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**Perceptions on the importance of land and agriculture: A case study
of Lusoke Village, Zambia.**

MSc in Globalization: Global Politics and Culture

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ABSTRACT

Globalization brings many changes which are not limited to urban areas. The rural in the global south has also been touched by global processes such as modernization and urbanization. As a result, the livelihood strategy of agriculture dominant in rural areas and used as the main source of livelihood outcomes by women is affected. This study, using the assemblage theory as the guiding analytical tool, looked at how women's perspectives in Lusoke village of Chongwe, Zambia, are affected by the changing environment and how this ultimately affects their livelihood strategies. With a sample size of 30 respondents, semi-structured interviews were used to ask and answer the following questions;

1. What are women's perceptions of land accessibility in Lusoke village?
 - 1b. Are women's perceptions different from those of men?
2. What are the perceived benefits of women owning land for both agricultural and non-agricultural purposes?
3. Are women in Lusoke village changing livelihood strategies from predominantly agricultural to non-agricultural ones?
 - 3b. If women are changing livelihood strategies, what may be future implications for agriculture in Lusoke village?

The general findings in the study were that land still remains an important part of women's livelihood in Lusoke village. However, agriculture remains important only to the older generations while young generations opt to diversify livelihood strategies away from agriculture. The perceptions on land access and availability, as well as interaction with other people have an influence in the way the women choose to seek livelihood outcomes.

Key words: Livelihood, diversification, modernization, globalization

DECLARATION

I, Miyanda Malambo, hereby declare that the work submitted is the result of my own research under the supervision of Professor Ragnhild Lund. It is expressed in my own words and any work used by any other author(s) is properly acknowledged. A list of references has also been included. This work has not been submitted for any other degree and is not being simultaneously submitted for any other degree.

.....

Miyanda Malambo

.....

Professor Ragnhild Lund

May 2014

DEDICATION

For an older version of myself: preferably more knowledgeable and wiser.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Globalization has brought with it so many changes in the different arenas of society. It has led to major improvements in such issues as economics, culture, politics, migration, and even socialization (Greig, Hulme, & Turner, 2007). The whole world over has experienced the effects of globalization in one way or another be it in a major way or a minor way. Globalization does not only affect people at macro levels but also at micro levels; it affects communities, families and individuals. In the words of Jonathan Rigg (2007, p. 11), globalization operates at all scales of society, it affects the local and the everyday lives of ‘ordinary’ people. Globalization therefore, affects the everyday actions as well as common place events of ordinary people. Ordinary people can thus influence events, resist domination and even build alternative futures. Change after all begins with one small step at a time in a different direction.

One group of people that have been particularly affected by the changes that have come with globalization is women in developing countries. Globalization has influenced many spheres of women’s livelihoods from education to the way they pursue livelihoods (Chakrabarti & Bonnaud, 2012). Livelihoods for the majority of rural women are embedded in agriculture production and yet they face many obstacles in trying to effectively and efficiently make a living out of agriculture. They do not have access to agricultural land due to the fact that land is mostly owned or accessed by the males in the community through inheritance and biased access of common land holdings of the community (Tripp, 2004). The problems are not only limited to land access and ownership but also include difficulty in accessing extension services, accessing loans since they do not have security, as well as having to put most of their time in farming the family land and not their own piece of land; if they have their own piece of land. Land access and ownership for women is thus secondary and precarious making their involvement in agriculture as a livelihood mechanism a difficult task to do (ibid).

The question then rises as to whether women will continue to hold agriculture as their main source of livelihood in the face of the challenges listed above as well as the emergence and growth of globalization through economic reform, marketization and the integration of the countryside into cities. Rigg, in his article Land, farming, livelihoods and poverty: *Rethinking the*

links in the rural South (2005) shows that rural occupations and livelihoods are diversifying and that the balance of household income is shifting from farming to non-farming activities.

1.1 Contextualizing the problem

It is not a disputed fact that rural livelihoods in the global south do on the most part depend on agriculture; particularly the small-holder kind. This, however, does not mean that the people in these areas are dead-set on this path even with the challenges they face and the changes that have manifested with globalization. Generational changes are particularly visible as education and industrialization become the norm in the different societies. The state of affairs as it has been painted in the rural south has seen gradual change and continues to do so. It is thus, also important to focus on how rural livelihoods sustain, protect and develop their livelihoods during an era of multiple transitions (Bouahom, Douangsavanh, & Rigg, 2004). In a nutshell, focus should also be on how people in the rural global South diversify their livelihoods in the time of change. Bryceson (2002); Barret, Reardon, and Webb (2001); and Gladwin, Thomson, Peterson, and Anderson (2001), all agree that livelihoods are diversifying from the traditional agricultural based livelihoods to other livelihood strategies such as beer brewing, charcoal making and selling, and trade in small manufactured goods and groceries.

Women in the global south are responsible for providing most of the needs for their family. They have to provide for their family through subsistence agriculture, unpaid family work in family enterprises, or household work like child care, cooking, washing, and sewing. They do not only provide for their families in terms of ensuring food security but also ensure that household chores are done. Their livelihoods have been shown to be highly tied to agriculture and thus agricultural land is a very important asset for them (Mutangadura, 2003).

In most countries in the global south, however, being a woman has its own issues especially if they are based in rural areas. Women have little to no land rights in these areas and where they do; access to land is still difficult especially where traditional laws of inheritance are strong and the quality of land is they are able to get is of lower quality in comparison to men. La Ferrara (2006) in *'Descent rules and strategic transfers. Evidence from matrilineal groups in Ghana'* gives a breakdown of traditional laws and systems of inheritance and she points out how the majority of the countries give priority to the male lineage when it comes to inheritance of land

and property. The ones in charge of the land are the heads of households which in nine cases out of 10 are men. Most women thus have to depend on men, not only for land, but for decisions on the income they make as well.

The fact that rural livelihoods for people in the global south depends on smallholder agriculture should not be pushed aside completely but it is also important to note that they are changing the way they seek and meet their livelihoods. Ian Scoones (2009) suggests that in the face of diversity, the real world should be looked at. This means understanding issues from the local perspectives. How do they construct their reality and what issues and assets are used to construct it in a way that best suits them in the face of external factors? Different explanatory angles should be researched into since reality is made up of complex processes which intertwine with power, politics, institutions and multiplicity.

In a study carried out in the central plains of Thailand on rural economic diversity, it was evident that there was a progressive shift from farm to non-farm livelihoods. 45 sites in the central plain were surveyed and it was found that 57% of the surveyed households had multiple occupations which included non-agricultural occupations. The study conducted in the mid-90s and then followed up in the early 2000s shows that the agriculture in the area was becoming a subsidiary activity for a significant number of rural households and individuals. The structural and occupational profile of farming households or families had also gone through changes during the period in terms of demography. Landownership had reduced dramatically from 24% to 12% for those aged 35 years while for those over the age of 55, it had increased from 28% to 37% (Molle, Srijantr, Latham, & Thepstitsilp, 2001). The study shows a polarizing effect between age groups; one reducing in landownership percentage wise while the other increased. It is important that the factors that lead to such diverse interests are investigated.

Another study conducted by Eder (1999) in San Jose had not only shown the multiplicity emerging in rural livelihoods but that there was significant rise in the number of households disengaging themselves completely from agricultural livelihoods. The number of those engaged in agriculture remained the same but those engaged in plural livelihoods, that is farm and non-farm, reduced from 58% to 32% all the while agriculture disengagement saw a 25% rise in a

period of about 15 years. The study shows that off-spring households showed the most disengagement from agriculture as a livelihood strategy explaining why the number of households of those engaged in agriculture stayed the same even though there was a rise in disengagement at the same time. This, like the study documented by Molle et al (2001) noticed a generational difference in diversification. The younger generation was more likely to get into other livelihoods strategies than agriculture as opposed to the older generations.

Rural households in Sub-Saharan Africa like in South Asia are also increasingly deriving livelihoods from non-agricultural sources. Case studies done in Ethiopia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and South Africa shows that there was a rise in labor-intensive traditional non-agricultural livelihoods like beer brewing. Trade was also another form of non-farm activity taken up by individuals especially in areas where there is a mobile local community and a well-functioning road network system to and from urban areas (Bryceson, 2002). The case studies show that how rural livelihoods diversify is highly dependent on local resources as well as distance from urban areas. The areas that were far away from urban area were more likely to engage in local services, while those near to urban area would go into trade, and transfer payments for the highly mobile rural populations. There is also the expansion of local level bureaucracies that offer formal employment to people in those areas. Diversity is thus highly linked to a multiple of factors from the history of a place, resources in that area as well as the influence of social-economic influences that could be external and internal.

What we have then is a group of writers that agree that agriculture is a very important part of rural livelihoods especially for women; and others that say that rural livelihoods in general are diversifying away from agriculture. All present different case studies that support their statements. In light of this information, this thesis takes another angle of the agriculture, land and diversity to get the perceptions of the people on the ground on the importance of land and agriculture in light of the changes that have occurred over time be it in terms of market or people's livelihood sourcing preferences. The changes in this thesis are taken from the view of globalization which include new policies like those of furthering female education, as well as those that take into account the effects of urbanization and modernization (Greig, Hulme, & Turner, 2007).

This thesis thus, leans more towards the perceptions of women than that of men. Although information was collected from a few males as well, it was only to act as a source of triangulation on the perceptions from the inside and looking in. The men live and interact with the women and thus they can also offer invaluable input into any changes noted in women's interaction with agriculture and land overtime and what they foresee the future to be.

1.1.1 Contextualising the case in a global context

The study upon which the thesis draws its primary data from is a case study of a village located in Chongwe, Zambia. It is thus important to show how a case study fits or is embodied into the topic of globalization. The topic has already been presented above by showing Rigg's reasoning of how the everyday fits into globalization. To elucidate this further, aspects of the assemblage theory as interpreted by Woods (2010), which is elaborated in detail in chapter three, will be used to explain the rural and how it fits into globalization. This will be the base upon which the case study fits into the study of globalization.

The assemblage theory shows that rural places are dynamic, indiscrete and not bounded by territories that are absolute. Instead, they are complex and made up of diverse social and physical elements which in turn create wider networks and relations. Rural places are always connected to other places both rural and non-rural through social, economic or political relations. The rurality of a place is thus always defined in relation to other places (Woods, 2010). In the context of the area under study, it is defined in relation to the capital city, Lusaka, with which it has constant interactions with. People from the capital city work there and also buy a lot of agricultural produce in Chongwe and the people in Chongwe travel often to the city. It is also connected to the wider world by virtue of it having a number of tourist sites like the Chongwe river camp that people from around the world to visit. This opens up the place to relations of interiority (within Chongwe and other places within Zambia) as well as to relations of exteriority (other places within Zambia and the world in general).

In light of the the frame under which this thesis is contextualized, the main objective and research questions are set as follows;

Main research objective

To investigate perceptions of the importance of land and agriculture for women in chongwe (Lusoke village) who are involved in either agriculture or non-agricultural based livelihood strategies.

Research questions

4. What are women's perceptions of land accessibility in Lusoke village?
 - 1b. Are women's perceptions different from those of men?
5. What are the perceived benefits of women owning land for both agricultural and non-agricultural purposes?
6. Are women in Lusoke village changing livelihood strategies from predominantly agricultural to non-agricultural ones?
 - 3b. If women are changing livelihood strategies, what may be future implications for agriculture in Lusoke village?

1.2 Rationale for the study

In 2012, I was involved in a research on maize variety preferences by farmers in rural Zambia through the research organization HarvestPlus (<http://www.harvestplus.org/content/about-harvestplus> ; <http://www.harvestplus.org/content/boosting-capacity-and-vitamin-zambia>). The parts that I visited included southern Province and some parts of central province. The one thing that I noticed is that a lot of people in these rural areas are always constantly on the move from their villages to the nearest town and as a result we had to make appointments before we visited them. After learning about globalization, it had me thinking how this interaction was changing the rural areas. What kind of values are they dropping or getting from the interaction they have with people in urban areas. It should be noted that most subsistence farmers in Zambia only farm big areas in the summer when there is rain since the majority of them depend on rain-fed farming and thus have ample time during the other months to travel and possibly do something else other than farming.

Apart from that, a lot of the younger generations in these rural areas are attending school more than their preceding generations have. The 2011 education report for rural schools in Zambia

shows that community primary school education has seen a rise in enrolment from 227, 738 in 2004 to 558, 430 in 2008 (Mushili, et al., 2011). The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) world atlas on education and gender (Fiske, 2012), shows that Zambia's education enrollment is at parity. There are almost equal numbers of girls to boys in primary education system although dropout rates for girls in rural areas are high after primary school. However, at least 90% of those that get enrolled complete primary school and still a fair percentage go through secondary education. Education in rural areas thus plays a big part of changing the way the rural has functioned in that more and more girls are getting educated and widening their arena of future livelihoods to more than agriculture.

There is also the fact that Zambia is going through what is known as counter-urbanization. In some areas, people in urban areas migrate to rural areas. Zambia's urbanization processes has seen a steady fall from about 40% of the population in the 1980s to around 36% in the 2000s (Potts, 2005; Rigg, 2007). Although Pott's study is mainly on the Zambian Copperbelt and so are most of the articles that quote her on Zambia's counter-urbanization. The study area, Chongwe, has however seen a lot of influx of people from mainly the capital city Lusaka as well as other cities (From field data). This engagement with migrants as well as a social world beyond the locals' social map does a lot to rework social relations just like the assemblage theory shows. Such influencers as education, migration and reworking seasonal work become very important in change that can be noted in rural areas.

