

Gender Mainstreaming within International Development Assistance –

The Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project by Nepenthes-ANPFOR



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Date:	January 22, 2010
Study programme:	Cand.merc.Int - MSc. in Business, Language and Culture
Number of tabs:	272.769

“This average third world woman leads an essentially truncated life based on her feminine gender (read: sexually constrained) and her being “third world” (read: ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, victimized, etc). This, I suggest, is in contrast to the (implicit) self-representation of Western women as educated, as modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the freedom to make their own decisions” (Mohanty 1991: 56).

Abstract

The gender mainstreaming approach has gained great importance within International Development Assistance due to the argued centrality of women empowerment and gender equality to poverty alleviation and sustainable development. The approach has been widely criticized by Post Colonial feminists for not taking the local reality into consideration, and seeing Third World Women as a homogenous group with similar problems and interests. The following thesis takes its point of departure in these critiques and aims at developing a context specific approach to the integration of the women in the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management project in Honduras by Nepenthes/ANPFOR. During a field study in two of the nine communities that are participating in the project, we have explored the local reality and the wishes and needs of the local people. The findings suggest that income generation is of utmost importance for the women, which constitutes a great motivation to be integrated in the project. Obstacles to their integration are the high work burden of the women in the household, their confinement to the domestic sphere of the home and the presence of Machismo, which restricts them in their freedom to work outside their households. Furthermore, the findings of the thesis suggest that the women would rather like to work on the level of networks of households with close kinship ties than in women's groups. Because of the exploratory nature of our thesis, we generate some hypotheses based on our research findings, and the thesis concludes by outlining some concrete recommendations for integrating the women in the Sustainable Management Forestry project in a context specific way.

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1 Introduction

Throughout the last couple of decades, issues associated with gender equality and women's status have been gaining increasing importance within Danish International Development Assistance, as well as other large international development organizations. According to Danida (2004), although a lot of progress has been achieved in the area of women's status and gender equality, there are still many women who suffer from systematic gender discrimination in the majority of countries around the world. Many international development organizations emphasize the centrality of gender equality for alleviating poverty, hunger, and promoting sustainable development in Third World countries. Gender equality is one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs): "*Promoting gender equality and empowerment of women*" (Danida 2004: 9). According to Danida (2004), gender inequalities can mainly be attributed to domestic violence, women's low political participation, the difference in economic opportunities, and the over-representation of women among the poorest populations all over the world. For this reason, international development planners and policy-makers consider empowerment as the key condition to enable the millions of women in the Third World to demand and make use of equal rights, resources and influence, in order to achieve greater gender equality.

The strategy employed by many development organizations for achieving empowerment of women and thereby gender equality is *gender mainstreaming*, which refers to the process of taking into consideration the concerns and experiences of both women and men within any planned action (United Nations 2002) and ensuring maximum possible benefits of an intervention for members of both sexes (Danida 2004). Gender mainstreaming in most cases entails changes to existing power structures and the women's and men's status in a given society, and although the cultural and religious differences are argued to be acknowledged, "... *religious and cultural values and traditions must never be allowed to serve as an excuse for depriving the individual – woman or man – of her/his freedom and rights*" (Danida 2004: 10).

The ways in which the international development organizations have gone about implementing the gender mainstreaming agenda within many development projects in the Third World, and the various feminist approaches to integrating Third World women into development process,

have aroused much criticism among Post Colonial scholars. They argue that these efforts have failed to recognize the diversity of Third World women and their problems and interests, and that the local realities of women's lives have been ignored in many cases. According to Mohanty (1991), Western feminists and development practitioners, when talking about gender inequalities, assume the homogeneity of Third World women in which they are presented as powerless, ignorant and subordinate to men. This point of criticism constitutes the central standpoint of our thesis.

The question of how maximum benefits can be secured for the poor women and men of a given project is also a question the Danish NGO Nepenthes and its local counterpart ANPFOR have to deal with when implementing a gender strategy in the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project in Honduras. This is where our thesis comes into the picture: taking into consideration the criticism of Post Colonial scholars cited above, the aim of our thesis is to explore the local context of the people of the two village communities Piedra Blanca and Paetales involved in the project, and based on our findings, present context-specific recommendations on the integration of women in the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project.

1.1 Research question

Based on the abovementioned, the research question of our thesis is formulated as follows:

Given the critiques of the gender mainstreaming approaches in International Development Assistance, how can the women of Paetales and Piedra Blanca be integrated into the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project?

1.2 Thesis Structure

Our thesis is structured in the following way:

In the first section, we introduce the reader to the objective of our thesis, together with the research question we aim to answer by conducting our research. In the second section, we review the literature on the main concepts and theories relevant to our research question, such as the policy approaches and theoretical debates on the integration of Third World women into the development process. We also explain the critique of these approaches offered by Post Colonial theory, and outline what has been researched in the field on family, households and gender relations in developing countries. This field of literature has guided our research in the field, and enables us to relate our findings to the findings of other scholars on similar topics. In the third section, we outline the main methodological considerations of our thesis, as well as the data collection methods used in the field. In section four, we provide relevant background information about the context we have been studying, including a country profile of Honduras, the current situation of women in Honduras and their challenges, a summary of background interviews with three experts, information about the implementing parties Nepenthes and ANPFOR, the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project, and the current gender strategy of the project. In section five, the research findings of our field study are presented, and they are structured according to some recurring themes that we have discovered during the research process. These findings are then discussed in relation to Moser's Gender Needs Theory, and we then take up the Western feminist versus Post Colonial Theory debate. We conclude the section by discussing the findings generated through our own field study in Paletales and Piedra Blanca in relation to the findings of other researchers on family, households and gender relations. Next, based on our research findings, we generate hypotheses that can be tested by doing research in other contexts than Paletales and Piedra Blanca. Section six serves to summarize our research findings and based on them, to outline the implications for the integration of the women into the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project. In section seven, we conclude the thesis by summarizing what we have done and what our research has lead to by presenting recommendations for the Nepenthes-ANPFOR project with respect to how the women of Paletales and Piedra Blanca can be integrated into the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project. In section eight, we present perspectives for future research that have emerged out of our field study.

The structure of the thesis is illustrated below:

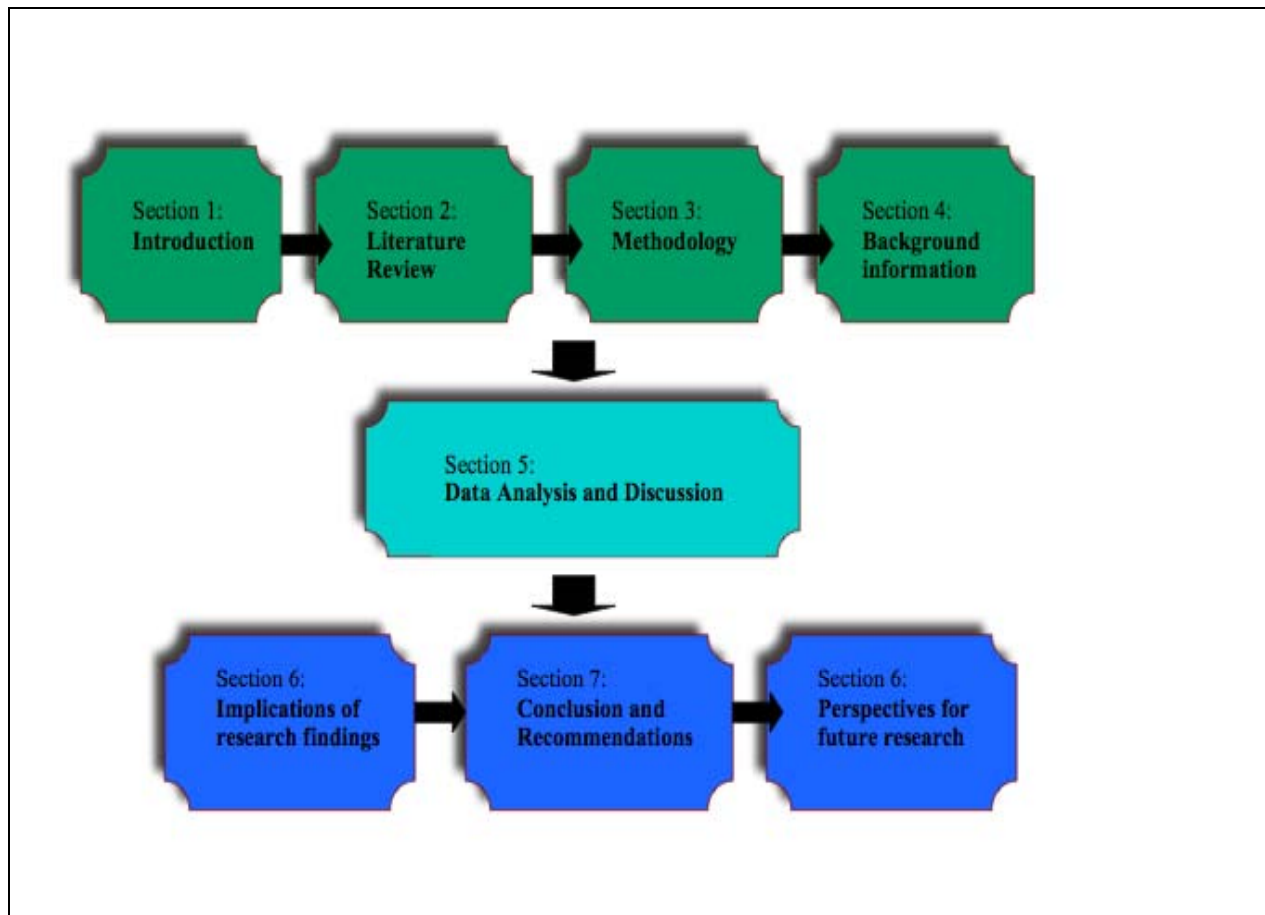


Figure 1: Thesis structure

2 Literature Review

In the following section, we review the literature on the main concepts and theories relevant to our research question. First, we outline the various policy approaches and theoretical debates on Third World women and their integration in the development process. This is done in order to give the reader an overview of the different approaches to women in development throughout the history, which we critique in our thesis. We start out with the approaches mainly preoccupied with the economic aspect of Third World women's integration in the development process, that is, providing the women with income and employment. As we progress, we move on to approaches that are more 'empowerment' oriented and have less emphasis on providing Third World women with economic power. They focus instead on political power and cultural aspects influencing the women's situation in Third World countries are taken into consideration.

In the next section, we turn our attention to Post Colonial Theory and Third World feminist critique of abovementioned approaches, which have provided the conceptual rationale for our thesis. Then we discuss the field of research on family, households and gender relations in developing countries including some examples of case studies conducted in this field. The last paragraph takes a closer look at what has been written in this area of research about the specific Latin American context.

2.1 Third World policy approaches to women in development

2.1.1 The Welfare approach

The oldest social development policy concerned with women in developing countries is identified as pre-WID and called the welfare approach. According to Moser (1993), the welfare approach is based on the assumptions that women are passive recipients of development, and that motherhood and childbearing are their most important roles in a society (Moser 1993). Thus, this approach recognizes the reproductive role of women, and it seeks to meet their practical gender needs¹ by handing out food aid, fighting malnutrition and providing family planning measures (Moser 1993). It is argued that this top-down and unchallenging nature of welfare programs for women tends to create dependency rather than helping the women to become more independent (ibid).

In this way, the welfare approach is compatible with the modernization development paradigm, the basic principle of which is that undeveloped countries can catch up with Western European countries by abandoning their traditional structures and values, and that they can be transformed into modern Western-like societies (Koczberski 1998). In the context of feminist theories, the modernization theory assumes that economic growth automatically leads to better conditions for men as well as women in the Third World. The theory states that women's status rises with capitalist development, and this will supposedly bring large employment opportunities and

¹ According to Moser (1993: 39-40), practical gender needs are the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society, such as water provision, health care, and employment. Strategic gender needs, on the other hand, are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society, and relate to gender divisions of labor, domestic violence, and other sources of gender inequalities. Moser's Gender Needs Theory will be elaborated in much more detail later in the section.

thereby lead to gender equality (Draper 1985). Many opponents of the modernization development theory argue that it focuses too much on economic aspects and does not take into consideration the social and political impacts of economic growth on women or the poor, nor does it regard the priorities of indigenous communities. The modernization approaches to development are widely criticized by researchers and development practitioners for having failed to provide real benefits for the population of Third World countries, especially the poor (Koczberski 1998).

Criticism of the welfare approach was widespread by the 1970s as well. It came from both the feminists from the US, who were preoccupied with the negative effects of development projects on Third World women, and development economists who were disillusioned about the modernization theory and its benefits for Third World countries. This criticism has led to the United Nations International Women's Year Conference in 1975, where the UN declared the period from 1976 to 1985 as the women's decade, the need to 'put women on the agenda' was voiced, and an alternative approach to women was developed, namely the Women in Development approach (Moser 1993).

2.1.2 Women in Development

After the disillusionment of mainly female development practitioners and researchers with the welfare approach to development, and after realizing that existing development projects were rather male-biased and did not benefit the women at all, the Women in Development (WID) movement emerged as an alternative development strategy. The movement began in the US in 1970s, and its advocates lobbied for increased integration and recognition of women, and a more 'gender-aware approach' to development planning (Koczberski 1998).

The first wave of the WID movement, also referred to as equity approach, has the objective to gain equity for women in the development process, and in contrast to the welfare approach, the women are seen as active participants in development. It is a more challenging approach than the welfare approach, because it challenges the perception of women's roles as being dedicated to reproductive activities only. Thus, the focus of the equity approach lies on the importance of both reproductive and productive roles for economic growth and the development process.

According to this approach, women should be integrated into the development process through access to employment and income earning opportunities, and it states that economic independence is synonymous with equity (Moser 1993). According to Boserup (1970), most of the development projects in Third World countries ignore women. Development projects should therefore focus on reducing inequality between men and women by giving the women access to income earning opportunities. One of the most important points of criticism of the equity approach is its reliance on modernization theory and how it generally assumes that Western institutions are superior to the indigenous ones (Moser 1993).

The second wave of the WID movement - the 'toned-down' version of the equity approach - is the anti-poverty approach: its purpose is to grant Third World women access to income earning opportunities, because it is argued that women's poverty is a problem of underdevelopment and not of subordination. In the approach the productive role of women is recognized, while the reproductive role is ignored (Moser 1993). This version of WID is referred to as 'toned-down' because it does not challenge the existing cultural norms related to patriarchy in a given society. Thus, this approach focuses mostly on increasing the poor Third World women's productivity. An early manifestation of the anti-poverty approach was the initiative of the International Labor Organization (ILO) called World Employment Programme (WEP), with employment as a major policy objective. According to Moser (1993), the anti-poverty income-generating projects have limited potential to meet strategic gender needs unless employment leads to greater autonomy for the women. The approach is also criticized for ignoring the reproductive role of women and focusing on the productive role only, leaving the women with an even higher work burden (ibid).

The third wave of the WID approach is the efficiency approach, which is now the predominant approach to women in development. The objective of this approach is to integrate women into the development process with the goal of making development projects more efficient and effective. It shifts the focus from women towards development, assuming that the economic participation of Third World women would automatically lead to equity between men and women in these countries (Moser 1993). This approach has manifested itself through the highly contested Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs), which were designed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in order to deal with market deterioration and recession in Latin America and Africa in the mid 1970s. The approach has gained popularity

within the international development organizations as well as national governments, but it is criticized for forcing the developing countries to move their focus away from investing in human resources towards achieving greater efficiency by imposing its ‘conditionality’ policies in a top-down manner. In addition, the approach ignored the fact that many women still have their reproductive tasks at home, also when they are engaged in productive work, leading to longer and harder working days (Moser 1993).

Although the WID approach to development has been acknowledged to enhance our understanding of women’s development needs, many critiques point to its limited transformative capacity because of its focus on economic power (Parpart et al 2000). Furthermore, whereas the welfare approach tended to emphasize women’s reproductive roles, the WID approach is rather preoccupied with women’s roles as producers and tends to ignore their reproductive labor (Parpart et al 2000; Draper 1985). Another relevant point for our thesis is that many critics of the WID approach argue that it is problematic to use ‘women’ as a homogeneous group with similar problems and needs, without taking into consideration factors such as class, race and ethnicity and to generalize that all Third World women face same problems of oppression and subordination (Koczberski 1998; Mohanty 1991). We will get back to this discussion later in our thesis.

So far we have outlined the approaches to women in development that focus mainly on economic participation of women in the development process and on providing Third World women with income. We now move on to a set of approaches to women in development that constitute more ‘holistic’ versions of WID: they focus not only on women, but on gender relations, and are to a lesser degree preoccupied with providing the women with economic power.

2.1.3 Gender and Development, Empowerment Approach and Gender Mainstreaming

The Gender and Development (GAD) approach emerged in the 1980s as an alternative to the WID approach. Although there is a considerable overlap between the WID and the GAD approaches in many areas, they differ in many ways (Parpart et al 2000). In the GAD approach,

the focus is not only on women per se, but also on gender relations in different contexts. Furthermore, the GAD approach views women as active agents and not passive recipients of development, without assuming that women have perfect knowledge and understanding of their situation. The GAD approach has a more holistic perspective on women's role in development: it focuses both on the productive and reproductive aspects of women's lives. Whereas the WID approach concentrates on women's access to cash income, GAD is much less optimistic about the role of the market as a distributor of benefit. Thus, GAD stresses the need for women to organize not only in order to increase their economic power, but also to increase their political power within a society (Young in Visvanathan et al 1997). Furthermore, the GAD approach recognizes the effect of patriarchal norms on women in Third World societies, and that these norms and values define women's and men's roles in a given society (Parpart et al 2000). Thus, according to the GAD approach, women in Third World countries have to be empowered not only through welfare and income, but also by raising awareness about the structures of inequality between men and women, economic welfare is seen as a means, not an end in itself (Young in Visvanathan et al 1997).

In a similar vein, the empowerment approach recognizes the importance of increasing the power of Third World women and challenging their subordination by raising their consciousness. The purpose is, like in the GAD approach, to empower women through self-reliance. This approach is derived not from the research of Western feminists, but to a greater extent from feminists of Third World countries, who claim that feminism is not only a recent, urban, middle-class import (Moser 1993). The approach identifies power less in terms of women increasing their status relative to men, but more in terms of increasing women's self-reliance and internal strength. The Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) is one of the main articulations of the empowerment approach, which is a network of Third World feminists working for gender equality and sustainable and democratic development of Third World countries. DAWN distinguishes between short-term and long-term strategies, where short-term strategies include food production and employment, and long-term strategies involve a wider agenda of national liberation and gender equality (Moser 1993). The nature of the empowerment approach is perceived to be rather challenging, which is why it remains largely unsupported by national Third World governments and international development organizations (ibid). We argue that although not originating from Western feminist discourse, the empowerment approach has a

similar agenda to that of GAD, namely to challenge gender inequalities in Third World countries, and both approaches seek to provide Third World women with more political power.

Another strand of the GAD approach, called gender mainstreaming, is an official policy approach of many international organizations (Hafner-Burton and Pollack 2002). Gender mainstreaming emerged as a result of the disillusionment with earlier approaches to the integration of women in the development process, when many feminist writers and development practitioners realized that inequalities between men and women should focus not only on women but also on gender relations (United Nations 2002). The United Nations defines gender mainstreaming as:

“[...] a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality” (United Nations 2002: 1).

According to the proponents of gender mainstreaming strategies, gender equality should not only be viewed as a separate aspect within development assistance, but as a crosscutting issue for all policies and programs (United Nations 2002). Gender mainstreaming is thus not an approach in itself, but rather a strategy for many international development organizations to promote gender equality and women’s empowerment.

