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Liberalisation, Gender and Livelihoods: the cashew nut case

Working Paper 1 *(English)*

photo: Steffen Cambon

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ADPP	Assistance to development for the people by the people
AICAJU	Association of private enterprises in cashew
AMODER	Mozambican association for rural development
ANGOCAJU	The cashew organisation in Angoche, Nampula Province
WB	World Bank
CAGEBA	The cashew organisation in Geba, Nampula Province
CASCA	Support component for the cashew sector (SNV-ADPP-AMODER)
CCN	The cashew company of Nacala, Nampula Province
CNSL	Cashew Nut Shell Liquid
CLUSA	Cooperative League of the USA
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
INCAJU	Institute for the Promotion of Cashew
INIA	National Institute for Agricultural Research
MADER	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PROAGRI	National programme for agricultural development
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
UEM	Eduardo Mondlane University
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

1. Introduction

This project [1] is part of an IIED (International Institute for Environment and Development) research programme called "Liberalisation, Gender and livelihoods: the Cashew Nut Case" (January 2002 to June 2004). The programme explores the cashew sectors in Mozambique and India. In 2002, the first phase of the project, research was carried out in four sites in Nampula Province in northern Mozambique.[2] This report presents the key findings of the first phase.[3]

The report begins with the background and rationale of the study; the objectives and methodology are outlined in the third section. Section four analyses the involvement of women in cashew production (site report Namige), the cashew support initiatives in that area (site reports Itoculo and Namige) and the link between production and intervention from a gender perspective. Section five focuses on processing and analyses the livelihoods of the ex-workers of two of the three closed down cashew factories in Angoche (site report Angoche). It also analyses two medium scale operating factories in Geba and Namige (site reports of Geba and Namige) from a gender perspective. Section six analyses the main aspects of cashew commercialisation. The last section draws conclusions and presents recommendations.

1.1 Background and rationale

Mozambique has been one of the major cashew producing countries in the world. Production peaked in 1972 when 216,000 metric tonnes were marketed. After independence in 1975, such levels of production could not be sustained for many reasons, including war and displacement; inconsistent state policies; low farm prices; weakened trade networks; shortages of tools, consumer goods and food; severe droughts; old trees (60-70% older than 25 years); diseases such as powdery mildew (*Oidium anacardium*) and anthracnose; pests like helopeltis and cochinilla disease; and uncontrolled bush fires. Hilton (1998) argued that uncontrolled burning is the major killer of productive cashew trees. The average tree now produces 2-4 kilograms, whereas 10-15 kg should be possible (Wandschneider and Mirapeix, 1999; Hilton, 1998; Mole, 2000; Casca, 2002). In Mozambique cashew is produced mainly by smallholders; there are only a handful of larger producers.

In 1995, the Mozambican government liberalised the cashew sector as a condition of World Bank loans. The Bank's economic rationale for liberalisation of the sector included:

1. Reducing export tariffs on raw nuts would boost demand and spur competition among exporters.
2. Eliminating trader licenses would increase the number of traders.

[1] The Mozambique gender and cashew project involves collaboration between IIED in London and the Eduardo Mondlane University (EMU) in Maputo. The Dutch and Irish Embassies fund the research, which is conducted by the following researchers: Dr Nazneen Kanji (lead researcher); Dr Carin Vijfhuizen (research coordinator); Dr Carla Braga and Eng Luis Artur (researchers).

[2] Research in southern Mozambique will be carried out in 2003.

[3] More details can be found in four specific site reports: Namige (by Braga, C), Itoculo (by Vijfhuizen, C), Angoche (by Artur, L) and Geba (by Braga, C & Artur, L). Except for the Itoculo report, they are only available in Portuguese.

3. Traders would compete for raw nuts and pay higher prices to smallholders.
4. Higher prices to smallholders would increase their incentive to market nuts and further increase farm income.
5. The price incentive would encourage more farmers to enter cashew production and encourage existing farmers to improve tree management and plant new trees.

The general aim was to revive the smallholder cashew sector: *"As the second largest export earner, and as a vital source of hundreds of thousands of poor farmers, revival of the cashew sector is a key to economic development and poverty reduction in Mozambique"* (World Bank, 2001: 51). The risk that lowering tariffs might cause the Mozambican cashew processing industry to fail was accepted; consistent with neo-liberal ideologies, industries must be left to compete internationally and fail if they cannot compete without government support. The loss of 10,000 jobs in the processing sector would be offset by the gains to be achieved by a much larger group of smallholders (Kanji *et al*., 2002).

There has been considerable debate about whether or not price liberalisation has worked (see Hanlon, 2000; World Bank, 2001; Wandschneider and Mirapeix, 1999; Abt, 1999; Deloitte and Touche, 1997; Mole, 2000; Cramer, 1999). However, only the World Bank has concluded that price liberalisation worked for farmers, as the real producer prices increased. All the other authors referred to above concluded it had failed for various reasons:

- Prices of food and basic consumer goods had increased (Wandschneider and Mirapeix, 1999).
- Prices increased, but only the trading sector has benefited (Hanlon, 2000).
- Only farmers who could store nuts until later in the marketing season have benefited from liberalisation (Deloitte and Touche, 1997).
- Contrary to expectations, farmers did not plant new trees (Wandschneider and Mirapeix, 1999).

The most recent economic study *When Economic Reform goes Wrong: Cashews in Mozambique* (McMillan *et al*., 2002), echoes the findings of the above studies and concludes that the net gains to farmers were disappointingly low and largely offset by the costs of unemployment caused by the collapse of the processing sector.

All these various perspectives indicate that price and trade liberalisations alone will not revive the smallholder cashew sector. As Mole (2000) has argued, price incentives, technology and marketing initiatives need to be combined and implemented together in order for farmers to benefit. Thus the revival of the cashew sector has to address a complex set of factors, including technology which allows farmers to increase their production, support for processing industries, improved farm management by and improvements in marketing.

Why are we paying so much attention to the cashew sector in Mozambique? Cashew is an important crop, for a variety of reasons. Firstly, it is an important export crop for the country. Secondly, it means cash income for smallholders. Thirdly, it is an important protein source for families (food security). Finally, it has important by-products, like the cashew apple, juice and alcohol, which generate cash income and/or provide food/protein intake for smallholders. Processing cashew within Mozambique

not only adds value to the crop in terms of export prices, but also provides a valuable income-earning opportunity for Mozambicans in an expanding international market.