After putting all these factors together, I find that there is little information on how women in rural Zambia are altering livelihoods in light of such factors in interaction with globalization. Studies on livelihood diversification from agrarian economies have been conducted by researchers and/or writers in countries such as Viet Nam, Japan, Taiwan and South Korea located in Asia. In Africa, countries where such research has been conducted include Ethiopia, South Africa, Nigeria, Tanzania, Malawi and Zimbabwe. Another country where agrarian livelihood has declined is the Lao People's Democratic Republic where economic reform, marketization and the integration of the country into a wider sub-region has rapidly seen peasants getting into non peasant livelihoods which Rigg (2006), refers to as post-peasantry. Bryceson, 2002 and Rigg, 2006, basically look at how the livelihoods are diversifying as well as delving into the factors leading to the diversification. Adams, Jr. (2002), takes a more economic approach to

livelihoods diversification and merges this with inequality in rural areas (2002). This thesis instead will move from a macro level of study to a micro level and get input from the women themselves. Whitehead and Kabeer (2001) show that most research on land and women and even policy recommendations do not take into account the women's interests in a changing global world. It is important that women's interests are looked into and getting their perceptions into land and agricultural related development becomes crucial.

1.3 Thesis structure

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter two describes the study area. It covers some of Zambia's agricultural issues and then goes further to provide information specific to Chongwe and Lusoke village. Information given includes crop production, Chongwe's physical location on the Zambian map as well as livelihoods strategies that are not farm based. Chapter three looks at the main concepts and theoretical framework. It looks at the details of the theory that is used as the analytical framework, which is the assemblage theory. Conceptual definitions of the key terms are also given in this section.

Chapter four gives details of the methodology and what went on in the field, from interviews to challenges as well as information on the participants. Chapter five presents the findings and discussion of the study. The findings and discussion is divided into three parts. The first looks at the aspect of perceptions of land accessibility in the area through the eyes of women who own land and those who do not as well as through men. The second is on perception of the benefits of owning land and then finally, relations of exteriority are investigated to see if they influence internal livelihoods strategies as well as territorialization of land in the village. The last chapter, chapter six, concludes the thesis and offers recommendations to some of the issues found in the study.

2 STUDY AREA

The aim of this chapter is to present the area where the research was conducted. This will help understand the study area and why it was chosen as the research site. It will also help in understanding why the area was preferred as the study site. The information in this chapter also includes field sourced data, which may be village specific.

2.1 Background information

Zambia's economy greatly benefits from the contribution that agriculture makes. The Index Mundi shows that as of the 2011, at least 60% of the population in Zambia was rural. Translating this into numbers; around eight million people out of approximately 13 million people reside in rural areas and agriculture is their predominant source of livelihood (Index Mundi, 2012; Zambia Development Agency, 2012). Chongwe district is one of the rural areas in Zambia which has been identified as predominantly agriculture dependent. Chongwe is located in agro-ecological zone II, which receives medium rainfall ranging from 800 mm to 1000 mm annually. This zone, compared to the other zones Zambia has, zone I and III, is more agriculturally viable due to the presence of good soil, which can be used for commercial production with proper management. As of the 2010 nationwide census, it had a population of 93, 934 males and 94, 035 females totaling to 187, 969 persons (Gender in Development Division(GIDD), 2005; Central Statistics Office, 2011).

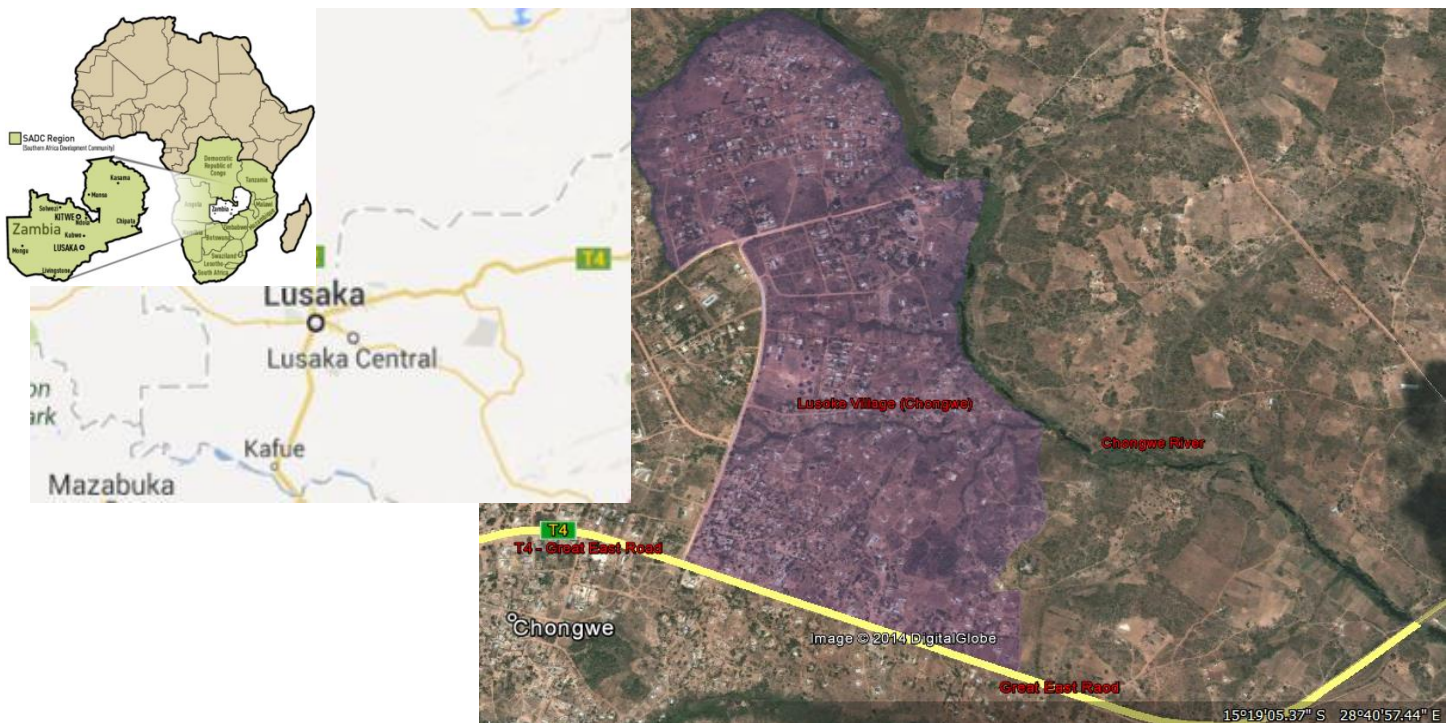
Zambia is divided into two land tenure systems; the customary land tenure, where land is governed by chiefs, and the English land tenure on land presided over by the government (UN-Habitat, 2005). The customary land tenure system means land is possessed and shared by a community or people who fall in a particular chieftom. For one to own land presided over by the government, he or she must either have a title deed to the land or have user rights from a person who has title to the land. Customary land is commonly found in rural areas and that is where agriculture as a livelihood strategy is dominant. Unfortunately, it is also the area where traditional rules of inheritance are most upheld in terms of land ownership being passed on through male lineage (La Ferrara, 2006). Chongwe's land tenure system is customary which means that land belongs to all the people. Anyone native to the area can access and use land as

long as they go through the proper channels to be given a piece of land. The people can see the headman of the village they belong to, who has the power to allocate a piece of land to them.

2.1.1 Location

Chongwe is located in Lusaka province about 45 kilometers east of Lusaka town, the capital city of Zambia (see figure 2.0). It can be accessed through the great east road. Chongwe town is characterized by an Omni depot center, Dunavant cotton and seed outlet, five farm input supply shops, several general stores, a couple of restaurants and bars, and a clinic. It is also common to find modern houses interspersed with the village's mud and thatch houses. Figure 2.0 below shows the physical location of Zambia on the African map and a map of Lusoke village adapted from google earth software. The map was adapted using markers provided by village headman.

Figure 2.0: Map of Zambia and Lusoke village



Source : <http://www.friendsforzambia.org/aboutzambia.htm>

2.1.2 Crop production

Crops grown in Chongwe district include; maize which is the most common especially for household consumption, soy beans, cassava, and groundnuts. Other crops include tomatoes, green leafed vegetables, pepper, onion, peas, and beans. Sugarcane, tobacco and wheat are mostly grown by the few commercial farmers found in the area. The majority of the farmers produce at a small scale or subsistence level mostly for home consumption. Others, however, grow both for consumption and sell albeit still at a small scale (Ndiyoi et. al, 2007; Mwakikagile, 2010, p.86).

2.1.3 Diversification in Chongwe

Although agriculture remains the major source of livelihood in Chongwe, trade has grown in the last decade in the area. It has become the second most important economic activity and source of livelihood for most people in the area. People trade in manufactured items like shoes, clothes, soaps, toothpaste and most women trade in agricultural produce especially vegetables. Most women travel a couple of times a week to Lusaka town to buy fruit in bulk and resell to the locals. Chongwe is also a major source of agricultural produce for the major markets in Lusaka. The produce is sourced through small and medium scale farmers, who sell the produce to marketers from Lusaka. Others in the area that grow crops on a very small scale use the produce for home consumption and sell the extra to people within the area who do not grow anything. Large scale farmers supply horticultural produce to the international markets (Mwakikagile, 2010; Field data, 2013).

2.2 Lusoke village

Lusoke village is the area in Chongwe where the actual study on women's perception on the importance of land and agricultural was carried out. The village has around 619 households; 93 female headed and 526 male headed. The majority of the people in the village engage in very small scale rain-fed farming. A few individuals who can manage to buy one or two irrigation pipes also engage in winter farming but these are few. They tap their water from the Chongwe River. This still remains very labor intensive since they only have one or two pipes even when the land farmed is small (Lusoke village secretary, 2013) .

The village has seen a lot of influx from people around Chongwe coming from big cities. There has been a lot of land being sold and as a result, it is quite common to see a number of modern houses being built by people from the city, who have the financial capacity to do so but want to escape the crowding in the city. The time it takes to travel from the city, especially Lusaka, which is around 45 minutes to 60 minutes has made the area more appealing to people. People thus opt to stay in the rural area but commute to and from work every day (ibid). With the confirmation of the people in the area and observation made during field work, it is safe to say that Lusoke, like most villages in Chongwe has been going through the process of urbanization. It is common to find people trying to build brick houses no matter how small and also electrifying their small houses. Radios and television sets are also common. They are emulating the lives of those in cities and what they see on television. There is thus a lot of adaptation of global cultural and social values in these areas as well as diversification which makes the area a good study for the topic at hand.

2.3 Summing up

Zambia's rural area is predominantly agricultural and the majority of livelihood strategies are based on farm activity. However, a lot of areas are diversifying their livelihood strategies in the face of so many challenges that come with rain fed crop agriculture. Lusoke village, a village in Chongwe, located approximately 45 kilometers east of Lusaka the capital city is one place in Zambia where such disengagement from agriculture and land as a source of income may be happening. Trade as a livelihood strategy is growing and in-migration has been experienced mostly by people from Lusaka city, who buy land and build houses there but commute to and from Lusaka city for work. This makes the area a good place to study perceptions since it is going through change at the moment.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND CONCEPTS

This chapter looks at the theoretical framework used for analysis and defines the key concepts or words. It first starts by identifying and defining the main concepts used in the study, and then moves on to present the theoretical frameworks that the study adopts for analysis.

3.1 Conceptual operationalization

3.1.1 Livelihood

The concept ‘livelihood’ when taken literary refers to a means of making a living. The concept is widely used in modern-day research and writing on poverty and rural development and the two fields derive their definition from the links between the use of assets as well as the options people have in pursuit of income for survival. Ellis (2000, p. 10) defines a livelihood as comprising:

Assets (Natural, physical, human, financial and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household.

Three aspects are thus important when it comes to livelihood or making a living and these are having assets, doing something with the assets that lead to gaining some kind of income as well as having the ability to access the assets. The aspect of access thus brings in issues that maybe beyond the individual or households span of control such as policy issues of finance business and even agriculture which may influence and impact their ability and capability to attain their livelihood outcomes.

In this study, livelihood activities and income were separated into two major groups just like Ellis did in his book on livelihood and diversity from an agricultural stand point (2000, p. 11-12). These are farm income and off-farm income. *Farm income* denotes to income generated from *own-account farming, whether on owner-occupied land, or on land accessed through cash or share tenancy*. This kind of income in the study is gained from farm activities and for the person to fall under this category they either had to own land or renting land. The other is *non-farm*

income which is gained from non-farm activities or non-agricultural activities such as non-farm rural wage or salary employment, non-farm rural self-employment (business income), and rental income from letting out land or property.

Income gained from activities within agriculture such as wage or exchange of labor, labor payments in kind (payment in form of agriculture goods like crop harvests, or being paid via birds like chickens, pigeons and ducks), and income obtained from environment resources such as firewood, charcoal, and house building were classified under non-farm income. This is because the people do not necessarily own land but obtain wages by working for someone else. Own-farming account under farm income was the basis for classifying such activities or income under the latter category.