Like the WID and GAD approaches, gender mainstreaming tends to be based on the views of Western feminists, who often present Third World women as a helpless homogeneous group. E.g. Bisilliat and Fiéloux (1987) argue that the conditions for poor women in the Third World are rather similar, no matter on what continent they live:

“Women from Africa, South America, or Asia are acquainted with the same working conditions; they experience the same difficulties and the same rebuffs, despite differences in their societies, their religions, and their cultures” (Bissilliat and Fiéloux 1987: 74).

Together with the other approaches outlined earlier, this approach has been criticized by Post Colonial feminists, who have stressed the dangers of the homogeneous representation of Third World women. Before we elaborate on the arguments of Post Colonial feminists, we first outline

one more approach to integrating gender into development planning, namely Caroline Moser's gender planning approach, together with her Gender Needs Theory.

2.1.4 Gender planning approach

Gender planning is a planning approach developed by Caroline Moser, which provides both the conceptual framework and the methodological tools for integrating gender into development planning. The goal of gender planning is: “...*the emancipation of women from their subordination, and their achievement of equality, equity and empowerment*” (Moser 1993: 1). The main argument of this approach is that women and men play very different roles in a Third World society, and therefore they have different needs. According to this approach, it is important to disaggregate households and families within communities based on gender, when identifying the needs of women and men (Moser 1993). What WID and GAD lack is, according to Moser (1993), the satisfactory incorporation of social awareness or consciousness of inequality into planning. Thus, while class inequality has been addressed in planning by selecting and targeting low-income women within many development projects, the social categories have most often not been incorporated into planning indicators. In order to deal with this shortcoming, Moser (1993) has developed a conceptual framework named Gender Needs Theory, which is outlined in the following.

2.1.4.1 Gender Needs Theory

Moser (1993) builds her framework upon the conceptualization of Molyneux (1985), who argues that it is important to distinguish between women's interests, gender interests and practical gender interests. Women's interests refer to the interests that women have in common. Since women have different positions in a society because of difference in class, ethnicity and other factors, it is difficult to generalize about women's interests. Gender interests are, on the other hand,

“...those that women (or men for that matter) may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes” (Molyneux 1985: 240).

Furthermore, gender interests can be either strategic or practical: strategic gender interests are a result of analyzing women's subordination, and practical gender interests are formulated by the women themselves based on their concrete conditions that can be attributed to their gender (Molyneux 1985).

As mentioned earlier, the underlying logic of gender planning is that men and women play different roles in a society, which is why they have different needs. Moser (1993) argues that planning for low-income Third World women should be based on their interests or prioritized concerns. Then, when the women's interests (that is, strategic and practical gender interests as outlined above) have been identified, these interests can be translated into planning needs, which are the means by which these interests or concerns can be fulfilled. Moser (1993) further emphasizes the importance of distinguishing between strategic and practical gender needs. Moser (1993) and Molyneux (1985) define strategic gender needs in the following way:

“The abolition of sexual division of labor; the alleviation of the burden of domestic labor and childcare; the removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination such as rights to own land or property, or access to credit; the establishment of political equality; freedom of choice over childbearing; and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women” (Moser 1993: 39; Molyneux 1985: 240).

Molyneux (1985) refers to these strategic gender needs as the ‘real’ interests of women, and Moser (1993) draws attention to the fact that strategic gender needs are often referred to as being ‘feminist’. In addition, strategic gender needs differ depending on the specific cultural and socio-political context that the women live in, which means that they have to be fulfilled in a bottom-up manner, since top-down approaches have not removed the causes of gender inequality in Third World countries. Thus, the bottom-up struggle of women's organizations needs to be incorporated into gender planning in order to fulfill the strategic gender needs of Third World women.

Practical gender needs, on the other hand, are the needs that are expressed directly by the Third World women and are based on the conditions that these women experience. Practical gender needs include provision of water, health care and employment (Moser 1993).

“Practical needs, therefore, are usually a response to an immediate perceived necessity which is identified by women within a specific context” (1993: 40).

Thus, practical gender needs do not seek to address the gender inequalities and women’s subordination in Third World countries, but focus more on the domestic arena, income-earning activities, basic services and housing. Moser (1993) argues that although food, water and shelter are considered to be women’s practical gender needs, it is still the whole family, and not only the women, who benefit from the fulfillment of these needs. Thus, development organizations and the women themselves are argued to preserve the existing gender division, when only practical gender needs are met, and in order to be truly ‘feminist’, the development projects have to go beyond fulfilling the practical gender needs, and seek to fulfill the strategic gender needs as well (Moser 1993).

According to Moser (1993), the most effective way to fulfill Third World women’s strategic gender needs is to fulfill their practical gender needs in a way that challenges the existing patriarchic norms and the gender labor division. For example, provision of training is argued to be an effective way of meeting an important practical gender need, namely access to employment. Whether it also reaches the more strategic gender needs depends in Moser’s (1993) opinion on the type of training. She mentions that training related to home economics and skills within domestic tasks can meet the practical gender needs of better nutrition and health, but does not recognize the productive role of women and the practical need to earn an income. Training of women within areas related to ‘men’s work’, on the other hand, may not only fulfill the practical gender need of employment, but also contribute to fulfilling the strategic gender need of abolishing the gender division of labor (Moser 1993).

To sum up, according to Moser (1993), it is necessary for development planners to differentiate between gender needs in order to adopt more ‘challenging’ solutions than just meeting the Third World women’s practical gender needs. This is because in many cases just meeting practical gender needs of women is argued to maintain the gender division of labor and women’s subordination in Third World countries.

2.2 Post Colonial Theory and Third World feminism

Post Colonial Theory is related to the term ‘postcolonialism’, which refers to the period when the colonized states were ‘handed over’ by the colonizing powers to the local rulers (Kumar 2000). Post Colonial Theory is based on the historical process of Western colonization and criticizes Western colonialism and imperialism. It is a set of theoretical and political positions that have influenced a wide range of disciplines including anthropology and development studies, which emphasize the unjustness of the neocolonial world we live in today (Prasad 2003). Post Colonial scholars tend to criticize Euro centrism (or ethnocentrism), which refers to the assumption of superiority of Europeans over non-Europeans (or Westerners over non-Westerners). They also criticize the notion of many Western scholars that while Europe (or the West) continuously advances, the rest of the world advances slower or even stagnates (Blaut 1993; Mohanty 1991).

Post Colonial authors such as Blaut also criticize ‘*modern diffusionism*’, which refers to a body of ideas arguing that the way in which Third World countries can escape poverty and ‘catch-up’ with the developed countries of the West is adopting Western institutions, traditions or cultures (Blaut 1993). This notion of modern diffusionism is also applicable to women’s movements and feminist perspectives. Post Colonial feminists mention the limits of Western feminism and they critique the way Western feminists assume ethnocentric universality, when they talk about gender equality and try to save their so-called ‘less privileged sisters’ in the Third World. According to Mohanty (1991), in much of the Western feminist discourse Third World women are presented as a homogeneous category across cultures and classes, without taking into consideration the large amount of differences that exist among Third World women, especially the ones based on class and race (Mohanty 1991). As Mohanty puts it:

When Mohanty (1991) refers to Western feminism, she does not solely refer to scholars who come from developed countries:

“[...] *Similar arguments can be made in terms of middle-class urban African or Asian scholars producing scholarship on or about their rural or working-class sisters, which assumes their own middle-class cultures as the norm, and codifies working-class histories and cultures as Other*” (Mohanty 1991: 52).

Postcolonial feminists such as Mohanty do not argue against generalization, but they argue that these generalizations should be careful and alert to complex realities and contexts. They argue that when phenomena within Third World contexts, such as familial and household structures, are judged from Western standards, ethnocentric universality comes into play (Mohanty 1991; Russo in Mohanty 1991). Furthermore, according to Koczberski (1998), the large amount of failures of WID programs and policies can be attributed to the fact that the realities of women's lives were ignored and did not take into consideration the historical context of development (Koczberski 1998). According to the same author, the prevalence of over-generalization and a universal representation of Third World women as powerless, ignorant and subordinate has led to an approach to integration of Third World women that tends to place limits upon upon Third World women to define their own lives (Koczberski 1998).

Based on the above-mentioned critiques, we argue that the integration of women in the development process should take into consideration the particular context the women live in, and the needs expressed by the local women themselves. On this note, and in order to suggest a way in which the women of Paletales and Piedra Blanca can be integrated into the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management project, we turn our attention to the field of research on family, households and gender relations in developing countries, including references to some relevant case studies and work of scholars on the specific Latin American context.

2.3 Family, households and gender relations in developing countries

The previous chapter has emphasized that it is important to develop context specific approaches when planning to integrate women in development projects, instead of generalizing about Third World women's interests and needs and seeing them as a homogenous group. Research on family, households and gender relations in developing countries offers rich insights into the local reality Third World women live in, and provide us with useful topics and guidelines for investigating the local reality of the women of Paletales and Piedra Blanca. The following subchapters will therefore outline discussions of scholars on several different topics within that field.

Brydon and Chant (1989) point out the importance of the divide between women in rural and urban areas when investigating households, family structures and livelihoods of women in the Third World, because living in rural areas entails big differences concerning the accessibility of employment opportunities and resources, as compared to urban areas. This highly influences the way a woman lives and the way her life is structured. The village communities visited for the empirical part of this thesis are rural communities. The following discussion of research within the field of family, households and gender relations in developing countries is therefore mainly focused on the issues concerning rural women.

2.3.1 Definition of households and families and their implications for rural social organization and women's lives

Brydon and Chant (1989) state that the household is a widespread form of social organization in many developing countries and a specifically important feature in rural areas. They point out that it is a central aspect in women's lives. The authors view it as crucial for gender role analysis and point out that it is the site of sexual division of labor. It is the place where productive and reproductive activities are allocated and carried out and their outputs are consumed. The central role of the household is highlighted by the variety of functions it has, ranging from reproduction to socialization, nurturing and basic decision-making (Brydon and Chant, 1989). Schmink (1984: 87) refers to the household as the "most basic economic entity". There is a great range of different household forms across societies and cultures or even within a society. Generally speaking, the form of a household is highly influenced by the type of productive work the members carry out (Jelin 1991).

The delineation and functions of households differ across societies and change over time. Coresidence does not automatically imply the existence of kinship relations among the household members. It defines in the first place the consumption patterns of a domestic unit, and the way resources are pooled and redistributed to individuals to facilitate reproduction (Schmink, 1984). Patterns of material consumption and coresidence are both important aspects of the definition of a household, as indicated by a statement of Brydon and Chant (1989: 47):

“The household, whether defined as a unit of residence or domestic consumption, is a crucial feature in rural social organization, whatever form it takes.”

According to Jelin (1991), households are defined by activities related to daily maintenance and reproduction, and are in this way characterized by rather material relations. The members of a household combine their skills and resources to carry out these activities. The family is in many cases the basis for household formation: members of a household are selected based on family ties. Empirical evidence shows that the majority of households consist of members who are connected by kinship ties, but the degree to which households and families coincide greatly differs among societies (Jelin 1991). Durham (in Jelin 1991: 51) defines families as groups that

“are constituted by persons who maintain among themselves relations of alliance, descent and consanguinity, although they may not necessarily form the basic unit of kinship. [...] as proactive groups, they are also consumption groups [...] and tend to be organized as domestic and residential units or subunits, at least during part of their existence.”

According to Brydon and Chant (1989), being a member of a household implies some interaction with other household members but it does not necessarily mean that there is equality and cooperation among them. There may be consensus about many and especially general goals, like basic survival, and preferences might be similar but it is not realistic to assume that there is no conflict or tension at all among household members (Schmink 1984). Jelin (1991) points out three areas that might lead to intra-domestic conflict: the question about how the labor is divided, on what to spend the family budget and who controls it, and how much work or income of each individual is invested in common activities of the household members or allocated to individual use.

The household and family play in many countries an important role for the definition of women's status. Chant (1989) outline a variety of aspects that influence a woman's status in a rural household in the developing country context: her relative position within her kin group (e.g. as a daughter, sister, wife, or mother), the kind of kinship system she lives in, and ideology and cultural norms of the ethnic group she belongs to. Fertility is a very important aspect in many societies in the Third World: women gain status by becoming a mother. Motherhood is seen as very prestigious and marrying and becoming a wife is for many women in Third World societies only a step in the pursuit of becoming a mother (Brydon and Chant 1989).

The distinction between the concepts of family and household is not important for the research conducted in this thesis. Outlining the above-mentioned discussions about the definition of both simply serves to give the reader an insight into the processes underlying families and households and their implications for rural social organization in developing countries and people's, and specifically women's, lives.

2.3.2 The public and private sphere and the distinction between productive and reproductive activities

The distinction between private and public sphere indicates a notion of gender differentiation: women are commonly seen as exclusively dedicated to the private domestic sphere and men to the public world (Jelin 1991). Durham (in Jelin 1991) points out that in every society there is some sort of division of labor and it always centers to some extent around the division of social life into a public male sphere and a domestic feminine private sphere. This does not necessarily mean that women are excluded from public life or men from the domestic sphere. Jelin (1991) in contrast states that this is not a universal feature found in every society and can vary across cultures. She criticizes the reference to the domestic sphere of a household as private in comparison to the public sphere, which is prevalent in research on gender relations. It implies in her eyes that the domestic sphere is seen as invisible and non-transparent from the outside and therefore of lesser importance. In her analysis of gender relations in a village in Faridpur district in Bangladesh, Kabeer (in Afshar 1985) points out a visible element that indicates the divided world of the male public and the female private sphere: 'the burkah', a garment that Muslim women have to wear to hide their appearance when leaving the house, which for them means entering the public male sphere.

Rosaldo (1980 in Jelin 1991) argues that the confinement of the woman to domestic tasks is the root of her subordinate position. Due to the demands the domestic tasks pose, women do not have access to tasks outside the domestic sphere, which are often seen as of higher value. Brydon and Chant (1989), in contrast, point out the tendency in research to step back from universal explanations of women's status: even though women might be perceived as subordinate and devalued from a Western perspective, because they are not as prominent in the

public sphere as men, this might not be the case in other cultures. This is in line with the argument of Post Colonial feminists, in which they criticize the ethnocentric universality of Western feminist scholars, when they talk about Third World women and their subordination.

The division into a public male and a domestic feminine private sphere has important implications for the sexual division of labor and is closely linked to the definition and delineation of reproductive and productive activities. According to Brydon and Chant (1989), reproductive activities are in most societies carried out by women and are activities mainly related to the domestic private sphere. They comprise among others giving birth to children and nurturing them (biological reproduction), the care for the household members who are involved in wage labor by preparing meals, doing the laundry and cleaning (physical reproduction), and the maintenance of the ideological norms and values a household (social reproduction). The definition of productive activities is more blurred in rural areas and not as clear-cut as in urban areas, where it is usually defined as directly income generating activities. In rural areas there is a category that lies between productive and reproductive activities: subsistence farming. Surplus of subsistence farming can be used for exchange and in this way create an income. Marxist-feminists criticize the definition of productive activities as the ones directly generating income. They argue that any waged or unwaged activity, if domestic based or outside the home, creates value, can therefore potentially generate income and should be seen as productive. It is still important to draw a line between productive and reproductive activities for analytical reasons when investigating gender relations: in most societies the status and material benefits of those earning a wage, being self-employed, or participating in cash-cropping tends to be higher than those involved in domestic activities. Participation in production is considered to be of higher value than involvement in reproductive activities or subsistence farming which, as discussed earlier, is mainly seen as the domain of women (Brydon and Chant 1989).

Radcliffe (1986) describes the division of labor in poor families in her case study from Cuzco, Peru: women participate in the work on the fields in busy times such as harvesting seasons but only if there is not enough male labor force available. Women's contribution to work on the fields is in general rather regarded as supplementary than crucially important. Concerning sale of crops, Radcliffe observes the following division of labor: while women sell the excess production of subsistence crops, men sell barley to the local breweries. Women thereby generate an income, but it is much lower than the one of men.

2.3.3 *Women's work burden*

Brydon and Chant (1989) mention the double burden of work that many women in developing countries have to carry, which usually increases the more the women get integrated into wage labor outside the household: in addition to the productive remunerated work, they have to carry out their domestic chores and take care of reproductive activities such as childcare, cleaning and cooking, and in some cases subsistence work. According to Browner (1989), a survey on domestic work of women in eight Latin American countries has revealed that employed women only spend slightly less time on domestic work than women who do not have remunerated work and are entirely dedicated to work in the household. Regardless of whether they are employed or entirely dedicated to domestic chores, the survey shows that women work more hours each day than their husbands.

Case studies on the amount of work hours and the work burden of women and men in different developing countries including Botswana, Bangladesh, Nepal and the Philippines have all shown that women work more hours per day than men do in their households. Case studies on households in Ghana and Cameroon have shown that women only receive about one fourth of the amounts of income that men earn (Folbre 1986).

Palmer (1977) comes up with similar findings from her research on the effect of modernization within agriculture on rural women's workload and earnings. Case studies have shown that the average working day of rural women in a wheat-growing area of Haryana state, India, has a duration of up to 15 and 16.5 hours, in some cases barely leaving time for childcare, while the men have a much shorter working day with time to spare for social activities with their friends. Case studies from Africa on the effect of modernization of agricultural techniques have shown similar results: modernization has led to more hours of work in the field for women, no matter if the amount of work hours increased for men or not. A case study from Kenya which compares two villages, one traditional one and one modernized one, provides proof for a variety of negative effects of modernization on women, which led to growing inequalities among male and female members of a household:

“their longer working day, their continued employment in labour-intensive, low-productivity work, and the decline in their control over the family’s purchasing power” (Palmer 1977: 101).

2.3.4 Women, households and gender relations in the Latin American context

Among many other scholars Chant (2002), Brydon and Chant (1989), Draper (1985), Browner (1989) and Durham (in Jelin 1991) have conducted research on households, family structures, the role and status of women and gender relations in the specific Latin American context.

The stereotypical pattern of family structure and gender relations in Latin America rests on the concept of the patriarchal nuclear family: the man is the only ‘breadwinner’ (income generating family member) and the one making the decisions and exercising authority in the family. The wife does not work, is therefore financially dependent on him and has only restricted autonomy. Her role is to be a mother and housewife. The children are also dependent on the man in the family. The public sphere of the street is the domain of the man (*calle*), whereas the woman is confined to the private domestic secluded domain of the home (*casa*) (Chant 2002). According to Brydon and Chant (1989), the patriarchal nuclear family model remains the norm in Latin American society today despite the growing number of female-headed households, a phenomenon discussed below.

Brydon and Chant (1989) introduce the term Machismo and describe it as a vital aspect underlying gender relations in Latin America. It refers to a specific type of patriarchy typical for the Hispanic world, which encompasses the domination and control of men over women, courage and virility of men and competition among them. In families and households, the presence of Machismo shows in the way the men controls processes of decision-making and imposes restrictions of different kinds on the female members of the household concerning their sexuality, their social behavior and their economic resources. Violence within families against female household members is often considered as legitimate due to the notion of Machismo.

Brydon and Chant (1989) describe the position of a woman in the Latin American society as follows: she lives under constant pressure to fulfill her duties as a wife and mother. This is reinforced by a cultural system that legitimizes male domination and by the rule of Roman Catholic Church. She has little independence and in the presence of gender discrimination it is

difficult for her to achieve any. Under these conditions she is pressured to attach herself to a man, often in the form of the patriarchal nuclear family pattern.