In 1998 INCAJU, the government institute for the promotion of cashew, developed a comprehensive and integrated strategy to stimulate activities in the three interlinked areas of production, processing and commercialisation (INCAJU, 1998). New initiatives have been undertaken to revive the sector, including:

- Production: subsidies, implementation and coordination of treatment of trees against powdery mildew disease by spraying trees (rehabilitation); new plantations; nurseries with new varieties; cultivation techniques and pruning; training; extension and research (INCAJU, 1998).
- Processing: stimulating the construction of small scale factories through loans to the private sector, because according to INCAJU, small scale factories using semi-mechanical cutting technology give a better quality output, have fewer management problems and also have fewer problems acquiring raw material (INCAJU, 2001).
- Commercialisation: setting the export tax of raw cashew between 18-22% and grading the quality of nuts (INCAJU, 2001).

The current government strategy calls for collaboration between and participation by government, the private sector, communities and NGOs. To implement this strategy, various structures and forums for discussion have been developed: a Cashew Committee which functions at the national level, and 'cashew forums' which function at national, regional and provincial levels. INCAJU is currently in the process of reworking the organisational structures in the sector (INCAJU, 2003).

NGOs play an important role in establishing producer associations, training and financing interventions in the cashew sector. However, it should be noted that the emergence of local NGOs is relatively recent in Mozambique; there are fewer than elsewhere in the region. One international NGO which works closely with the government is TechnoServe (US). Their mission is to help entrepreneurial women and men in poor rural areas to build businesses, thus creating income, opportunity and economic growth for their families, their communities and their countries (Casca, 2002: 16).

AICAJU, (the association of private enterprises in cashew) mainly involves the owners and/or buyers of the previously state owned large and impact shelling technology factories, which are now closed. They are the major critics of the liberalisation policy. They criticise the government for the 'disastrous policy' adopted for the cashew sector in the past. They also do not believe in the current cashew policy, arguing that the treatment of trees (spraying) is too expensive for farmers. They argue that more emphasis is needed on planting new varieties and that the government is not doing enough in this area. AICAJU also blames the World Bank for closing down cashew factories in Mozambique, and is now challenging the World Bank to step in and help the cashew factories to re-open again (Patel, October 2002).

Previous studies of the cashew sector were mainly from an economic perspective and did not consider gender. However, Penvenne (1997) studied women in cashew processing factories during the colonial era. Hirvonen (1997, 1998, 1999) brings

gender to the fore in her work within a World Bank study. The World Bank carried out a gender study in the cashew sector in Mozambique between 1996 and 1998 (see Ministry of Agriculture/WB, 1998). The study generated a wealth of data on numbers of trees, local processing, commercialisation etc., but the information was only gathered from heads of households. Of the 1,400 households interviewed, 77% were considered male-headed, and 23% were considered female-headed. Hence, in 77% of the households, the women (as wives) were not interviewed about their role in the cashew sector, let alone daughters and/or sisters who may also have some cashew trees and do some work. So although the results of the study are impressive, it did not take a gender perspective and women's views were inadequately represented (see Kanji *et al*., 2002 for a full critique). To redress the balance, we have focused on female producers, but have interviewed both female and male workers in the processing industry.

Thus, the rationale of this study is to understand the different positions of women and men in the cashew sector, ie. in production, processing and commercialisation; to understand how women and men respond to policy changes and interventions. Gender analysis is important not only from an equal rights perspective, but also in order to improve the effectiveness of interventions, since overall productivity in the sector will improve when both women and men are involved. A gender perspective is also important for reducing poverty, since women tend to be over-represented in poor groups, and because women have greater domestic responsibilities than men and tend to direct their earnings towards improving household welfare.

1.2 Objectives and methods

The main objectives of the present study are:

1. To understand the changes stemming from liberalisation and other national and international policies in the areas of production, processing, and commercialisation, and to understand what these changes mean for women and men.
2. To inform policy makers at provincial, national and international levels (making micro-meso-macro links).
3. To identify opportunities to enhance the contribution of the cashew sector to poverty reduction and gender equality.

A more general, yet equally important objective, is to build research capacity in Mozambique through team work in all the stages of the research process.

Sites in the following two provinces were selected for study:

- Nampula in the north (2002): This province represents 75-80% of Mozambique's cashew production. Society is matrilineal (descent line through the mother's kin).
- Gaza in the south (2003): represents up to 20% of cashew production. Society here is patrilineal (descent line through the father's kin).

In Nampula, four sites were selected:

1. Namige (Mogincual district): to explore production and marketing by smallholder women and the functioning of a new medium scale, semi-mechanised factory.
2. Itoculo (Monapo district): to assess government and NGO initiatives to increase production levels, improve marketing and provide training and extension.

3. Geba (Memba district): to investigate the functioning of a medium scale factory and the workers' livelihoods;
4. Angoche (Angoche district): to follow-up ex-workers from closed factories.

The methodology included:

- Formation of a national reference group with stakeholders from government, private sector, NGOs, researchers and donors.
- Interviews with key informants at local, provincial and national levels (different stakeholder groups).
- Questionnaire survey of workers and ex-workers from processing factories.
- Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with community leaders, associations, women producers and women workers.

2. Cashew production

In this section, we first analyse women's involvement in production, then explore the various initiatives to support cashew production and assess the degree to which women are reached by these various initiatives.

2.1. Women's rights to land and trees

It is difficult to unravel the exact relationship between land and tree tenure owing to its complexity and the diversity of situations. Many studies argue that men own most of the fields (*machambas*) and cashew trees. For example, a study in the Namige area (Casca, 2002: 8) states that most of the trees (80 per family) are owned by men (60%) while the other 40% are divided amongst women (10%), the family as a whole (15%) and grandparents (15%). The World Bank gender study counted an average of 68 trees per family in Nampula province, allocating them to the head of the household who is perceived to be male. The female-headed households included in that study have 10 trees fewer, on average, than male-headed households (Ministry of Agriculture/WB, 1998: 19).

We looked into land tenure (see Namige site report) and found that there are diverse patterns of land tenure (*posse*), and that specifically in Nampula's matrilineal society, most women inherit pieces of land which they cultivate. These allocation practices give women considerable land tenure security. We also found that in the matrilineal context, women are extremely mobile in their marriage arrangements. A woman can marry, divorce and marry again. In one marriage she can move to her husband's home (virilocal), and in the next marriage the husband can come to her home (uxorilocal). In between the marriages, while divorced or widowed, she lives in her birthplace with her mother; the land provides a constant and an important base of security. However, some situations can endanger a women's land tenure security: firstly, when residence upon marriage is virilocal, and secondly, when land is sub-divided and more powerful actors (local leaders, companies) take control of the land. It seems that a land market is also developing; various farmers in Namige (see below) indicated that they had bought land (meaning tenure rights). Interestingly, we also met a woman farmer who bought land and planted cashew trees on it. Thus, so-called 'traditional' patterns are in fact dynamic and changing.