3.1.2 Diversification

Diversification implies a movement of some kind of resource from one industry to another. At a macro level, diversification generally conveys a movement of resources, particularly labour, out of agriculture to industry and services leading to some kind of structural transformation. In agriculture, diversification is considered *a shift of resources from one crop (or livestock) to a larger mix of crops and livestock, keeping in view the varying nature of risks and expected returns from each crop/livestock activity, and adjusting it in such a way that it leads to optimum portfolio of income* (Joshi et. al, 2004, p. 2457). Ellis on the other hand defines rural livelihood diversification as *a process by which rural house-holds construct an increasingly diverse portfolio of activities and asstes in order to survive and improve their standard of living* (2000, p.15)

Based on the two definitions above, diversification in this thesis conveys a process of shifting resources from farm activities to both non-farm activities and off-farm activities for those that do not carry out own account farming to improve their their standard of living and survival. Diversification will thus be looked at as a transformation of the structure of livelihood strategies from those that are agriculture based to those that are more trade and business industry based. Such activities for the case under study include but are not limited to retail of manufactured items like shoes, clothing, toiletries, and foods like biscuits, homemade scones, popcorn and pies.

Women also go into buying agriculture produce from those that farm and resale the produce to the locals. Others buy fruit in bulk from the Lusaka town and resale on retail basis.

3.1.3 Modernization

The concept of modernization lacks a unified or standard definition. What is agreed upon by many authors on the subject is that it is not a unitary process but a complex one which has various factors embedded in it. Among the many factors, the prominent include increased individual mobility, breakdown of traditional roles and rules, job specialization, emphasis on industrialization, and decreased reliance on agriculture (Colla et al, 2006; Greig et al, 2007). The factor that applies to this thesis is that of decreased reliance on agriculture since the study looks at how women are diversifying their livelihood strategies from agriculture taking into account that this is an era of globalization and ‘modern tendencies’ are spreading to the rural areas where more people especially the younger generations are embracing modern livehood strategies.

It is also important to note that unit of analysis was on individual and not household basis. Thus, individual modernity as employed by Rigg becomes relevant in this context. Individual modernity refers to the way in which contact with, participation in, and the social experience of modernity inculcates in individuals a set of attitudes and values which can be counted as modern. The study thus employs the concept of modernity in conjunction with how global process (relations of exteriority from assemblage theory) influence localized geographies in terms of individual units and how this influence may alter livelihood strategies.

3.1.4 Globalization

The definition of globalization adopted in this study is that of Shirato and Webb (2003, p. 200). They refer to globalization as a set of texts, ideas, goals, narratives, dispositions and prohibitions, a vertical template for ordering and evaluating activities which is ‘filled in’ or inflected with the interest of whoever can access it. This definition is used because it gives power to agency. It means individuals also have a say in how they adopt trends of globalization such as economic ideas, socialization, and culture. The fact that they refer to globalization as a template means it is a guide and people do not necessarily have to follow it to the letter. They can edit it to suit their goals. Although there’s an aspect of the template being vertical, no population larger than a community maintains a strictly coherent system of stratification. Variation is accommodated in

rank order as well as in applying goals and ideas that follow a top-down approach (Tilly, 2002). Globalization is thus just a set of ideas about economics, socialization, culture and way of life being adopted that transcends national boundaries.

3.2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework that guides the analysis of data in this thesis is the assemblage theory. The theory helps organize ideas into manageable categories, identify entry points and critical processes, and assists in identifying catalysts for change in people's livelihood. An assemblage refers to agency and how that agency, which is heterogeneous, works to draw its elements together to forge connections, and sustain these connections or linkages in the face of tension (Li, 2007). It is thus, a conglomeration which appears settled and even potentially complete. This formation is, however, always dynamic and not static. It goes through change and adaptation to get desired results and avert undesired ones. It is thus safe to conclude that the human element of an assemblage is social capital in itself by virtue of the existence of linkages and networks.

Deleuze & Guattari (2004, p. 62), see an assemblage as *a multiplicity made up of heterogeneous terms and which establish liaisons, relations between them, across ages, sexes and reigns-different natures*. This means that an assemblage is made up of different entities, either organic or inorganic that are different but co-exist and co-function. According to Anderson and McFarlane (2011, p.124), the term assemblage *'is often used to emphasize emergency, multiplicity and indeterminacy, and connects to a wider redefinition of the socio-spatial in terms of the composition of diverse elements into some form of provisional socio-spatial formation'*. Like Li (2007) shows, assemblages are heterogeneous elements and additionally, these elements may be human or non-human, organic or inorganic, and technical or natural. The elements that are found within an assemblage make a good entry point into the analysis. It helps look at how human assemblages can use natural, technical, organic, inorganic, and non-organic elements within its territory to first make a livelihood and how they diversify or change priority if the elements face tension, needs adaptation, or becomes obsolete. It can also be used to look at perception since the factors that it brings together have an effect on people's perception.

An assemblage is made up of component parts or sub-assemblages which create a seamless whole. For the assemblage to be a whole, the parts must not be detached and self-subsistent but

constitute the relations they have to other parts in the whole. The relations of interiority thus, are what define the sub-assemblage and tie it to the whole that they belong to (DeLanda, 2006). An assemblage thus is made up of sub-assemblages which can be distinguished from each other by social characteristics such as age and gender as well as other characteristics such as culture.

The assemblage theory is based on four complementing pillars within which the elements mentioned above fall. These are material components and expressive components; territorialization and deterritorialization; coding and decoding; and finally relations of interiority and relations of exteriority (Woods, 2014; DeLanda, 2006).

Material components and expressive components

An assemblage is composed of material and expressive components. The material components are in a way the assets or capital found within a defined territory. The assets include land, buildings, crops, wildlife and economic commodities. The material components thus range from those provided by the natural environment to those that are inorganic and have to go through man's manipulation. These can be used to make a livelihood, land being one of the major resources of reference in this study. Expressive components on the other hand are more intangible as opposed to tangible. It is about the way of life of the people; their culture, emotional attachments, how they identify with each other (sense of identity) as well as principles attached to nature. How they view the common and private holdings in the community is thus important. Intangible expressive components are also very important since culture has a very strong bearing on perception.

Territorialization and deterritorialization

The way structure is defined within an area is territorialization. How working is defined for example is one way of territorializing an area. Working the land or farming is one way of distinguishing between rural and urban territories in Zambia. Rural areas are known for having abundance of farming land and to be sparsely populated while urban areas are densely populated and have no abundant land for farming. Family inheritance and administrative boundaries also define the territory of an area. The traditional way of inheritance is more prominent in rural areas than it is in urban areas and of course traditional or rural boundaries are recognized officially in most areas. Deterritorialization refers to when the aspects that define a territory are disrupted;

migration and unification of municipalities being some of the most common ways that this happens. When the way of life of the community goes through change and needs adaptation, the way its territory is defined may also undergo change (Woods, 2014). The fact that there is constant interaction between Lusoke village and Lusaka city means that there is an exchange of values in terms of work, housing and even culture of socialization. The deterritorialization of abstract boundaries that happen thus also has a major impact on perceptions.

Relative deterritorialization opens up an assemblage to transformation creating a new identity for the community (DeLanda, 2006). Lusoke village has been experiencing some kind of identity transformation since it is going through an urbanization process by adopting urban-like styles of life from house building to the kind of livelihood strategies they adopt that are not land based. However, absolute deterritorialization is also happening in the area in that people are also orienting towards individually matched ends as opposed to those set by the community's history of crop agriculture based livelihoods.

Coding and decoding

Coding is closely related to the other pillars in the assemblage theory. It has to do with how an area is described, for example, in terms of 'rural' versus 'urban'. The kind of material components valued, its expressive components-sense of identity and how it is territorialized all influence the coding of an area. Coding also highly influences the programs and policies that the area becomes eligible for. If the way an area goes through some changes, the way it is coded may also change and has to be decoded. Decoding thus refers to the changing in meaning of rurality or urbanity. For example, if a rural area experiences modernization and urbanization it may move from being coded as a rural area to a peri-urban or urban area. This also has implications on policies and programs in the area. They have to be changed to suit the new environment.

Relations of interiority and relations of exteriority

There exists within engagements, linkages or networks in an assemblage relations of interiority and relations of exteriority. The principle, relations of interiority, has to do with how the social entities or people engage with each other within a territory or in this case the people within Lusoke Village. Relations of exteriority on the other hand deals with how the people within a territory engage with other territories. This, depending on one's view point can be other areas

within Zambia (Lusaka city being a major case again) and other areas that are outside Zambia. This is how globalization spreads its roots to the rural. The people in rural areas engage with people in urban areas and other regions. International social entities also interact with rural territories in form of private and public land investors, and tourists. Through this engagement, global values such as those of economics are traded, culture is exchanged and then there is always in and out migration in these territories. In a nutshell, relations of interiority are centered on the interactions of the people within a defined area while relations of exteriority refers to interactions with local towns and the region, migration flows, economic transactions, and intersections with 'translocal assemblages' (Ibid).

3.2.1 Assemblage theory on a macro and micro level

As shown by note 1.2.1 in the introduction, global process, ideas and goals have an effect on local process. The processes that happen at a global level touch rural places and affect the way of life of people in localized area. Material components and expressive components, all get influenced by culture, economics, and mobility of people from an area that is exterior in relation to the people in a defined rural area. In social assemblages the whole possesses synthetic or emergent properties, which according to Manuel DeLanda (2006) do not form a seamless whole. What this means is that there are networks within society but these networks do not make one neat picture. Instead, there are linkages, interlinkages and breaks; territorialization and deterritorialization which influence material components in the area as well as expressive components. Thus, while the study is mainly a case and can not be generalized, what the assemblage theory points to is that no place is unaffected by global processes. Looking at one particular area, especially if social elements are involved, warrants the acceptance that there are a number of influencing processes which can range from global to national.

Micro and macro levels are general and analytical rather than fixed. Individuals, households or firms are thus not intrinsically micro and consequently society, nations, or economies are also not fixed macro levels (ibid). There is ongoing interplay between the two levels, the macro affects the micro and vice versa making micro levels an interplay of the both local, national and global ideals. Thus while Lusoke is a case study at a micro level, the assemblage theory helps recognise the fact that it is not isolated or independent of the world at large.

At a micro level, a unit measured from individuals to networks of individuals in the assemblage theory, impressions are viewed as important. The impressions are not only based on ideas but also on visual, aural, olfactory and tactile impressions. These together make a collection of perceptions which when organized and bound, creates a system (DeLanda, 2006). This means that the interactions people have with other people, whether through relations of exteriority or through relations of interiority shape beliefs, ideas and perceptions. People can thus be territorialized or deterritorialized depending on whether they acquire a hybrid identity or new skills. According to DeLanda, deterritorialization thus increases the capacity to affect and be affected by perceptions, ideas and impressions. The ability to match means to ends, causal relations, is used in human beings as a way of preservation. Perceptions are used by most human beings to measure causal relations. For example, what a person obtains from material components becomes a measure of why they should engage in something or not. If they see a causal relationship of benefit, they will go into it but if they see a causal relationship of loss, they will not.

3.3 Analytical approach

The analysis in this thesis is guided by the assemblage theory as outlined above. A gendered approach to the assemblage theory is adopted by differentiating perceptions according to sex or gender. The assemblage as a whole is also identified as a rural assemblage by the way it is coded and territorialized. Lusoke is recognised as a rural area in Zambia, it is also under a chieftom and headman, and it is also has agriculture as the recognized predominant livelihood strategy for the locals in the area.

The analysis starts with the livelihoods resources or the material components present in Lusoke village. It looks at the natural capital that the women use in the community for agriculture, which is land and what conditionalities are attached to this resource in terms of what type of land it is (customary versus non-customary), the process of owning and or renting land in the area, its availability and accessibility for women, and how marriage affects land ownership and rights. These conditions are then factored into their decisions to either own or rent land. Basically, the expressive component of society is taken into consideration. The other resource that is looked at is economic and financial resource and this is linked to livelihood diversification by looking at

how priority maybe shifting from a livelihood dominated by agriculture to one that is dominated by smallholder businesses.

The next phase looks at the contexts within which these changes occur-coding and decoding. The contexts or trends of interest within the assemblage theory are social differentiation, policy that affects land ownership and viability in agriculture, macro-economic conditions, and changing culture of livelihoods strategies with modernization and urbanization. A historical perspective will be used to look at how culture has changed with the effects of globalization. The contexts and trends will thus also be viewed from the assemblage theory's view of relations of interiority and relations of exteriority and how these consort and affect livelihoods for women in Lusoke village.

Relations of exteriority and interiority will also be used to analyse how they affect livelihood strategies of women in Lusoke village. It is basically an analysis of how the interaction between the local women in Lusoke, with people and particularly other women outside their assemblage influence their perceptions and livelihood strategies; how the outcomes and trade-offs they perceive possibly influence livelihood strategies. These outcomes are income, decision making, investment and food security.

3.4 Summing up

Livelihoods in the global south can be categorized into farm and non-farm activities. The decisions made by most households and individuals can be influenced by multiple factors. Some of the factors range from influence of global economics and culture, to micro issues like policy, material aesthetic and sense of identity. These as shown by different research affect generational livelihoods decisions differently. A look at geography is also important since communities are shaped by different historical forces and the forces play an important role in shaping perceptions. The assemblage theory helps look into social assemblages by taking into account different levels that affect the lives of people that range from local, micro, to global forces. It also recognizes that within there exists sub-assemblages or component parts within the whole which can be affected differently by its social and physical environment.

4 METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the research methods that were implemented during the research. Included in this methodology chapter is: the study design; sampling design, processes of primary data collection as well as secondary sources; ethical considerations; and reflexivity. Limitation and delimitations of the study are also presented in this chapter.