“ [...] *Latin American women often have little power to exercise choice over their lifestyles. Most are brought up with the idea that their main role in life is to become mothers, and to give birth to large numbers of children usually all those that ‘God wills’* (Brydon and Chant 1989: 18).”

Latin American women tend to gain social status and emotional strength by becoming a mother, which is usually not the case for women in Western societies.

The Roman Catholic Church has contributed to strengthening Machismo and the subordinate position of the woman: a woman is expected to expose stoic behavior. She does not leave her husband even if she is unhappy: she is expected to be a good wife and mother exposing “*self-denial, passivity, and resignation*” (Brydon and Chant 1989: 18). Furthermore, the Catholic Church encourages people to accept and endure the situation they live in to prepare for a better life after death. This is also an aspect influencing women’s life and their behavior. Due to the prohibition of birth control by the Catholic Church, a woman does not have control over her fertility (Brydon and Chant 1989).

According to Chant (2002), there is disagreement among scholars to what extent these traditional patterns of gender roles and division persist in Latin American society today, and to what extent they are eroded and are moving towards more egalitarian structures due to changes in the organization of domestic life during the last few decades. Chant (2002) outlines several important changes. The two most significant ones are the enormous growth of female-headed households and the rising female labor force participation. According to Browner (1989), women’s participation in the paid labor force amounts to 25 percent across the region. Chant (2002) points out that there is a range of different processes leading to female household headship: divorce, death of the husband, non-marriage, migration, etc. In her *Typology of Female-Headed Households in Latin America* she shows that the ‘Lone Mother Household’ (a lone mother living with her children) and the ‘Female-Headed Extended Household’ (a lone mother living with children and other relatives) are the most common forms among female-headed households in Latin America. She states that, while poor women are more likely to be abandoned by their husbands than women that are better off, it is increasingly the woman’s

decision to leave her husband. Due to women's increasing participation in the paid labor force they have greater bargaining power in relation to their husbands and the possibility to take the decision to leave them because they are less dependent on them. The husband is therefore under constant pressure to fulfill his duties concerning household survival not to lose his wife. Men's reaction to that pressure has in many cases resulted in an increasing level of domestic violence (Chant 2002).

Durham in Jelin (1991) argues that there are many positive cases of the nuclear family model, but there are also a variety of exceptions in Latin American societies. This makes it difficult to define the kind of family structures that characterize these societies. Concerning the implications the model has for defining a woman's place in society, it remains valid that women's work and income are only seen as helping and contributing to the man's one, and as supplementary concerning maintenance of a household.

The effects of female labor force participation in Latin America have been widely discussed and are generally seen as controversial: modernization theory argues that a woman's status, bargaining power and wellbeing increases when she gets a paid job. Durham (in Jelin 1991) in contrast emphasizes the fact that increasing equality in the public sphere, in the sense of rising percentage of women in the paid labor force, leads to even higher inequalities concerning the work burden of women compared to men. Most research shows that the participation of men in household chores and childcare remains very low (Chant 2002). The sexual division of labor in the private sphere therefore remains unchanged when the woman starts to carry out paid work in the public sphere and results in a double work burden for women (Durham in Jelin 1991). This actually decreases her wellbeing (Chant 2002). Browner (1989) points out that little data is available on the issue so far, but it is assumed that there are health consequences for Latin American women due to the double burden of work.

Scholars have named several possible explanations for this phenomenon the men in Latin American societies participate very little in household chores and childcare: men lack the skills for fulfilling tasks in the household. Women are therefore not willing to let them spend their time on domestic labor, as it would take them much longer and they can rather use their time on productive activities they are good at (Chant 2002). In addition, Latin American women tend to feel that their partner is not enough of a man if he helps with household chores. Putting

household work in the hand of men means giving away activities that have traditionally earned the women's legitimacy in the society. On the other hand, the unwillingness to participate in domestic work from the men's side can be explained by the intent to protect their masculinity in a time where women are taking over more and more of the traditional male domain in work. The described situation shows that employment does not change the fact that domestic work remains central in a woman's life. Employment and earning a wage is often only seen as one more chore that contributes to the task of mothering (Chant 2002).

Another aspect that suppresses the potential empowering aspect of employment for women in Latin America are the conditions under which they enter the labor force: Draper (1985) found that in Latin America women's positions in the labor force have been restricted to informal, low-skilled and low-paid subordinate jobs and domestic work. Paid employment opportunities are limited for most women to an extension of their unpaid domestic activities. Chant (2002) points out that although more and more women are participating in the labor force, women continue to have lower levels of education, a lower salary and less job security. Their income is in many cases still controlled by their husbands and even the decision over which job to pursue, or if to pursue one at all, is often not left to them but imposed by their husbands. All of this indicates that the traditional gender roles in Latin American societies have mainly remained unchanged despite the prospective transformative effect of the integration of women in the paid labor force (Chant 2002).

The authors realize that there is the risk to generalize when writing about a region as big as the Latin American continent, and acknowledge that there are variations within a region, and even among different communities, due to factors like culture, religion, political ideology, etc. However, Brydon and Chant (1989) point to the high degree of cultural, religious and linguistic uniformity that characterizes Latin America. In addition, outlining dominant characteristics at the regional and continental scale can help creating a general framework for research on gender issues and households, on which specific case studies of individual communities in Latin America can be based (Brydon and Chant 1989). We realize that the previous subchapters on the definition of household and family, productive and reproductive activities, public and private sphere and women's work burden are generalizing about patterns of life in rural areas of Third World countries. As we mentioned earlier on, although Mohanty (1991) warns not to stereotype about Third World women as being subject to male dominance and subordination, she does not

argue against generalizations, but explains that these generalizations should be careful and alert to complex realities and contexts. The findings of scholars presented in this chapter, though they might be of generalizing nature, served as sources of inspiration for us concerning which aspects of life in the two communities we visited to look into to get a solid insight into the local reality. This allowed us to answer our research question, namely how the women of these two communities can be integrated into the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project. In the next section, the methodological considerations of our thesis are outlined in detail.

3 Methodology

The central objective of our thesis is to explore how the women of Paletales and Piedra Blanca can be integrated into the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project. In order to answer this research question, we have conducted a field study in these two communities, and this section is dedicated to discussing the philosophical considerations as well as the issues related to methods of data collection and analysis in our thesis. We start out by discussing the underlying research philosophy informing our research and its implications for the methods used during our fieldwork and our research findings. Next, we describe the research approach, research strategies, and the methods of data collection employed in our thesis. Subsequently, we discuss important issues related to validity and reliability of our data and findings, delimitations of our thesis, ethical concerns, and the way we labeled data in our thesis. Finally, we end this section by outlining the method of data analysis employed and how we have adapted it to our research.

3.1 Research Philosophy

Understanding of philosophical issues is important when conducting research, because it can help one to clarify what kind of data needs to be gathered, how to gather and interpret it, and how this data will help one to answer a research question. Knowledge of philosophy can also help a researcher to figure out how realistic his/her research design is, and thereby help him/her avoid employing approaches that are not appropriate for his/her research question (Easterby-

Smith, Thorpe & Jackson 2008). The discussion of philosophy or theory of science is closely related to the discussion of *epistemology* – a branch of philosophy that deals with knowledge and refers to “*a general set of assumptions about the best ways of inquiring into the nature of the world*” (Easterby-Smith et al 2008: 60). Thus, the acceptance of a particular epistemology usually influences, which methods are employed by the researcher in the process of collecting data, and epistemology thereby aims at ensuring that the scientifically right methods are employed in order to generate “true” knowledge. Said in other words, the way we understand “true” knowledge (e.g. objective versus subjective, universal versus context-specific), together with the research question, influences the way we go about our research.

Our research question points to an exploratory study² of the context that the women in these two communities live in, and thus implies conducting an ethnographic field study, which is a merely qualitative study that entails becoming part of what is being investigated and trying to gain the trust of the people in the communities. This means that we in a way become parts of the context that we explore, and we acknowledge that because of the intense contact with the local people, our perceptions and our data is influenced by the context in which we find ourselves.

Ethnography is based on three essential presuppositions, namely that data are created by human effort, that researchers are complex creatures, and their perceptions are shaped by the context in which they find themselves, and that the quality of the data has as much to do with the researcher as with the informants of his/her research (Gottlieb in Perecman & Curran 2006).

These presuppositions are based on a philosophical orientation called hermeneutics, according to which we, as humans, develop and work with systems of meaning, and our lives as humans is about interpretation. Furthermore, within hermeneutics, people encounter one another both empirically and psychologically (ibid), making the research process highly personal. Based on the above, we argue that the hermeneutic perspective informs the orientation of our thesis.

Hermeneutics is an epistemological stance that provides insight into interpretive understanding (Schwandt 2001: 194), and it argues, “*understanding is not, in the first instance, a procedure- or a rule-governed undertaking; rather, it is a very condition of being human. Understanding is interpretation in itself*” (ibid). The hermeneutic perspective argues that in the process of

² Exploratory case studies will be elaborated in much more detail later in this section.

understanding and interpretation, we cannot distance ourselves from our socially and culturally inherited bias or prejudice, because they are not external and objective. Our bias and prejudice condition our interpretations, and we cannot and should not try to control them. According to hermeneutics, instead of trying to get rid of our bias and prejudice, we need to engage them in order to reach an understanding (Schwandt 2001).

“In the process of understanding and interpretation, and in the encounter with what is to be interpreted, our own biases and prejudices will be altered and influenced” (Schwandt 2001: 195).

During our field research in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, our interpretation of our observations and interviews with the people in the communities were influenced by prejudice and bias because of our social and cultural backgrounds, which had an impact on our understanding of their actions and spoken language. We come from middle-class, Western societies and have our own perception of what a ‘good life’ means for a woman and how women are treated in our societies. However, as the process of understanding and interpretation progressed, our participation in the lives of community members, engagement in their activities, personal conversations and dialogues with them have altered our own pre-conceptions and prejudices. This again had an influence on the way in which we interpreted and understood our findings.

Another characteristic of the hermeneutic approach is the strong focus on dialogical encounter with what is to be understood and interpreted. Thus, *“Understanding is participative, conversational, and dialogic. It is always bound up with language and is achieved only through a logic of questions and answer”* (Schwandt 2001:195). Our research in the Piedra Blanca and Paletales was based mostly on interaction with the people, which in most cases was dialogic and conversational: rather than conducting structured interviews and surveys and thereby merely extracting the data, we listened to the people, conversed with them by asking questions and gave them sufficient time and space to express their worries, concerns and viewpoints. The key difference between structured interviews, surveys, and the way we collected data is that in the former, the respondents are not allowed to elaborate in depth on their answers or tell their stories. In our case, however, we employed methods that helped us to understand the complex realities of the people. We did keep a few topics in mind that we wished to touch upon in the

conversations, but only as guiding topics, and not something we had to follow rigidly. This way we tried to involve the people actively in the process of producing meaning and understanding.

Finally, hermeneutics argues that there is never a finally correct interpretation, and views meaning not as socially constructed, but as negotiated (Schwandt 2001). When we employ a hermeneutic approach as a theory of science, it has important implications for the conclusions we arrive at in our thesis. Because we cannot avoid being biased by our own prejudices and preconceptions in the process of understanding and interpretation in the initial phase, and because these very prejudices and preconceptions might change in the course of the interpretation process, we are not aiming at arriving at precise, fully objective and generalizable conclusions and findings.

As mentioned before, we are dealing with an exploratory study, and our objective is to understand the context, the gender relations together with the interests and needs of the women in the communities of Paletales and Piedra Blanca. Furthermore, based on our research findings, we aim to come up with hypotheses that can be tested in future research. Thus, we do not seek to find a reality that can be taken as the object of knowledge, but to understand how the people perceive and understand the reality in the particular context of Paletales and Piedra Blanca.

3.2 Research Approach

The research philosophy of our master's thesis has influenced the way we went about conducting research and the research approach of our thesis. We have already mentioned that our master's thesis is an exploratory case study, which is informed by the hermeneutic epistemology, and that we collected purely qualitative data by employing a combination of ethnographic methods, which will be outlined later in this section. The research approach of our thesis is thus abductive, which is a way of matching empirical data and theory by basing the empirical research on theory, and then matching it with empirical data. Thus, there is a continuous interplay between theory and data, and the role of literature is to help the researcher to delineate important concepts, suggest relationships between them, and direct interpretation of the research findings (Dubbois and Gadde 2002). *“Abductive approach is fruitful if the researcher's objective is to discover new things – other variables and other relationships”*

(Dubbois and Gadde 2002: 559). In our thesis, we aimed to discover how local people's categories could be translated into academic ones, and therefore the theoretical concepts provided us with general guidelines, while we tried to remain open to newly arising concepts that did not match our theory. This is why our data presentation has been structured according to the themes extracted from our data, rather than on preexisting theoretical framework. Then, in the data discussion section, we have related our research findings to the theoretical discussions presented in our literature review.

Thus, in accordance with the abductive approach of our thesis, our research in the communities has been guided by theoretical considerations and debates on Western and Third World feminism throughout the last decades and research on family, households and gender relations. We have extracted the main topics from our literature review, and used them as topics to guide our participant observation, and for informal interviews, group discussions and PRA (Participatory Rural Appraisal) activities. We have further discovered that besides the topics extracted from the initial theoretical perspectives in our research, there were other factors underlying the gender relations and the division of labor in the villages communities, which we did not consider beforehand.

The themes discussed in the literature review have led to the formulation of several sub-questions, which have guided our data collection in Paetales and Piedra Blanca, and have helped us to answer our research question:

- How is the labor divided between the men and the women in Paetales and Piedra Blanca? Is there a clear division between public and private sphere, and which consequences does it have for life in the communities?
- Do cultural aspects like patriarchy and social norms influence the labor division, and if yes, how?
- Do the women have a higher work burden than the men, and if so, how does it affect the involvement in productive activities?
- How do the women view their roles within the households and families in Paetales and Piedra Blanca?

- What constitutes wellbeing and a good life in the eyes of the women in the two villages, and do the women link involvement in productive activities as something that would contribute to their wellbeing and a good life?
- How do the men in the communities view the role of the women and work outside of households?

In the next section, we outline the research strategies adopted in our thesis in order to answer the research question and the abovementioned sub-questions.

3.3 Research Strategies

As mentioned before, to answer our research question, we conducted an exploratory study, in which we used a combination of methods mainly attributed to case studies and ethnographies. Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill (2003) emphasize the need for a clear research strategy. The different research strategies are not mutually exclusive, but it is important that the strategies selected are appropriate for the particular research question and the objectives of the research to be conducted. Our research question points to a combination of an exploratory study, case study and ethnography, because these strategies focus on gaining a deep and context-specific insight in and understanding of people's lives, values and beliefs.

Exploratory studies serve to seek new insights, to come up with explanations for what is happening and to clarify the understanding of an issue (Saunders et al 2003). Furthermore, exploratory research is flexible and adaptable to change; it also demands from the researcher that he or she is able and willing to adapt his/her research and change directions based on the data collected. It often serves to clarify if it is worth to pursue a certain research at all (Saunders et al 2003). In our research we have sought to gain insight into and explore the context of Paletales and Piedra Blanca, especially in relation to gender relations, labor division, women's role and their perceptions of wellbeing, and based on these findings suggest if at all and how the implementation of the gender mainstreaming agenda can and should be implemented in this specific context. Furthermore, we have adapted our research during the process of data collection and afterwards: we have added new topics to the existing ones because we have

discovered that they were important for the lives of the people in the communities and therefore also important for answering our research question. The methods we used were also adapted to our particular context and the conditions we were in, together with the data analysis method.

Case studies are typically used to answer how and why questions, which is the case for our research question. Yin (2009: 18) defines a case study as “*an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.*” It aims at collecting and gathering information about the development of a specific person, group, society, etc. to be able to understand it. Case studies provide the researcher with a rich insight into the context of the research. It is a good way to explore already present theory but also to challenge it and construct new hypotheses (Saunders et al 2003). According to Perecman & Curran (2006), case studies looking at small samples of a population (small-n) are very important to complement large-n cross national research: large-n research “*tends to treat the causal mechanisms underlying the statistical equations [used for the analysis of quantitative data] as a black box*” (Perecman & Curran 2006: 33). Case studies shed light on these mechanisms. A case is defined by its unit of analysis, which can be defined as “*the entity that forms the basis of any sample*” (Easterby-Smith et al 2008: 2008), and the unit of analysis defines what the “case” is. In our thesis, the unit of analysis is the people (the women and the men) of the communities of Paletaes and Piedra Blanca. We focus on both men and women, because we investigate gender relations (which involve both sexes) in the communities, and because we agree with Chant’s (2002) argument that it is important to take the men into consideration when doing research on households and families, because a household most often consists of a man and a woman and that is where gender relations are formed. We did not aim at comparing the two communities, that is why we chose to see the people of the two communities as one case. Our unit of observation, or the level on which we collected our data, differed and changed according to the specific situation we collected data in: sometimes it was an individual woman or man, sometimes groups of people, and other times we made observations on household and family level.

Ethnography, which is the third research strategy employed in our thesis, is closely related to case based research: it seeks to explain what “*quantitative observations actually mean to actual individuals*” (Perecman & Curran 2006: 48). Ethnography originates from the field of

anthropology and aims at understanding and explaining people's beliefs, behaviors and values. The purpose of ethnographies is "*to interpret the social world the research subjects inhabit in the way in which they interpret it*" (Saunders et al 2003: 93). The most common data collection method used is participant-observation, where the researcher becomes part of the research process and gains trust of the people and deep insights into their lives. Similarly to case studies, in ethnographies the research process needs to be flexible and adapt to constant changes because the researcher will constantly develop new ideas and thoughts throughout the process based on what has been observed (Saunders et al 2003).

Neither case-based research nor ethnographies allow statistical generalization of the findings, causal inferences and testing of theories. As already mentioned, this is neither the aim of exploratory research in general nor the objective of our thesis.

On this note, we outline the qualitative data collection methods employed during our exploratory field research in Paetales and Piedra Blanca.

3.4 Data collection methods

Saunders et al (2003: 97) name three principal ways of conducting exploratory research: "*a search of the literature; talking to experts in the subject; [and] conducting focus group interviews.*" Before going to Honduras we have identified and read about the fieldwork that other researchers have conducted in developing countries on topics within the field of households, families and gender relations, some of which have been outlined in the literature review. This has given us an insight into the methods other researchers have used during their fieldwork and provided us with a base for comparison of our later findings.

Upon arrival to Honduras, we have interviewed three experts working for different organizations who have experience in working with rural women and gender issues in Honduras. The findings of the interviews are summarized in the Chapter 4.1.3 on background interviews. The objectives of conducting these interviews were to hear about their experiences with working with women in rural communities of the country, their judgments of the problems and issues women in Honduras are facing, how they think the women could be integrated in

forestry projects, and which obstacles there might be to their integration. The information obtained in the interviews has not guided our research in the village communities, indicates subjective viewpoints of individual experts and is treated as background information in this thesis. It is secondary data because the experts do not constitute our unit of analysis.

The third way of conducting exploratory research is, according to Saunders et al (2003), conducting focus group interviews. However, as we have mentioned before, exploratory research is flexible and adaptable to change. Hence we have employed a combination of focus group interviews, participant observation, and two PRA methods. These methods will be elaborated upon in the following.