The ownership of trees is as complex as the land issue. Usually women tend to have rights to trees both where they were born and where they are married (although usually fewer in the latter case). Fortmann *et al*. (1997, 1998) studied the link between land tenure and tree tenure in a patrilineal setting with virilocal marriage patterns. In that setting, women planted fewer trees in their husband's home because of lack of security. However, in Nampula's matrilineal society both uxorilocal and virilocal patterns of residence upon marriage can coexist. Hence tree planting patterns also vary. Usually tree ownership depends on who planted or sowed them; usually the grandparents of the present 'owners', who inherited them (see Box 1).

Box 1. Tenure in an African context

We have to realise that 'ownership' in an African context is enormously complex; it is better to refer to tenure. Lastarria-Cornhiel (1995:2) defines land tenure as the social relations established around land that determine who can use what land and how. Similarly, social relations influence who can use which trees and how. Hence ownership and tenure refer to power issues; that is, who takes care of and who can decide about the trees and their produce. It was from this angle that we assessed the gender division of labour in the cashew sector.

In relation to the gender division of labour, we found that pruning is the only task with a clear division of labour: in most cases men do the pruning. Women and men share all other activities, such as weeding, cleaning, planting and sowing, albeit in different proportions. This contradicts the stereotypes of gender division in labour, for example, women do not plant or sow, men do not weed nor clean. There is more cooperation over the division of tasks in households than is generally assumed.

It appears that women do plant trees; this could be an important indication of a woman having secure land tenure. However, it must be said that at the present time, neither women or men are actively planting or sowing cashew seeds. This is because trees are not producing well, prices are low and access to markets is very variable.

We found that women and children have a central role in selling cashew products (see also section 4 on commercialisation). At present, it is mainly women and their children who collect the cashew fruit and the nuts and market them or prepare them for consumption. Women know the prices and their customers. They process the cashew by-products, ie. the apple (fresh and dry), juice and alcohol, which they often sell locally. Women also use these by-products to 'remunerate' people who provide labour on their fields. Women decide how much of the harvested cashew nuts and other cashew products should be kept for household consumption.

However, we found that the value of all cashew products has reduced drastically, owing to low production caused by old trees, diseases and bushfires. In discussions with farmers about the value of cashew it always appeared that this was much higher in the past, as school fees, hospital visits, clothes and agricultural inputs could be paid for through cashew sales; alcohol brewing also brought in good revenue.

Despite women's clear involvement in the cashew sector (see also section 4), interventions in this sector repeatedly marginalise women. This topic will be addressed in the following section.

2.2. Supporting the cashew sector

INCAJU, the government body, and various NGOs have been trying to stimulate cashew production through various initiatives, such as introducing new and improved varieties; spraying trees to combat mildew; and research, training and extension. Mozambique currently produces about 50,000 tonnes of raw cashew (CASCA, 2002); the government is hoping these interventions will achieve a target of 100,000 tonnes by 2004/2005.

Improved varieties

The search for improved varieties uses both local strains as well as species imported from Brazil. The aim is to produce trees which are more productive and more resistant to disease. However, we saw nurseries full of seedlings of improved varieties which were never collected or distributed; many had started to root in the nurseries. The cost is 12,000 meticais (mt) (0.5 USD) per tree for an improved strain; these are heavily subsidised for farmers, who can buy them for 2,000 mt each. Yet, farmers are still not buying and planting them. Firstly, 2,000 mt is still a considerable amount for farmers with little cash income. But other reasons for not adopting the new strains could include the decreased value of cashew in the livelihoods of women and men, as discussed above. If cashew has low value and the prices for the nuts are low, why travel long distances to the nurseries, buy the seedlings and plant them? Furthermore, farmers are usually not informed that the new varieties produce nuts in three years instead of five years; they also may want to 'wait and see' how these new varieties perform. This may be a sound farmer strategy, as some of the imported strains appear to have problems. One study points out that while the Brazilian strains are meant to have advantages (including lower powdery mildew levels due to small size and canopy structure), they may be more susceptible to anthracnose and insect pests (Topper and Caligari, 1999). Indeed, the owner of a large cashew plantation in Nampula complained that the improved varieties he bought from INCAJU were attacked by anthracnose, with devastating effects on his harvest. The study cited above suggests there are significant risks associated with using 'unproven' material in Mozambique, especially as there is little capacity to check the strains before sale.

Spraying

Another initiative is the treatment of *Oidio* (powdery mildew) by treating/spraying the trees with fungicides ("*pulvarizacao*"; see Itoculo site report). The government implemented the treatment of trees through producer associations and a few larger producers (with plantations) who were interested, such as ADPP (Assistance to Development for the People by the People) and Gani Commercial. Not all areas were reached. For example, in Namige spraying programmes were scarcely implemented (see CASCA, 2002) and only very few women producers in our study in Namige had their trees treated (see Namige site report). In order to treat the trees effectively, specific techniques, skills and knowledge are required. For example:

- certain parts of the tree need to be sprayed at different stages in the production cycle (e.g. before and after flowering)
- pruning is necessary
- wind conditions are important

- spraying has to be done with a specific frequency and spacing (3-4 times with 21 day interval between sprayings)

The complexity of the intervention has made correct implementation even more difficult. In our study in Namige, only a few women were aware of the existence of the spraying programme. An additional factor is that the chemicals which have been used for spraying the trees are relatively expensive, even though they have been heavily subsidised by the government.

We conducted a case study of INCAJU's spraying programme in Itoculo in Monapo district (see Itoculo site report). The programme began by working through associations and ADPP. The idea was that the associations would buy a spraying machine and chemicals on credit from INCAJU. The associations would select an operator who would treat the farmers' trees and the farmer would pay for the treatment. The operators in Itcoculo were trained by ADPP. ADPP also trained their own graduates and some of their staff to implement the spraying programme in Itoculo and in the graduates' home areas. ADPP supervised them and also helped the contact farmers market their cashew nuts. ADPP also monitored the intervention, which showed that in 2001, women constituted 13.6% of the farmers reached by the programme and their trees constitute only 6% of all the trees sprayed. In 2002, the percentage of women reached slightly decreased (from 13.6% to 11.3%) but their trees represented slightly more of the total which were sprayed (8.9%). The implementation of the programme in Itoculo encountered serious problems: the prices for cashew were low, and buyers absent. Consequently, farmers could not pay for the spraying and the operators could not pay back their loans. The farmers were also allowed to pay in kind (nuts), but this failed since farmers tended to consume the nuts when harvests of other crops were poor.

In 2002, the number of farmers and their trees included in the programme fell drastically because the massive application did not seem to be successful. ADPP switched from focusing on as many farmers as possible to targeting small groups of farmers with their own operator. However, this 'association approach', as it was known, also failed as farmers got no further guidance from INCAJU, CLUSA (Cooperative League of the USA) or ADPP and they encountered problems in marketing their nuts (low prices, no buyers) and farmers did not pay. Therefore the approach was adjusted to private operators with their own groups of farmers who were able to pay. However, larger producers who have plantations have applied the spraying programme with more success.