4.1 Study design

In qualitative studies, the researcher basically aims to explore people's experiences to gain deeper insight of how people act in some life events, and why they do so. In this regard, I attempted to gain insight into how the women of Lusoke village, Chongwe, organise their livelihoods and how this may be changing with the changing environment in the world and more specifically, the environment within the area. Territorialization was thus important in this study since it was in a way a study of how a single area or community changes with both the influence of internal and external factors. To be able to gain insight into the lives of the participants, doing a qualitative research was thus imperative. Face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted during the study and this was particularly important since qualitative methods are best for studying and understanding values, feelings and perceptions that underlie and/or influence human behavior (QRCA, 2013). A case study design was used for this study. This entails the analysis of a single case which was a community in this case (Bryman, 2012) and this design was chosen because it was the most favorable for the topic as well as manageable for the time period of the study.

4.2 Access of research area

To access the study area, I needed to get approval from a ministry that was directly linked to the area of study. In Zambia, this is the Ministry of Gender and Child Development (MGCD) which has an ethics and information approval system. The director of information within the ministry thus had to give his stamp of approval after a short description of the study and an introductory letter was presented to the ministry. The letter provided by the ministry made it easier for me to be able to access and enter the village where I conducted the study since I had a government stamp of approval (see appendix B).

In the study area, I had to seek the approval of the headman of Lusoke village with the help of a volunteer worker who works at the local clinic through the Centre for Infectious Diseases and Research in Zambia (CIDRZ). I used the center, CIDRZ, as an entry point because I had done attachments with them while doing my undergraduate and thus knew people who would help me connect to the locals there. It was with their help that I was able to get a research assistant, a volunteer worker who introduced me to the headman.

The research assistant also helped with identifying people in the community who could be interviewed since the village had no proper register of people in the village. Even with the register, the type of research and information sought would not properly benefit from random selection since it was a certain type of group sought after. The assistant was very helpful when it came to identifying the initial interviewees and since most of them knew him or knew of him, it was easy for me to access them this way. Having someone they were familiar with made it easy for them to open up and talk about their life.

The majority of the interviews were carried out at the gardens for those involved in agriculture and at home for those that did not farm. Gardens were functional at the time since it was the dry season and thus farmers depend on irrigation from the Chongwe River and it is only those who can afford one or two irrigation pipes who have gardens. Walking was the main transport mode for accessing the interviewees since the gardens are located a very big distance from their homes and only foot or bicycle pathways are common. Those who were not involved in farming also might have been involved in other business that would require them to be away from home and thus appointments had to be made or they had to be followed to where they were if it was within Chongwe and within a walk accessible distance. Talking to them from the places of work and knowing where they lived put a lot of insight into why they make certain decisions and walking through the village allowed me to take stock of the village and see how it was changing and how perhaps the village would have changed in a few years' time from one that is a typical Zambian rural area to a peri-urban area. The changes taking place in the village were explained to me by most of the participants especially when the issue of land came in.

4.3 Selection of participants

Considering the fact that the village did not have a well-documented list of the villagers and that it was only a certain category of people that were to be included in the study; purposive sampling was employed infused with mild snowball sampling tendencies. Purposive sampling methods are non-probability forms of sampling where cases or participants are selected in a strategic way so that the sample is relevant to the research questions being posed. Snowball sampling is a type of purposive sampling where the researcher samples a small group of people relevant to the research questions who then propose other participants who have to same experience or characteristics relevant to the research (Bryman, 2012; Matthews & Ross, 2010). I categorize the type of snowball sampling as 'mild' because it was only in a few circumstances that research participants were asked to propose someone who could fit into the research. Purposive sampling was also chosen because the study is a case study focused on exploration and interpretation of experiences and perceptions.

Three categories of participants were included in the research. Two groups were comprised of women, one group was involved in agriculture production and the other was. The women who practiced some form of agriculture could either own or rent land. There was no criterion for those who did not practice agriculture except that they had to be from Lusoke village. The third category was made up of men who were included in the study as a source of triangulation. They acted as a comparison group to see how the women's perception of the importance of land and agriculture differed from that of men or whether the perception was the same. The men could either be involved in agriculture or not. The participants generally ranged between the ages of 18 to 50 for both males and females. The age spectrum was deliberately sought so that generational differences could also be considered in the influence of perception on livelihood strategies. It helps look at what kinds of income sources are appealing to different generations. Matthew and Ross (2010) show that demographic factors such as age, gender, level of education, occupation, and social cultural norms are very important in shaping people's perceptions and experiences.

The number of participants was originally set at 30 but as interviews proceeded, saturation point was reached at 25. This means that during the research, a point was reached when the participants were giving almost similar answers to questions and no new information was being recorded. This may have been due to the fact that the sampling technique employed was non-

random and thus people who fell in the same category were being selected as informants. However, five more participants were included when the opportunity presented itself to talk to people who had knowledge on land issues in the area. These included two officials from the community, a veteran in the area who told me the history of the area and recent developments and three officials from Lusaka city who were in the area on grounds of reports of land corruption and encroachment in the area. These were particularly informative as they offered a perspective into the numerous issues that surround land in the area and how these may inadvertently affect agricultural production, more so for women who are already disadvantaged by the traditional systems in Zambia when it comes to owning productive agricultural land. The 25 participants were all from different households.

Table 4.0: Sample population

Type of Respondent	Number	Age-Range
Females in farm activities	10	24-46
Females in non-farm activities	10	18-30
Males (Both in-farm and non-farm)	5	28-50
Officials	2	-
Informal conversations	3	-
Total	30	18 -50

From the 25 interview participants, 5 were men and 20 were women. The interviewees were met once with the length of the interviews varying from 20 to 25 minutes, sometimes shorter for those who were not involved in agricultural production and longer for some, especially when language barrier became an issue.

4.4 Data collection

4.4.1 Interviews

The majority of the interviews were conducted in the vernacular language used in the area which is Nyanja. A few interviews were conducted in Tonga (also a Zambian local language but not native to the area) and about six were conducted in English. For the interviews conducted in vernacular, the research questions had to be translated from English to the particular vernacular language in use at that moment. It was thus important and necessary that before the whole interview process started, the research assistant and I sat down to look at the questions and see how some words could be phrased in vernacular as well as how the questions as a whole could be phrased. This assured accuracy of the intention and interpretation of the questions so that the main aim of the study was kept and not diverted. Although sometimes the respondents misunderstood questions, I let them talk and then I would add a few follow up questions to get answers to the original question.

The interviews were semi-structured and this allowed for leeway to pursue some new information that came into light especially if the information seemed to be discussed by a number of participants. The main focus of the questions was on ownership of land, participation in either agriculture or off-farm activities, how livelihood between the two differed and the interviews were rounded off by questions of importance of land and agriculture (see appendix A). The questions were kept short but still retained the ability to be discursive by highlighting day to day issues that affected their livelihood strategies and picking up on cues that the conversations presented.

All of the participants had not problems with the topic and question but a number of them were weary of being recorded. As a result, seeking consent to record interviews was eventually entirely dropped and short hand notes were taken during the interviews. Although this was cumbersome and lengthened the interviews a little, the participants were more comfortable and were more willing to spend a little more time than be recorded.

4.4.2 Observation as a back-up tool

During the interviews, I also employed observation as a tool to help in the analysis of data later on. I was particularly interested to see how field or garden size differed between males and females when I was taken to gardens and how cultivation progressed. I was also able to take stock of differences between garden productivity between women and men and the success rate of the garden. This of course is not representative of the whole area but from the participants in the research, I was able to take note of differences and this helped with questions on livelihood, productivity and land. One of the other things I observed was the attitude of women versus men when it came to issues of land ownership and production in agriculture. This was also very important in answering some of the questions and linking attitude towards farming with their livelihoods decisions now and in the future.

4.4.3 Secondary sources

Secondary sources are also used in the thesis to complement information collected on the study. This includes information about the study area like maps, social demographic data as well as agriculture production. The information about Chongwe area was collected from the Ministry of Gender and Child Development (MGCD), which has done studies on various topics in local areas in Zambia. The information that was used in this thesis for initial research and supplementation to information gathered from the 2005 research by the MGCD, through its Gender in Development Division (GIDD) on women's access to agriculture in Zambia as well as a case study by the International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD) on Chongwe. Although IFAD's specific village study was on another village, Libuko, they did write a lot on information on Chongwe as a whole that was particularly helpful and insightful.

Literature obtained from a diverse stock of researchers and writers obtained from Norwegian University of Science and Technology's (NTNU) search tools like BIBSYS, Taylor and Francis Online, and Science Direct were used to compliment the study on information that was not collected in the field but theorized on. These are macro-economic conditions and their impacts on localities and livelihoods as well as changing culture in the way livelihoods are sought from generation to generation. This information is not limited to the case study but takes on a wider frame and looks at how younger generations are more likely to seek or fulfil livelihoods in a

different way than that of their parents or grandparents generations especially that global effects of production and modernization in the rural global south.

4.5 Data analysis

The method of data analysis adopted in the study to examine the perceptions of the importance of land and agriculture in Lusoke Village, Zambia is a thematic type of analysis. Thematic analysis is, according to Matthew and Ross (2010, p. 373), a process of working with raw data to identify and interpret key ideas or themes. It involves segmentation, categorization and relinking of aspects of data prior to final interpretation. In the analysis, a broad theme framed by the main research question was looked at and from this broad theme, guided by the sub or specific research aims, specific or categorical themes guided by the assemblage theory were looked at. Arising issues that were not originally asked about were also taken into account in the analysis. Analysing the data through themes helped me analyse the data or interviews according to land ownership, non-land ownership, if there was marked differences between those who own land and who don't in terms of difficulty or simplicity in meeting their livelihoods, and how the culmination of such issues combined with exterior influence leads to change in the way livelihoods are sought and met. The main goal, basically, is to look at how local processes in collusion with both internal and external process and perceptions which range from global to national (both macro and micro) pressures influence change and diversification in local livelihoods specifically for women.

The participants are coded according to sex, age, occupation, marital status, how long they have lived in the village, what kind of activities they engage in (farm or non-farm) and whether they are the household heads or not. This helps analyse the data in a way that is not only thematic but also in a way that gives order to the analysis process. As shown under heading '4.3 selection of participants', such coding helps explore how such characteristics alone shape people's view of reality and how they experience that reality. The themes adopted for the study are on perceptions. They look at perceptions of land availability, perceptions of benefits of land and agriculture, and the effect of land ownership status on livelihoods strategy for women in Lusoke village. The last theme also includes a look at whether relations of exteriority affect the livelihood strategy of women in the area.

4.6 Study limitation

One of the major challenges I encountered was at the start of the study. Getting permission to first conduct the research and then enter the area took more time than needed or expected. This was especially problematic since I only had about two months to conduct the research and this included travelling to Zambia and then back to Norway. After documentation was provided to the Ministry of Gender and Child Development, it took a little more than three weeks to get a response and the response was only provided after I had to resubmit documentation because they apparently could not find my first application. This, coupled with the distance that needed to be covered by foot to move from one participant to another, reduced the actual research time.

During the interviews, there were a lot of instances where informants did not understand the questions as intended. This mainly was due to the fact that the language spoken in the area is not my mother tongue and although I have a good grasp of the language, the way I may have phrased sentences and consequently their meaning may have been different from someone whose first language is Nyanja. Even with this limitation, the area was still the best site for the information I sought for. Although the research assistant helped a lot when it came to words I could not interpret, the respondents sometimes still understood them in a way that was not meant to. In the end, I believe the intent of the questions was put across.

Another challenge faced during the study was the distance that needed to be covered to reach the different respondents. Since the only way to reach them that was financially viable was through walking, a lot of time was spent on walking. As a result, the people reached were only those that were accessible by foot. This put a lot of people that would have added reach and diverse material to the people out of range since most people with bigger gardens and farming land live miles away from the road and Chongwe ‘urban’ area¹. Although I did not live in the area, commuting was not a problem and I was able to reach the area during reasonable hours when visitors are welcome which not too early in the morning or in evening during family time. The time I could talk to people thus, was from 10 o’clock in the morning to around three o’clock in the afternoon.

¹ Chongwe ‘urban’ area is the central place where government offices, the clinic, school, retail shops, bus stop and the market area where the locals sell farm produce are located.

The other factor is that it was very hard to convince people to take part in the study since most of them felt over-researched to an extent. Most of the respondents felt like a lot of researchers came to the area and promised benefits that they never receive. As a result, most people were reluctant and a lot of convincing had to be done. Being truthful and telling them this was purely academic did not help matters but in the end, with the help of the research assistant who they were more familiar with, I was able to speak to some people and acquire the information I needed albeit with a lot of question and explaining in the beginning.

4.7 Reflexivity

I knew while I conducted the research that I was entering a territory of reality that was different from my own. I was going to meet people with different interests, values, ideas and idiosyncrasies. Consequently, it was important that I was reflexive during the whole process by being aware of how my subjectivity as a researcher would influence the research process. During the whole process I reminded myself I had to be as objective as possible and not judgemental. Remembering the difference in reality was thus very vital.

According to Bryman (2012, p.393), *'reflexivity is a term used in social research methodology to refer to a reflectiveness among social researchers about the implications for the knowledge of the social world they generate of their methods, values, biases, decisions, and mere presence in the very situation they investigate'*. Reflexivity therefore requires that researchers are aware of their contribution to the production of meaning throughout the research, be it by interpretation of the raw data or understanding of the conversation that takes place between interviewer and interviewee. It also requires that the researcher acknowledges the fact that it is next to impossible to remain unaffected or 'outside' one's subject matter while conducting the research. Reflexivity however, also applies to the other side of the lens; the respondents are also affected by the presence of the researcher and thus the way they answer questions may be affected or altered by the 'mere presence of the researcher'.