3.4.1 Participant observation

The most important and undoubtedly most invaluable method we have drawn upon during our fields study in Paletales and Piedra Blanca was participant observation. According to Fife (2005), participant observation entails participating in the lives of the people studied in order to make observations and record data. It means that the researcher shares the lives of the local people and learns to view the world through their eyes. He or she participates fully in their activities in everyday life and thereby becomes a member of their community. Our role in Paletales and Piedra Blanca was the one of the observer as participant (Saunders et al 2003), in which we revealed our identities from the beginning and informed the local people about the objective of our research. This gave us the opportunity to on the one hand immerse in their lives as much as was possible considering our circumstances and the short amount of time spent in the communities, but also concentrate on our roles as researchers, in which we could openly take notes.

According to Saunders et al (2003), participant observation generates three types of data, namely primary, secondary and experiential. While conducting our field study in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, we have been noting down all our observations at the end of each day, including primary observations and experiential data. Primary observations were recorded in a diary-like manner and were labeled as “content” and “conversations” in our field notes (thus, referring to the things that have happened and have been said during the day but without any personal

comments or judgments). The experiential data, on the other hand, was labeled as “personal comments” and “moments of surprise” in the field notes, and expressed our own perceptions and emotions as researchers.

Informal conversations constituted an important part of our primary observations. These conversations have taken place in rather informal settings, without utilizing a tape recorder, and without following an interview guide. In these conversations, we have tried to weave in the themes relevant to our research question and have not taken any notes during the conversations. This was done in order to give them a feeling that they could talk more openly about issues of concern, which turned out to work out quite well for us. These conversations were recorded under “conversations” in the descriptive part of our field notes. The informants were well aware of the fact that we were doing research because we told them and we often took notes in their presence.

Participant observation has served to give us a feeling of what was going on within the communities, what the everyday life in the communities looks like, how the families and households are structured, what type of activities are carried out by the different family members, their responsibilities and how they structure their days. In addition to this, participant observation has allowed us to participate in community events, observe and if possible participate in the women’s tasks, which definitely made it easier for us to gain access to them. Our literature review has guided our observations in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, and we were specifically noting the observations related to themes that were relevant to our research question and the sub-questions including division of labor, private and public sphere, patriarchy, work burden, women’s roles within households, and wellbeing. However, we also noted down other themes that were not mentioned in our literature review because of their importance in that particular context.

3.4.2 Focus group interviews

During our fieldwork in Honduras, we supplemented participant observation by conducting several focus group interviews. These focus group interviews have provided us with a general guide to the issues to be explored in more detail, together with a basis for triangulation of our

data: since focus groups tend to produce a group effect, in which some participants would try to dominate the discussion (Saunders et al 2003), and they tend to produce a consensus, they were a good way for us to get a general impression of people's opinions. We were then able to crosscheck, or triangulate, the data generated from these interviews by observing the people and phenomena in more detail later on.

“Triangulation refers to the use of different data collection methods within one study in order to ensure that the data are telling you what you think they are telling you” (Saunders et al 2003: 99).

Informal conversations were another method employed in order to triangulate the data generated from both focus group interviews and participant observation. It is worth mentioning that planning and conducting focus group interviews turned out to be more difficult than expected. It was rather difficult to motivate the people to participate in group discussions and speak up. Especially during meetings with men and women involved, the women tended to become rather passive and reserved despite our attempts to activate them. In general, people tended to become more reserved and formal, once they saw that they were being recorded on tape, and they seemed intimidated by the formal setting and the tape recorder. Furthermore, in Piedra Blanca, when we tried to organize a couple of meetings with the women, they did not show up. This can be attributed to the fact that there are no women's groups in Piedra Blanca, thus the women are not used to attend meetings and there was no specific group of women to approach for us to invite to meetings. So after conducting three formal and tape recorded focus group interviews in Paletales, of which two were with the two women's groups and one with the forestry group, we decided to adapt to these circumstances and not conduct more formal focus group interviews. We concentrated instead on participating in the people's lives, having informal conversations, and engage people in informal group discussions by conducting PRA sessions with them first. Thus, we do not have the exact same kind of data from Paletales and Piedra Blanca, which can be argued to be a limitation of our thesis. However, as already mentioned, our aim was not to compare these two communities but rather create meaning from our observations, focus group interviews and informal conversations from both communities and thereby get a general picture of the people's lives, priorities and needs in order to explore if and how the women can be integrated into forestry related activities. This means that although our data collection process did not take place the way it was intended, we still managed to get the necessary data in order to

answer our research question. Next, we outline the last method employed in our thesis, namely PRA.

3.4.3 Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA)

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) is a family of approaches and methods to enable local people to express, share and analyze their knowledge of life and conditions (Chambers 1994). It has evolved from Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA), which was a critical response to large-scale questionnaire surveys in the late 1970s and early 1980s, caused by the shift within the development paradigm.

In PRA, there is a great faith in the local people's capabilities to map, observe, analyze and plan the participatory process. PRA methods also entail the importance of outsiders in gaining rapport with the local people. According to Chambers, rapport is a key to facilitating participation (Chambers 1994). Chambers also argues that in the past, two extreme types of interaction have failed in their attempts to conduct field research. On the one hand, the rushed rural development visitor did not invest time nor did have the sensitivity towards the local people, resulting in mutual misunderstandings; on the other hand, social anthropologists have believed that good insight and rapport can only be gained through long-term stay in the communities and participant observation. Thus, according to Chambers, PRA is an optimal tool for gaining rapport without investing a year in living in the communities, and at the same time being sensitive to the local people's worldviews (Chambers 1994).

In our thesis, we did not intend to use the PRA methods in accordance to all of its principles. For example, we planned and analyzed the collected data ourselves. In one of the PRA exercises, namely *daily activities schedule* (which will be elaborated later in this section), we even drew the schedule ourselves. The participants were not the owners of the information collected. This is due to the fact that we are students writing our master's thesis, not experienced development practitioners, and our lack of experience in 'handing over the stick', and as well due to the limited time of our stay in the communities. The function of the PRA sessions was not to be the primary data collection method, but they were in our eyes a good way to complement participant observation and focus group interviews, and also a good way to start an

open-ended discussion based on the drawings, together with motivating the local people to participate. In addition, we used PRA methods to crosscheck and triangulate our data. Thus, we have pursued to conduct participatory research to the extent that was possible in our situation and the conditions we were in, and relevant to our research question. We used two PRA methods during our data collection process in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, namely *daily activities schedule* and *dream maps*. These are outlined below:

3.4.3.1 Daily activity schedule

Daily activity schedule is a popular time-related PRA method that explores the daily activities of an individual, group or community in order to increase an understanding of who does what, when and for how long in the community. The schedule is usually drawn in pictures on paper or on the ground, illustrating the different activities and their duration (Kumar 2002). This PRA method is especially applicable to create awareness about gender roles and helps clarify the reasons behind gender-based divisions of labor - hence a highly relevant tool in our case. It is important to point out that daily activities schedule is not an end in itself, since the discussions during and after the exercise provide useful insights. The information needs to be crosschecked by utilizing other methods, such as participant observation and semi-structured interviews to make sure it is correct (Kumar 2002).

We have conducted one daily activities schedule session in Paletales, which involved the women from two women's groups in the community. The session took place in the local school of Paletales, and five women participated in the session. First, we asked the women to tell us about their daily activities, and then we drew the schedule based on what they told us on a blackboard. This has led to a discussion about their daily work and their work burden among the women. In the end, the daily activities schedule was copied into our field notes, together with the notes taken during the session. The schedule is attached in Appendix VI. The downside of this PRA method is that it was challenging to depict the activities of five women in one schedule, because the women usually work on different things during different times of the day, hence it was not easy to reach a consensus on what the women do when. But as we mentioned, the schedule is not an end in itself, it was a good tool for us to get a general idea of the women's daily activities, and involve them in a discussion afterwards. Furthermore, we had a session with

the children of Paletales, where they were asked to draw what their mothers and fathers usually do during a normal day. We thought it was a good way of seeing how children view the labor division and public and private sphere within their own households, and compare this to what we observed ourselves and what the men and the women told us.

3.4.3.2 Dream map

The dream map is a time-related PRA method that depicts the future in line with the aspirations of the local people. Dream maps can be drawn by different groups in the village (men, women, children, etc.) on diverse topics: the community, the family, their house, the village, the personal life, etc. (Kumar 2002). Kumar (2002) argues that this method has a big limitation because people tend to get unrealistic and start fantasizing during the exercise, and that there is a danger of raising expectations of the people. However, in our case, we tried to explain the women that we were interested in their dreams because we wanted to learn more about their lives, and not because we had the ability to change their lives for the better. As to unrealistic dreams, we actually did not think it was a problem in our case, rather the other way around - the people tended to hesitate to draw dreams that were too different from their own realities.

In our case, dream maps were a good tool for us to see the deprivations and the perspectives of the local people about their own wellbeing. We had several dream map sessions in Paletales and Piedra Blanca. In Paletales, we had a session with the women from the women's group, a session with the children (children between five and ten years old) in the school, and a session with the young girls and boys (between twelve and nineteen years old). In Piedra Blanca, we also had a drawing session with four young girls (twelve and nineteen years old).

The dream map tool has been adapted to our research, since we asked the participants to draw each their drawing, and not one common drawing. First, we asked the participants to draw their dreams or how they would like their lives to look like in future – that is, in ten years time. We encouraged them by drawing our own dreams as well, and after they finished drawing, we presented our drawings and asked them to present their drawings and explain them to us. This tool has given us valuable data on how the people in Paletales and Piedra Blanca perceive a 'good life' and wellbeing, by showing us how they dream their lives to be in future.

3.5 Reliability and Validity

It could be argued that the observer bias, or in other words our cultural and social prejudices that were unavoidably brought with us to the research process, constitute a threat to reliability of our data collected during our fieldwork. However, since the hermeneutic approach guides our research, we are actually encouraged to embrace these biases, and engage them in the interpretation process, which is also what we did. During our fieldwork, especially towards the end of it, we became aware of our prejudices and bias, and during the process of data analysis, these were taken into consideration. For example, in the beginning of our fieldwork in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, we perceived many of the aspects of gender relations in these communities as an expression of women's *subordination* to men, which was based on our own preconceptions about how the dynamics of gender relations are in our own respective countries that we perceived to be more or less 'equal' societies in terms of gender. However, towards the end of our fieldwork, and while interpreting our data, we realized that using the term *subordination* was a biased, subjective, and a rather Westernized interpretation of the phenomena related to men restricting and controlling the women, or the women staying at home while their men are working in the fields. This example illustrates that even when a researcher tries to avoid being biased in his or her research, it is not easy because of the deep embeddedness of our cultural and social prejudices within us.

Another threat to reliability of our data is the language barrier. Our entire fieldwork is conducted in Spanish, and although we do have good knowledge of the language, some of the data might have been 'lost in translation'. The people of Paletales and Piedra Blanca speak Spanish with a very heavy local accent and use many slang words, which a few times made it difficult for us to understand what they actually meant. Furthermore, the interview transcriptions are in Spanish, while our field notes are in English, which meant that while analyzing our data, we had to deal with two languages, which might have caused some of the meaning to get lost as well. However, we chose not to translate the Spanish interview transcriptions into English, because we thought it would have caused even more misinterpretations. We believe that despite the language barrier, we have done our best to bring the data in Spanish and English as closely to each other as

possible, and generally been rather thorough in the process of data analysis. Therefore, we argue that our analysis in general is based on data that is reliable for our research question.

In addition to the language barrier, another potential threat is the fact that we have not recorded all of our interviews, thus, many interviews have been noted down as observations in our field notes. Some of the things that people have told us could have been forgotten or misunderstood. However, we believe that we have been quite good at taking notes immediately after an interview has taken place, and because we were two persons conducting field studies, we were able to complement each others notes and make sure that the picture was as complete as possible. Also, the focus group interview with the forestry group was tape-recorded, but it was not transcribed due to the difficulties we faced with the background noise, many people talking at the same time, the high speed of their speech, and the use of local slang. Therefore, we just listened to the recording of the interview and took notes of it instead of transcribing it word by word. In doing this, we have decided only to note down things that we were sure of, which ensures that the reliability of the data that was actually noted down.

As mentioned earlier, the reliability of data generated from focus group interviews can be questioned in cases where there are few people dominating the discussion, thereby producing consensus. As an example can be mentioned the interview with one of the women's groups, which has a male group coordinator. He tended to dominate the focus group interview and seemed to exercise quite a lot of control over the group. During the interview, we had the impression that he was trying to push it into certain directions. Luckily, we realized it rather early in the process, and thus took this fact into consideration, while interpreting what had been said during that interview. In general, this problem of consensus during focus group interviews has been dealt with by triangulating our data and mixing several methods: participant observation, focus group interviews, informal interviews and PRA sessions. E.g. sometimes things that people have told us were not in coherence with what we observed in the communities, and this was taken into account in the process of data analysis. This way we made sure to crosscheck our data through different methods, thereby ensuring higher reliability of our data.

In addition to reliability, it is important for any research that the data is valid, or said in other words, 'correct' or 'precise' (Ritchie & Lewis 2003). It is important to ask ourselves whether

the data we have gathered helps us answer our research question. The aim of our thesis is to explore if and how the women of Paletales and Piedra Blanca can be integrated into the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project. This question should be answered based on the critiques of the gender mainstreaming approaches in International Development Assistance. These critiques are outlined in our literature review, and we attempt in our thesis to find a way in which the women can be integrated into forestry related activities in the most context-specific way, together with taking into consideration the women's needs and interests, and avoiding having a Westernized approach to their integration. This means that it was necessary for us to conduct a field study in order to explore the context of Paletales and Piedra Blanca, and do a study on gender relations, households and family in these communities. Our data collection methods have given us a broad range of data, ranging from formal focus group interviews, drawings, informal and very personal conversations, and our own observations. We believe that our data collection methods have provided us with data that is suitable to answer our research question, because it has given us a rich insight into the communities of Paletales and Piedra Blanca stemming from different types of data, and an ability to draw some patterns and contradictions based on it. In addition to that, we are not aiming at reaching generalizable conclusions that can be applied in other contexts than Paletales and Piedra Blanca, or to put forward a universal theory on how the gender mainstreaming agenda should be pursued in all contexts. Instead, based on our data, we have formulated several hypotheses that can be tested in future research, as this is a very important aspect of an exploratory study.

Hence, based on the abovementioned points, we argue that our data collection methods, analysis and conclusions are reliable and valid in relation to our research question and the objective of our thesis.

3.6 Delimitations

Our field study has been conducted in Paletales and Piedra Blanca – two out of nine communities that constitute the target group of the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project (Hansen 2009). Due to time restrictions, we chose to concentrate our research on these two communities instead of including all nine of them in our unit of analysis, so we could do a

more thorough and in-depth field study. Furthermore, the fact that we chose participant observation as our main data collection method requires sufficient time in each community in order to get to know the people and gain their confidence.

The criteria we had for choosing Paletales and Piedra Blanca as sites for our investigation were based on different factors. We were told that out of the nine communities we could stay in, one of them has two women's groups. We thought it would be interesting to stay in a community where some of the women are organized, in order to explore what motivates them, how they work and what problems and challenges they face, how they deal with the double work burden, etc. in addition to exploring whether and how they could be integrated into the Forestry Management Project. Thus, Paletales was chosen as the first community to stay in. We chose Piedra Blanca, because this community did not have an established women's group upon our arrival, so we thought it would be interesting to see if there are any differences in women's interests and needs among the women of these two communities. Apart from the abovementioned factors, other factors influenced the choice of Paletales and Piedra Blanca, such as the presence of an active forestry group, the presence of a school, a church, and other places that would enable us to observe public life. Our choice of communities had an important impact on our research. The fact that there were two women's groups in the first community made it easier for us to gain access to the women, since they were used to having meetings and attended them diligently. In Piedra Blanca, on the other hand, the women were not used to attend meetings or being interviewed, so we had trouble with gaining access to the women. We invited them for meetings a couple of times, but only very few showed up. This is also why we do not have any recorded focus group interviews in Piedra Blanca, which is a delimitation of our thesis. However, as mentioned earlier, we still managed to get valuable data from other methods, such as participant observation, informal conversations, PRA sessions and discussions based on them.

Another delimitation is related to the fact that due to limited time spent in the communities and the limited access to data mentioned above, we have not been able to talk to sufficient people about certain topics and generalize about them or recognize patterns. One of these topics is for example the control over household income: our data collection methods did not allow us to ask the same questions in all interviews, and touch upon the same topics in each informal conversation. On this topic we only generated data from a few respondents. We have tried to ask the women during the focus group interviews about this issue, but the women were reluctant to

talk about it. We made a few observations, but we have been reluctant to make statements that generalize from the small sample of respondents to the whole population, and stated in the data presentation that it is difficult to judge about the topic based on the data generated.

Overall, it has been challenging to follow a strict plan of when we would use which method in the conditions we were living in. We have tried a few times to arrange individual interviews with the women, but then their children started crying, their husbands came home and interfered in the conversation, the people did not show up to the interviews because of rain and mud, etc. Thus, we had to remain rather flexible throughout the whole fieldwork, adapting to each situation as it came and taking advantage of every opportunity to gather data, even if it was not planned beforehand.

The short period of time we have spent in the communities is another delimitation of our thesis. Since we were exploring the gender relations in the communities of Paletales and Piedra Blanca, it would have been interesting, besides the women, to focus more on the men and the children and explore in more detail the gender dynamics. We did talk to the men as well as the children during our research, but the focus was still mostly on the women, and the men and children were treated in a more superficial manner.

3.7 Ethical concerns

Within the context of research, *ethics* refers to the appropriate behavior of the researcher in relation to the people or phenomena being researched (Saunders et al 2003). In our case, the people in Paletales and Piedra Blanca have shared with us rather personal and sometimes intimate information about their lives and relationships with their partners, especially the women. This information had to be dealt with in a careful and confidential manner, and their privacy had to be respected in order to avoid causing problems for the people in the communities. Therefore, all of the respondents' names in our data from the communities were changed, so that they remained anonymous. In addition, when using a recording device during the interviews, we asked the participants if they minded being recorded, emphasizing that their identities would remain anonymous. Another ethical issue we had to deal with when collecting data was the fact that many people associated us with Nepenthes and ANPFOR. We felt that

some of them tried to give us a certain impression of their situation in the hope that we would pass this on to Nepenthes and ANPFOR. We have tried to avoid this problem by explaining the people at the very beginning of our stays in the communities that we are university students writing our thesis in cooperation with Nepenthes, and thus do not have any influence on the decisions of the organizations. We have done our best to emphasize that we were simply there to learn about the lives of men and women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, and not to train the people or give them employment to avoid giving them false hopes.

3.8 Our Method of Data Analysis – Framework Analysis

In order to analyze the extensive amount of data generated through our field study in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, we have been inspired by the Framework Analysis method, which is a comprehensive and widely used method by qualitative researchers and was developed during the 1980s.

“This method facilitates rigorous and transparent data management such that all the stages involved in the ‘analytic hierarchy’ can be systematically conducted” (Ritchie & Lewis 2003: 220).

The main characteristic of this method is the so-called *thematic framework*, which is used to organize and categorize the data in terms of key themes, concepts and emergent categories. Framework analysis consists of three steps, namely data management, descriptive accounts and explanatory accounts. The data management process deals with gaining an overview of the data, then identifying some recurring themes or concepts that are relevant to the research question and are central to the data, and then constructing a conceptual framework or index, which contains the abovementioned themes, put in a hierarchy, so that the relationships between them are identified. After that, the data is labeled according to the constructed index, sorted according to the themes, and summarized in a framework chart in order to reduce the amount of material to a more manageable level. The second step is then to unpack the data by identifying dimensions, and refining and classifying the categories. Typologies are developed and relationships between the themes are identified, but the categories are still rather close to the data. As the analysis process progresses, the researcher takes the data to a more abstract level. This stage is referred

to as explanatory accounts, in which patterns are detected, and explanations are developed (Ritchie & Lewis 2003).