Research

Technical research has been conducted on cashew in Mozambique since colonial times. A national research institute on agriculture (INIA) as well as some NGOs (like World Vision) are active in the field of cashew research. The spraying technology was tested and developed mainly at the INIA research stations. However, results from tests at research stations are known to differ from results obtained from farmers' fields. Research into spraying treatments is continuing.

Training

The ADPP centre in Itoculo runs a one-year training programme in cashew management. Students are very satisfied with the contents and methods of training.

However, they are less happy about the fact that they do not obtain a diploma, and that they are expected to return to their home area to act as an example for farmers there (see Itoculo site report). ADPP has its own plantation where the students learn to implement the various practices of producing and marketing cashew. Only 10% of the students are women. However, the centre has developed a more active gender strategy to encourage more women to attend courses by lowering the fees for women and lowering the entry requirement to grade 5 school leavers.

Extension

NGOs, the government and, more recently, private companies all have extension programmes. However, the network of extension workers is inadequate and fragmented. As we have seen in Itoculo and in other study sites, extension remains a weak link in the communication between researchers and farmers.

While INCAJU data show that at a national level overall production has increased as a result of the spraying programme, our findings indicate that it is only larger producers who are adopting spraying. Smallholders, such as those in Itoculo, can not afford sprays when cashew prices are low and buyers absent. This highlights that factors such as market, price and buyers are as important as the technology itself. Therefore, we argue that spraying programmes should adopt different strategies according to the category of farmer involved. Otherwise, a new approach will emerge from practice, as the Itcoculo experience has shown, whereby private operators work with only those farmers able to pay. Any new approaches need to be monitored to assess their success.

2.3 Women and cashew support programmes

As we have seen, women are important actors in all areas of the cashew sector (production, processing and commercialisation). However, the support programmes described above rarely include women. If the aim is to increase the value of cashew to smallholders' livelihoods, then women should be included. One reason for the low numbers of women reached could partly be women's own strategy of 'waiting and seeing'. However, this is also related to the fact that women do not receive adequate information. For example, producer association members are mainly men, and spraying contracts through associations are signed by husbands or sons, not women. The operators of the atomizers are only men, and it is well known that in general men contact other men, as do male extension officers (see FAO, 1993). This FAO study also shows that the family approach does not work; that is, the assumption that the man will inform the woman (be it brother, husband or son towards sister, wife, daughter). But this does not occur. Hence, extension and new support programmes should focus on women and men as individuals in their own right and as equally important actors in the cashew sector. The matrilineal social organisation in this province should make this approach even easier.

3. Cashew processing: gender and livelihoods

In this section we first discuss the impacts of cashew processing factory closures from a gender perspective. Secondly, we focus more specifically on the closure of two (of the three closed) cashew factories in Angoche and its impact on the livelihoods of women and men ex-workers. There were only two factories operating in Nampula province at the time of writing: Cageba and Namige. In the final part of this section we analyse the Cageba factory and look into a recently established medium scale factory in Namige.

3.1 Closure of factories in Mozambique

The importance of cashew processing for women's employment in Mozambique is well documented (Penvenne, 1997). However, the old large cashew processing factories have closed. There were several reasons for these closures, including low production levels and the need to acquire large stocks of raw nuts (with credit and storage implications). Many factories were in the process of changing from impact shelling (which requires more expensive equipment and has a high rate of breakages) to semi-mechanised cutting technology. Just as these changes were taking place, the requirement to fulfil factory needs before exporting raw cashews was lifted and export tax on raw nuts was lowered from 30% to 20% for 1995/96. The lowering of protective tariffs simply did not address the real problems facing the cashew sector and meant that factories potentially capable of adjusting over time were not given the opportunity to do so.

In all, these closures meant that 5,456 men and 4,840 women lost their jobs, according to the union of cashew industry workers (data, year 2000). As we have seen, the government is now trying to revive the processing sector. At present (2002), there are 1,100 men and 940 women employed by the medium and small scale processing factories, two of which are in the north (Geba and Namige) and the rest in the south: Maputo (Madecaju), Invape (Gaza), Maciacaju (Gaza) and two in Inhambane.

Overall, the existing factories maintain a rough balance between the number of women and men workers employed. However, the two factories we studied in the north have many more men workers. In Cageba 84% of workers are men and in Namige, 61%. This implies that the south has much higher proportions of women workers in the factories, but we have yet to study this area (due in 2003). So far, we only looked at the Nampula factories, the results of which we present below.

3.2 Angoche: the closure of Angocaju and CCN

In Angoche, cashew processing was a major source of employment and was the driving force for the local economy. However, the three cashew processing factories in Angoche have all been shut down. No new processing plants have yet been set up in this area. We studied the ex-workers from two of these factories, Angocaju and the Companhia do Caju de Nacala (CCN)-Angoche Division. We studied a sample of 25 women and 25 men from each plant.

The Angocaju factory used impact shelling technology and was established in 1974, nationalised in 1979 and privatised in 1995. At the time of privatisation (when the

factory closed down) there were 805 workers (548 men and 257 women, 68%-32%, respectively) and 769 (600 men and 169 women, 78%-22%, respectively). Today there are only 20 men left, who guard and clean.

The CCN-Angoche factory was established in the early 1970s by the Anglo-American Corporation and was equipped with automated cutting equipment. After independence (1975), it was put under the management of Caju de Mozambique (CdM) for seven years during which time the mechanical cutting machines (used to shell raw cashew) were replaced by impact shelling equipment. In 1992, the plant was sold to Companhia do Caju de Nacala (CCN). When the factory closed down, in May 1999, there were 699 men and 422 women workers (62%-38%, respectively).

We asked former employees of these factories, both women and men, about their experiences of seeking work in the factories, the employment conditions and their lives after they lost their jobs. Women and men differed in how they sought and obtained jobs in the factories. Men mainly used formal networks, whereas women used the informal ones. Men's networks seem to be larger as they are more mobile.

Women clearly lost the competition for salaried work in Angoche, even though paid work is so important for them. Of the 50 women in the sample, 38% were widows or divorced women and had families larger than the average five members. The women in this factory were also younger than the men, and had worked for a shorter period in the factory. This must be related to women's reproductive tasks, the preference for younger women (see below) and the impact of privatisation.

The privatisation of the factories brought various changes. Social services for workers, eg. health and child-care, were lost or deteriorated. Unions acted as intermediaries between employers and workers, rather than clearly defending the interests of the workers. Furthermore, the change to semi-mechanised technology gave a higher exposure to cashew nut shell liquid (CNSL) which can burn skin. At CCN- Angoche, workers went on strike to protest about the new technology, as a result of which 314 of them were dismissed. The shortage of jobs meant it was not difficult to replace the fired workers.

