of HIV/AIDS arrived, numerous rumors spread of how the disease was transmitted. People put the blame on scratches from animals and bushes, or bites from mosquitoes. Another notion was that HIV/AIDS had been cast onto the sick people by black magic. People also heard rumors that it was transmitted through sexual intercourse. At first, they did not know what to believe.

When the information of a connection between sexual intercourse and HIV/AIDS reached the camp more frequently, the people became more anxious about the matter of extramarital contacts. Up until the introduction of the HIV/AIDS information in the GP the frequency of extramarital contacts decreased. Dependent on the rumors, the decrease in both the sell and buying of sex decreased between 40% and 60% according to the male and female interviewees (See Figure 21).

Through the HIV/AIDS information in the GP the people have come to fully understand the relationship between the disease and sexual intercourse. HIV/AIDS is mainly connected to heterosexual intercourse in Africa and this was an important step towards controlling the disease (Bryceson, 1995). There was a video shown in the course that was making people understand the connection between sex and HIV/AIDS, and after that the program had been active for about a year, the people refrained from having sex outside marriage.

They are also convinced that a condom is not a good protection and is not to be trusted since it is known to break during the intercourse. The frequency of the extramarital contacts was at the time for the study between 1 and 3%, according to the women and men interviewees. The interviewees stated that this quick change has come due to the HIV/AIDS information in the GP. An explanation from one of the interviewees gave a villager's perspective on the situation; "I do not want to pay for death."

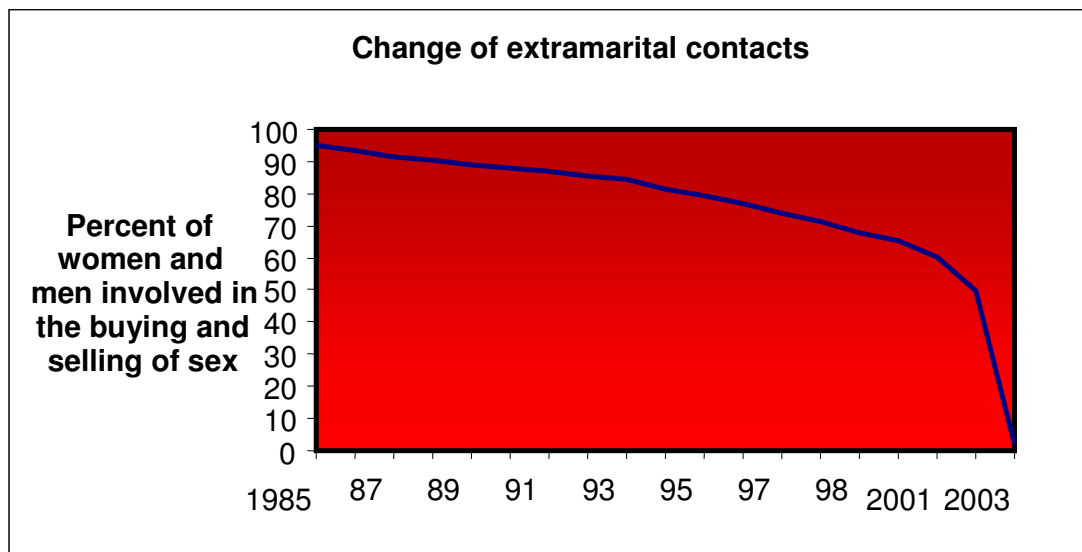


Figure 21. Change in buying and selling sex in Domisa village concerning the time scale.

The men find the risk of contracting HIV/AIDS harmful for their position in society since they are responsible for the health and the life of the wife. If the woman gets infected by one of her sexual contacts the responsibility falls back on the husband according to his role

towards the parents of the wife. Men find this to be distressing as it adds another dimension to the problem of the disease itself. Men see the GP as an opportunity to find a solution to the HIV/AIDS problem. The men feel the manner in which the GP is reaching out and demonstrating the set-backs caused from the extramarital contacts is clearly making both the women and men aware of the seriousness of the problem. They feel that since all the work and responsibilities are made together in the family nowadays, through the GP, the men are able to see if the wives are sending money to their mothers from selling sex, and the women are able to see if the men are using money to buy sex (Mutesi, 1976; Obbo, 1995). As a consequence, the couples are becoming more faithful with one another. According to the interviewees, extramarital contacts are risky, hence, the reduction in risk for HIV/AIDS spreading.

6.10.1 Analysis: Change in extramarital contacts

According to the results from the individual interviewees, the extramarital contacts have decreased since the first reports of HIV/AIDS in the camp in 1985. Up until 2002 the buying and selling of sex among women and men was about 40% to 60% of the male and female population, a sizeable decrease from 95% in 1985. In less than 12 months, it has decreased more than it did over a twelve-year period, according to the interviews (See figure 21). I asked the women about the statements from the men and they are basically confirming the situation described by the men, both concerning the buying of sex by the men and that they themselves were selling sex for money to send to the mother as a security. The figures were then confirmed a third time in the follow up group interview with both women and men.