In this regard, it is important that I acknowledge the fact that my interpretations of the informant's responses may not match how they intended the information to be perceived. The reality of the informants is far different from what I as a researcher is used to and the values and way of looking at life is to an extent poles apart. Many times I did not understand why the

respondents would in some instances remain passive when it came to creating a livelihood and property ownership and I do acknowledge this imperfection as a researcher.

Nevertheless, I respected the respondents' views and way of life and made it a point to be cordial to them, respect the way of doing things in the area and succumb to the traditions of the area to show that I respected. This required that I dress according to the traditional way which is wearing an African wrap skirt, try my best to speak their language and not let the research assistant take too much lead, especially if I could not adequately put through what my question meant in the local language and also not cut them off even when they were off topic. This in my view helped in ensuring that most of the respondents opened up and felt free to talk to answer the research questions.

4.8 Ethical considerations data collection

Two ethical considerations were taken into account at a formal level for the research. The first was getting permission from the Ministry under which the research falls which is MGCD. The research and information division had to know what my research was about, what it would be used for, what questions I was going to ask and that it did not infringe on anyone's privacy. It was only then that I was given the permission to carry out the study.

The second phase was at the research site. The study was explained to the headman and the letter of permission from MGCD presented to him to show that the powers that be knew I was in his area and wanted to conduct research. After permission was granted and the research commenced, I made sure a verbal informed consent was given at the beginning of every interview. The participants were told what the study was about and that they had a choice to not participate in the study, not answer questions they were not comfortable with and that they had the freedom to stop the interview at any point as well as the fact that they would remain anonymous. No names and addresses were asked or recorded during the interview.

4.9 Summing up

To sum it up, this chapter takes a look at how the research study was framed from how it was organized to how it was analysed. The case study is a qualitative social research that used a purposive sampling method with some of snowballing as a purposive sampling technique. Semi-

structured interviews were used to gather data from the respondents, who totalling 30 altogether were divided into five men and 20 women from the community, two officials, and three narratives who helped fill in the blanks about the change in the community in aspects of land accessibility and agriculture in the area and how this affects livelihoods strategies not only for women but for men as well.

5 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents the main findings and discussion of the study. It primarily looks at perceptions of land and agriculture in Lusoke village. It first starts by looking at perceptions on the accessibility of land for women in the village and also includes male views so as to see how the women's views differ from those of men. It then moves on to perceptions on the benefits of owning land, followed by a discussion on the effect of land ownership status on livelihood strategies. Finally, it looks at whether women's interaction with people outside of the Lusoke village assemblage affects their choice of livelihood strategies.

5.1 Views and perceptions on land and its accessibility in Lusoke

Lusoke as a rural area, under a chiefdom and led by a headman falls in the traditional land system category. This means that the land tenure system is customary and thus communal, making land access free for the local residents. A customary land system when strictly adhered to thus requires that land should not be sold but allocated to the local by the headman, short of there being no more land to allocate, for transparency and order in the community. The land belongs to the people and the headman acts as someone who maintains order when it comes to land division. However, from the study it was evident that this is no longer the case in the area just from the fact that I was able to find respondents who rented land in the area. In normal circumstances, when someone vacates a land, it should revert to the community. Armed with the information that a number of people were in fact renting land, I set out to explore perceptions of the availability of land for women in Lusoke village. The assemblage theory shows that material components such as land make up a big part of an assemblage. Thus, it is important to explore how such an important component is perceived as well as how it affects people's lives in an assemblage.

5.1.1 Perceptions of females renting land and on husband's land

Out of the 20 female respondents seven lived on rented land while five lived on their husband's land. The seven ladies saw land accessibility as a hard task for women in their village. The seven women also attributed the cost of renting land as one of the reasons they could not engage in agriculture, since they could only afford to pay for land to grow crops on when they could not afford to buy small areas of land to build a simple house on. One woman when asked why she

did not engage in agriculture replied *'there is only land to buy and my husband and I cannot afford to so we have to rent housing and the little land that comes with it'*. This was really peculiar to hear such words in a predominantly traditional area because strictly speaking one, as already mentioned above, customary land is not by any means for purchase. While the majority of the women who did not own land attributed it to financial issues, some just had no interest in securing land since they saw themselves as being in transit. Consequently, they had no idea on how difficult or easy it was to own land in the area but they knew that it was easy to access land to rent since people who own land set apart land to let out as a source of income. Accessing land in a customary nature at no cost was seen as something next to impossible.

One thing I noted was that, the closer to the road an individual or couple lived, the less likely it was that they engaged in farming, had a garden or lived on land that was theirs². The other was that, the younger the individual or household, the nearer to Chongwe market center and road they lived. It seemed like they were drawn to the buzz and noise offered by the growing market and the fact there are more people around the market and government offices and less as you live the market center where there is a lot urban-like characteristics. This is the area where modern housing although small is being build. There is official modern housing for high level government official but these can be counted on two hands. From my observation, it was this urban-like environment that attracts the young people and households. It of course has to be noted that housing near the market area is more close than it is as one goes further into the village making it hard to have farming space if one lives near the market. This of course is in terms of summer farming since winter gardening is only done close to the Chongwe river bank. However, none of the interviewees who resided in close proximity to the trading center had a garden. They thus did not engage in both winter and summer crop cultivation and again, it was because they did not have the financial clout to do so. This thus shows that it is not only the material component of land that is important in the area but water as well, since it becomes very important for winter gardening.

The other five women who lived on land owned by their husbands but had no stake in it also said accessing land for women was very hard in the village. Granted for a few involved in

² When someone owns land in this context, it does not mean that they have a title deed to that land but that they pay no fee for staying on the land. This is because legally, customary land should not be sold.

agriculture, the husband would give them a small plot of land which they could farm crops of their own choice after the main farming plot had been cultivated and planted, but their view on land still remained the same as those women who lived on rented land. Their view was that traditional/customary land had become increasingly hard to find. Even when one went to the head man to ask for land, finding unoccupied land was difficult. The available land was land owned by families and passed down from generation to generation and could only be accessed by renting it which was expensive. This means that it is for the women a double edged sword; customary land is unavailable (which in most cases would have been accessed by males first anyway as heads of households) but available land which is on rent is expensive and it is a known fact that in most third world communities world over, women are in the vulnerable group with less income and rights compared to men (Lopez-Claros & Zahidi, 2005; International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), 2010). The situation in the village thus works to compound their issues further, especially for those that may genuinely want to own a piece of land either to engage in agriculture as a livelihood strategy or in other livelihood strategies that are land related.

The women who did not own land believed it was much harder for a woman to access and own land compared to men since women had little to no financial backing for them to access and own land the way it could be at the time. Men on the other hand, engaged in various activities that gave them income and they had land passed on to them by their families. Consequently, women can only depend on the land owned by the husband.

5.1.2 Perceptions of females who own land

Some of the women who own land also had a similar perception on the ability to access and own land. They also had a distinction between owning land and being able to access it. First of all, accessing land was seen as easier than owning land since it could be accessed through rent or inheritance. However, when the issue of inheritance comes in, women are again left at a disadvantage since inheritance is male lineage based. It is thus a very rare occurrence to find women who have land passed on to them by their family. Of all the women I interviewed who owned land; only two had been given land by their fathers and were both in their 40s. One was a widow who was lucky enough to be given the land that her and her husband had lived on while

the rest had somehow managed to work for the land they now owned. The only information they would divulge was that the land was theirs. One woman had bought user rights.

The issue of land unavailability was also seen as being worsened by cases of squatting being experienced in the area. Some people just build on unused plots of land even though the land was owned by someone because they feel it has been left dormant for long periods of time and in most cases, it was men and not women taking this opportunity. The reason why women did not grab at this opportunity remains unknown, but some of the ladies attributed it to the fact that the ladies did not want to get into issues that would literally be hard for them to bear. The government was claiming huge hectares of land from the area meaning the amount of traditional land to go around had been reduced. This was the reason why people who own land were opting to rent out or sell the land that they could not farm or build on so that they could keep it even though it was not being directly used by them. This for them was a way to cope with the changing situation of infiltration in the area both by ordinary people and the government. When asked what the government was doing with the land it was claiming, not one of the respondents asked knew. All they knew was that some vast areas had been claimed. As a result of such factors in place, the size of land owned by individuals is reducing. This may be the reason why when asked about land, the women first response, especially for those that did not own land was *'there is no land'*. This in itself is a powerful answer because what one believes acts a foundation for what kind of livelihood strategies they can use and adopt. It almost automatically, if not completely, strikes out land based strategies as an option.

The women also made a distinction in accessing and owning land between the women who had grown up in the area and those who had just moved into the area. One woman noted that if a woman had grown up in the area, they had a greater chance of owning land than if they had just moved into the area either through marriage or for some kind of farm wage work. One woman I interviewed whose husband has been charged with guarding a farm area for a family now residing in Lusaka city pointed out that although she personally was not interested in owning land. She also said she knew that it was only accessible to women who have the financial clout to either buy off user rights or rent as well as those who had grown up in the village and thus benefited from land owned by the family. From all the women interviewed only the one woman mentioned above had accessed land and now owned it by buying user rights. Although she held

no title to the land, she had a document of agreement showing that the former owners had relinquished user rights to her.

The available land that was much easier to access was unproductive land that could only be used for house building or other non-agricultural related uses like brick making and burning; a job commonly done by men and thus it was the men who would be more likely to want such kind of areas. Thus for the women, depending on the family, they could inherit and if they had money, they could rent out or buy user rights but it seemed like it was always the men went in search of the 'free' land. It seems the culture that the man is the one who owns property in a household still remains a strong influencing force when it comes to women wanting to own property. Although it is true that they did not have the financial capacity, they did not seem like they would actively work towards owning property. There is a strong aspect of expressive components tied to the material components. Property such as land and housing carry a cultural aspect of being a man's domain. The men own, the women are taken care of. This aspect of tying cultural relevance to ownership may be the reason why one woman asked why she needed her own land when her husband already owned land.

During the study, I also observed that if the woman was the head of a household, they also mostly owned the land. For the others who were married, only one owned the land that her and her husband lived on and farmed while another co-owned the land with the husband. It was the widows who owned land and were engaged in what I can term successful subsistence agriculture. For the other women, always younger of course, the husband owned the land and they had no stake in the land except if the husband was gracious enough to give them a piece of land to use, which was only guaranteed as long as they were married as iterated by the majority of the women.

Like the women who rented or stayed on their husband's land, the majority of these women believed it was generally easier for a man to access and own land than it was for women because of land being sold and inheritance norms. However, a few believed women were not just serious enough to go after something and if they really wanted to own land, they too would work hard enough to reach to a point where they had land in their own name. It took commitment for both

men and women to work out land issues, to access, and own it. Although it was a little easy for the men, a woman who really wanted land could get it.

5.1.3 Perceptions of males who own land

Co-presence in an assemblage is of vital importance. There exist within assemblages interaction between sub-assemblages which have the ability to exchange beliefs, impressions and perceptions since they share some form of identity or emotional attachment through culture and heritage (DeLanda, 2006). The aspect of co-presence thus becomes important when it comes to getting perceptions in a community. The men's perceptions are thus included because it helps capture a well-rounded picture of a community as an assemblage is made of links and networks which are in constant interplay. They thus have a kind of insider view into the perceptions that women perceive and experience from land ownership in their area making them a great source of information triangulation. Their views also give a foundation on which to base differences from a gender point of view. It is important to note however, that their views are only included in this section on accessibility and the next on perceived benefits of land ownership.

Perceptions on the accessibility of land and ownership by the men were divided into three groups. The first group said accessing land was very easy. It was the conditions tied to owning land that were very hard to meet. People were selling off traditional land and thus land ownership had become a business. For people who are able to rent, user rights are really limited and the owners of the land did not allow tenants to make major changes to the land that would lead to investment or even agriculture production since this involved manipulating the land. The customary land had been exhausted and thus it was difficult to own land but you could access it if one had the financial capability to do so. It was thus hard for both men and women to own land now and it was not easier for one sex compared to the other.

The fact that some people in the area are accessing land through paying for it means that the traditional way of owning land is not working as effectively as it should be. The way customary land is accessed and owned is supposed to benefit the people in rural areas who are already vulnerable and live in poverty. However, if they now have to pay for it, the government and the traditional leaders should revise the system so that a way forward is found that does not drain the little resources that the poor have.

The other group believed it was very easy to access and own land. All one had to do was visit the headman and they would be given land. One man told me he had been given land just as little as two years back and all he did was put in a request with the headman. This was really a solitary case since all the respondents who own land had either bought user rights or inherited the land through the family line. They, like those who did not own land, emphasized the fact that it was next to impossible to get land from the headman since there was literally no land to be given especially for agricultural purposes. One respondent in the group also said '*women never approached the headman on issues of land and they are not interested as they are content with staying on the husbands' land*'. When I enquired on whether this also had to do with culture as a woman would not ordinarily visit the headman, he did say that if a lady wanted to visit the headman, all she had to do was talk to the headman's wife so she could be present as well as other village heads. It thus seemed the headman was accessible for land matters but not accessed by the majority of women.