Despite the new equipment being difficult to work with, a higher percentage of men were better at securing their jobs, not only by doing the shelling (100% men), but also by entering into all the other areas of work in both factories. Although women remained dominant in the peeling and selection sections, 14% of the workers in these sections were men, doing so-called women's work. Women employed were younger on average than men; this could be because younger women are preferred as peelers because of their more 'nimble fingers'. Women sometimes worked more hours than men in the Angoche factories, yet they received the same wages (see Angoche site report, p 7).

The way women and men used their wages also differed. Women managed to save more and sent more to their families. Men and women also used their compensation money in different ways. Both used it for food, health and education, but women invested it more in their houses, while men invested it more in agricultural equipment. Compensation payments were insufficient to lever ex-workers out of poverty, as the majority used the money for day-to-day living expenses.

Contrary to stereotypical notions of Islamic societies, women who earn a salary can control how they spend it. In addition, in 38% of cases, men said they gave their wages to their wives, so that they could look after it. This indicates these women have control over how money is spent.

Women have been particularly affected by the loss of factory jobs because they have fewer sources of income and are less mobile. Both women and men spoke of the loss of self esteem suffered by losing their employment. Some women pointed to the factory income as a valuable source of independence from their husbands.

Closing down the factories has also influenced broader livelihood strategies. Before working in the factories, both women and men mainly relied on agriculture. Once they started factory work the role of agriculture decreased and their salaries became their most important source of survival. After factory closure living conditions deteriorated, women returned to agriculture (76% before factory work and after closure) and the percentage of men engaging in agriculture increased (from 36% before factory work to 54% after closure). However, it is increasingly difficult to live from agriculture alone and there are few other sources of employment. After the closures, both women and men engaged heavily in petty trade, indicating how difficult it is to live from agriculture alone. But the local economy is depressed, making earning a living from petty trade also difficult. As ex-workers put it: *"Angoche esta parado"* (Angoche has become paralysed).

Our findings illustrate the further impoverishment of workers after the closure of the factories, especially women. Women had already lost out on jobs more than men when the factories were privatised. With their closure, women face even greater difficulties than men in finding alternative sources of income. As one woman explained: *"When I was employed, I used to be clean and competed with my husband because we both had a salary. Now I am dirty and weak because of the work I do in the field".*

3.3 Cageba: A medium scale factory

The factory in Geba was established in 1995; it is a semi-mechanised factory, using steam heating and pedal-operated cutting technology. In 2002 there was a total of 642 workers (538 men and 104 women; 84%-16%, respectively) and the factory had a capacity of 3,500 tonnes per year (Abt,1999).

There is no clear difference in strategies between women and men regarding job access. They seem to use the same networks. Of the 30 women selected for this study 23 were married, and seven were single, divorced or widowed, whereas 87% of the 30 men were married. More women (47%) look after bigger families (more than six members) than men (27%).

Workers cooperate well with each other, but many workers expressed great fear of the *chefes* (heads/managers). This can be related to the lack of information about rights and obligations on both sides, which causes insecurity for workers and arbitrariness on the part of the leaders. There is no crèche, and access to health care is also arbitrary, since it seems to depend on the type of relationship the worker has with his

superiors. From the point of view of the workers, the union became more of a tool for employers to control the workers, and less of an organisation to defend workers' interests.

Some remarks can be made about the gender division of labour. Again, men work in all the sections, including shelling (100% men), peeling (more men than women — 59% to 41%) and selection. Hence in the Cageba factory, even peeling, often perceived to be 'women's work', is done mainly by men. This illustrates clearly that when paid employment is scarce and there is competition for jobs, men will move into areas traditionally dominated by women and factory owners do not resist this. However, the opposite is not true; women are not encouraged to learn to use the cutting machines, for example. In the peeling section, both women and men are very young and hence both have 'nimble fingers'. However, the men in the shelling section are exposed to CNSL and asked for better protection for their clothes and hands. This CSNL factor is sometimes used to explain why women should not or do not want to work with cutting machines, as will be discussed in the Namige factory case study.

There is also no clear difference between women and men in the number of hours they work, with both working more than eight hours a day. Neither is there any clear picture of salary differences between sexes (see Geba site report, p 13). Salaries appear to be based on a combination of payment per task, and number of working days. Both women and men control their own salaries and women tend to have a better saving capacity, and tend to allocate wages more to family members. Men spend more on agricultural inputs.

Women employed in the factory have reduced their agricultural activities drastically (the percentage of women involved in agriculture dropped from 77% to 10%), while more men have remained active in agriculture (drop from 47% to 27%). For 90% of women workers factory employment has become their most important source of income, whereas 30% of the men workers combine factory work with agriculture and fishing. Men have more time to combine different livelihood sources, as women need to allocate their time to reproductive tasks. Women considered the waged jobs to be more important; the systematic access to cash income is a major reason.

3.4. Namige: "Men are trained to use machines; women learn to dance"[4]

In this section we first examine a new factory in Namige, then we describe a new initiative to decentralise cashew processing.

3.4.1 The factory

The factory in Namige was designed by TechnoServe and is run by a private entrepreneur (see site report). It started to function quite recently, April 1st 2002. It has 92 workers (56 men and 36 women; 61%-39%, respectively). It is a medium scale semi-mechanised factory which shells raw cashew nuts using semi-manual cutting machines worked by hand and foot pedals. It processes the nuts using locally built equipment, and vacuum packs cashew kernels of various grades for export.

[4] Women workers whom we interviewed used this phrase "*aprendemos dancar*" in relation to the movements and dexterity required in cashew nut peeling and selection.

The maximum capacity is 600 tonnes of raw cashew per year; for 2002 the expectation is that 120 tonnes will be processed. The owner of the factory has various cashew plantations in the area with a total production volume of approximately 50 tonnes per year (Casca, 2002:16). He set up the factory with a five-year low interest bank loan which was guaranteed by INCAJU.

When the factory opened, about 1,000 people turned up to apply for jobs, illustrating the real need for cash income in this area. There was a difference in the way women and men found out about the jobs. While both men and women mainly used friends and family as sources of information, more men than women (12%-3%, respectively) contacted friends who already worked in the factory. Men workers in the factory are mainly married, whereas almost half of the women workers (47%) are divorced and/or widowed. This percentage is high, because it was a selection criterion. The view of management is that female household heads are most in need of cash and more keen to work hard. Again, the women workers in the factory look after larger families than their male counterparts.