The women confirmed that basically all the villagers have been involved in extramarital contacts prior to 1985. The figure from 2002 indicated a difference in perception between the sexes. The women stated that the selling of sex from females was about 40%. They, on the other hand, gave the same figure, 60%, for the frequency of men buying sex as men do for men buying and women selling. This irregularity shows that women and men do have differences in perception of the situation. However, when it comes to the situation at the time of the study they agreed that it is between 1 and 3% of the population in the camp that are having extramarital contacts. Women and men, unaware of one another through the PRA method, gave a unison picture of the development of the extramarital contacts over time. This indicates that the results showed a change in behavior towards extramarital contacts among the people in the village, especially since the introduction of the GP in the camp.

The videos shown in the HIV/AIDS education program, and the discussions held, have made it clear to the villagers that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and HIV/AIDS. The statement made by one of the men that *buying sex is equal to buying death* is showing the essence of the consciousness spread through the GP. Today, the women and men are working most of the daily hours together and making decisions regarding the family budget together to a higher extent than previously. This has also had a strong impact on the possibility of sneaking money or themselves to buy sex. The fact that there was already a growing consciousness before the GP indicates that people were open to the information given on how HIV/AIDS is related to sex and the extramarital contacts. This consciousness is the key in combating the disease. The fact that women and men now regard each other more as equals gives new dynamics to the lifestyle and economy. The respect that has grown between the partners as a result of the GP should not be disregarded as a component in the reduction of the extramarital contacts.

7 Discussion

In this study an on-farm approach was used. The results describe the complex reality where social, economic and environmental developing factors meet. This study has been looking at how the ASP gender program has engaged women and men and how it has affected the relationship between the sexes. The situation in the village, before the gender program, gives a picture that corresponds very well with the results from other researchers in the area (Burja, 2002; Davidson, 1995; Dingamo, 1991; Grönberg, et al, 1988; Hannan, 1992; Hansen et al, 1991; ISS-SADCC, 1986; Longwe, 1990b Mwamwaja, 1986; Roelofs, 1988 Skønsberg, 1995), giving a high external validity as to how the people in the village present the situation that was prominent before the changes that have followed with the program. However, there is, to my knowledge, no contemporary research that indicates any such development, as a consequence of gender programs, in the interaction between women and men, as what is presented in this study. I am aware of this discrepancy to other research. Taking into consideration the short period of time used for the very study itself this is of importance to the external validity of the study. The study would have to be extended over a longer period of time in order to thoroughly investigate changes and variations of the social, economic and environmental factors and how these are affected by the gender aspects of the program. I have addressed this by testing the results that I found to be exceptional, compared to other research, by employing multiple questions posed from different angles using PRA tools (Mickelssen, 1995), and by extending the study from the original proposed eight interviews to 132 interviews including individual deep interviews, group interviews, key and structured interviews.

The results indicate that the relations between women and men have changed over the time the gender program has been active in the Kawoozi, camp, both socially and economically. Women and men today are, according to the results given by the PRA method, sharing the work in areas that were previously strictly divided by sex, in more than half of the cases and in some areas as much as eighty percent of the interviewees. Economically, the interaction between the sexes has changed from being totally dominated by men towards a mutual responsibility between women and men concerning planning of the management and budget of the fields, and the family economy.

The study also looks at how the workload in general has been affected in the village concerning differences between the sexes in areas that before the gender program were divided by genus. The general workload calculated over the year has decreased for the whole family as a consequence of the cooperation imposed between women and men by the gender program. The environmental conditions have improved in the camp as a consequence of the increase of the implementation of new conservation farming techniques, as women are consulted in decisions concerning the management of the fields. Moreover, the study has looked at how the relationship in the family has changed with the gender program and how this has affected the economical situation for the family. The intention has been to investigate how the gender program has changed the immediate lives for the women and men in the gender program as well as the social, economical and environmental consequences in the total structure of the camp. The results indicated that both the men and the women are positive to the cultural changes in their lives. They think that the relationship between the sexes has improved their lifestyle as well as the workload and the economic situation. They also recognize that the environmental situation in the camp, even though it needs more attention, is improving providing better opportunities for the villagers to get better yields for the future. The changes through the GP have, according to the interviewees, affected the whole of the camp. All of the 136 interviewees state that the gender program has spread well into the

society. Whilst living in the village, I was surprised how well the gender issues were implemented in the daily life among the people. Through the interviews, I gradually understood that this impression was verified through the PRA method in the interviews. I constantly asked myself if this could actually be possible and therefore extended the study from the anticipated eight interviews to 136 driven by the same questions to be answered. Could the gender program in such a short time really have changed the lives of the people in such a radical way?