The fact that women were in the minority when it came to land ownership and this seemingly reluctant spirit for ownership made me reflect on what the situation would be in the next two or three decades for the future generations. The only women who would be able to access or own land would be those that hold land through the family name. It may also mean that there is no chance for the children of those who rent land and their children's children unless of course as stated by a few respondents they were committed enough and really wanted the land. The one thing I observed about the group of men who said it was easy to access and own land was that most of them were either in the early or late forties pushing towards 50 years. As a result, it led me to the conclusion that these men unlike the others had probably asked for land a long time ago when land may have still been available. The younger men almost always said the headman told them there was no land available to be given out.

The third group saw both accessing and owning land as a very hard task to undertake at the time. It did not matter whether one wanted to buy user rights, rent, or own traditional land, it was currently really difficult due to the fact that although the land was traditional in nature, it seemed like there was no longer in place a set of rules that saw to the equal access of land. People did whatever they wanted to do making land expensive for the ordinary folk whose income level was already too low. One man said land in the area was scarce and if one wanted land; they had to go

somewhere else to look for it. According to his knowledge, all the land was occupied. It did not matter if someone saw unoccupied and unused land that land still belonged to someone else but was currently not just being actively utilized. From walking around the village, I was led to see sense in what the man said because I was able to see vast areas of land unused and unoccupied, but I also had to remind myself that I had visited the area in a time it was not busy agriculture wise. Most people cultivate and plant in the summer when it rains as opposed to winter when they have to irrigate. People were not actively cultivating or sowing fields and were only tending to gardens close to the river. To assess how much land was really unutilized, one would have to visit the area in summer, when it rained and people engaged in extensive land cultivation and sowing.

Perceptions on land accessibility in a nutshell

Perceptions are important in shaping what people view as important or not. In this context, the material component, land is highly attached to the expressive components which are more intangible and related to how women feel about their ability to access land compared to their male counterparts, becomes very important. Although views or perceptions on the accessibility of land by women were mixed, it can be seen that generally, more women felt that they had a harder time accessing land than males. Reasons given for the difficulty in accessing land included lack of finances, biased inheritance norms, and non-availability of productive land and land in general. These had a great influence on how they are attached to land and consequently agriculture.

What was unexpected is that the majority of the men interviewed, whether they owned land or not thought that accessing and owning land was difficult for both sexes while women though it was easier for men. It maybe because men are more likely to actively seek out what they want as opposed to most women who I interviewed, who said they had never actively looked for land. The women might do the most work if the household is engaged in agriculture but the man also works towards owning property for the family. At the end of the day, it is thus a matter of how much effort one puts in what they want to work for. Territorialization in terms of inheritance is also important when it comes to perceptions. The one whose families have a long lineage and have land in the area are more likely to own land now and in the future.

5.2 Perceptions on the benefits of women owning land

When people put effort into something it is usually a means to an end; for some kind of reward or benefit. Thus, the way working the land is territorialized in Lusoke and what benefits people expect or see from owning land may have a big impact on how agriculture or farming is viewed by women and consequently impacting on what people choose as their means of looking for and sustaining a livelihood. The perceptions of benefits differ for people according to the situation they find themselves in. This section will thus look at perceptions on benefits of owning land for women since perceptions are one of the major building blocks of an assemblage. Perceptions define how an assemblage chooses to live.

The variable 'sex' or more specifically male perception (as mentioned in the last section) is used as a means of control to see if there really is a benefit in women owning land so that assessment is not limited only to females who do not own land. As the assemblage theory points out, human beings are social beings and their actions emerge from interactions with other people and interactions are one way that perceptions are exchanged. Interaction is not limited to females only.

5.2.1 Perceptions of women who do not own land

Women who did not own land at the time of the study said they saw a lot of benefits in women owning land just by observing other women who had land in the area as well as through their own perception of how it would be like to have their own land. The first response given by the majority of women to the question on whether they saw any benefits experienced by women who own land in the community was that those women who own land did not have to worry about paying rent. This answer was the first for at least 9 out of 10 of the sample of women who did not own land, it was only after this answer that some women would talk about being able to farm or grow crops of their choice as opposed to being told when to and what to farm or grow in the gardens. I also noted that although one or two of these women were involved in agriculture, the majority were not. They were either homemakers or involved in selling some type of vegetable, pastries, or groceries in the market.

Such kind of a response was associated with women who did not own land. When these were asked if they would be involved in agriculture if they owned land and did not have to rent, they

said they would but they felt that since it was hard to find land, they would invest in other businesses. Some on the other hand were not sure if they wanted to get into agriculture; they had not contemplated about it. One woman said *'it would depend on what my husband says. However, I have not really thought about getting into agriculture'*. She was a housewife and although the land they were staying on was rented, they had a little land that could be used as a garden during the summer when it rained. She told me she had never planted anything around the house. In retrospect it was either she had never taken the initiative or maybe it had to do with the fact that most of the women renting said landlords did not allow tenants to manipulate land in any way like building chicken coops or tilling the land.

Another benefit seen in women owning land is that they would be able to independent. They would not have to depend on their husband or wait for their husbands to make decisions as a sign of respect. When a woman owns land, they can make decisions on what kind of investment to make on the land- renting out land being the most preferred livelihood strategy, build houses, what crops to grow and when. The woman would thus be able to gain a livelihood from the land and also save money for more investments since they would grow crops for both home consumption and a little extra for selling.

Other benefits mentioned included; having a peace of mind in case of death of the husband or divorce, owning land being empowering to women, and having land as security for the future. I observed that the younger the respondents, spanning an age range of 18 to 27years, the more likely it was that I had to ask if being able to engage in agriculture was in anyway seen as a possible benefit to owning land. The other age group ranging from 28-40 years volunteered the answer being able to engage in agriculture as a benefit. This correlates with Eder's 1999 study in San Jose that showed that offspring households were more likely to disengage from agriculture that their household of origin. There is thus a noticeable generational difference in what livelihood strategies are preferred in the community.

A generational difference was not only evident but also the choice of residence was. The ladies that talked of renting more also lived closer to the main road where most of the renting is happening. This just goes to show how strong relations of interiority and impressions are in building perceptions. Within the same assemblage where agriculture is the way people outside

the area territorialize it, deterritorialization is occurring. The assemblage is forming a different identity where rent, a phenomenon that has been historically common only in urban area, is occurring and as the studies by Eder (ibid) and Molle et.al (2001) show, there is indeed duality in most rural areas. The traditional way of meeting livelihoods through agriculture continues but at the same time, the younger generations are diversifying into non-agricultural means of livelihoods. This warrants that the rural in the global south be seen as more than a predominantly agricultural setting but one where a multiplicity of livelihoods occur.

The last benefit that was given in owning land was that it was emotionally satisfying. It offered a sense of pride in that as a woman, you owned land, something seen as mainly a man's domain. People, including men, would respect you and your husband if married would not treat you as poorly as they would if they owned the land you stayed on. At the end, it came to issues of being able to make decisions and not being sidelined by the husband. Owning land increased one's capacity to affect decision making and plans in the household. Owning land thus deterritorializes women by augmenting their capacity to be recognized in the community. A double deterritorialization is occurring in the community; one that is changing the community into urban like characteristic while at the same time, owning land has moved beyond it being a means to engage in agriculture and gain a livelihood to one of power, pride, and status for women.

5.2.2 Perceptions of women who own land

The benefits that women experience from the ownership of land correlate to the ones that are perceived from those who do not own land. Only two out of the eight women who owned land were not involved in agriculture. One was in full time employee as a nurse at the local hospital and said she did not have time to spare for farming. The other woman was involved in trade of groceries and small manufactured goods like flip flops and shoes. She said she preferred to concentrate on that type of business along with renting out some of the land she owned since compared to farming, it was not as hard and she saw more profit. She also did not grow food even for home consumption but bought from others who grew vegetables in the area.

The other women who both owned land and were involved in agriculture said they did not perceive but experienced the benefits of owning their own land. The first two benefits the women mentioned were being able to farm as well as build houses either for rent or for their children.

One woman said she had to make sure most of her land was utilized so that her land was not claimed by the government as most land was being claimed and used by the government. Most of the women pointed out that the two benefits of being able to farm, build houses or invest in the land are highly contingent on whether someone has the financial ability to be able to buy seed and fertilizers as well as buy building materials if they wanted to build. One of the ladies said and I quote *‘a lot of women in the area do not have the money to start farming and they see agriculture as hard. It is hard to engage in agriculture if you do not make money to reinvest and if you lose everything you may not have somewhere to fall back on. This may be the reason why so many women may prefer to just get married to a man who owns land than to own land themselves. This way they do not have all the responsibility on their shoulders’*. This in a way resonates with Ian Scone’s (2009) emphasis on the importance of the local perspective in a global. The rural area is painted as a place that is predominantly agriculture and since women have little to no land rights, non-governmental organizations fight for bills, policies and acts to be passed that should look into the areas. While land rights are very important, engaging in agriculture is more than just being able to own land. It is also about the financial and physical ability. Thus, when such rights are being fought for, empowerment and capability strategies should be incorporated so that women who genuinely want to make agriculture their livelihood have a solid foundation to start on. Their needs and wants should be taken into accounts as well and not just their rights.

The assemblage theory also recognizes the importance of expressive components in shaping people’s behavior as well as their preferences. The collective whole of benefits that transcends the physical thus also becomes important when it comes to creating a complete picture of the women who own land as a sub-assemblage of an assemblage. The emotional benefit that the women experienced from owning their own land was having a peace of mind. Like the women who did not own land, knowing that they did not have to depend on anyone and not being worried about moving from place to place in case of divorce or death of their spouse meant that they could at least not worry as much as someone who did not have land. They did not have to worry of being evicted by relatives of the husband and with hard work they knew that they had a chance at a secure future where they could raise money for their children for food and education. The benefits for them started from an emotional and psychological point of view of a peace of mind, no intimidation from males on decision making, as well as having a more secure future

without fearing what would happen in case of death of spouse to a physical one of food security and being able to make a living.

One woman also brought up the issue of inheritance. She said '*since the way of inheritance in the land is that families give land to their male children, women who own land can also pass on land to their female children*'. This way, the female generation would also have a chance at being able to own land regardless of whether they wanted to engage in agriculture or not. The female children would thus also be able to have the psychological and emotional benefits that their mothers experienced by just owning a piece of land. The woman also made it a point to mention that she was working on building houses for her children so that they did not have to worry so much when they grew up. This really brought into reality the benefits that the women who own land, albeit in the minority experience. The benefit of women owning land does not end with the women but also the female younger generations. If more women owned land at thought like this woman, most female children would be able to inherit land as well, securing their livelihoods at so many levels from physical needs to psychological needs.

From my observation, there was a big difference between the women who owned land not just in physical appearance but also in the way they spoke and the manner they carried themselves. There was an air of confidence in them that most of the women who did not own land did not exhibit. These women also talked more about future plans they had for themselves and their children as well as their ability to be able to manipulate the land and invest into it since it was theirs. They would reap the benefits more but of course most of the women in this assemblage never forgot to remind me that these benefits did not come easily and that one had to put in work and effort if they wanted to benefit from the land. There had been women in the past that owned land but still faced difficulties because they did not work hard or make plans that would turn in a profit from the land. Hard work is thus imperative for success. However, it is important to note that although the actions of some of the women in trying to extend inheritance to the female generation are admirable, they are but drops in the ocean. The numbers of women who own land compared to men is insignificant, meaning their efforts are also significantly reduced because they do not give land only to their female children but also to their male children.

The last benefit mentioned by this group of women but certainly not the least was the fact that owning land gave the women who own land a head start compared to the one that did not. When it came to livelihood seeking, the women started from a supplementary stand point than completely from scratch. They already had land and thus they just had to start thinking of getting money for seeds and fertilizer which they could get from renting out parts of their land. The women who did not have land, however, had to start from looking for land which even if they found did not automatically translate into being a source of livelihood for them since they would spend the money on renting and have none to invest into the land to yield a livelihood.

5.2.3 Perceptions of men on the benefits of women owning their own land

When the men were asked what benefits they thought women got from owning their own piece of land, they said the benefits were similar to those men experienced from land ownership. Among the few mentioned were the ability to make a living through renting land and/or save money by not renting, being able to grow crops of their own choice without having to answer to someone or depend on anyone. The other benefit was that the women would not have to necessarily be bound by what their husband wants if married and if it was the husband who owned their land. In addition, the women would not go through the kind of pressure or problems that a number of women get from their husband's relatives if he passed on.

One man however, said he did not see any benefits of a woman owning their own land. Rephrasing he said *'it is better for women to own land in conjunction with their husband. This way, they can receive help in terms of decision making, purchase of what was needed whether be it for household use or for farming purposes. Women also need men's help to gain an income'*. In the beginning of the interview, I had asked him who made decisions about farming and income spending in the household between husband and wife and he had said that decisions made both by him and his wife carried equal weight but when it came to benefits, it seemed he was more dominant than his wife when it came to decision making. When asked about the women who owned land in Lusoke village and whether he thought they did not reap benefits his view was that they struggled more than those women who either owned land with their husband or stayed on their husband's land. Issues of the future and death for him could be counteracted by the husband having a proper plan for his family, such as making investments that would take care of them in the future. Although he had such a rigid view when it came to women's land

ownership he did seem to have a plan put in place to take care of his family in case of an emergency.