Services and work climate
The workers work well together. Managerial positions are only filled by men; men indicated that they have good relations with the *chefes*. However, 24% of women claimed to suffer different types of pressure, for example, to complete their work quickly. They receive a free meal at work and according to their contracts they have access to health assistance, paid annual holidays, and severance pay in case of professional illness or working accidents (in accordance with article 15 of the Labour Law 9/98). There are plans to set up a union and a crèche is also under construction. However, this will only be a clean, sheltered area where mothers can arrange for someone to look after their babies, with no provision of food and trained child carers as in the old government-owned factories.

Gender division of labour
Only men work in shelling (43 in total). Peeling and selecting is mainly done by women, but men have also managed to occupy these typically female domains, with six men in the peeling section and one man working as a selector. Hence the peeling section is predominantly women, which could explain the larger proportion of younger women than men in the factory. Women have not managed to invade the men's domain of shelling. The factory owner says that the door of this section is open to women, but they prefer to work separately. According to one manager, before the factory opened he got a few women to try the machines "but the women said they could not handle the machine". However, when we tried to use the machines ourselves, we found they require little skill or strength. Why are women deliberately excluding themselves from shelling? Some explained they do not want to burn their hands, adding that it would affect their farming work; but other women said they want the jobs in the shelling section because "it is also work through which money can be earned".

Both women and men work many hours, but women work more hours when we consider that more women (10) than men (5) are represented in the 'more than ten hours a day category' (see Namige site report). Women earn less than their male

counterparts, and they are represented only in the lowest salary categories (see Namige site report). The salaries are not fixed, but they are all paid per task.

However, despite lower salaries, more women (23.5%) than men (6%) save, and more women (29%) than men (23.5%) send money to assist other family members. Both women and men have control over their earnings. Twelve percent of men said they give their salary to their wives to look after, indicating involvement of the wives in decisions about expenditure. Thirteen men (76%) and 14 women (82%) say they use their wages mainly for clothes and agricultural inputs.

Perhaps due to the fact that the salaries are so low for women, more men (15) than women (9) consider the salary to be their most important income source. As a result more women (11) than men (6) continue to work in agriculture, in addition to their job in the factory. Twice as many women as men are involved in other cash-generating activities, which are more important in terms of income, although the numbers compared are small. Even though salaries were raised in the peeling section after our interviews (from 2,500mt to 3,000mt per kg), the factory still does not provide a living wage. However, apart from a bit of fishing, there are hardly any other income-generating activities in the Namige area.

Labour Law 9/98 uses the term *trabalhadores assalariados* (waged workers) in article 2, and lays down their rights and obligations in articles 15 and 16, but without a clear definition of the term used. This creates ambiguity. Further, article 51 mentions the possibility of 'earnings per share/task'. Most of the workers from the factories we studied fall into this category. One of the conclusions of a meeting of the cashew sub-sector in Nampula in July 2001 is that it is not clear if and how this law applies to the contracting of workers in the cashew industry, taking into account its seasonality. Another issue is the establishment of a minimum wage, which does not cover the case of industrial workers who carry out their activities in rural areas.

3.4.2 Decentralising cashew processing

Within the national strategy to promote the cashew sector, the Dutch NGO SNV (Netherlands Development Organisation), in conjunction with ADPP and the local NGO AMODER (Mozambican association for rural development), has developed the CASCA programme (support programme for the cashew sector). They have chosen Namige as the intervention zone because of the new medium scale factory. The programme aims to support cashew production, especially by developing small scale cashew processing units (so-called satellites) around that factory. The owner is willing to buy the produce from these small units. The units will buy, steam, crack, heat and peel the cashew, and pack them for transporting to the factory (Medeiros, 2002). In the factory, the nuts will be sorted and packed for export. The owner of the factory finds the buyers.

CASCA has a training component for production and processing which will be implemented by ADPP-Mozambique. A micro-finance component for processing will be implemented by AMODER. SNV will provide advisory and facilitation services. In the first year of the programme (2002) three units will be established with a capacity each of 24 metric tonnes of raw cashew, which should yield (a total of) 10 tonnes of processed cashew per year.

To minimise risks of management failure and test technical and economic viability, the first three units in the first year will be run by individuals who have entrepreneurial experience, and experience in buying and marketing cashew. The idea is that if the units show viability, they can be owned by less experienced individuals or run by interest groups, associations or as a family group. In the first three years of the programme it is hoped that a total of 21 units will be developed, with each unit employing seven people (CASCA, 2002: 18-19). During our second round of interviews in September 2002, we learned that three individuals had been chosen to run the first three experimental units, one being a woman. The idea was that the group of farmers to be trained in production and processing activities would contain equal numbers of men and women, but they had not yet been chosen.

This new initiative is an interesting example of a 'partnership' approach between government, NGOs, communities and the private sector. It has the potential to increase the quantity of nuts which are processed, thereby generating more employment for local people. This 'satellite' approach has emerged from the national cashew policy (INCAJU, 1998; 2001).

4. Commercialisation

Liberalisation implies that the government no longer buys or sets the prices for raw cashew nuts. Prices are now based on the level of supply and demand in international markets in Europe and the United States. A few major exporters (8-10) control the trade in Mozambique and they tend to roughly fix the purchase price at the beginning of the year (McMillan *et al*., 2002:15). In fact, since India is the main buyer of Mozambican raw nuts, the price level is mediated by the situation of supply and demand (of Indian processors), which in turn is linked to the international level (Matule, 2003, pers comm.). These international prices are also being affected by the entry of countries such as Vietnam into the cashew market. In order to have provide national actors with information about prices, a Cashew Committee (Comite do Caju) was established in Mozambique, in which representatives of different stakeholders such as customs, INCAJU, private producers and smallholder associations are included.

Prices for raw cashew in Mozambique reached a peak during the 1999 season (up to US$0.50 per kilo), and have fallen since. This decline can partly be attributed to decreasing world market prices, but might also partly be due to the fact that after closure of all major processing factories, the few major exporters have a *de facto* monopoly on the market (CASCA, 2002: 5). The relatively small processing factories that are now functioning have to compete with the traders working for the major exporters of raw cashew.

Interestingly, the prices for raw cashew in the north are usually higher than in the south, because the marketing in the north occurs from about October to January, before the marketing in India so that there is greater demand there. In the south, sales take place from December to March, simultaneously with India, so there is less demand. In addition, the quality of nuts is higher in the north than the south (Matule, 2003, pers. comm.).

According to Matule (cited in McMillan *et al*., 2002: 16), there are 80-100 large traders, most of which are linked to the main exporters. The traders have an extensive and efficient network of small intermediaries who buy the raw cashews directly from the farmers in the rural areas, including retail shopkeepers usually based in small urban centres. Unlicensed mobile buyers (*ambulantes*) have increased in number as a result of liberalisation; they have their own vehicles and are able to travel to sites near production areas. However, the situation is variable, depending on several factors including road access. According to various key informants, there has been an increase in numbers of mobile buyers in the Namige area, but not in Itoculo.