The change, however, was not made over one year only. People in the village had been working hard to survive for years in bad climatic conditions. In the meanwhile the Sida programs had been implementing techniques and values regarding gender awareness that were generally welcomed and accepted. Women and men had equal rights to all resources in the program and full access to making decisions within the program from 1984. Equality was a known concept for a number of years. When these ideas were more profoundly introduced through the GP they were not regarded as totally alien thoughts. To carry gender awareness into the family was the natural step. But why would the men put themselves in a position where they work longer hours and do things that were previously regarded as taboo for them such as carrying water and collecting firewood instead of sitting around drinking beer?

I can see five reasons:

Economic: the economy of the families who have introduced GP into their lifestyles has drastically improved. At the same time the workload and working time have decreased for all family members calculated over the year with the GP. The implementation of new techniques and the dynamics created through the introduction of the women in decisions over management and economy has given a new order of economy in the camp. This is a position held, by the members of the GP, so outstanding that no one is questioning the benefit of this lifestyle. This makes the people in the program put an even greater effort into following the program and it pushes the people outside the program towards the families within the program, the financial gains are just too high not to.

Natural: there has, as mentioned, been high precipitation during the year 2003 affecting the harvest. For the people in the program that have implemented the new management techniques, it has lead to better yields and therefore they stand out from the ones that have almost no differences or, even worse, losses. The rain has also made work in the Dimba garden even harder and the maintenance and cropping taking relatively more time than other years. Since these issues are now dealt hand in hand within the family, the people in the GP do not find themselves doing more work but in a better position than their neighbors that receive less yields. The larger amounts of rain have in this way pointed out the benefits of working hand in hand.

Cultural: success in the society before the GP is not only a matter of the farmer's efforts. Success is also assumed to be attracting black magic. Black magic is, according to belief, cast on people that stand out as successful, by their neighbors. The neighbor is thought to be paying a sorcerer in order to throw witchcraft to suppress the successful farmer. This has made the men aware of how to present their achievements and they go forward quietly with new ideas. The introduction of the GP changed this situation in the camp. The quick economic and social change and the decreased workload is perceived as an act of white magic among the people in the village, which is associated with white people and hence the Sida program. White magic is not supposed to be destructive, in contrast to black magic, but to be helping and supporting the people that take part in it. White magic is supposed to protect the person

that is under its influence. Hence the people in the program, by fulfilling the gender recommendations, are taking part in a larger form of cultural influence from the outside. It is seen as helping them be released from the influence and the fear of black magic and gives them the opportunity to step into a new social reality both mentally and culturally. This new order is giving a new form of dynamics in their lives that is based on the possibility of advancement and progress. Since the people in the program is demonstratively enjoying these advancements, others outside the program also try to adopt and implement as much as they can of the GP in order to receive progress that it is associated with the new lifestyle. Part of the program is that men do women's issues and that man and women assist each other in the field as well as in the household. These are therefore issues that are looked at as part of the remedy and the word of working hand in hand is spread throughout the camp.

The equity dynamics: the significance of the women being part of the management and economy of the farm is already introduced as an important part of why the situation is changing so quickly since the involvement of women is causing a better discussion climate in the family and within the whole of the camp. Besides the very fact that women are themselves today regarded as humans is giving a positive affect on the progression in the village. The women are feeling free to share their ideas and feel joy and satisfaction in doing their work, and partaking in the decisions in the family. They are working and engaging in the decisions for themselves, and the family, with higher esteem, pride and self-consciousness. This gives a new dynamic to the whole economic situation where women are now a crucial part in decisions, forming and implementation of new ideas, and function as messengers through the women's communication network.

Social Status: the GP is teaching that women and men are equal beings. This way of looking at the partner is becoming more common. Since people have an interest in taking in modern lifestyles, this perspective is important. Equality is not only beneficial for the women, but also reflects upon the husband that performs in an equal lifestyle as a modern man. This has great social value and is showing that the man is able to live in and adapt to the upcoming environment of modernization, and the influence of the outer modern society into the depth of the traditional values of the family. This perspective makes him stronger in the eyes of other men around him that have not yet been introduced to the modern perspectives of the gender program. The statement of one gentleman in the village puts the situation in full perspective: "We are no savages here, we are civilized men." The gender program's intention to concretely improve the relationships between woman and man has been adopted positively by the people in Kawoozi camp, and has induced an affirmative change socially, economically and environmentally for the community.

The result from the gender program is many aspects positive. However, the conservation farming management is unfortunately to a high extent limited to simple techniques, as previously described. More than 60% of the farmers, that have implemented conservation farming, apply only basic conservation management. These simple methods were successful during 2003 when the rain was falling over a longer period of time. If the rain situation were to be less favorable than it was in 2003, the situation would be far different for the farmers. The consideration of less rain during shorter periods of time and more impetuous as is normally in this area, more than 80% of the farmers would probably face problems guaranteeing food security, bad economy or possible starvation (Jinnefält, 2004). Since the implementation of advanced forms of conservation farming is crucial, the women have a definite key role in the implementation process as they spread information of the techniques, and in doing so guarantee a sustainable environment and food security in the camp.