As we mentioned above, we have been inspired by framework analysis because it is a method that offers a systematic and rigorous step-by-step method of dealing with our data. However, in order to make this method simpler and more applicable to our thesis, we have made some adaptations and changes to the analytic procedure. We have followed the abovementioned data management step in accordance to the framework analysis approach, but the way we went about descriptive accounts was changed a bit. We chose not to sort the data into thematic charts, but to sort it in a word document instead, because we do not have the exact same data on each individual respondent in the communities, and in order to follow the steps in framework analysis, it would have been required to assign each respondent a row and fill in the data related to each category. As we mentioned before, because of the nature of our research and data, and thus the underlying hermeneutic philosophy adopted in this thesis, it would not have been possible to follow a structured data collection process required to have the exact same kind of data for each respondent. Nor was it necessary for us, taking into account that our unit of analysis is the people of the two communities, and not the individual respondents. In the last step of our data analysis, we discuss our research findings in relation to Moser's Gender Needs Theory, literature on family, households and gender relations, and the Post Colonial Theory. The reason why the Gender Needs Theory by Moser was included in our analysis is that practical gender needs are a relevant aspect in relation to our research findings. In addition, the argued necessity to fulfill the Third World women's strategic gender needs is a subject to our criticism due to its reliance on Western feminist views.

According to Ritchie & Lewis (2003), it is important to permit flexibility when employing data analysis tools such as framework analysis. This data analysis method allows to change some features as it progresses, which is exactly what we have done in our thesis.

3.9 Data labeling

In labeling our data, we have made a system to refer back to the interviews. We have two focus group interview transcriptions and the field notes, and in order to be able to identify where in

our dataset the bits are coming from, we have given our interviews a number each. Thus, the focus group interview with women's group 1 (Esteban's women's group of) is labeled as 1, the interview with women's group 2 (Alejandra's women's group) is labeled as 2, and the field notes are labeled as 3. The interview number is followed by a full stop, and the page number is indicated after the full stop. Then, the line number is indicated behind a comma. For example, a reference to a quote from an interview with Alejandra's women's group, that is located on page 13 in line 10 and 11, is labeled in the following way: (2.13, 10-11). Furthermore, we have marked the references to informal conversations as I.C. and put them before the interview number, e.g. (I.C.: 3.41, 30-33).

4 Honduras and the Project

4.1 Introduction to Honduras

In this section we provide relevant background information about the context of our case study. We begin this section by briefly presenting some general country facts about Honduras. Next, we outline the current situation of women in Honduras, followed by a summary of the background interviews we have conducted with Berit R., Xiomara E., and Eva S.M. We then introduce the reader to Nepenthes, ANPFOR and the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project, and we conclude this section by outlining the gender strategy of the Nepenthes-ANPFOR project.

4.1.1 Honduras: Country Profile

Honduras is located in Central America and has a total area of 112,492 square kilometers. It is a rather mountainous country and has several islands belonging to it (EIU Country Report 2010). The population of Honduras is estimated to 7.32 million people, of which 90 percent are mestizo, 7 percent Indian, 2 percent African (Garífuna) and 1 percent of European heritage (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2010).

Until 2003, the country's most important crops and source of income were bananas and coffee. Throughout the last 15 years, however, Honduras has diversified its exports production, which now contains shrimps, melons, and textiles (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2010). Despite the economic diversification, a very large part of the population still relies heavily on subsistence farming. Furthermore, Honduras has extensive forest, marine and mineral resources. Honduran forests are being destroyed from widespread illegal logging (US Department of State 2010).

The political situation in Honduras has been rather unstable for the last few years. On June 28th 2009, the then-president of Honduras, Manuel Zelaya Rosales was expelled to Costa Rica by the Army soldiers, which constituted a coup d'état against the democratically elected government. On November 29, 2009, Porfirio "Pepe" Lobo was elected as President (US Department of State 2010).

Honduras is one of the least developed countries in Latin America, and the situation has worsened severely since the coup d'état in 2009 and the recent international economic downturn. About one-third of the Honduran workforce was considered unemployed or underemployed in 2009, although the situation has begun to improve toward the end of 2009 (US Department of State 2010). The population of Honduras is divided between urban and rural areas, and about 74 percent of the poor people, and 86 percent of the people living in extreme poverty, live in rural areas. The most disadvantaged social groups in Honduras include farmers, landless people and people that belong to ethnic and indigenous groups, and last but not least, rural women (US Department of State 2010).

4.1.2 Women in Honduras

Women belong to one of the poorest social groups in Honduras that has historically been marginalized (CDM 2004). According to Centro de Estudios de la Mujer-Honduras (CEM-H 2009), existing statistics show that in recent decades, poverty has increased in absolute terms throughout the Honduras. However, they also indicate that this increase affects more rapidly the female population of the country (CEM-H 2009).

Female-headed households make up 9 percent of the population and the women work long hours and bear the double burden of working in the fields and taking care of their children.

Furthermore, the income of female-headed households is 30 percent lower than that of male-headed households. 70 percent of rural women are illiterate, and only 20 percent have secondary education (Rural Poverty Portal 2010). This increased percentage of women living in poverty can be attributed to the problem of access to employment of women, especially rural women. According to a study conducted on rural poverty in Honduras (Paes de Barros, de Carvalho and Franco 2006), the percentage of women with an occupation in rural areas has decreased with 10 percent from 1998 to 2003 (CDM 2004).

Furthermore, the women do not receive any payment for the important reproductive tasks they perform at home because it is not considered as being productive work that has a price. While the women have a high participation rate in domestic work, the greatest contribution to the productive work comes from men, which points to the sexual division of labor that persists in Honduras. This division of labor is argued to have some consequences for the women's access to compensation, productive resources and opportunities and different areas of decision-making (CDM 2004). Furthermore, unemployment and underemployment are big problems for the women as well as men in both rural and urban areas of Honduras, and the unemployment rates of the women are significantly higher than those of men. Even when the women do have an occupation, the relationship between income levels of women compared to those of men indicate the gender gap that is present in the country (CDM 2004).

To sum-up, the rural women in Honduras are facing many challenges and difficulties related to poverty, lack of access to employment, and low income generation, when they do have employment.

4.1.3 Background interviews with experts

As we mentioned in the methodology section, during our stay in Honduras we talked to several experts (Xiomara E., Berit R. and Eva S. M.) about their work and experience with rural women in Honduras and the situation of women in the country in general. Xiomara E. is a Honduran forestry engineer responsible for implementing the gender strategy of the COOPFORH-SOCODEVI project (Sustainable forestry management project financed by CIDA). Berit R. is a Danish project and program coordinator for sustainable tourism projects of Nepenthes in

Honduras. Eva S. M. works for CEM-H (Centro de Estudios de la Mujer – Honduras), which is a feminist Honduran NGO promoting gender equality and the elimination of discrimination and violence against Honduran women.

According to Eva and Xiomara, rural Honduran women are very much focused on practical needs when defining wellbeing and a good life. According to Berit, in rural Honduran communities children give a woman identity and status. The conception of a good life for the women in the villages might be that the man should provide for them and they would prefer to stay at home and take care of the kids instead of carrying out productive activities. Forestry might be one way to provide the women with an income to facilitate that good life and a means to achieve the end. In some cases the women need to be trained and educated to participate in a productive activity like forestry. During the training, their perceptions of their possibilities and future visions might change due to reflection and learning new things. Thus, the objective of a project is to offer training that might change the women's perceptions, however this should happen only on their own initiative, premises and interest.

According to Xiomara, some women in the villages live under great oppression, while others might have more freedom. Some women might feel oppressed but they do not express it. Many women will have the wish to participate in the project but some will not, because they are scared of engaging in an unknown activity. Many women do not get the permission to go out or do not get the money from their husbands to pay for transport, because the husbands usually control the family budget. Berit mentions that some men might fear the new ideas and changes coming from their women because of the training sessions. If the women do not want to be integrated into the project, then it is correct for them to live like that and we should respect that.

Concerning the integration of women into forestry related activities, Xiomara states that the aim of their project is to integrate the women in activities in which they feel confident and capable participating in. This does not necessarily have to be in the forest directly. It is important to integrate them in activities that generate an income, and thereby allow them to gain greater autonomy and an improvement of the situation in their house. Berit and Eva say that it is a good idea to set up separate women's groups where the women are working independently from the men, as many of them might not be comfortable to speak in front of the men and women are better at administering things among themselves.

4.2 The Sustainable Forestry Management project of Nepenthes-ANPFOR

4.2.1 Nepenthes and ANPFOR

The Sustainable Forestry Management project is implemented by Nepenthes-ANPFOR. Nepenthes is an NGO of Danish origin, which is currently carrying out environmental development projects in the fields of sustainable forestry and sustainable tourism in Central America. Besides the conservation of the local forests and biodiversity, the projects take social aspects into account focusing on poverty reduction, rights of indigenous people and sustainable development of marginalized communities.

ANPFOR (National Association of Forestry Producers in Honduras) is an umbrella organization, which connects approximately forty forestry management groups of small-scale forestry producers in northern Honduras and is dedicated to extracting wood in a sustainable way. The organization has about 1000 members in total. It was founded in 1997 with the objective of ensuring sustainable forestry management, creating an additional income source through forestry for its members, and representing their interests on regional and national levels (Nepenthes 2010; Nepenthes 2006).

Nepenthes and ANPFOR are closely cooperating in the implementation of the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project.

4.2.2 The project

The Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project has been running for about four years by now. The overall development objective of the project is:

“To contribute to the improvement of the living standards in the communities close to the forest by generating positive changes in the social, economic and organizational conditions via the sustainable use of forestry resources” (Nepenthes 2006: 25).

The project aims at building the capacity of members of the twelve community forestry groups affiliated to ANPFOR in Olanchito within sustainable forestry management methods, assist them in the process of receiving FSC (Forest Stewardship Council) certification³ and finding markets for their wood. The aim is to establish direct trading relations between local sustainable forestry and woodwork producers to be able to sell certified intermediate products to export companies (Nepenthes 2010, Nepenthes 2006).

The direct target group consisted of twelve forestry groups and their families at the start of the project and has decreased due to different reasons to nine forestry groups and their families by the year 2009. The other inhabitants of the village communities of the forestry groups and some additional communities also benefit from the project due to the training within agricultural and agroforestry activities, which is part of the project (Hansen 2009; Nepenthes 2006).

The members of the forestry groups belong to the poorest part of the rural Honduran population with an average annual income of about 150 to 250 USD (Nepenthes 2006: 26). The people in their villages live from subsistence farming and earning some income from selling excess production. Agriculture is their main work area. Forestry is an additional activity for the villagers who belong to the forestry group, which has been generating an income in the past but does not generate any income at the moment due to lack of markets. The communities are marked by a significant lack of income and employment opportunities, access to credit, markets and education, which is why their opportunities for income generation are mainly limited to the exploitation of natural resources in the form of agriculture or forestry, and the introduction of sustainable production and forestry management methods can help them to earn an income (Nepenthes 2010, Nepenthes 2006).

While ANPFOR is responsible for implementing the project, Nepenthes monitors the project's progress. The project personnel are hired by ANPFOR, and Nepenthes was only responsible for hiring the project director. The project director is responsible for successful project implementation, supervises and advises the technical staff, and informs and coordinates the board members of ANPFOR. He is in close contact and communication with the Danish project

³ "FSC certification is a voluntary, market-based tool that supports responsible forest management worldwide. FSC certified forest products are verified from the forest of origin through the supply chain. The FSC label ensures that the forest products used are from responsibly harvested and verified sources" (FSC 2010).

coordinator, who visits the project several times per year and is responsible for communication with the donor organization Danida, which finances the project.

4.2.3 The gender strategy of the Nepenthes-ANPFOR project

Logging and transformation of wood are traditionally male dominated activities, which shows in the low percentage of female members in the forestry groups affiliated to ANPFOR (Nepenthes 2006). Obstacles for the integration of the women and reasons for their low involvement are argued to be the hard physical character of the work in the forest and the distance of the villages to the forestry plots: the women have to take care of the children and can therefore not leave the house for many hours. In addition, the prevalent notion of Machismo inhibits equal integration of the women in the forestry groups and their activities, according to Nepenthes-ANPFOR.

The project document states that to facilitate the involvement of the women in the project it is important to identify “*areas where they find their own field of work and/or complement the men’s one*” (Nepenthes 2006: 27).

The gender strategy of the project looks at integrating the women in three different areas:

- Agroforestry activities, horticulture and fruticulture. These activities can be carried out on the grounds close to the house in the villages.
- Commercialization of non-wood forestry products.
- Integration of women in the administration of the forestry groups: according to the project document, women traditionally are good at planning and managing budgets and are more disciplined than men in that field.

To implement the above-mentioned strategies for the integration of women, Nepenthes-ANPFOR plan to work with the ten already existing women’s groups in the villages (Nepenthes 2006).

According to the midterm evaluation of the project, the gender strategy in the Olanchito Forestry Management Project has mainly not been implemented yet. Hansen (2009) states, after

talking to a few women of three different communities Nepenthes-ANPFOR work in, that the women's own ideas on how they can earn an income mainly involve animal husbandry, making bread and vegetable gardens, which are areas of traditional women's projects. Concerning their involvement in the forestry group they mention that they could sell services to the forestry group (e.g cooking for them). According to Hansen (2009), the main obstacles to the participation of women in the project are cultural factors, because they restrict the participation in decision-making and their ability to go out to the forest by themselves. However, he argues that it is possible to change these cultural patterns because a gender strategy involves working with both men and women. If the men see that the women can generate an income by being integrated in the project they might change their restrictive attitudes (Hansen 2009).

5 Data Analysis

5.1 Introduction to Data Analysis

In order to answer our research question, we have spent a little more than a month doing participant observation and interviews in two of the communities in which Nepenthes-ANPFOR is implementing the Forestry Management Project: Paletales and Piedra Blanca. Both of the communities belong to the poorest part of the rural Honduran population: the majority of the people live on less than one US Dollar per day (Nepenthes 2006: 26). In each of the communities there is a forestry group belonging to ANPFOR.

Paletales, where we stayed for ten days, has approximately forty houses and is located rather high up in the mountains. The community is rather isolated from the other villages and it takes approximately two hours to drive there by car from the town of Olanchito. There is a primary school, which consists of one single room. We stayed with Alejandra, who is in her fifties and a single mom. There are two women's groups in the community. One of them is Alejandra's women's group (women's group 2): it consists of six women and one man. The other women's group (women's group 1) has twelve members. Activities of the women's groups include making bread and sweets for sale in the village, which generates a very small amount of income. They attend training sessions facilitated by Nepenthes-ANPFOR and they have their vegetable

gardens each, on which they receive advice and training from Nepenthes-ANPFOR. The women are not involved in any kind of forestry related activities at the moment.

Piedra Blanca is the second community we stayed in, and it consists of fifty houses. Piedra Blanca is located approximately one hour drive away from Olanchito, and there is a smaller town called Trojas half an hour of walk from Piedra Blanca. During our stay in the community, we lived in Modesto's house, who is the treasurer of ANPFOR. When we came to Piedra Blanca, the women in the community were not organized. However, during our stay there, Arturo - the agronomist who works for the Nepenthes-ANPFOR project and who accompanied us in each community for a few days - facilitated the establishment of a women's group consisting of eight to ten women. The women's group is now receiving some training sessions, but is not involved in any forestry related activities yet either.

5.2 Data Presentation

The following section presents our findings from Paletales and Piedra Blanca. The data is structured according to some recurring and in our opinion important themes that we discovered while reading through our data. Thus, the themes are largely based on the data we have collected, although we did to a large extent structure our observations and formulate questions asked in the communities according to what we have read in the literature, as we also mentioned in the methodology. Our data presentation section is thus divided into five main themes: patriarchic norms, income and sexual division of labor, women's characteristics, family and organizing. Furthermore, we have discovered four underlying logics that occur within each of the main themes and link them to each other, namely public/private sphere, material safety, lack of trust and mutual dependence of men and women. These four logics are explanatory since they can explain many of the phenomena found within the five themes in our data presentation.

5.2.1 Patriarchic norms

5.2.1.1 Control and restriction from the men's side

The following section outlines how the patterns of Machismo, and the controlling and restrictive behavior of the men, define gender relations and how they form and influence women's lives and opportunities in the two villages, together with the implications for integrating women in productive activities such as forestry related activities.

"Many young women are happy and talkative when you visit them in their house. But then when their husband comes in and he shouts and gives a dog a kick to show his masculinity, they shut up and become very small" (I.C.: 3.41, 30-33).

This is the way Arturo described a typical rural Honduran man at a meeting with the women in Piedra Blanca. The women laughed about it but nodded at the same time, which indicates that they agree with this description and possibly have had similar experiences with men. The topics of male domination and control appeared a lot in the conversations with the women, which indicates the presence of patriarchic norms in their lives. Two comments of Alejandra highlight the women's feeling of being controlled and restricted, which many of the other women have expressed in various ways:

"The men are negative for us women. We can never do anything. We never have any freedom, I already told you the men are like this" (2.13, 10-11).

"They never want to give one the best positions. They just want us to be there put" (2.12, 51-52).

Many women described the men as controlling and restrictive: they like to have the women at home under their control, doing the work in the house, serving them and not leaving the house (2.12; 2.15; 3.44; 3.47):

Alejandra: "[...] he likes to say [imitating a man's voice]: here I have you, here you are. [...] Well, the fire has to be there lit. One is not supposed to go out to other places. They are Machista! The men of the communities are Machista!" (2.9, 21-28)

According to the women, the men like them to be dependent on them and not to organize and learn to manage their lives by themselves (2.13; 2.16):

“In general the man from the village does not like a woman to learn to cope by herself. They like a life to depend on them, because this way you do not go out of the house and you cannot decide to leave because he maintains you [...]” (2.9, 52 – 2.10, 1).

The reason some of the women mentioned for this behavior is the men’s mistrust: they fear that the women might leave them if they learn to be more independent and get the opportunity to work and earn their own income:

Alejandra: “[imitating a man]: And if she earns, well, she will leave me. Let’s see, she will leave me or will do with me what she wants. And this is what the men from the village do not like. They like it if you are dependent on them, [...]” (2.10, 2-4).

Alejandra: “[imitating a man]: These women they choose the work. You will see: soon neither you nor I will have a woman anymore. The day that there will be job that generates an income the women will leave us” (2.12, 43-45).

Lack of trust is an important pattern that characterizes the lives of the people in the villages, and it has a great impact on many aspects of their lives. At the religious ceremony at Esteban’s house, he said that God said we are all free and therefore men should let the women go where they want to go, and men should stop suspecting that their wives will go and find another man whenever they go out alone (3.17). This confirms what Alejandra expressed in the above-mentioned comments: part of the controlling behavior of the men is due to lack of trust they have in their wives. Not only do many men restrict their wives in going out. Already the parents tend to allow the boys to go out more freely than the girls: according to Gabriela, the boys are allowed to go to more places than girls and have more freedom to go to places far away (3.35).

According to Armando, Machismo is a strong factor that holds the women back from going out and working (3.31). Alejandra highlights that the men’s pattern of behavior is an obstacle for the women in organizing, gaining capacity and carrying out income generating activities because many men are against it, do not support the women, and try to prevent them from working (2.12):

“The day of tomorrow there will maybe be help and they will give us work, [imitating a man]: No! You will not do this work, you will end up badly, you will ruin yourself, you will not do this work! Although he sees that it is a benefit, he will not let her do it” (2.12, 30-33).