At the local level, there is some flexibility and prices are also shaped by supply and demand at this level. If farmers can avoid selling their raw nuts until the end of the season they can fetch twice the price than at the start of the season, for example 7000 mt (US$0.35 per kilo) against 3500 mt (US$0.17 per kilo). ADPP, working in Itoculo, advises farmers to keep their nuts for as long as possible, in order to get a better price. However, when cash is desperately needed and/or the harvest of other crops is low, farmers will sell early or consume them instead. Prices are also influenced by how quickly a ship needs to be filled in Nacala port; we were told of prices as high as 10,000 mt per kilo when exporters need to fill a ship quickly. Buyers for local processing factories then have to stop acquiring nuts until the ship is filled and prices fall again, but the producers who can market their nuts at this time do much better than others.

The government (INCAJU) is now actively promoting the processing sector, and the export tax has been set at 18% since 1999. This intervention to increase the export tax from 14% to 18%-22% is designed to stimulate the small scale processing industry to develop. This is important as the world market for cashew nuts (kernels) is steadily growing. As Deloitte and Touche (1997) concluded, processing does indeed add net value to exports, and Mozambique gains more benefits by exporting processed rather than raw nuts. Hence quality becomes more important. In October 2002, INCAJU launched an initiative to grade nuts. They have defined three categories of nuts; payment will be according to quality. INCAJU will have to monitor how the grading works out.

This study has shown the scale of women's involvement in the commercialisation of cashew, including the marketing of raw cashew nuts. The perspective presented in some previous studies (including CASCA, 2002:19), is that most of the income generating activities are dominated by men, including the marketing of cashew nut. Our findings contradict this; 87% of our sample households in Namige did sell raw nuts (39 out of 45). Women are involved in 74% of the raw nut sales. However, our study also shows that cashew remains an important crop for household consumption and as such contributes to household nutrition and food security. 93% of the interviewed women said they processed nuts themselves (at home) for consumption, with only one woman reporting that her husband did this work. 64% of the women process the fruit in some way. Thus, it is very clear from our study that women are highly involved in both processing of fruit and nuts at the household level and for marketing.

5. Conclusions, recommendations and key action points: challenging stereotypes and changing approaches

This study has focused on the institutional, social, and especially gender, dimensions, of cashew nut production, processing and commercialisation. Our conclusions and recommendations directly address social and institutional aspects of production, processing and marketing. We focus on practical recommendations and for convenience have divided them into the three areas. However, we emphasise the need to address these three aspects simultaneously if the sector is indeed to be revived. Agricultural extension, credit, market access, prices and local processing are all important factors to stimulate the smallholder sector. Underpinning our study is the concern to promote the livelihoods of women and men involved in the cashew sector and we will return to this point at the end.

5.1 Production

The efforts made so far to promote production have mainly been top down. Boosting the cashew sector is a government objective; it has not been discussed with farmers. Why should farmers buy seedlings or pay for spraying, when cash income is so low? As we know, trees gradually produce less and, combined with low prices and almost inaccessible markets, the importance of cashew to smallholders' livelihoods has declined. However, insufficient information on the causes of low production has been disseminated to farmers, nor have the various strategies and interventions, from preventing bush fires to pruning, spraying and replanting, been widely discussed with them. Agricultural extension elsewhere in Africa has been improved through the adoption of more participatory methods: farmer-based trials with larger producers, farmer field schools and the retraining of extension staff to listen to and learn from the experience of farmers while providing them with new information which may assist them (e.g. Van den Ban and Hawkins, 1997). Illiteracy has not been a huge barrier to effective extension programmes (as was often thought in the past); rather, there has been greater appreciation of the knowledge of farmers and approaches and methods have become more practical and field-based.

With the liberalisation and privatisation of extension systems, the government has rightly adopted a partnership strategy with the private and NGO sector. However, it should not be forgotten that these are recent moves and farmers are used to relying on the government for free services. INCAJU argues there are two reasons why it is important that smallholders pay for inputs. Firstly, it will ensure farmers attach value to the seedlings and secondly, the government has few resources so farmers' contributions towards inputs like expensive fungicides will help. Farmers who adopted spraying, for example in Itoculo, could not pay for it in the end. However, the government and NGOs have learnt from the failure of the initial approach (massive spraying and reaching as many farmers as possible in a very short time) and are adapting their strategy. There has been a considerable learning process by intervening organisations over the last few years. It is important that such adjustments and changes are monitored, to enhance both the learning process and the dissemination of findings from experience.

Some of the NGOs with which INCAJU cooperates have valuable experience in working directly with communities. Although the government does not have much

experience with participatory methods, it has supported innovative and outstanding experiences of consultation and discussion, for example, with the new land legislation at the end of the 1990s. If cashew production is to be revived in the smallholder sector, we recommend an extensive campaign which uses all available channels, including radio at provincial level, church leaders and church groups, NGOs and local governments, to discuss the problems and the range of possible interventions to boost production. The government will need more resources and institutional capacity to lead such a campaign, accompanied by ongoing changes in extension and support to farmers. This is particularly important in the north, where production is concentrated.

Dominant policies of liberalisation and privatisation tend to reduce the role of the state, and this has been the thrust of development policies since the 'structural adjustment' of the late 1980s. However, during the 1990s, there has been an acknowledgement of the importance of the state in promoting 'pro-poor' policies, creating an 'enabling environment', and facilitating partnerships between different actors in development. This shift was at least partly a result of the way in which inequalities have increased between countries, regions and groups in a purely market-led paradigm. Both political will and resources are required to promote this altered role for local and central governments. Donors and international NGOs already play an important role in supporting these changes, but a more comprehensive effort is needed. National programmes such as PROAGRI *(*National programme for agricultural development), which focuses on decentralisation of structures and development in agriculture, could take up the challenges we have outlined to develop the cashew sector.

Initiatives to promote production have largely excluded women; yet our study shows the active and important role of women in the cashew sector. It has been shown in many different rural contexts in Africa that communicating with the perceived 'male head of household' is not as effective as communicating directly with women. In Nampula province, our study has shown that in a matrilineal set-up, women have a considerable degree of access to and command over land and trees; this should not be undermined by interventions which are gender blind and only address men. In other words, this form of organisation in the north and the resulting gender relations facilitate the direct involvement of women. Even when men are more dominantly present in the public space, so-called traditional patterns are dynamic and changing. Intervening agencies should consciously include a gender approach in their programmes in order to involve women, and should take women's own strategies, opportunities and constraints into account. Since women are active in this sector, their inclusion will boost production, and have greater impact on poverty reduction.