8 Conclusion

This study shows a positive discrepancy towards other contemporary research. I am aware of this discrepancy. Taking into consideration the short period of time used for the very study itself this is of importance to the external validity of the study. The study would have to be extended over a longer period of time in order to thoroughly investigate changes and variations of the social, economic and environmental factors and how these are affected by the gender aspects of the program. I have addressed this by testing the results that I found to be exceptional, compared to other research, by employing multiple questions posed from different angles using PRA tools and by extending the study, including individual deep interviews, group interviews, key and structured interviews.

The results from this study do show that:

- The gender program has spread well into the lives of the villagers according to all of the women and men in the program.
- Women work forty to sixty percent less today than before the gender program.
- The daily basis working time has risen by three hours for half of the men in the survey.
- The time put into work on a yearly basis for women and men since the introduction of the gender program has decreased by seventeen to twenty five percent.
- Women and men take part in each other's former working areas and share the workload in those areas to an extent of fifty to eighty percent.
- Resources are divided equally between the sexes in the gender program.
- Women and men have been involved in program goals, strategies, and activities on all stages of planning and they have shared the same responsibilities and are consulted on equal terms in the gender program.
- The land that is cultivated by the farmers is owned by the chief and the right of controlling the land is given to the man and/or woman that is in authority of the household.
- The economy has been rising since the introduction of the gender program because of the higher precipitation and conservation farming techniques.
- The gender program has changed the structure of decision making in areas that are before the implementation of the gender program were divided between the sexes to an extent of forty percent in the kitchen and sixty percent in the field.
- The women and men in the gender program feel that the program has affected the position in the everyday life positively and that it has had a good influence on the culture.
- The HIV/AIDS situation has improved since the buying and selling of sex amongst the people in the gender program has decreased to an extent of three percent compared to about fifty percent before the introduction of the gender program.
- The implementation of conservation farming techniques has increased since the introduction of the gender program from twenty percent prior to the gender program to eighty percent with the gender program, supporting the environment in the camp.

The study confirms that gender issues are of importance, and are generally welcomed among the people in the study. The importance of a continuation of the gender programs is shown in the results from this study. The overall conclusion in this study is that the gender program has improved the lifestyle of both the men and women and that the economical, social and environmental situation has improved for all members of the families in the camp.

9 Recommendations

In order to make a good MFS it is recommended to give a clear picture of what the study will be covering before the journey to the MFS country. The method and the theoretical background should be set and the planning and schedules should be ready in forms of check lists and an open but ready made calendar.

The situation in the MSF country might be unpredictable so the planning has to be open for changes and adaptations. It is therefore a good idea to give all planning a good margin. It is recommended to keep methods open in case they are not applicable in the study area. In such a case it is important to be prepared with alternative methods that do not change the intention of the study.

Knowing the context in the MFS area is very helpful, and making friends within and outside the study is a good way to understand how to interact with the people involved. Modesty is a way to handle lack in knowledge and is useful in many situations.

It is helpful to have transportation arranged before leaving home as it might not be available at the study area and transportation might be hard to arrange on the site if not pre booked.