I did take note that when it came to the men's perception, the emotional and psychological benefits were not mentioned not even once and this may be the reason why to them women owning land may not be as important as it is to women, especially for those that fell in the 28 to 40 years age range. It is such expressive components that are unique to a sub-assemblage that becomes important and consequently make a difference when it comes to the perception of how important something is to someone. In this case how important a material component such as land is to women is unique to a sub-assemblage, even though it shares its culture and perceptions with other sub-assemblages that make up the whole.

Perceptions of land benefits in a nutshell

The perceptions of the benefits that come from women owning land are both unique and shared in Lusoke village. While both groups of women (those who own land or do not own land) respectively feel and see both the tangible and intangible benefits of land ownership, the males in the area only talk about the tangible benefits. Land ownership for the women thus goes beyond being a means of meeting and sustaining a livelihood. It is also not only emotionally satisfying but also a cushion for the future that gives them a peace of mind. The fact that the women who did not own land also talked about the psychological aspect of land ownership just validates this benefit further. They do not own land and thus they know that there is always a worry in them about their future in case of separation, divorce or death of their spouse, which seems to not be the case for women who did own land. For them, it was about putting in the work that was needed to make a livelihood and not about death and divorce. The women who own land also talked a lot about the security of their children in terms of food and land ownership, meaning their children would also benefit from the land owned by their mothers.

5.3 The effect of land ownership status and relationships on livelihood strategies for women in Lusoke village.

Interactions between parts of an assemblage have the ability to not only shape beliefs and perceptions but to also shape their actions. This reciprocal determination between parts is inherent in assemblages as wholes (Bandura, 1978; DeLanda, 2006). Reciprocal determination

means a person's behavior and actions both influences and is influenced by factors around the person. These factors can range from their physical environment to their social environment. The physical environment are the material components (land, water) found in an assemblage while the social environment is the interaction with people either those found within an assemblage (relations of interiority) or those that are external to an assemblage (relations of exteriority). The first part will therefore look at the effect of land ownership status on livelihood strategies while the second part of this section will explore how the relations of interiority and exteriority affect livelihood for the women in Lusoke village.

5.3.1 Land ownership status and livelihood strategies

The livelihood strategies of a community are highly dependent upon the kind of resources a community has. Although Lusoke is an area predominantly known for agriculture, it has shortfalls especially when it comes to women being able to own land. The majority of the women interviewees did not own their own land and talks with some of the village leaders such as the village secretary showed that the men owned the majority of the land in the area. Out of the 619 households only 93 were female led households and even within number, not all owned the land they stayed on and farmed.

Talking to the women also revealed that traditional ways of inheritance were still predominant in the area where the inheritance line runs with the male lineage. Apart from the inheritance struggle, the people in the area had the perception that there is no more customary land for women to access for free and although there is some land to access at a fee, the majority of the women did not have the financial capability to buy or rent land. For some women, depending on rain-fed agriculture would mean that they cannot have a sustainable livelihood that can ensure financial and food security all year round. Irrigation was also not affordable for them since it would require them to buy irrigation pipes (a financial issue again) and not everyone lived near the Chongwe river. All the gardens I visited during the study except for one belonged to men and some did not even belong to the people within the village but from other villages as well.

In spite of such livelihood crippling issues, women in Lusoke still manage to pursue livelihood outcomes through different livelihood strategies. The women who own land, except for the two who did not practice any level of farming or gardening, were all involved in agriculture; some in

both crop and animal agriculture. All the women, except for two also had another livelihood strategy in addition to farming, the most common being selling pastries and small manufactured goods in the local market. Buying fruit in bulk from Lusaka city and then reselling it at retail prices was another strategy as well as making bricks to sell to people building houses or shops. The respondents also revealed that most women in the area did something in the local market even if they were not engaged in own farm agriculture. They either bought fresh vegetables like collard greens, cabbages, onions and tomatoes from the people who owned winter gardens and fish, which they then resold in the market. This means that women who own gardens have a higher profit than those who do not since they do not have to pay the extra order charges which translates into savings which they could use for their children's educational needs and other money making ventures to increase household income.

They do not only save on spending extra in the small scale local businesses but also save since they also use what they grow in their gardens for home consumption as well. The maize saved from the summer yield is also used to make maize meal which is cheaper to take to a miller than buying commercial maize meal. Although the maize grown for most is not enough to go from yield to yield, the fact that they had another source of income meant that they could manage to have some income and/or food for the periods during which farming or gardening is not favorable. Diversification within agriculture and beyond agriculture is a strategy they use to ensure a consistent flow of income and therefore food security for the family. It is not an issue of preference for these women but of complementarity; a means of survival.

When issues are looked at from their point of view, it makes sense that most of the people in the area are also choosing to either rent out land or build housing to rent out to those who are coming into the area. This ensures a steady flow of income that small scale agriculture cannot provide, especially with the decreased rainfall and frequent droughts that Zambia has been experiencing in the last decade. Zambia has been experiencing a lot of rainfall shortages and droughts and even though Chongwe is in an ecological zone that typically does well when it comes to rainfall, rainfall decrease has also been felt in the area (Zambia Vulnerability Assessment Committee (ZVAC), 2004; Funder et. al, 2013).

The women who did not own land on the other hand were more involved on livelihood strategies that were centred around trade in the market. They also had similar non-own farm livelihood strategies like the women who own land like selling goods in the market area, including garden produce they purchased from people who have gardens. Only three women were also engaged in agriculture, one on the piece of land the husband saved for them from the main land and the other two on land they specifically rented to grow crops on. The fact that they could not access land (although when asked, a few said that had never tried to access or own land) was the main reason they went into trade. Land was expensive and had been exhausted. The issue of land being exhausted or expensive made sense when I met the three officials from Lusaka city who were in the area on grounds of reports of land corruption and encroachment in the area. The traditional land in the area is being used by people who do not belong in the area or even chiefdom. However, asking too many questions on why the government was also taking some land was something I avoided since it was a political issue.

The fact that most of the women who fell in the age range 18-27 had not attempted to find land but said the inability to access free land and the lack of funds to buy land or rent enough land to farm as the reason they did not engaged in agriculture. This showed just how powerful expressive components of interactions or interpersonal networks can be when it comes to sharing of information. However, it also made me wonder whether this in itself was a problem. If they did not just rely on receiving information from others about the inavailability of land or how customary free land had been exhausted, would they have instead searched for land on their own and find out first hand how difficult it really was to find land, and if they had searched, would most of be able to find a piece of land no matter how small? These are some of the questions that the research could not answer but would really have been important to answer.

It makes sense that a number of women who owned land, and very few who did not, emphasised the fact that if someone really wanted the land, they could be able to access no matter how difficult people said it was to access land or own it. Probably they saw the situation like the man who said it was better for the woman to own land with their husband. Thus if the man did not search for land, they also did not so that they would not have to bear the responsibility of the land alone. What they heard and were told after all from women who own land is that land ownership required hard work as well as good decision making skills if any profit or livelihood

was to be made from it. A lesser of the evil for them is thus the best when it comes to meeting livelihood. Buying produce and sitting in the sun reselling it is hard but going through the process of owning land, tilling it, looking for money for seeds and fertilizer, irrigation and even experiencing droughts is harder. Diversification within agriculture is not an option, diversification out of agriculture is a reality and a must for them.

Even with the view that the women who owned land did way better in terms of livelihoods than they did, they still did not show interest in owning land for agriculture purposes. It was either for house building so they did not have to rent or for the purpose of renting to others. Land ownership in the community for the women who do not own land is thus synonymous with better livelihoods due to the fact that you can rent out land or save money by not renting but not due to the fact that one would have the opportunity to engage in agriculture. Unlike the studies done by Eder (1999) and Molle (2001), there is no industrial or factory growth in the area that is pulling the younger generation away from agriculture. The diversification seen is more into trade and whether or not the real push factor is the unavailability of land, the offspring households and individuals studied showed a disengagement from agriculture. When asked what their husbands did, most of the ladies revealed that their husbands were in blue collar jobs. Thus, it is not only the ladies but the men as well that seem to be diversifying away from agriculture in this case.

This has implications for the future as well. As the offspring generations move from agricultural ways of seeking, meeting and sustaining livelihoods and more into trade and manual work, their offsprings are also more likely to adopt the kind of livelihood strategies that their parents use. This will in the long run redefine how the people in the area territorialize the material component land. As shown by both the women who own land and who do not, land is still very important to them, it is the 'why' that differs between the two. On the one hand, land is important because they can use it to farm while on the other, it is important because it can save them from spending money on rent and they can make an income by renting it to others. The generation that sees land as more important in rent terms is the younger one that is still having children meaning future generations are more likely to adopt the latter 'why' of the importance of land than the former because that will be the social environment that they are raised in. The social environment after all is a strong shaping environment for perception and ideas as shown by the assemblage theory. This however, does not spell the death of agriculture, it just means that

more and more people will opt for multiple livelihood strategies. Agriculture does feed the community and thus it will still remain a prominent livelihood strategy but maybe not as widely practised as it has been in the past.

Why land is important to a community or group of people thus becomes very important when it come to macro level decision making in terms of policy making and implememntation. The difference in how the women in the area want to use land shows that not everyone is looking for fertile agriculture land. Some want and/or need the land as long as it is stable enough to build and live on. Even though the women did not know of any land policies or acts for women, it is the duty of the government and non-governmental organization to know such issues so that when land policies are created, they are tailored differently for the different needs of women. This way governments will not only concertrate on providing policies on land that are more aimed at agriculture in rural areas but on land that can be utilized for other ventures as well. Although this is case study, the other studies documented by authors such as Eder (1999), Molle et.al (2001), Bryceson (2002), and Rigg (2006) show that diversification in the rural global south is not limited to one country or one region, it is ongoing in a number of areas and thus it is of importance that the incumbent leaders in these area recognise the duality and shift in livelihood strategies so that they can adqutely meet the needs of their people through policy.

Land ownership status and livelihood strategies in a nutshell

Land ownership status in Lusoke village does have an effect on the livelihood strategies the women adopt in seeking, meeting and sustaining their day to day needs. The women who own land are more likely to have dual livelihood strategies, which lie both in agriculture and trade. The women who do not own land on the other hand have livelihood strategies that are predominantly in trade. There is also a generational difference in livelihood strategies for the women and men alike in that in both cases, the older men and women had agriculture as the dominant livelihood strategy and then did something else on the side. The younger generations in the study were, however, entirely out of own account farming or in agriculture with the men in blue collar jobs and women in trade. Although land still remains a very important material

component of their assemblage, there is also a generational difference in how the two groups of women identify and territorialize land.

5.3.2 Relations of exteriority and their effect on livelihood strategies for the women in Lusoke village.

Lusoke village like most villages in Chongwe has a lot of influx of people coming in the area whether on permanent basis on a short term basis. Chongwe is the home to both Chalimbana University, which specializes in training teachers, and Chongwe River Camp which is a safari park - see (<http://www.educationinzambia.com/index.php/universities/chalimbana-university>; <http://www.chongwe.com/>). There are also people who go there to buy produce from both subsistence and commercial farmers, and people who work in the rural health centers, which is the reason why there is ample daily public transport going in and out of the area on a daily basis. The areas thus receive people from not only Zambia but around the world as well. The people of Chongwe thus have a chance to not only interact but observe people that are external to their assemblage.

The people in Lusoke village are not only limited to interactions with people who come into their area but are also mobile people, especially those that are in small trade business. They travel on a weekly basis to Lusaka to buy groceries and fruits to sell, some of them several times in a week. Through this mobility, they interact with people who have different perceptions of what material components are important, what expressive components they have, and of course their way of coding their territory differs. One is already in a more modern era (Lusaka) while Lusoke village is just starting to experience such change. Of course the people who are mobile are also bringing with them such aspects from the city. I was able to notice during the times I commuted how the ladies and even men to a lesser extent, dressed differently from when they travelled as opposed to when they were within Chongwe and more specifically within Lusoke village. It seemed to me they tried to fit into the modern look. I thus tried to find out if their interaction with people, who differed from them went beyond physical dress appearance and into livelihood strategy in terms of what they either wanted to adopt or had already adopted.

5.3.2.1 Relations of exteriority, women who own land, and livelihood strategies

The interviews of the women who owned land revealed that the kind of livelihood they adopted was mainly influenced by their upbringing or the social environment they had lived in while they were still young. The age range of this group as already mentioned was between the ages of 28 and 40, meaning the majority of these women had been raised in a generation where agriculture was the main livelihood strategy in the area. It is what their fathers and forefathers did and it had provided them with the food and income they needed to survive. One woman said '*it has been good enough to take me to school, put clothes on my body and put food in my mouth so it is a very good livelihood strategy*'. She would not be where she was now had it not been for the agriculture her family had engaged in. Through agriculture, she had also done what her parents had done for her; clothed her children, fed them and taken them to school. The influence to go into agriculture was thus purely as a result of interior relations with previous generations within the assemblage.

The same woman also used an African proverb that translates 'the abundance of food at your neighbor's house will not satisfy your hunger'. What she meant was that other people's way of making a livelihood should not be a decisive factor of what livelihood strategy one should get into. If they let themselves be influenced by what other people were doing they may not survive because what works for one may not work for another. This made a lot of sense because the environment in which one is has a bearing on what livelihood one can adopt. The kind of material component for example makes a difference. Urban areas and rural areas differ in the amount of available land that can be used for agricultural purposes. Rural areas have more free land while urban areas have more residential land than anything else. Urban areas also have more formal types of work while the amount of formal work in rural areas is limited, not only in numbers but to those who can access it. One has to be educated and most of it is in clinics or hospitals and government offices. Thus the environment dictates more than the relationships they have with other people from outside their assemblages. Rural places in the global south may thus be viewed as similar in terms of livelihoods and challenges faced by women but they still remain geographically and individually unique.

