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Gender Dynamics in Smallholder Vegetable Production: Insights from Tanzania

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Introduction

In rural Tanzania, strikingly, 85% of men and 90% of women make their living mainly through agricultural production, with the vast majority of them being self-employed farmers (FAO 2014: 23). Environmental and social dynamics, technological advancements, and changing demands and markets, create new challenges and insecurities, as well as new opportunities for these farmers (World Bank 2009: 1). Opportunities are not equally distributed among different social groups, especially when comparing men and women. While women's participation in farming activities and agricultural businesses has been increasing, they still face numerous disadvantages (Rauch et al. 2016: 39). These relate to limited control over household and personal income, lack of access to land and land ownership, as well as to water, infrastructure, technologies, credits, extension services and markets. Also, women often have lower salaries and limited opportunities in labor markets (Leavens and Anderson 2011: 10, Rauch et al. 2016: 39, World Bank 2009: 2). Further economic disadvantages stem from women's unpaid domestic labor burden, their higher illiteracy rates, and their lack of bargaining power (Laven et al. 2012: 2). The different opportunities and constraints men and women face, as well as their differential rights, capacities, and needs, must be understood and considered, in order to develop suitable development interventions, which benefit men and women equally (Jost et al. 2014: 33). Understanding gender issues and improving women's access to resources will contribute to increasing productivity, poverty reduction, and improved food security. Gender analysis should therefore be included in agricultural research for development activities (Doss and Kieran 2014: 2).

The presented study investigates gender dynamics in vegetable producers' households as related to labor, income and, expenditure allocation – a field that has not yet been sufficiently covered by research. Guided by an emerging concept of Coles and Mitchell (2011), addressed are the following questions: who invests how much labor in the vegetable production process? who gains how much income from vegetable sales? and finally, who covers which household expenses through the income gained? Thus, gender inequalities on the levels of (a) participation and (b) gain, are investigated as well as their underlying causes and dynamics.

The study is conducted under the "Africa Research in Sustainable Intensification for the Next Generation" (Africa RISING) project funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and led by the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA). Target farmers live in the Babati, Kiteto and Kongwa districts of northern and central Tanzania.

Material and Methods

In order to investigate the research questions a mixed-methods approach was applied. Quantitative and qualitative methods were combined, so that weaknesses of one dataset could be offset by the strengths of the other dataset (Behrman et al. 2014: 34). Quantitative data on labor, income and expenditure allocation was collected during a survey with 219 male farmers and 184 female farmers in nine villages. At a later stage, the main survey findings were presented and discussed during six focus group discussions with sex-separated farmer groups, and during three expert interviews with male and female extension officers. This enabled us to validate the quantitative data, to investigate the underlying causes for gender inequalities, and to identify entry points for additional research. During a second phase of expert interviews, four market chairpersons as well as two extension officers were interviewed on the institutional environment of smallholders' livelihoods, as well as the sales channels of different vegetables.

Results and Discussion

Labor allocation

The survey results show that men and women have very different perceptions of labor, income, and expenditure allocation within the households. In regard to labor allocation in both men and women perceived themselves as investing more time into farm related activities than their partners. This accounts for the production of leafy vegetables, as well as for the production of fruit vegetables. The different perceptions as related to the total workload of men and women are presented in figure 1.

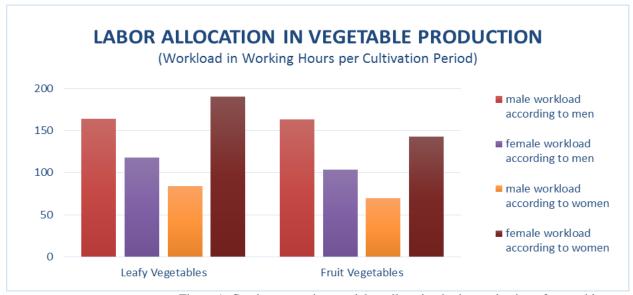


Figure 1: Gender perceptions on labor allocation in the production of vegetable crops

During the focus groups this result was contested. Male and female respondents agreed that men often dedicate more time to fruit vegetable production, while women dedicate more time to leafy vegetable production. In regard to intra-household distribution of responsibilities, both stated that men are perceived as "bread-winners," and women as being responsible for domestic chores. Consequently, both stated that domestic responsibilities prevent women from getting more involved in agricultural production, while men are free to dedicate most of their time to farm related activities. Nevertheless, women still emphasized that they perceive themselves as dedicating more time to farming than men.

Income and expenditure allocation

Concerning income and expenditure allocation, men and women again differed in their perceptions. As an example, figure 2 presents the perceptions of men and women on the total amount of the household's income, as well as on how much is earned by husband and wife. Especially remarkable are the different perceptions of men and women living in male-headed households.

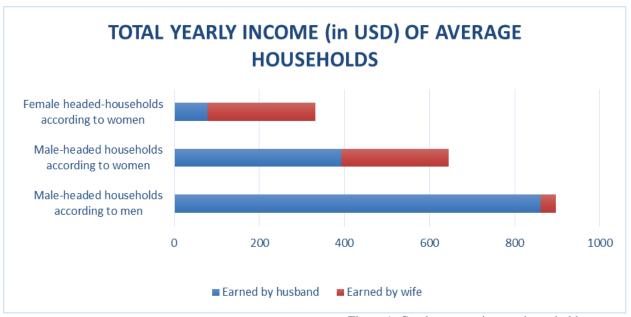


Figure 1: Gender perceptions on household economy

Investigating the different perceptions, focus groups revealed that both men and women keep their individual income confidential in order to strengthen their position in intra-household negotiations on expenditure allocation. In this regard, both complained about their spouses' lack of contribution to the household economy. Patterns of cooperation and levels of trust among spouses varied considerably between households. Both male and female farmers understood low cooperation and male dominance as obstacles for development. Quantitative and qualitative data confirm that men tend to have higher incomes and dominate money-related decisions. This is astonishing, since vegetable farming constitutes an upcoming business opportunity in the investigated communities, and offers better access for women than other sectors (i.e. cereal crop production). However, women still earn and control lower amounts of money, and in most cases, remain economically dependent on their husband's contribution. Women attributed their lower income to men's control over the access to land, financial capital, knowledge and markets. While men perceive women as having physical limitations and poor money management skills, which restrict their opportunities to progress economically through vegetable farming.

Conclusions and Outlook

Vegetable production may constitute a beneficial livelihood strategy for women in rural Tanzania. Nevertheless, women still face numerous disadvantages when compared to their male counterparts. These are mainly manifested in unequal access to key resources, such as land, financial capital, knowledge, and time, which results in unequal participation opportunities and unequal benefits from participation. The livelihood outcome of male and female farmers is essentially affected by intra-household benefit sharing. In this regard, distrust and low cooperation within the households may constitute serious obstacles for food security, poverty alleviation, and women empowerment. Further research should investigate the correlation

between participatory decision-making and household wellbeing. Lecoutere and Jassogne (2016) who analyzed this correlation for coffee farming households in Uganda conclude that participatory decisions on production and resource allocation have a positive effect on food and income security, as well as household wellbeing: income control was more balanced between the spouses, and men dedicated more time to reproductive activities. Consequently, we emphasize the necessity of including men in gender-transformative approaches in agricultural research and development.

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