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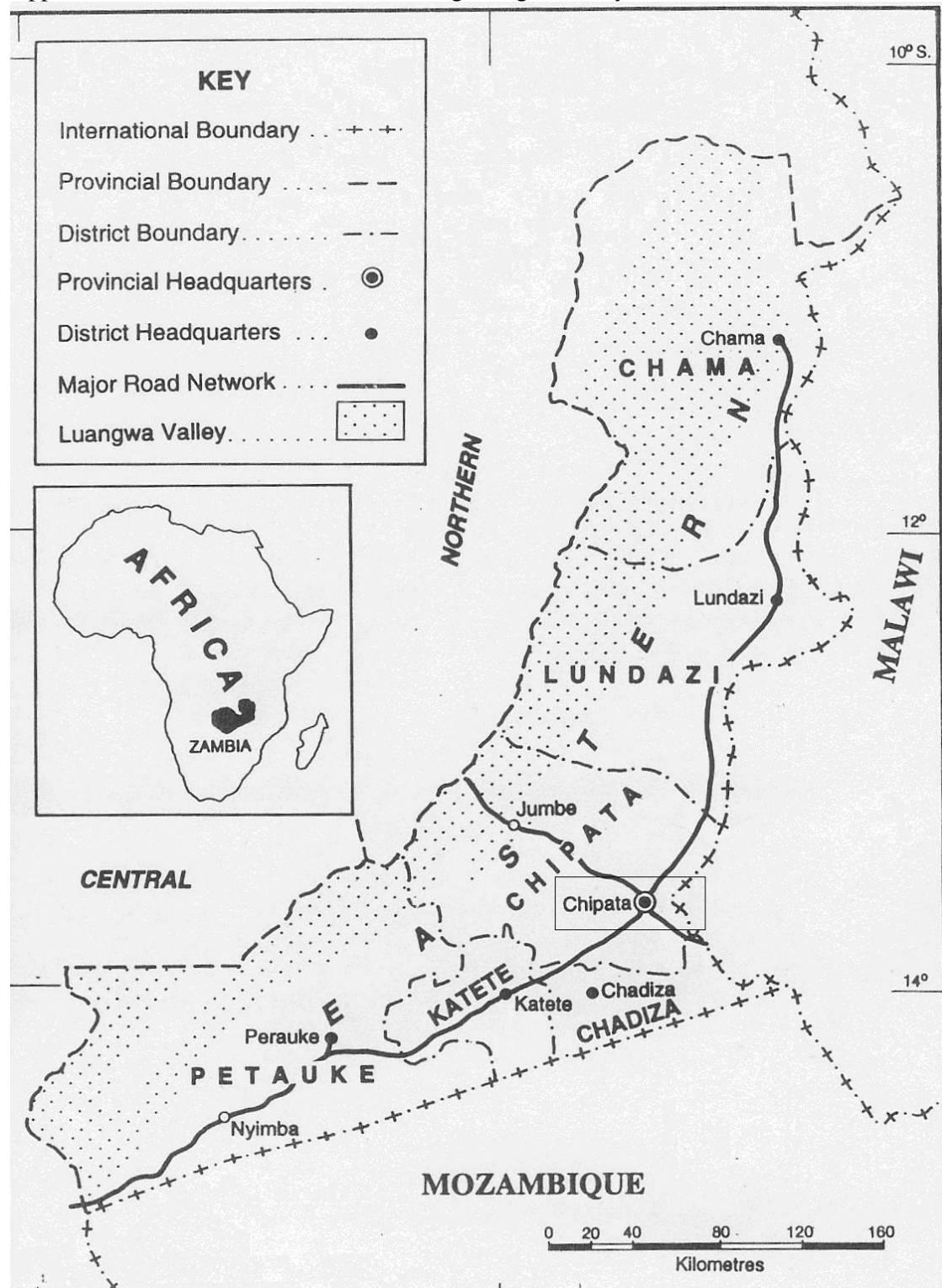
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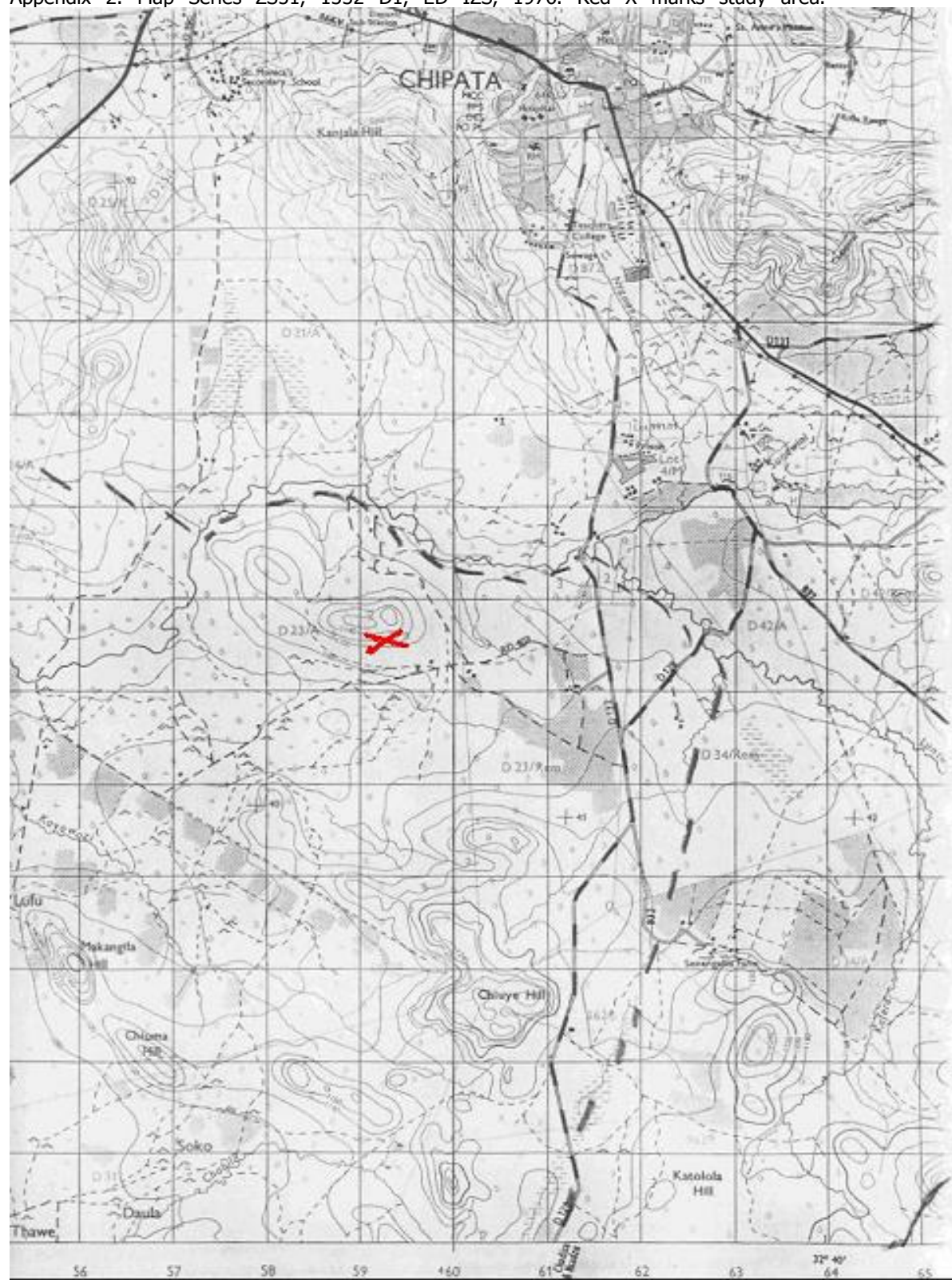
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11 Appendix