Trading in small manufactured goods and selling of their agricultural produce in a more central location was, however, a more recent trend that kept growing from year to year. People in the

area would ordinarily follow people to their gardens if they wanted to purchase some produce where they would get the produce in its fresh form. Although a few people still followed some farmers to their gardens and/or farms if they wanted to buy produce in bulk, at a retail level, farmers harvested the produce and then sold it in the market where most people came to buy their household food and groceries now. They would have a relative or their children if they were not in school set up shop in the market and sell the produce. The area is thus developing into a more modern setting where there is a centralized market place, where some people are responsible for growing and others for buying. The people in the area are thus learning to conform to this new way of trading. The women are thus using the developing structure to achieve livelihood outcomes. If they can sell the majority of their produce by taking it to the market place then they will.

This trend of centralized trading is as a result of internal and external influences coming from both macro and micro levels. The incumbent government as part of all assemblages by having councils at district levels thus automatically has an influence on what goes on in a way. Having a centralized area where business takes place is one way it does this. The people within the area also shape this way of trading by often buying goods from people who are in the market than from people's gardens. Thus people are conforming to this way of doing things in order for them to supplement their livelihood. Consequently, at a personal level, the women who owned land were not influenced by the people they interact with outside their assemblage for a way to make a livelihood but as the community changes, they adapt to the changes as well working on both agriculture as a source of livelihood in terms of food security and trade to make income in terms of money to spend on home necessities as well as their children's education for those that have children that go to school.

The history of the place thus continues to survive through agriculture and looking at the way things are done, it is likely to survive even if it is only at a small scale. I noticed, however, that since agriculture is mainly done by the older generation, it may only survive for the younger generation more as a business than as a way of ensuring food security the way it has always been. In the past, people in the area, as revealed by my informal conversations, had engaged in agriculture to grow food to put directly on their table, now people grew crops to sell and then buy food to put on the table.

This is why animal agriculture is now almost non-existent in the area. While in the past, the type of agriculture carried out was a balance between crop and animal, people now mostly engage in crop agriculture especially in vegetables. Then some people in the area could buy and city folk can come to buy if they wanted to be assured that the vegetables they were buying are fresh and grown in clean environments. The changing face of the village may also contribute to the slow death of animal agriculture in the area. More houses are being built and the distance between household gets shorter each and every day. Communal grazing land has reduced making it hard for one to keep animals like cattle. It has to be noted, however, that while winter crops are mainly grown to be sold, summer maize is mainly for home consumption and thus there still remains a component of agriculture, for those that still practice it in the village, which is sorely done to put food directly on the table.

5.3.2.2 Relations of exteriority, women who do not own land, and livelihood strategies

The women who did not own land on the other hand showed that the influence of what livelihood strategy to engage in was both internal and external. The majority, if not all, have grown up in a generation where trade in the community is taking off and where education (especially primary) is easily accessible. They are thus growing up in an era that is very different from that of their parents and grandparents, meaning they are also likely to branch into livelihood strategies that are common presently. Like the women who own land that show that the social environment they grew up in had a significant influence on livelihood strategies, the era in which the women who do not own land have an impact on their livelihood too. The environment in which they have grown in is one where livelihoods strategies are dominated by trade and renting out of land and thus, except for the few who had been given land by their husbands to farm on, trade becomes the most viable, option especially if they have starting capital.

As already mentioned earlier in this paper, a decent number of people are moving into the area from Lusaka city³ from all walks of life. There is thus a dilution of perceptions and the environment in the village. The few women I had the opportunity to meet who had moved from Lusaka where mostly in the age range of 20 to 27 and their husbands had accessed land in the

³ Although I could not get the exact number of people who had moved into the area from Lusaka city, the headman and village secretary confirmed that in the past five years, they had received a lot of people in the area from Lusaka who came to stay in the area. Most of them who live in the community are young couples. The more wealthy families buy huge hectares of land for big farms where commercial farming is done.

area either through relatives or by buying user rights. None of them (including their husbands) were engaged in agriculture. Their husbands were involved in blue collar jobs in the big commercial farms in the area while the ladies were either homemakers or involved in small trade businesses in the community market.

These ladies like the majority of women who did not own land live close to the market of the main road like most of the women who rent land. The ladies who did not own land did agree that there was a degree of influence from the friendships that developed with these women. The women have lived in urban areas and farming is foreign to them and thus their type of livelihood rubs on to the community in that it is not as demanding as agriculture. There is air modernity in trade unlike the manual quality that agriculture possesses. The women engaged in trade as a livelihood strategy dress up nicely and not go through labor intensive periods to gain a livelihood. There is also the fact that it gives them the opportunity to travel to the city more often this way and not spend all their time in a rural space. It seemed the trade business was more attractive to the younger generation because it had the ability to give them a livelihood and also fulfil the vanity aspect of their life. It gave them the ability to dress up and travel as well; to in a way be modern within a traditional society. As one of the ladies put it *'one does not need to sweat to make a living, you can be smart and still put food on the table for the children to eat'*.

The aspect of the dual profit in trade was an aspect that the two officials interviewed also highlighted. Those who were in school or had just finished part of their primary and basic education were not interested in agriculture because it was seen as archaic and not modern. They wanted a cleaner job that allowed them to dress like the town folk. Although the issue of the unavailability of land was also touched upon, the changing environment of the village was also linked to the changes in livelihood strategies that the younger generations are adopting. The village is being changed by those coming in but the people themselves are also changing it by embracing the change. More people are concentrating on building modern housing, on renting and brick making. Winter gardens are reducing year by year and so is the amount of land used for summer farming as people sell their user rights to people who build housing for rent.

The fact that the area has seen such a great amount of facelift has not only affected the way people see Chongwe and specifically Lusoke village, but it has also led to a change of interest for

women in livelihood strategies. However, the fact that the way the village is coded is also changing means that the people also have to adapt to the change and embrace the livelihood strategies that best work in the area at the time. Interest to change direction into what livelihood strategies to pursue is thus as a result of not one but many factors. It is both a personal and community issue, influenced more by interior than exterior relationships that the community holds. This is because the younger generations are adopting modernity which is being adapted and redefined according to what is acceptable and not acceptable in the area.

Relations of exteriority and their effect on livelihood strategies in a nutshell

While it is true that relations of exteriority can have a major impact and influence in changing perceptions and even interests of people, the case of Lusoke village shows that its relationships with people outside of their assemblage has only a minimal impact in terms of what livelihood strategies women in the area use to pursue and meet livelihood outcomes. The changing environment in the community is also another factor that contributes to the interests that the ladies develop towards other livelihood strategies that are not strictly agricultural based. The changes that take place in an area thus become very vital when livelihoods strategies are looked at because they also influence change. Free customary land available for agricultural use is seen as almost non-existent and buying or renting land is expensive for the locals. This has had a major influence in changing livelihood strategy interests.

6 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents an overview of the research finding of the study. It then offers concluding remarks as well as some recommendations based on the main issues discussed.

6.1 Overview

Land remains an important material component for women of Lusoke village for both those that own land for those that do not. It is part of their heritage and even though how it is being used has seen change overtime, it still remains an integral part of livelihood strategies. Even though land remains an important material component for women, accessibility of land by women in the area is seen as a hard task to do. This is not only because they are females but customary land in the area is said to be fully occupied and thus there is no more land that can be accessed. This was the view by both women and men although a few men attributed the fact that women did not have land to the fact that most women never tried to actively seek land for ownership. Land is, however, also attached to expressive components relating to culture which sees property ownership as something that is ‘a male thing’ since they are the head of households. Perceptions on the accessibility of land are thus influenced by the culture within the area as well as the actual availability of land in the area.

The women in the area also see a lot of benefits from owning land in that it can enable them to make a livelihood either through agriculture or other non-agricultural based livelihood strategies like land renting. The benefits however, also transcend the physical aspects of meeting needs to include psychological and emotional benefits for women. Land ownership therefore offers emotional cushioning through providing a peace of mind for the women who own land, both in the present and for the future. Their land ownership status also has a significant bearing on the kind of livelihood strategies that the women adopt. Women who own land were found to have dual livelihood strategies were one is in agriculture or what is referred to in this study as own-account farming, as well as in trade of agriculture produce and manufactured items. Women, who did not own land, on the other hand, were either only homemakers or following the trade livelihood strategy. As mentioned throughout the discussion of findings, the presence of diversity in an assemblage is an expected thing as the differences found in an assemblage are what constitute it.

Although assemblages are also highly affected by relations of exteriority or its relationship with other assemblages, the study discovered that exterior influence on women's livelihood strategies is very minimal. Women in the area reported to have been influenced by the social environment they grew up in as well as changes that have happened and are happening in the area. Modernity and tradition thus coexists in the area and is used by the different generations as a source of livelihood outcomes. All in all, land remains an important material component for the women whether they are involved in agriculture or not. Agriculture on the other hand is more important for original households or older generation (ages 28 to 40) than of the women who were in the age range 18 to 27 or in offspring households. Thus while agriculture is important, its importance at an individual or household level is phasing out because more and more young people in the area are diversifying livelihood away from active agriculture.

6.2 Concluding Remarks

Perceptions have the ability to be highly gender biased and thus it is important to study them in a way that best represents the study population. The assemblage theory helps in this manner in that it recognizes the existence of differences in society. It was thus a valuable tool in the study in that it does not only recognize differences between communities or assemblages but also recognizes diversity and difference within a community. It is also helpful in that it takes into consideration that different factors make up a community and that these have an influence on change and how that change is embraced and adopted for livelihood strategies.

Women are an important part of rural societies and their perceptions on how different components of their community affect their livelihood strategies are important because this has a direct impact on development issues as well as poverty reduction for families. When changes in livelihood strategies are noted, governments and other non-governmental organizations can then take the necessary action to help them that will help them in a specific and more effective way than if general and all-encompassing policies are provided irrespective of difference. This may be costly but it may produce long term solutions for people in rural areas that may in turn translate into better livelihoods for not only the current generations but the future generations as well.

6.3 Recommendations

Armed with this information, the recommendations I give are:

1. Governments and chiefs should work together to ensure that customary land is accessible to the people it is meant to benefit and that it is not being sold out, which reduces the locals livelihoods strategies option list. This especially affects the already vulnerable groups in rural areas such as women and children and thus remedying this would also work towards empowering these vulnerable groups.
2. Policy formulation and implementation should recognize the uniqueness of rural assemblages especially since modernity through globalization is challenging the stereotypes of what rural livelihoods comprise of. Diversification is occurring in these areas and thus policy should not only aim to provide all encompassing agricultural land policies for women while ignoring what is possible for women in specific rural area as well as what they would prefer as livelihood strategies.
3. Customary land tenure systems, especially in rural areas where they are not working properly, should either go through strict re-enforcement or revision so that people in rural areas can best benefit from the free land that belongs to them.
4. On a research level, the aspect on psychological and emotional benefits of land ownership for women needs to be researched and written on in depth. This aspect of benefits also needs to be communicated so that people understand that owning land is not only about physical health but also psychological and emotional health for women.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview guide

Background information

Interview no. _____

Sex _____

Marital Status _____

1. Do you own land?
 - (Titled, rented, or customary?)
2. If married, who owns the land between husband and wife?
3. Are you involved in farming?
 - Why?
 - Why not?
4. If yes, what crops do you grow?
5. Are you involved in any off-farm activities? (explain off-farm activities)
 - Why?
 - Why not?

Main questions

6. What is the process of accessing and owning land in the village?
7. How easy/difficult is it for women to access land in the village? Why?
8. Is it different for men? How?
9. How easy/difficult is it for women to own land in the village? Why?
10. Is it different for men? How?

11. What benefits do women who own land get from the ownership of land?

12. Can women who do not own land get the same benefits?

13. If yes, how?

14. If no, why not?

15. How does land ownership affect livelihood seeking strategies for women in the community?

-How does land non-ownership affect livelihood seeking strategies for women in the community?

11. Does your relationship with other women in the village influence your choice of livelihood strategy? How so?

-Do you think women in this village are influenced by their relationship with other women?

12. Does your relationship with other people outside your village influence your choice of seeking livelihood outcomes? How so?

- Do you think women in this village are influenced by their relationship with other women?

13. Is it necessary for women in this village to own land? Why?

Appendix B: Research permission letter

*All correspondence should be addressed
to the Permanent Secretary
Tel: +260-211-230031 (Direct)
+260-211-230336 (Fax)
+260-211-230024 (General)*



REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

In reply please quote

No.....

MGCD 53/8/2

MINISTRY OF GENDER AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT

OFFICE OF THE PERMANENT SECRETARY
NEW GOVERNMENT COMPLEX
P. O. BOX 30719
LUSAKA
ZAMBIA

10th July, 2013

Miyambo Malambo
Cell: +260 963 349292
LUSAKA

RE: REQUEST TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH: YOURSELF

Reference is made to your application letter dated 4th July, 2013 on the above subject.

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your request to carry out research in my ministry on how women's livelihood is affected by not owning land for agriculture. I am therefore pleased to inform you that that permission has been granted for you to undertake your research.

Kindly note that this will not attract any allowances and it will be at your own cost. By copy of this minute the Head, Information and Documentation Unit (IDU) is informed accordingly.

John Phiri
Head Administration
For/ Permanent Secretary
MINISTRY OF GENDER AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT

C.c. Head – Information and Documentation Unit

SB/-