According to Carmela and Cristina, the men are allowed to do whatever they want to and go wherever they want to, but the women have to get permission first (3.45).

A conversation between Hilda and Maria showed us that there are differences in the extent to which men restrict the women and the way women let themselves be restricted: Hilda said that she always has to ask her husband for his permission when she wants to travel to Olanchito and if he says no, she has to stay because her parents told her to obey her husband and she is dependent on him because he maintains her and the children. Maria in contrast stated that she does not care if her husband gives her the permission or not. If she wants to go somewhere, she goes (3.5). The way women deal with the Machismo of the men varies: some women prefer to have a life without a man instead of a life with a man who behaves like a Macho (3.46). This points to differences in the ability of the women to stand up to the men, which is a topic discussed later on.

According to Armando, there are only some men who forbid their wives to go out and work; others are different (3.31). Elvira, Dora, Cruzita and Conchita said that there are differences in the men’s attitude to women’s work outside the house: some men do not like it when their women work and earn an income, but many men do not mind that their wives or daughters contribute to the family budget (3.47). Consuela said that her husband does not mind her going out alone, but there are many women in the village whose husbands mind and they only stay at home (3.39). Carmela explained that if she wants to go out or travel somewhere she talks to her husband, they agree and he makes it possible for her to go. It is important for her to talk to him about it, because in Honduras the man is the head of the family. She said that there are many men who restrict their wives much more than her husband does (3.44). Beatriz, for example, told us that her daughter Irma was picking beans with her husband and some friends in the field these days. She was really happy to go because she likes working in the field, but her husband barely allows her to go (3.49). Irma herself told us the same thing:

Irma: "In my community I have boots. I used to go out to the fields and work with my dad. I liked it." Judith: "And here you do not?" Irma: "No, my boyfriend does not like it" (I.C.: 3.13, 42-45).

Although many women described the men as quite restrictive, some of them said they do not mind their women working outside the house: at the meeting with women and men in Paletales, the men said that they are generally willing to accept that the women have a work that generates an income (3.26). When Álvaro asked the men at a meeting with the forestry group and the women in Piedra Blanca if they accept that the women participate and harvest edible goods, the men said they do (3.50). At the meeting with the forestry group in Paletales, some men were rather reluctant:

Hugo: "To be honest, I don't like it. If a woman works outside the house, then who is going to keep the order at home, who is going to take care of the children? The woman is there to do that." Esteban: "Who is going to cook for us?" Hugo: "Yes, that's the problem. The woman is there not to go out of the house but to do the work in the house. If there are like five pigs, lots of animals, six to seven children, what will happen if she leaves the house?" (I.C.: 3.9, 44-54).

The differences in the extent to which men restrict their wives in going out and working, and the extent to which women let themselves be restricted has a strong influence on the opportunity of each woman to be integrated in productive activities outside the house (2.3).

The conversation above points to the mutual dependence of men and women: while the women are dependent on the men because of their income, the men are dependent on the women to carry out all the work in the house. Isaura highlights that fact by telling a story about a friend whose wife left him and now it is extremely hard for him to manage all the work in the field and the housework (2.3).

While mistrust from the men's side and the fear that the woman might leave them is part of the reason for their controlling behavior, mistrust of the women in their husbands is ever present as well. This has shown in many conversations with the women. They constantly live with the thought that their husband might have another woman on the side and might not come back to them:

“There he is, far away. Thinking if he is with the other one, or that he will not come back anymore” (2.11, 47-48).

We have talked to many women who knew that their husband was cheating on them or kids whose father was cheating on their mother, but did not play it out openly (3.36; 3.39; 3.29; 3.24). In other fewer cases, like in Maria’s case, the husbands have officially got two wives and kids with both of them (3.1; 3.2). A conversation between men from the forestry group shows that it seems to be normal for the men to openly talk about how many kids they have with different women:

Arturo: “Don Hugo, how many children do you have with your wife?” Hugo: “With her? I only have one.” Arturo: “One? That is very rare. How about you, Don Ignacio? Four to five?” Ignacio: “I had five, now I have only four.” Armando: “I have sixteen, fourteen with my wife.” Hugo: “And how many do you have with the other woman?” Armando: “Two with the other.” (I.C.: 3.10, 18-30).

Even younger boys dream about having more than one woman as some pictures in a PRA session with the young people showed (3.15).

The fact that the women cannot count on their husbands being with them tomorrow is for some of them a factor contributing to their motivation to work and earn their own money to escape from the pattern of mutual dependence.

Maria: “[...] the men of these times they are with one woman today and tomorrow they leave her because with all these many women that there are, and they leave one for another one. So, one has to learn to work to be able to live alone, not only with a man. When one is single one has to face life. And I have my partner but he also has his wife, and suddenly he might leave me and I have to learn to work” (2.10, 29-34).

Alejandra states that many men do not respect the decision of their wife if she decides to separate from them, and they simply stay or come after her.

“Because they are also rude and if one kicks them out, they do not leave! And I tell them: I do not need you anymore here, ha, might it be that you are a crab, look! They do not leave! Because they know that another stupid one will not come along” (2.14, 27-30).

Two examples of cases like that are Cristina and Irma: Cristina left her husband three times but he always came looking for her (3.45). Irma once left her husband Ronni and went back to her parents' place because they had a fight. Then Ronni came after her, begging her to come back, and she went back to him (3.49). These examples illustrate that men are as dependent on their women, as the other way around. We have heard of one counterexample where the woman left the man and did not come back as in the case of Eloy (3.42).

Lack of trust plays a big role in the management of the family budget. We have observed several cases and talked to several women who controlled the family budget and income, because they do not trust their men in money. This is largely due to the fact that many men drink away the money (3.41; 3.44; 3.45; 3.47; 3.49).

Domestic violence is another way the men's control over the women manifests clearly and makes it difficult for women to stand up to the men and do what they want to do. We have heard several women openly talking about facing violent behavior from their husbands' side, often in connection with alcoholism: Cristina's husband drank away all the money they had earned by selling their cattle farm in Olancho, so that nothing was left to purchase new cattle and setting up a farm when moving to Piedra Blanca. She also mentioned him beating her up, so that at some point she got so angry that she threatened to kill him using a machete. Since then he has become calmer and only goes out drinking once in a while (3.40; 3.45). Silvia told us about her husband beating her and abusing her when he is drunk and how she has to put up with him cheating on her with the twenty-year-old neighbor. She told us, that she had to commit to her husband at an early age in order to protect herself from her step dad, who has been abusing her (3.38, 3.43). Dora said that most men in the villages drink, cheat or beat up their wives (3.47). Alejandra mentioned the phenomenon of men in the villages beating their wives several times when talking about the men's dominating behavior in the family (2.12; 2.13), which indicates that it is a common thing to experience for women in the villages. In contrast to the women talking about facing violence from their husband's side, we have also talked to some women, like Carmela or Alejandra about her first husband, who describe the relationship with their husbands as being harmonious and respectful (3.44-3.45; 3.16).

In addition to what people said, several of our observations of people's behavior indicate control and domination from the men's side: during the interview with women's group 1, Esteban

strongly dominated and controlled the interview and the topics that we talked about, and introduced himself as the coordinator of the group (1.3-1.5). During a meeting with men and women, all the men were sitting in the front, while all the women were gathered behind (3.50). On one occasion we have observed men riding horses or donkeys up the mountain in the heat while the women were walking next to them (3.37). We were able to observe several differences between men and women based on their sex: while all men wear rubber boots for walking in the mud, the women wear flip flops because they are not able to afford boots (3.17). In some cases, the boys of the family get the chance to get a higher education outside the village while the girls do not (3.18). While for women in Paletales it is strictly forbidden to dance to modern music, for men it is a lot less strict and they sometimes do it (3.18). Men in general seem to be allowed to attend social events, while the women rather stay at home: when we had a small concert at the house of Alejandra, Esteban came with some male members of his family but did not bring any of the women. According to him, the women do not like attending social events like the concert (3.13-3.14).

To sum up, control from the men's side and their restrictive behavior appear to be patterns deeply rooted in the culture of the people in Piedra Blanca and Paletales. They strongly define gender relations and restrict women in their freedom to go out and work, which is an obstacle for them in organizing, gaining capacity and carrying out income generating activities. This is an important implication for their integration in forestry related activities in the project. The restrictions some of the men impose on their wives concerning going out and working can be partly explained by the lack of trust and mutual dependence.

5.2.1.2 The contribution of religion to patriarchic norms

Religion plays an important role in the lives of the people in the two villages. Many of the women go to church every day. Their faith and the way they interpret the bible provides part of the explanation why women are so dependent on their husbands and feel the need to obey them: according to Armando the bible says that when a girl marries, the parents hand her over to the husband and do not have the responsibility for her anymore (3.13). This explains what Hilda expressed in the conversation with Maria mentioned in the previous section: if her husband does not give her the permission to go somewhere, she stays at home because her parents tell her that

they will not assume the responsibility for her and her children and that she should therefore obey her husband (3.5). At a religious ceremony at his house, Esteban said that women and men are equal in front of God but a woman should respect and obey her husband. According to him the bible says that it should not be the woman who rules in a household (3.17). In this way religion supports the notion that the men should rule and exercise control in the household.

Several women in the villages told us that according to the Evangelic church, women are not allowed to dance, paint their fingernails or wear make-up or jewelry. They feel the need to restrict themselves in this way to live up to their faith.

Maria: “The religion does not allow us to wear pants, neither make-up or jewelry” (I.C.: 3.13, 47-49).

Religion has an impact on the use of family planning and birth control in the villages, and is in that way one explanation for the large family sizes, which is a topic discussed in detail later on.

Armando: “The bible forbids us to use family planning, that’s why I did not want to use it “ (I.C.: 3.10, 14).

The observations and conversations with people in the villages have shown that people’s faith and the way they interpret the bible influence gender relations, have an impact on the definition of the men’s and women’s roles, restrict women in certain ways and in many cases tend to enforce patriarchic norms.

5.2.2 Income and sexual division of labor

5.2.2.1 Men’s and women’s daily activities

Our research findings show a clear sexual division of labor and a division of life in the villages into public and private sphere: while the women are responsible for all the housework and the children, and while most of them do not go out to the fields a lot, the men go out to work on the fields, in the forest or on fruit plantations.

The women themselves see their role in the family as mothers of the family: a woman is supposed to punish the kids when they are not behaving in the right way and to give them advice

(1.14). In addition, they feel that it is the woman's role to serve and take care of her husband and see fulfilling this role as part of their wellbeing. When asked about their definition of wellbeing, they mention among others the following two:

"When the partner is coming back to the house from work, serving him and washing his clothes" (1.14, 49).

"If a man goes without eating for example to do some sort of work, I for sure at that time, at 7 am, will have to go and deliver his breakfast wherever he is working. My responsibility is to go and give him his food. His coffee" (1.15, 17-19).

Several of our observations confirm the described division of tasks among family members (3.32, 26-27; 3.37, 26-27).

The working days of the women differ depending on the season because in some seasons there are harvesting and planting activities of beans and corn to be carried out in the fields. In these seasons some of the women go out to the fields to help the men in addition to all the housework, which they still have to do when coming home (3.18). In other seasons they stay at home. It is not all the women who go out to the fields with the men. Some women said, they simply do not like it and prefer to stay at home (3.37; 3.38). This is also what several men said about the women: they would take the women along to the fields and they also trust that the women are capable of doing stronger physical work, just like the men, but many of them do not like it (3.9; 3.21; 3.42; 3.20). Some women stated that they like going out to work in the fields (3.45; 3.49; 3.18; 3.19; 3.20; 3.22; 3.46). Single women tend to work in the field more often as in the case of Hilaria, who goes and works in the bean field every day from 6 am to 12 am (1.11-1.12). Thus, there is a variation in regards to whether women stay at home or go out to the fields once in a while. But the general pattern is that the majority of women stays at home and carries out domestic tasks.

The women who do go out to the fields said that they are facing a high work burden in these seasons: according to Maria the women leave the house at 5 am and come back at 1 pm. When they come back home, the men go to sleep and the women do all the housework and go to bed very late (3.19). Many women have a vegetable garden in or close to the village, where they grow vegetables for family consumption to improve the family diet. They put a lot of work in it.

Lately they have had problems with plagues in the gardens so that they have not had a good harvest but they keep on trying although their motivation is a bit low by now and their husbands do not seem to understand why the women put so much work in the gardens (2.2; 2.8; 2.17; 1.8; 1.10; 1.5; 1.19). Maria says that when she has to work in the vegetable garden, she gets up at 4 am. She works there until 10 am, and then she goes home to cook, wash, clean the house, etc. (3.1).

The following daily activity schedule resulted from the PRA session with the women and represents what most of the other women have told us about their usual daily activities: The women get up at 4 am, brush their hair, and light the fire. At 6 am they make and have breakfast and send their kids and husbands off to school or the field. Then they start sweeping and cleaning the house, washing the dishes, washing clothes and feeding animals. At 11 am they start making lunch, and at 12 they have lunch with the children and the husband, who are home from school and work. After the lunch they would typically clean up the kitchen again, and tidy up the rooms. They might have time to relax in the afternoon, between 2 pm and 3 pm. Around 3 to 4 pm they have to start preparing dinner, as they have dinner already at 4 to 5 pm. After the dinner, they spend time with the kids, and go to bed at 7 to 8 pm (3.22, 21-29). Additional activities mentioned by the women include sorting beans, watering the plants and collecting firewood in the near surroundings of the village. When a family builds a new house, it is also the women's task to help putting clay on the walls to finish them off (3.35; 3.37). If the men do not have time, the women also have to cut grass in the areas the family wants to use for agriculture or cattle (2.4). Most of the women describe washing clothes as the hardest part of their daily work (1.13).

The men's working day varies according to the season. They do not have a permanent job: there are times during the year when they do not have work and others when they have to plant, harvest or carry out other activities on their fields (3.7). They all have different working schedules depending on what they grow on their fields or if they have cattle (3.6; 3.7). Most of the people plant corn, beans, different kinds of bananas and sugar cane. In general the men leave early in the morning around 4 or 5 am if they go to their fields and come back in the early afternoon. Some of them have to walk several hours to get to their fields (3.32; 3.6; 2.3; 1.10; 3.3). Some men, especially in Piedra Blanca, have paid jobs on the Standard Fruit banana plantation. This means that the men work on the plantation until 4 or 5 pm, and then have to

walk back up to the village every day or only come home on the weekends (3.48; 3.49; 3.41; 3.29; 3.35). Forestry related activities do not take place all year round but only in certain seasons. Lately the men have not been going to the forest because they are not able to sell the wood due to the lack of markets. During times when the men work in the forest, they only go to their fields on certain days of the week. They sometimes stay in the forest overnight because the forestry plot is four hours walk away (3.6; 3.32).

The following two comments show clearly how men and women in the villages see their tasks and indicate the confinement of the woman to the domestic activities and private sphere:

Isaura: “The man knows how to work outside of the house but he does not know how to wash the dishes, wash his clothes, make food, nor take care of the children, clean the house, none of that. He knows his work out there, that is his part of the work, and we have our work in the household which also helps them a lot ...” (2.3, 8-12).

Pedro: “If I have a wife and I give her my clothes to wash and she has not done it when I come home, then I smack her. I do not know how to cook or iron. I do not wash. I do not want to learn how to do that, because I do not want to be embarrassed if a girl sees me washing or cooking. Here people find each other because of love but also because a man needs a woman to do the housework” (I.C.: 3.21, 20-25).

These comments illustrate that the sexual division of labor leads to a relationship between men and women strongly marked by mutual dependence: while the man does not know anything about housework, he depends on the woman to do it. The woman stays at home all day and is therefore dependent on the man, as she cannot earn an income herself.

Already the children clearly recognize the division of labor between men and women with their mothers carrying out tasks in the private and their fathers in the public spheres. In a PRA session the children drew their mothers’ and fathers’ tasks: the mothers brush the floor in the house, brush their hair in the house, clean pots and look out of the window. Activities of the fathers are: cutting grass, milking the cows, harvesting beans, playing football, and working in the forest (3.28 – 3.29).

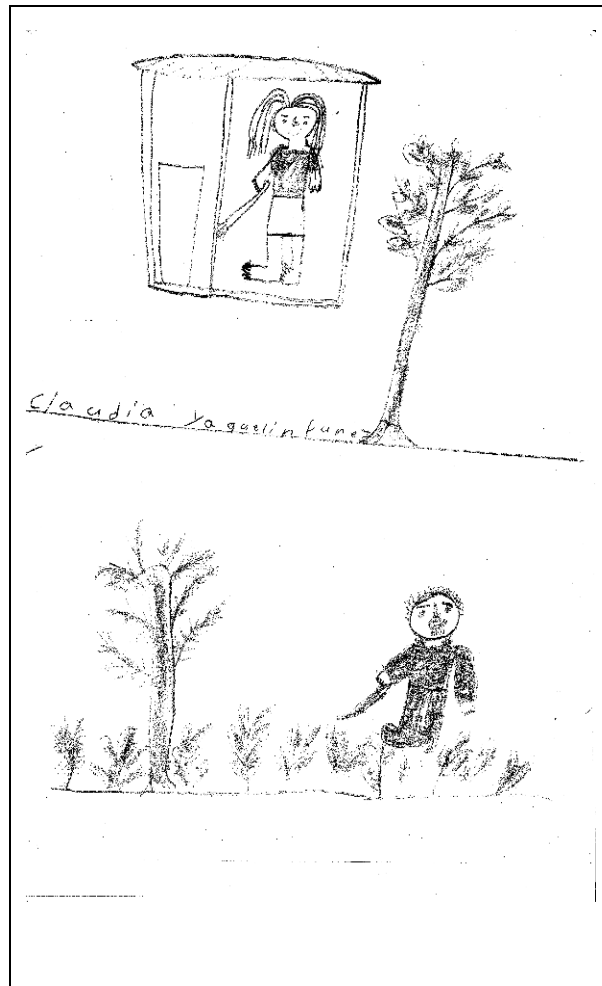


Figure 2: PRA drawing: activities of mothers and fathers in the household

A conversation with Irma while she was washing clothes shows that the sexual labor division already starts in the childhood:

Judith: "It is hard work, isn't it?" Irma: "Yes, it is. We women work hard." Judith: "When do girls start washing their clothes?" Irma: "Very early." Judith: "And the boys?" Irma: "They just run around outside, playing." Judith: "They do not help their fathers?" Irma: "Yes, but later" (I.C.: 3.13, 36-39).

The sexual division of labor along the line separating public and private sphere leads to differences in the work burden men and women are facing, as described in the following section.

5.2.2.2 Men's and women's work burden

The men's work is physically hard, but they have breaks in the afternoons and during the times when they do not have to work on the fields. The women and the men themselves say that, when the men come home in the afternoon, they relax and do not carry out many more activities (3.6; 3.7; 3.45; 2.11; 1.12). A comment of men we frequently heard in the villages: *"When we do not have work, we just go to sleep"* (3.32, 16). Many of the observations we made around the villages confirm that fact: in the afternoon we often saw men relaxing around the house while women were doing work in the house (3.17, 17-19; 3.30, 7-9; 3.30, 10-11; 3.37, 7-11). In the seasons when there is work, according to Esteban, the men work every day including Saturdays. Sometimes they relax and take a break on Sundays (3.6).

The women's work in contrast lasts all day long and all year round. According to the women themselves, they barely have any free time or time to relax, and do not have free days without any work. Only on Sundays they get up a bit later (1.11; 1.10; 3.8; 2.3-2.4; 1.12; 3.45; 3.22).