Appendix 1. Eastern Province of Zambia regarding the study area.



Appendix 2. Map Series ZS51, 1332 D1, ED IZS, 1976. Red X marks study area.



REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA
MEAN ANNUAL RAINFALL

Key

- 700mm
- 800mm
- 900mm
- 1000mm
- 1100mm
- 1200mm
- 1300mm
- 1400mm
- Regions
- 1600mm
- International Boundary

0 100 200 Km

Digitized by Godwin K. Mambwe, Technical Services, P.O. Box 30291, Lusaka October, 1997

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Appendix 5. Checklist. For interviews.

Check list for Field Study:

1. Quantitative research of records of resources given to women and men
2. Names of groups of people given resources for starting agro forestry; Two (2) groups
3. Contact persons for doing interviews
4. Extension Officer that assists in understanding the social structure and local language
5. Situation male / female extension officer's percentage
6. In what way have women had services provided?
7. What services are provided for men / women?
8. Have women had the same function as men: if not what are the differences?
9. Have women / men been involved in program goals, strategies, and activities on all stages of planning, responsibilities?
10. Have women and men had equal access to resources?
11. PRA

Farmer Questions; social questions:

1. In what way have you been involved in the aid program?
2. At what point in the program were you involved?
3. Have you received any training in the program; what?
4. Do you think you - woman / man – are consulted on equal terms as a man / woman in this project?
5. In what way do you think that it differs between women and men?
6. Have there been any farmer participation activities as extension education on agro forestry in the village?
7. Has there been any gender awareness training and analysis made in the village?
8. How effective have you found this training to be when it comes to the relationship between women and men?
9. How has effectiveness in the workload changed with this gender awareness program?
10. Do you think that you have got the same opportunities as a man / woman to receive the resources provided by the aid program; if not; why not?
11. Labor; what is your working calendar; for the year; for the day?
12. How has your workload changed with the implementation of the aid program?
13. For what purposes do you grow trees here?
14. What trees do you prefer; are those the trees you have planted?
15. What is the traditional use for those trees in your culture; do you use them in this way?
16. Who owns and controls the land that is cultivated (man / woman)
17. Who makes decisions about improvement changes in the management of agriculture?
18. Who has the right to cut the trees?
19. Have women / men been involved in program goals, strategies, activities and formulation on all stages of planning, responsibilities?
20. Have women and men had equal access to resources?

Farmer Questions; physical questions:

1. What practices were done in the fields during the last years according to:
 - Animals; if so where
 - Crops; what is the cropping calendar
 - Labor; what is your working calendar; for the year; for the day
 - Manure; if so; where?
 - Fertilizers; is so; where?
 - Fallow?
8. Labor; what is your working calendar; for the year; for the day
9. How has fertility of the land changed over the years?
10. How have the crops been growing?
11. What is your impression of the soil and land?
12. What is the history of the soil and land use?
13. How has fertility changed since the change in management?
14. What problems do you have?
15. What are the possibilities for the future?
16. What do you see as difficulties?
17. What do you want help in administrating?

Appendix 6. Questionnaire – Manfunso

Dzina / Name:

Zaka / Age:

Ana / Children:

Dznina la Mkazi/Mwamuna / Name of Husband/Wife:

Keyala / Residence:

1. Kodi mumatengako mbari ndi kugwapo mumaphunziro a Jenda Porogiramo?

A: Inde

B: Iai

Do you participate in the Gender Program?