For example, in spraying programmes women should be approached systematically and given opportunities to be included as operators, owners of atomizers and members of the farmer groups. In any case, even if women do not take up these opportunities, operators should be trained in how to involve and address women's specific conditions and problems. Gender should be a focus in all interventions to promote production and monitored results, including the systematic dissemination of collected data. Both women and men farmers should be targets for information and discussion. The use of church groups, where women are very active, should be considered; churches are well organised with representatives at the provincial levels,

with whom INCAJU and NGOs could meet, and who could disseminate information through church networks.

Key action points

- Bring together experiences of existing initiatives to enhance cashew production by different actors, for dissemination to all actors, including smallholders.

- The government will need more training and resources to lead this effort; donors, NGOs and the private sector working in the northern provinces need to be mobilised to support this effort.

- Use different extension methods for different purposes and different groups. Target categories of farmers and other actors (eg. plantation holders) for specific interventions. INCAJU and MADER should work more closely together on extension methodologies.

- Shift top down approaches to methods that are more field based and participatory. This should include action research on new strains and diseases.

- Gender should be a focus in all interventions to promote production: women as well as men farmers should be targeted for information, discussion, participation in associations and farmer groups.

- The use of church groups, in which women are very active, should be considered to discuss ways to increase production, taking into account women's own strategies, opportunities and constraints.

- The results of interventions should be monitored from a gender perspective and disseminated. Data should be systematically disaggregated by sex.

5.2 Processing

As discussed above, factory closures came about through a range of factors, including rapid liberalisation and the World Bank promoting the removal of protective tariffs. The effect on producer prices is now widely acknowledged to be very disappointing, and there are new initiatives to promote in-country processing. However, relations between the private sector and government are still strained and need further nurturing through dialogue. The number of functioning factories is still low and the total number of workers employed is about 2,000, compared to 10,000 pre-closures. It is important that the government continues to support the opening of new processing plants, while monitoring and disseminating the range of experience that exists with current initiatives. This should include monitoring the implementation of the Namige factory and the new satellite initiative.

Our study of ex-workers in Angoche clearly documents a process of impoverishment and declining options for cash income in a depressed economy. Currently, no processing factories function in this area; women lost out on employment to a greater extent than men when factories were privatised. With the closure of the factories, women face even greater difficulties than men in finding alternative sources of cash

due to less mobility, domestic responsibilities, as well as ideas about what constitutes 'women's and men's work'. Compensation payments have not been a sufficient lever out of poverty.

Workers' conditions have deteriorated since the government pulled out of running factories. From workers' perspectives in both Angoche and Cageba, the union's role has changed from promoting workers' interests to a form of control for management, health care has deteriorated, crèches have disappeared and styles of management have become much more authoritarian. In the Cageba case in particular, there seems to be a climate of fear and misunderstanding between workers and management.

Efforts should be made to encourage the private sector (for example, through government guidelines and NGO advocacy) to actively train women to work in different processing sections and allowing them the opportunity to do shelling. While women (and some men) may choose not to do so because of CSNL, there is no intrinsic reason why women necessarily should not do this work. In India, women actively work in this section using semi-mechanical cutters.

Training women in the areas of production and processing, especially related to the satellites project in Namige is important. Women's groups, particularly within this matrilineal culture, would be well able to run a satellite.

Salary levels determine the contribution of this income to the livelihoods of workers, and whether they have to engage in other activities to provide food and cash for their households. In the case of Namige, women factory workers have extremely heavy workloads. They work many hours, yet their salaries are low so they have to spend as much time as possible farming, not to mention their domestic and childcare tasks.
As we have discussed, minimum wage levels for rural industries have not been set. It is important to have constructive tri-partite discussions on this issue between government, employers and unions. Legally, workers and unions are currently in weak positions, and the government should be an important arbitrator in defending the rights of workers for decent wages and living conditions, and negotiate with employers about reasonable wages in a competitive, liberalised environment.

Key action points

- Stimulate dialogue between the various actors, particularly between the private sector and government. NGOs, such as SNV, can have a mediating role.
- Continue to support new medium and small scale processing plants, and monitor and disseminate their experience.
- Consider specific selection criteria applicable to women, to prevent them becoming marginal in waged jobs.
- Hold tri-partite discussions on minimum wage levels for rural industries between government, employers and unions.
- Encourage and train women and men in the same way in the factories.
- Redress the gender balance in the factories in Nampula by training women to work in different sections and allowing them to do shelling.
- Train women in the areas of production, processing and commercialisation in the Namige satellites project, and monitor the results.

5.3 Commercialisation and value of cashew

The number of buyers varies from place to place and is related to production and the accessibility of the area (good roads). Problems in market access by potential buyers, was at least partly responsible for the failure of spraying programmes in Itoculo, for example. Prices vary greatly depending on quality, location, number of intermediaries, proximity to ports and so on. While some local administrations do try and give farmers some guidelines about market prices at the beginning of a particular commercialisation campaign, there could be further information given to farmers, within the wider information strategies we have discussed, about the factors which influence prices. Women are actively involved in marketing raw nuts and should be actively included in such information dissemination. This is not an easy task in a market-driven economy but the capacity of farmers, women and men, to understand the forces at work has to begin to be built. The CASCA project in Nampula is an innovative attempt to link production, processing and marketing and deserves further study, lesson learning and dissemination.

Policies have focused on the commercialisation of the cashew nut; however, the other ways in which cashew obtains it value (consumption and local processing of the fruit (juice, apple, alcohol) should not be forgotten. They contribute to nutrition and food security and can contribute to cash income.

Key action points

- Assess the marketing context (number of buyers, price, roads, transport) before implementing interventions.
- Increase the information flow to farmers about prices, and the factors influencing those prices.
- Implement an integrated approach in which the areas of production, processing and marketing are linked; learn from experiments such as Namige, and disseminate the findings.
- Recognise the various other ways in which cashew obtains its value through local processing of the apple and support these ways, in order to improve food security and nutrition, and contribute to cash income.
- Recognise that women are involved in adding value to cashew, and actively include them in information and capacity building.
- Recognise that women are active in commercialisation of the raw nuts and should also be targeted for receiving information.

The three cashew areas of production, processing and commercialisation overlap and therefore farming systems and rural livelihoods cannot be unravelled and understood if the areas are considered separately. An integrated approach is therefore necessary. Livelihoods are about surviving and making a living, which implies both cooperation and competition over resources, positions and networks, between different classes and groups and between women and men. The full range of interventions needs a gender-aware approach to take into account women's important role in this sector. This approach will not only promote the equal rights of women and men, but it will make efforts to revive the cashew sector more effective, while enhancing the livelihoods of poor households.

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