"Generally a woman gets up at 2 or 3 am when the husband goes to the mountain to cut the corn. From this time onwards she does not sit down again, [...]" (2.3, 51-53).

"It is very important, the work that we women carry out although they do not value it but honestly, yes, it is a work... because it is all day long. They [the men] come back from work maybe from the fields: they arrive, relax in their hammock, eat lunch, and they, already relaxed, from there might do another small thing but they always get to relax but the women, we do not sit down all day long" (2.3, 14-18).

In certain seasons some of the women face the double work burden of having to do work in the household and the field (3.18). In addition they get pregnant which makes all their work even harder during the time of pregnancy (2.3). The women express several times that they feel that the men do not value all the work they are doing in the house because it is physically not as hard as the men's work (2.3; 2.11; 3.39).

The men recognize the fact that women constantly have to work and do not have many breaks, but they do not agree that women work more than men:

Hugo: "Oh yes. A man works much more than a woman. A woman is always at home, sleeping all the time." Other men: "Yes, the women work a lot, but their work is softer. We have to go to the fields and forests, and they don't have to do that. It is more soft their work." Esteban: "Their work is softer, but it is bigger. There is no break, no relaxation. They never relax." Hugo: "Yes, like this it is. There is no relaxation." Esteban: "Yes, no break. The whole day" (I.C.: 3.8, 17-28).

"There are some women who get up in the morning to prepare breakfast for us but then when we leave they go back to sleep" (I.C.: 3.32, 14-15).

Despite the fact that the women claim to be working all the time, and not having any free time, some of our observations in the villages gave us the impression that often the women were hanging out in front of the houses with their kids, chatting and not doing much (3.2, 3.17, 3.23). This is a contradiction to what the women told us about the amount of free time they have, and this will be further discussed in the discussion.

When we asked the women if they would like to be integrated in activities outside the house, they said that they would like to but it adds up to their work burden. It means that they have to spare time for these activities that they would otherwise use for doing housework (2.5; 2.6).

Alejandra: "I say that yes, we would do it although it would be a great effort because it is already an overload. The work in the house and the field. But yes, we need work" (2.6, 6-8).

The women express that activities of the women's group add up to the workload of the women:

Hilda: "[...] During these days [when we have activities with the group] we barely have time to do any more work. We also meet on Saturdays at 2 pm every fifteen days with the group. We do not have free days. Only if we give ourselves a break" (1.10, 46-52).

The description of the women's daily work suggests that it is difficult for them to find time to involve in activities outside the house because they feel they are already busy all day with all the housework. This could potentially be a strong obstacle to the integration of them in productive activities outside the house. We therefore asked the men if they could imagine helping out in the household and taking over some of the women's tasks. At the meeting with women and men in Paletaes and at the forestry group meeting, the men said that if it was possible to find an

activity for the women that generates an income, the men would be willing to help with the tasks in the household. They are willing to accept that the women have a work that generates an income (3.26; 3.10). They know how to cook but many of them have not been practicing it because of the sexual division of labor. When they stay in the forest, they cook themselves (3.8; 3.21; 3.6; 3.9). When we told this to the women, most of them said that this is not true and that the men in these communities do not know how to do anything in the household and would not take over women's tasks in the home (2.3; 2.14; 2.16; 3.11). This again points to the dependence of the men on the women. There are however a few exceptions (3.21, 3.13):

Irma: "My father he cooks and he can make his tortillas. My parents they share their work" (I.C.: 3.13, 40-41).

During our time in the two communities we have not observed any men helping out in the household, except for the above-mentioned one who showed us how he made tortilla.

The sexual division of labor and the high work burden of the women have important implications for the integration of the women into activities related to forestry: due to the high work burden it is difficult for the women to find time to spare for additional activities. Because of machismo and the sexual division of labor, men are not helping with the housework and it is unlikely that they will do so in the near future.

5.2.2.3 Income and its importance

The people in the villages mention the lack of income sources as one of the most pressing issues they are facing. This indicates that material safety is of great importance to them and that they are constantly looking for ways to achieve it. Many people would like to study on after primary school in order to earn money afterwards (3.14; 3.33; 3.37), but due to a lack of income the majority cannot afford an education (3.18). Men and women both expressed that they would like to work and generate an income, but there are very few income sources and no employment opportunities in the two villages, and markets for their products are lacking, such as for the wood that the forestry group produces (2.11; 3.27; 3.31). Most of the women do not receive any income for their hard work (2.7). This makes them highly dependent on their husbands and their income. Some of them sell goods for everyday use they bring up to the village in small shops in

their houses (3.24; 3.35), bake bread (1.6; 3.35), produce cheese (3.37), cook food for people to take to the fields (3.47), or cultivate things they can sell, and thereby generate very little income. However, it is in general difficult to set up a shop and sell things if people do not have the money and cannot pay for the goods:

Alejandra: “But we could first of all, without an income source, we could set up the business we used to set up but we always fail.” (2.7, 12-14) “If there is no work that generates an income any type of business that you set up will be a failure” (2.7, 19-20).

Esperanza: “[...] we cannot put a clothing store or a shoe store, because there is not enough money so that people will come to buy. That is what we did first: put a clothing store” (1.6, 15-17).

In general, there is little paid work for women in the communities and if there is, it is much worse paid than men's work (3.10; 3.11; 1.19-1.20). Some of the young women move to the bigger cities or have the wish to move there to work in factories and earn an income, although they know that they receive very little for long hours of hard work (3.46; 3.47; 3.41). The men in the villages do not have permanent income sources either because most of them are working within agriculture, which does not provide an income at all times (3.7). Many times the production is enough for family consumption, but not for selling surplus production. The women would therefore like to find an income generating activity to complement the family income, especially in the times when men do not have one (2.4).

The women express that even if they receive training and learn e.g. how to set up a vegetable garden, without money they do not have the opportunity to change or improve their situation:

“The internal things we have, but the external comes from over there, which is the support. This is what we do not possess. I have a machete, I have a rasp to make this garden. But if I do not have anything to buy the seed with, then I will be there with the garden dug up, and where is the money for buying the seed?” (2.5, 22-25).

When we talked to women about working outside the house and involving in productive activities in the forest or elsewhere, nearly all of them mentioned income generation as their primary motivation: without an income they do not see a reason why they should involve in any activity or work outside the house because it just adds up to their work burden (2.5, 1.16-1.17).

Esperanza: “For free, we do not go, no, [...] and if we go up that mountain and the children die from hunger... No, no it is not logical” (1.17, 10-13).

Alejandra: “Well, yes. If it generates an income for us, then one would have to do it because one would have to vacate that time, one sets one’s goals, right?” (2.5, 36-37).

On the other hand, if they can earn an income, then the women express that they would be willing to do any job that is offered to them (2.13, 2.14, 1.17, 1.18).

Alejandra: “We will go to the fields to work. But this what I told you, we are willing to do whatever there is. [...] We are willing to go to the fields to work, come back to wash clothes, clean the house and prepare food” (2.14, 23-27).

Daniela: “In the forest, to cut wood. Ah, if they pay us we will go!” (1.16, 14).

Dora and Conchita said they would like to work outside the house to earn their own money to be able to afford beautiful things they would like to buy (3.41; 3.46). Only very few women said they would like to work because they enjoy working and it makes them feel better. It is the income, which enables them to increase material safety that makes them feel good (3.45, 3.47). Alejandra said that working or setting up a business without receiving an income would even lower the self-esteem instead of raising it (2.7). Several women mentioned that working outside the house means an even higher work burden for the women but when earning an income for it, they would do it with a very different feeling and a different motivation (2.5, 2.11):

Alejandra: “More sacrifice. [...] But one would do it with a different attitude. One would say: well, I have to go to the forest. It is a 2 hour way. So, what does one do? One gets up at 3 in the morning. [...] But one knows that one will come back from there with something to buy food with. [...] One has one’s food and hope. Although one is working hard in the mountain, but one knows how to generate an income with that work one is doing. [...] It is not anymore about knowing that I am missing salt and I am missing rice and with what will I buy it? But one sees: ah, but I am working! I made this much money per day, right? And one starts to have a different attitude. It is not the same as working all day, washing clothes” (2.5, 44 – 2.6, 5).

Thus, the majority of the data gathered indicates that income generation is by far the greatest motivation for women to work outside the house and participate in productive activities. An

income enables them to attain material safety, which seems to be very important in their lives. This has important implications for the integration of the women into forestry related activities: the women will only be motivated to participate if they receive an income for the work they are doing.

5.2.2.4 The dream about income and material safety

The constant striving for material safety shows in the women's dreams and their definition of wellbeing: when asked about their dreams and how they understand a good life and wellbeing, the majority of women and men mentioned income and money (1.12; 1.14; 3.11, 3.15; 3.22; 3.35; 3.46; 3.47).

“It is difficult to say that one is happy, that one lives well in this community. We live well because, well, we know how to enjoy time with our family and the community, that is why we live well. But let's say financially we do not live well, we do not live well” (2.6, 25-28).

A few women (Alejandra and her daughter) said they would like to be different women, in a different environment: women who are able to help themselves, their children and their community (2.5). This is again closely linked to income: if they had the money they could help their children and the community. Several women mentioned family and kids, and providing education for their kids so that they could have a good job, live a better live later on and support their parents (1.15; 2.5; 2.6; 3.22; 3.23; 3.35; 3.37).

“I would like to have a nice house. A good work. Give an education to my kid so he can be a teacher. And live a better life in the future, have my house nice, in order and clean. Take care of my kids, educate them and teach them all the good things in life” (I.C.: 3.23, 5-8).

Generally a lot of women and young people drew nice houses in their dream maps (3.22; 3.23; 3.28; 3.46), which is closely linked to having the money to be able to afford a nice house. Having a nice house seems to be very important in the lives of the people.

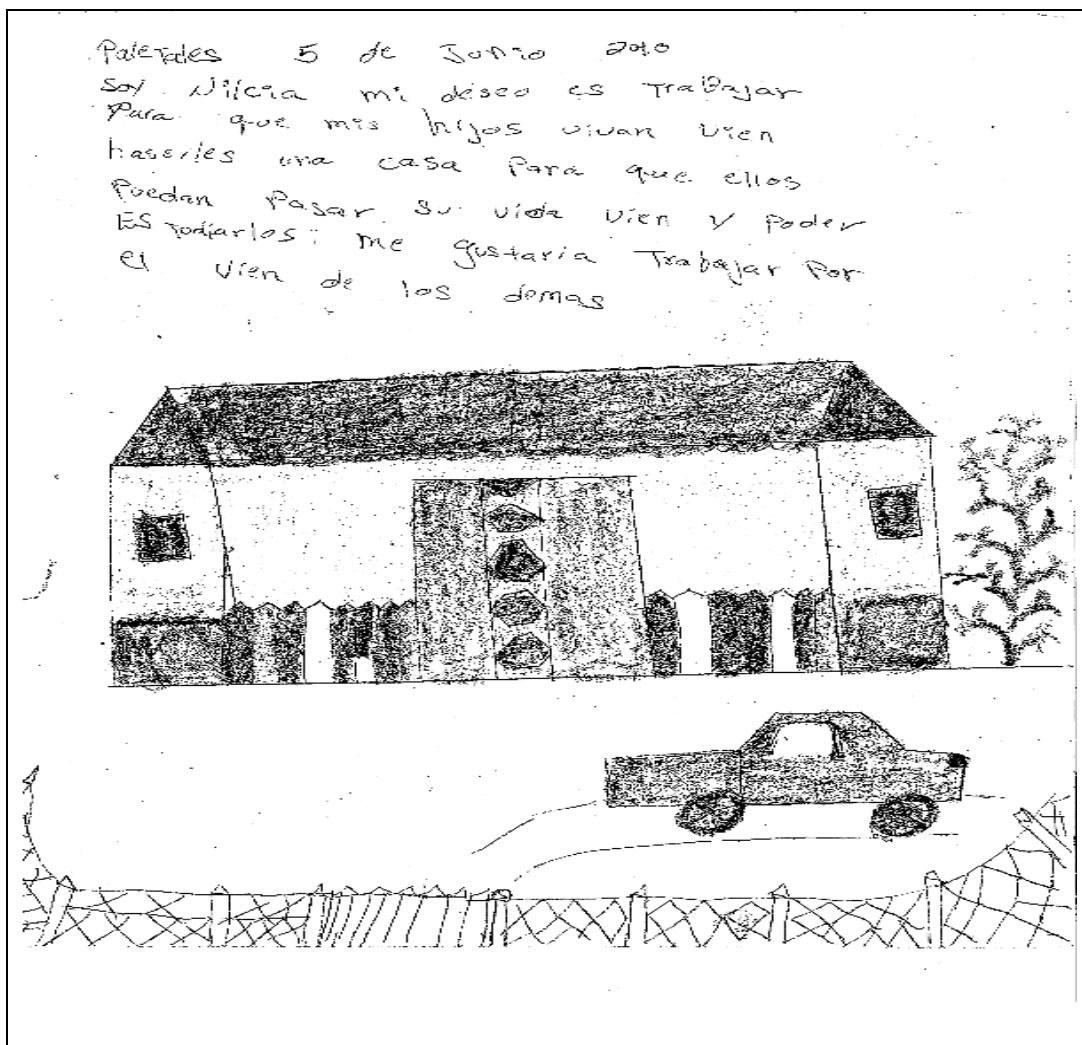


Figure 3: PRA drawing: dream map

A few women talked about good health as one of their dreams, but referred to it as a precondition for being able to earn an income: when one does not have good health, one cannot work and earn money (1.14; 1.15; 3.47). Some mentioned a life in peace/without problems (1.14).

Many women complained how hard it is to wash clothes by hands and if they had the money they would hire someone else to do it (1.12).

“If I had money I would say: well, I will pay whoever helps me to wash these clothes. But I do not have any so I have to work.” (1.12, 50 – 1.13, 2)

A lot of people mentioned that they would like to have permanent job in order to have a stable income (3.11; 3.39; 3.46). A few women dream about getting an education (3.14; 3.47) and getting a permanent job in the city (3.11; 3.33; 3.47). E.g. Gabriela wants to be a teacher:

“They sometimes do not have to work and still get paid” (I.C.: 3.39, 22-28).

This comment shows that it is not the job in itself but the income she is dreaming of. Some few women mentioned living a calmer life (1.12) and improving the housing situation (3.22; 3.23), when talking about their dreams. This would be possible if they had more money.

The dreams of the women point out that material safety is of great importance to them and working and thereby generating an income is primarily a means to achieve that dream. It is notable that many of the dreams they have about improvements in their lives refer rather to their children, than themselves. As mentioned above, the women see their primary role in being a mother of the family. Income enables the women to carry out their role as a mother in a better way, because they are able to provide material safety for their children.

5.2.3 Women’s characteristics

The possibility to integrate women in productive activities, like forestry related activities, is influenced by the men’s controlling and restrictive behavior, but to the same degree by the women’s ability to stand up to them and enforce their wish to go out and work. The women’s motivation to organize and work is also an important factor. These two aspects will be discussed in the following.

5.2.3.1 Women’s ability to stand up to men and their physical strength

During our research in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, we have observed that there were a few women who talked a lot and were open (2.13; 3.33), while the rest were quiet and shy, especially in the presence of men (3.2; 3.27; 3.3; 3.4; 3.15; 3.17; 3.50). E.g. when Arturo established the women’s group in Piedra Blanca, he asked who would like to be the coordinator, treasurer, and secretary of the group, and the women were hesitant to get the posts assigned in

the beginning; they said they would not be capable of handling this responsibility (3.40). According to Armando, the only free woman in Paletales is Alejandra (3.31). She has attended training from different organizations, and she says it has boosted her self-esteem (2.5).

Alejandra: *"[...] A woman needs to value herself, to take care of herself. Because it is not necessary to sleep with a man to be able to eat. One has to find a way of life to help these children and help oneself. But they [the women] are going to live submerged just because they do not speak, because they do not criticize, why not ... No, that life does not suit me"* (2.12, 11-15).

Alejandra and her daughters generally referred a lot to the Machismo of the men in the interview with women's group 2. They openly spoke up against it, saying that they are not willing to accept to be restricted and controlled by the men. On the other hand, the women of the other women's group in Paletales were rather quiet about it in the interview. This again shows the difference in the level of women's resistance to Machismo and the way they deal with it: while some women openly speak about Machismo and speak up against it, others do not talk about it: while Hilda mentioned that she stays at home if her husband does not give her the permission to go somewhere (3.5), Alejandra said that she would simply disregard men who tell women not to work, and do it anyway:

"But if they, due to Machismo, do not let us work, they should just stay on the sideline then. Let's see what they will do all alone and let us work. Because it is not possible that we will be dying from hunger all of our life only to... obey them with all the necessities on top of us" (2.14, 2-6)

Alejandra told her husband to leave seven years ago and does not want to live with a man again (3.1). Several times during the interview with women's group 2, she described how she had the courage to confront her husband and tell him to leave (2.13). She would kick out any man who restricts her too much but, according to her, not many women in the village have the courage to stand up to their men and tell them their opinion:

"I say: yes, yes I will do it [the work]. If you like then give it to me, or if you do not give it to me I maintain myself with my work. What I wanted is work. Today I have it. So, if you like, sir, pack

up your things and go away and let me work. But there are no women with this capacity” (2.12, 30-36).

A few women besides Alejandra acknowledge that it is important to be organized (2.10). These women have in common that they have experience with organizing in women’s groups and have previously attended training (3.40; 3.44). In general, it is rather the older women with more experience, who speak up against the men and find a way to deal with their Machismo like Alejandra, or Cristina: she has tried to leave her husband several times because he kept on drinking and beating her, but he always came back to her. Now they live together, but work each individually on their chili field and individually sell their harvest. According to Cristina, this way the behavior of her husband cannot bother her anymore and she does not have to worry about him drinking away his money because she earns her own one (3.45).

When it comes to physical strength, we have observed that many women perform tasks that require a lot of strength, such as carrying heavy loads on their heads, building houses, etc. (3.19; 3.20; 3.24; 3.32; 3.35; 3.36).

Maria: “Even the young girls know already how to use the machete” (I.C.: 3.19, 22).

This is relevant when speaking about integrating women into forestry related activities, because it shows that the women are indeed capable of handling tasks that are physically very demanding. The difference in the women’s ability to stand up to the men and speak up in front of them, and the extent to which women let themselves be restricted by them has implications for the opportunity of each woman to be integrated into productive activities. Generation seems to play an important role: it is rather the older experienced women who speak up against and resist Machismo.

5.2.3.2 Women’s motivation and participation

As for the level of women’s motivation for being organized and working, we have observed that some women in the villages are more motivated than others (2.6). Alejandra was one of the first women to organize women’s groups in Paletales, and it has also motivated other women to start organizing themselves (2.2).

Alejandra: "If we have to make a garden then we will do it. Well, if they [the NGO's] say: 'make a garden', then we will see how we can do it" (2.5, 20-21).

Besides Alejandra, Maria also said that she likes working and being organized:

"One's work is strong enough, and, well, I like to be organized and I, wherever there is work, I work" (2.10, 14-15).