A: Yes

B: No

2. Kucokera liti?

A: June 2002

B: Nov 2002

C: Feb 2003

Since When?

A: June 2002

B: Nov 2002

C: Feb 2003

3. Kodi Jenda Porogiramo ifarisidwa motani maro ano?

A: Choipa Kwambiri

B: Choipa

C: Irandididwa

D: Kwambiri

E: Kwambiri mbiri

How has the Gender Program spread into the Community?

A: Very Well

B: Well

C: Acceptable

D: Badly

E: Very badly

4. Kodi nanga nchito zocepetsdwa motani ndi Jenda Porogiramo?

A: Zochuluka

B: Zacepesedwa

C: Cimodzi modzi

How has the workload changed with the Gender Program?

A: More

B: Less

C: The same as before

5. Kodi ndani anali kugwira nchito kwambiri kale pamene kunaribe Jenda Porogiramo?

A: Mwamuna

B: Mkazi

C: Ana

Who was doing the most of the work before the Gender Program?

A: The Husband

B: The Wife

C: The Children

6. Kodi tsopano ndani?

A: Mwamuna

B: Mkazi

C: Ana

D: Onze

Who works the most today?

A: The Husband

B: The Wife

C: The Children

D: All

7. Kodi kale nchito Mkazi anari kugwira maora angati pamene Jenda Porogiramo isanaphunzitsidwe?

A: 4-6 h

B: 7-9 h

C: 10-12 h

D: 13-15 h

E: 16-20 h

How many hours did the Wife work before the Gender Program?

A: 4-6 h

B: 7-9 h

C: 10-12 h

D: 13-15 h

E: 16-20 h

8. Kodi kale nchito Mwamuna anari kugwira maora angati pamene Jenda Porogiramo isanaphunzitsidwe?

A: 4-6 h

B: 7-9 h

C: 10-12 h

D: 13-15 h

E: 16-20 h

How many hours did the Husband work before the Gender Program?

- A: 4-6 h
- B: 7-9 h
- C: 10-12 h
- D: 13-15 h
- E: 16-20 h

9. Kodi nanga tsopano nchito Mkazi agwira maora angati?

- A: 4-6 h
- B: 7-9 h
- C: 10-12 h
- D: 13-15 h
- E: 16-20 h

How many hours is the Wife working today?

- A: 4-6 h
- B: 7-9 h
- C: 10-12 h
- D: 13-15 h
- E: 16-20 h

10. Kodi nanga tsopano nchito Mwamuna agwira maora angati?

- A: 4-6 h
- B: 7-9 h
- C: 10-12 h
- D: 13-15 h
- E: 16-20 h

How many hours is the Husband working today?

- A: 4-6 h
- B: 7-9 h
- C: 10-12 h
- D: 13-15 h
- E: 16-20 h

11. Kodi zinchito zacepetsedwa kapena zacuru tsidwa motani ku mwamuna?

- A: Yapita patsogolo kwambiri
- B: Yapita patsogolo
- C: Cimodzi modzi
- D: Yacepelera
- E: Yacepelera kwambiri

Is the Husband working more or less today than before?

- A: The workload is a lot larger
- B: The workload is larger
- C: The workload is the same
- D: The workload is decreased
- E: The workload is a lot less

12. Kodi zinchito zacepetsedwa kapena zacuru tsidwa motani ku mkazi?

- A: Yapita patsogolo kwambiri
- B: Yapita patsogolo
- C: Cimodzi modzi
- D: Yacepelera
- E: Yacepelera kwambiri

Is the Wife working more or less today than before?

- A: The workload is a lot larger
- B: The workload is larger
- C: The workload is the same
- D: The workload is decreased
- E: The workload is a lot less

13. Kodi mkuganizira kuti muri ndi danga yakurandira thandizo moringana; Mwamuna/Mkazi?

- A: Inde
- B: Iai

Do you think that woman and man have the same opportunities to receive resources?

- A: Yes
- B: No

14. Kucokera m'caka chiti pakhara paribe tsakho porandira thandizo?

- A: 1998
- B: 2001
- C: Caka cino

Since when have there been no difference between a man and a woman as far as receiving resources is concerned?

- A: 1998
- B: 2001
- C: This year

15. Kodi chuma cinari motani Jenda Porogiramo isanabwere?

- A: 1-5 ngoro
- B: 6-10 ngoro
- C: 11-15 ngoro
- D: 16-20 ngoro
- E: 20-30 ngoro

What was the value of the Family Economy in Oxloads of Maize before the Gender Program?

- A: 1-5 Ox loads
- B: 6-10 Ox loads
- C: 11-15 Ox loads
- D: 16-20 Ox loads
- E: 20-30 Ox loads

16. Kodi chuma ciri motani pamene Jender Programo yaphunzitsidwa?

- A: 1-5 ngoro
- B: 6-10 ngoro
- C: 11-15 ngoro
- D: 16-20 ngoro
- E: 20-30 ngoro

What was the value of the Family Economy in Ox loads of Maize after the Gender Program?

- A: 1-5 Ox loads
- B: 6-10 Ox loads
- C: 11-15 Ox loads
- D: 16-20 Ox loads
- E: 20-30 Ox loads

17. Kodi kale pomwe kunaribe Jenda Programo anali kuramurira pa kuonjezera nthaka ndi kupanga maramuro am'munda ndani?

- A: Mwamuna
- B: Mkazi
- C: Mwamuna ndi Mkazi
- D: Ana
- E: Onse

Who made the decisions about management improvements of the fields before the GP?

- A: The Husband
- B: The Wife
- C: The Husband and the Wife
- D: The Children
- E: All

18. Kodi tsopano ndani?

- A: Mwamuna
- B: Mkazi
- C: Mwamuna ndi Mkazi
- D: Ana
- E: Onse

Who is making the decisions about management improvements of the fields after the GP?

- A: The Husband
- B: The Wife
- C: The Husband and the Wife
- D: The Children
- E: All

19. Kodi ndani agwira nchito kwambiri; Mwamuna/Mkazi?

- A: Mwamunai nthawi zonse
- B: Mwamuna/ kawiri kawiri
- C: Tigawana
- D: Mkazi kawiri kawiri
- E: Mkazi nthawi zonse

Who is doing the work in the kitchen; Husband/Wife?

- A: Husband every time
- B: Husband mostly
- C: We share
- D: Wife mostly
- E: Wife every time

20. Kodi ndani agwira nchito kwambiri; Mwamuna/Mkazi?

- A: Mwamunai nthawi zonse
- B: Mwamuna/ kawiri kawiri
- C: Tigawana
- D: Mkazi kawiri kawiri
- E: Mkazi nthawi zonse

Who is doing the work in the field; Husband/Wife?

- A: Husband every time
- B: Husband mostly
- C: We share
- D: Wife mostly
- E: Wife every time

21. Kodi unali kusogorera ndi kugwirira nchito kuti Jender Programo isanabwere?

- A: Nyumba Yophikira
- B: Kumunda
- C: Nyumba Ndi Kumunda

Where were you working and in authority of before the Gender Program?

- A: The kitchen
- B: The field
- C: Both

22. Kodi ndani aramulila nchito kwambiri; Mwamuna/Mkazi?

- A: Mwamunai nthawi zonse
- B: Mwamuna/ kawiri kawiri
- C: Tigawana
- D: Mkazi kawiri kawiri
- E: Mkazi nthawi zonse

Who is in authority in the kitchen; Husband/Wife?

- A: Husband every time
- B: Husband mostly
- C: We share
- D: Wife mostly
- E: Wife every time

23. Kodi ndani aramulila nchito kwambiri; Mwamuna/Mkazi?

- A: Mwamunai nthawi zonse
- B: Mwamuna/ kawiri kawiri
- C: Tigawana
- D: Mkazi kawiri kawiri
- E: Mkazi nthawi zonse

Who is in authority in the field; Husband/Wife?

A: Husband every time

B: Husband mostly

C: We share

D: Wife mostly

E: Wife every time

24. Kodi ndi njira zotani zimene Jender Programo ikusokonezera nwanbo waci ngoni?

A: Ndi choipa kwambiri ndi mwambo waci ngoni

B: Ndi choipa ndi mwambo waci ngoni

C: Siciokoneza mwambo waci ngoni

D: Ndi bwino ndi mwambo waci ngoni

E: Ndi bwino kwambiri ndi mwambo waci ngoni

How do you think that the Gender Program is affecting the Ngoni Culture?

A: It is very bad for the Ngoni Culture

B: It is bad for the Ngoni Culture

C: It does not affect the Ngoni Culture

D: It is good for the Ngoni Culture

E: It is very good for the Ngoni Culture

Dzikomo Kwambiri

Daniel Jinnefält

Appendix 7. Example of Calendars and Scoring

Year Calendar:

October – May: 10 stones: representing how heavy the work is.

Preparation - clearing.

At rain – seeding.

Weeding.

Binding – redo the ridges since they have fallen apart with the weeding.

Topdressing fertilizer by small holes.

May – July: 2 stones: representing how heavy the work is.

Making storage bin.

Slashing the Maize and putting it in stocks.

Cropping of the Maize.

July – October: 8 stones: representing how heavy the work is.

Work in the Dimba garden with vegetables, fruits and fishponds.

Day Calendar:

	Before GP	After GP
05.00	Fieldwork	Sleep
06.00	Fieldwork	Fuel Forest
09.00	Prep Lunch	
13.00	Lunch	Prep Lunch
14.00	Fieldwork	Lunch
15.00	Fieldwork	Fieldwork
17.00	Rest	Rest
18.00	Supper	Supper
19.00	Chatting	Planning together
20.00	Sleep	Sleep