We have observed differences in the motivation of women concerning going out and leaving the house in general. Some women like Irma are very happy to go out and work (3.13), other women in contrast said that they do not like going out of the house, they prefer to stay at home like in the case of Natalia: she barely ever leaves the house because she does not like it (3.37, 3.48). Beatriz told us that she does not really walk to the village a lot because there is a lot of mud (3.49). Several PRA sessions and conversations with women and young people indicate that it is many women's and girl's future vision to stay home. Most of their dreams are connected to the private sphere of the home: a lot of women and young people drew nice houses (3.22; 3.23; 3.28; 3.46), vegetable gardens so that they can sell the vegetables and fruits or produce for family consumption (3.15; 3.22; 3.28; 3.46), flowers (3.15; 3.22; 3.28; 3.46), a pig or a chicken farm (3.22; 3.45; 3.41) and a car (to transport goods to sell or drive people around) in their dream maps (3.15; 3.22; 3.23; 3.28; 3.46), or mentioned them in conversations. Their striving for material safety is apparent in their dreams: although they would like to stay at home, they wish to generate an income. According to Armando, most of the women in Paletales do not dream about education, a profession, or being independent. They only want to stay at home and have a garden (3.31). Women's dreams and in many cases low motivation to leave the house reflect the fact that the women in the villages are mainly dedicated to the private sphere.

As already described above, income generation is the primary motivation for women to work because it increases their level of material safety. There are only few women who are also motivated in terms of being active and working in vegetable gardens and generally being organized without necessarily generating an income (3.3; 3.4; 3.50). The majority of the women are not motivated to attend meetings or training sessions, unless they know they can get something out of it, such as money or food (3.25; 3.27; 3.28; 3.30; 3.4). We personally experienced this during one of the PRA sessions in the villages: several women promised to come and even confirmed their attendance a day before but only two of them showed up on

time, and one more joined later on. Carmela said that women here are not really motivated to attend meetings (3.43).

To sum up, although the villages are small and people live under the same conditions facing the same problems, there are differences among the women concerning their ability to stand up to the men, and their motivation to organize and attend meetings and training due to their personal characteristics. This diversity among the women should be taken into account when developing approaches to the integration of women in forestry related or other productive activities.

5.2.3.3 Single women

We have met several single women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, whose husbands got killed (3.16; 3.20), are working in the United States (3.12), or who have left their husbands because of their controlling and restrictive behavior (3.22; 3.24). Alejandra told us that she kicked her husband out many years ago because he was machista and did not want to let her work (2.12). She managed her life alone and she also managed to generate an income by herself although it was hard work (3.4), but there are not many women who are capable of doing that, according to her (2.12).

The single women we have talked to expressed that life without a man is especially difficult in communities like Paletales because there is no work for women and working in the fields is hard (2.4). They are used to doing strong physical work, just like men, and face an even higher work burden because they do not have a husband to provide for them (3.22):

Hilda: "She works like man." Hilaria: "I live alone, I do not have a partner, I do not have a husband" (1.11, 52 – 1.12, 2).

"[...] It feels sometimes, the husband is missing in the home, but we have to adapt to a new life, but it is a bit difficult. But, one always makes the effort to move forward, to support their children and all, but it is not so easy" (2.4, 23-28). "And when you have your partner, although he is as he is, but he is there with seventy Lempira that people earn here daily, working to bring the rice and sugar to the house" (2.4, 32-45). "When one is single, one has to face life" (2.10, 31-32).

There are three implications of this for the integration of women into forestry related activities. On the one hand, it can be argued that single women have a higher need for income generating activities and material safety because they do not have a man they can depend on to bring home money and support the family. Thus, they might have a higher incentive to be integrated into forestry related activities than women with partners. In addition, they have more freedom to do what they want and need because they do not have husbands who control and restrict them. On the other hand, it might be even more difficult for them to find time to involve in additional activities because they are already facing a higher work burden than women who have a husband who provides for them.

5.2.4 Family

The size, meaning and importance of family for people in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, together with the implications for our research question will be set out in this section.

The tendency amongst the population of Paletales and Piedra Blanca is that people get married and have children at an early age. We have met several women our age or younger, who already have several kids, and many women have had their first child at the age of fourteen to sixteen (3.1; 3.2; 3.14; 3.43; 3.45). The big family sizes and the high amount of children is a common phenomenon both in Paletales and Piedra Blanca. We have met several families with more than four children (3.29; 3.34; 3.35; 3.37; 3.40; 3.41; 3.45).

The general attitude among the women is that, although it is rather expensive to have many children, it is good for a family to have several kids, because:

“if you only have one kid and he dies, what are you going to do? If you have ten kids and one of them dies, you will still have nine left” (3.18, 23-29).

So according to the majority of the women, it is important to have kids because of the benefits in terms of material support and help around the house when they grow up (3.18). Thus, it can be argued that the women feel the need to have many children because this is a good way for them to ensure material safety when they get old.

Armando mentioned that many women in Paletales do not use prevention (3.10). Maria says that religion prohibits the women to use contraceptives, but some women do it anyway (3.13). Alejandra is religious but she thinks that it is good to practice birth control (3.25). Although many women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca do not use contraception in order to control family sizes (3.3; 3.25), according to Alejandra, the current young generation in Paletales is practicing birth control, which is why they only have two to three children (3.25).

“Irma’s husband really wants to have kids, but Irma does not really want a kid at the moment. She is on birth control pills and he is very angry about it. Irma feels she is too young to have children” (3.49, 28-30).

Some of the women leave it up to God to decide when to have kids and how many they will have in total. They express that it is God’s rather than their own decision, and that they do not have the control over it themselves: when we asked the girls at the PRA session with the young people, how many kids they would like to have, they replied: *“As many as God will give us”* (3.15, 18-20).

The big family sizes and having many children can also be argued to be an obstacle to integration of women into forestry related activities, since taking care of so many children can take up a lot of a woman’s time. Another implication of the large amount of children is that it maintains the situation where women stay in the private sphere because they have to stay at home with the children, while the men can go out in the public sphere.

Another reason for why women have many children in Paletales and Piedra Blanca can be argued to be the importance that women assign to children. During the soy cooking session, the women talked a lot about giving birth to a child, they joked a lot when they talked about it, and generally the topic of kids came up all the time (3.5). When we were talking about wellbeing and good life, some of the women said that having kids is a blessing. Several women mentioned the wellbeing of their kids when asked about their own wellbeing and good life (3.22; 3.23):

Hilaria about a good life: “Also have your children” (1.15, 48).

Esperanza: “It is a blessing that God gives you” (1.15, 50).

Alejandra: “Kids are happiness and entertainment in the house” (3.5, 22).

Several women have told us that even though children are hard work and a great expense, children are the most beautiful things in life and they are of great help (3.13; 3.18; 3.40).

Alejandra: *“We do not organize for the purpose of leaving him [the husband], but rather to improve the lives that we have for the children and even for them”* (2.13, 53 – 2.14, 1).

This tells us quite a bit about why income and material safety are so important for the women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca: instead of thinking about themselves in the first place, they want to make sure that their children have good lives, good health and an education. So it can be argued that the importance of children constitutes a great part of the reason why the women care much more about material safety than independence from men.

To sum up, the big family sizes and the large amount of children can mainly be attributed to religion, the importance the people and especially women assign to children, and the wish to ensure material safety.

5.2.5 Organizing

5.2.5.1 Training and organizing

Some women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca feel the need to be organized and see it as a way to change their lives for the better. The majority of the women we have talked to from the women’s groups said that being organized has helped them in several ways: they feel more proud of the fact that they work and produce something (even though it is only for own consumption and not for sale), they can feed their children with what they produce, and they have learned how to work independently from their men (2.10; 1.6-1.7). Thus, the women who are already organized, are organized because of the need for material safety and because it gives them a good feeling to work and produce something. A few women also expressed that if a woman is organized she can learn how to make it on her own if the husband leaves. In this way for some women the motivation to be organized can be attributed to the low level of trust between men and women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca and a wish to escape the mutual dependence, just like the motivation to work, as already described above:

“It is very important to be organized and to learn, to be able to manage on one’s own, to work, because one has a man today, tomorrow one does not have one [...] Because a woman who is not organized, it follows that her and the man do not know how to cook and the little children cry hungry. And when one is already organized, one seeks a way to feed the children” (2.10, 5-12).

As we have mentioned earlier, not all of the women are motivated to organize and attend trainings and meetings. Some of the women from Esteban’s group question the fact that they have received any support by ANPFOR in their group because they have not received any financial support, only training sessions (1.6, 29 – 1.7, 4). At the soy cooking session, Alejandra made a comment that the women of the other group do not really appreciate the trainings and do not develop (3.5).

Esperanza: *“But look, right now, I am talking about myself, we were looking at the gardens before. It seems to me that this institution [ANPFOR] does not help a lot because look, my garden is going bad because of the plague” (1.8, 29-32).*

Armando and Esteban highlight the importance of raising the awareness of the women and create a mentality of change, as they call it, within the people in general to improve the situation in the village. They mention that the women need to find new sources of income, but it is important to start with training and make the women aware of the benefits of being organized (3.12, 3.26; 3.27; 3.30). According to Alejandra, in order for the women to become more independent, it is important to educate them, to attend training sessions, to make them conscious about the benefits of being organized, working and earning an income by themselves and live their lives more independently (2.13, 2.15, 2.16; 3.4).

Alejandra: *“The women need to be trained in how to work in the forest, but the wish needs to be created, because it is needed to escape poverty” (3.4, 18-19).*

Armando: *“It is important to change the mentality of the people but there are always women who oppose themselves to that” (3.27, 20-21).*

It is important to note that these are the subjective viewpoints of individuals which are not based on any analysis and do not have to be necessarily correct. Armando, Esteban and Alejandra are all people who have been exposed quite a bit to training sessions of and work with international

organizations (FAO, Nepenthes, etc.). Their viewpoints might be colored by the external inputs they have received.

Based on the abovementioned, it can be argued that although there are women, such as Alejandra, who do see the benefits of being organized and receiving training, others do not see them if it does not directly bring them an income and short-term material safety. This has important implications for the integration of women into forestry related activities, since these research findings show us that being organized and receive training is for the majority of women a means to achieve material safety.

5.2.5.2 Organizing on a family level versus working individually

Many women both in Paletales and Piedra Blanca have expressed that they prefer to and currently do work individually with their families rather than together with men or women from other families (1.5; 3.31; 3.44; 3.45), e.g. Modesta, who wants to form a cooperative with two men and three women from her close family, and she would like it to be a family cooperative (3.35), or Alejandra, who admitted in an interview that their group is an organization of family, and described it as a family group rather than a women's group (2.2; 2.17).

“It is nice to work in groups but I do not like it because always within groups there are people who have more advantage and they used it to their benefit [...]. Then it is better individually. I plant and work on my field with my children and my husband and everyone, it is better. When we finish the work, we share the money. [...] Now we formed a group but to work individually. We will train together but everyone will be working as it suits them. This way I like [...].” (3.44, 15-25)

The members of Alejandra's group are related by close kinship ties and there are even male members in the group (2.2). Esteban's group has a male group coordinator, and there are two boys in the group, who are related to Esteban (1.3; 3.25). Everybody in Esteban's group, except for two women, is related by family ties. A few women outside the family left Esteban's women's group (3.29; 3.30), and when we asked them why, they just said that they did not like it (3.29). The only women left in the group, who are not related to the family, are Maribel and her sister. She claims that the other women do not treat her and her sister very well:

“The women of the group are often not very nice to me”. Us: “Why?” Maribel: “Because they are bad....” (I.C.: 3.24, 24-25).

Several people have expressed to us that people are rather egoistic and think more about the wellbeing of themselves and their families, rather than the community as a whole (3.16; 3.26; 3.27; 3.28; 3.30; 3.31). Some girls mentioned that people here have different work ethics and some people would always tend to work less than others but at the same time want to have access to the money. They said they would like to work in a women’s group and be organized, but have their own individual activities together with their families (3.47).

Some few people did express that they would like to work for the good of everyone (3.22; 3.23):

“I am Hilda. My wish is to work so that my children can have a better life, that I can build them a house so that they can have a nice life and that I can give them an education. I would like to work for the good of everybody...” (3.23, 1-4).

However, the majority of people we have talked to in Paletales and Piedra Blanca clearly expressed their preference for working together with their households and close family members.

During our stay in the communities we got the general impression that the people put a lot of importance into family ties. Family members support each other a lot and share happiness, sorrow, good times and difficult times. If someone from their close family has money, and someone else is in need, they typically help each other out (3.12; 3.13, 3.41). E.g. Daniela, when talking about good life, mentioned family and household as the place where you should start educating:

“First home. You have to educate your home first” (1.14, 41).

Armando told us that marriage between cousins is a normal phenomenon in Paletales because people trust someone from their family more than they would trust a stranger (3.31).

Thus, except for very few people (3.22; 3.23; 3.27; 3.28), the majority of the women we have talked to and observed prefer to work and organize on a family level, which can be attributed to the great amount of family solidarity and trust among family members in Paletales and Piedra Blanca. For example, Carmela told us that she prefers to work individually because when she

was a member of a women's group many years ago, there was a case when sons of the members stole some products from the group's vegetable garden at night. Ever since she does not trust other people outside her family (3.44). Generally, it can be argued that people do trust their family members more than they trust people with whom they are not related to by family ties (3.44; 3.45). The two women's groups in Paletales confirm that pattern, as we described earlier. Most of the members have their own household although they belong to one family, which points to the fact that people tend to organize in networks of households with close kinship ties. Although this pattern is also valid for men, they do organize in groups with people from different families, as we have seen in the case of the forestry group (3.6-3.11). The implications of this pattern for the integration of women into forestry related activities can be quite important. If the women feel they can trust their family members more than the other women from the community, it should be taken into account when integrating them into forestry related activities.

5.2.5.3 The forestry group

The forestry groups in Paletales and Piedra Blanca do not generate an income at the moment although they used to do so in the past (2.6; 3.31). The work in the forest is seasonal. The biggest problem is to find a market for selling the wood (2.8), which is what ANPFOR is working on in cooperation with Nepenthes at the moment. A reason for why it is difficult to find markets is the large amount of illegal logging still going on in the area, because a lot of people prefer to buy the cheaper wood that is logged illegally and therefore avoid the high taxation (2.6; 3.11). The fact that forestry related activities do not generate an income at the moment means that if the women got integrated directly in forestry related activities, such as helping men to plant trees or administrative tasks, the forestry group would not be able to pay them for their work. Thus, the women's need and wish for material safety would not be satisfied, at least not in the short-run. Furthermore, activities in forestry would take away the time from many household tasks without any compensation in terms of income.

In Paletales, some women were once members of the forestry cooperative, when it was supported by a project of FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations). But, according to Alejandra, the men did not take the women into account. They took the largest part

of the money [at that time the forestry group was generating an income] gained from selling the wood, and the women did not get anything at all. The men did not want the women to participate in the large projects with the largest profits. In the end, the women were thrown out of the cooperative and FAO withdrew its funding because one of their conditions was that there should be both men and women in the cooperative (2.15; 2.16).

“We were there [in the forestry cooperative] and they took us out. They left us there and [...] cut wood, we are no longer taken into account, they would not give us ... That is what I say, they [the men] like to earn the biggest part of the money, and nothing for us” (2.15, 43-46).

According to Alejandra, the men do not like the women to be actively involved in the forestry cooperative. They do not want to share the profits [that is, at times when there are profits] with the women (2.16). In Piedra Blanca, the forestry cooperative has five female members, but they do not really participate in forestry related activities – they are not active members (3.34; 3.51). At the final meeting with the forestry group and the newly established women’s group in Piedra Blanca, the men were sitting in the front, while the female members gathered in the back. They were listening to the conversation, but did not participate in the discussion at all. At some point they stopped listening to what the men were talking about and started to talk to each other (3.50).

Thus, it can be argued that based on the past experience of having women in the forestry group in Paletales, and the present experience in Piedra Blanca, it is questionable if the women actually benefit from being involved in forestry related activities in terms of being members of the forestry group, because the men have the wish to control the income and are unwilling to integrate them as equal members. The fact that many women lack the ability to speak up in front of the men further inhibits them from being integrated fully as members of the forestry groups. Furthermore, due to machismo many men do not like the women to be actively engaged in activities outside the house and generally be active and engaged in productive activities, so machismo might be the reason behind the fact that the men in the communities are hesitant to let the women have a say in the forestry group.

5.2.5.4 Integration of women into forestry related activities

As already mentioned, the majority of the women are motivated to involve in productive activities of whatever kind, also in forestry related activities, if they receive an income for it. We did not experience anybody saying no when asking them if they would like to be integrated into forestry related activities. Without an income, it would not make sense for them, however (1.16). They would be willing to help the men in the forest if the men pay them for it:

“Yes man, if they pay us, yes because maybe they can be very annoying. They would like us to give them help for free” (1.16, 22-23).

When we asked the men what they think about the idea of the women being integrated into forestry related activities, the responses were somewhat mixed. Some men expressed that they do not mind if a woman contributes to the household budget in general, even saying that a woman is capable of doing everything that a man does (3.9). But then again they were contradicting themselves saying that the women are not physically as strong as the men, and thus cannot handle hard physical work but that women are smart and capable of working (3.9). However, in general the men think that the women have the capacity to carry out many of the activities in the forest that the men carry out.

“But yes, they can do it. What happens is that they haven’t practiced it. We are not used to letting women do this work. The women cannot do everything in the forest, because they are not as strong as us men” (3.9, 12-14).

According to Armando, the women were not included in forestry before (neither him nor any of the other men mentioned anything about the previous experience of women in the forestry group Alejandra told us about), because the men used handsaws and it is too hard for the women to use them. But now that they use motor saws, so the work would be much easier for the women (3.9; 3.31).

When we asked the women how they think they could be integrated into forestry related activities, many of them mentioned selling different services to the forestry group, such as piling up wood and planting trees. Other women mentioned that they could make tree nurseries and sell the plants to the forestry group (2.14).

“[...] They [the men from the forestry group] have to pile up wood and plant trees, and that would be a good idea for women's groups to have an income, perhaps instead of doing it themselves better let us do it so we can gain something as well” (2.6, 52 – 2.7, 3)

However, according to several men, lack of income does not provide space for the women to be integrated in the forestry as paid work force and, as already mentioned, at the moment there is no income at all from the forestry. In general there are seasons when even the men do not have work (3.9; 3.12; 3.26). This means that they are not able to pay the women for their services, and the women are not interested in working for free.

Alejandra: *“There are things in the forest that can be used by the women, and what can give them an income, will serve them” (I.C.: 3.4, 17-18).*

When we asked the men if they have any ideas on how the women can be integrated in forestry related activities, the men mentioned: peeling seeds in shells that fall down from the trees (3.9), plant the trees (3.9), make tree nurseries (3.9), cut down and sell pacaya fruits from the forest (1.19), collect the resin from the pine trees in the pine forest and sell it to a laboratory (3.2), use the dry needles of the trees to weave baskets and sell them (3.2), collect dry pieces of pinewood used for lighting fires and sell them in Olanchito (3.2), cleaning the trees (3.2), collect the fire cones and sell them for decoration (3.2), produce natural medicine out of the needles (3.2), create a micro-enterprise to create employment for men as well as women – the women can be integrated in the process of making furniture (3.11; 3.27; 3.31), make a henhouse or a dwell (3.26), make an orchid nursery and sell the orchids (3.51), medicinal plants (3.51), cut down edible goods such as pacaya, avocados, kapuka, jelotillo, palmiche, and pellmite, can them and sell them in a supermarket in the nearest city (3.51).

In relation to integrating the women into forestry related activities, Carmela mentioned the need to teach the women about the plants in the forest. The women would like to go to the forest one day and they would like the men to show them everything. The women seemed motivated about this idea and stated that they would like to learn at the meeting with the forestry group at the end of our stay in Piedra Blanca (3.50).

To sum up our research findings, both men and women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca have numerous ideas in relation to how the women can be integrated into forestry related activities

and earn an income. There are several obstacles to the integration of women in productive activities outside the house in general, and in forestry related activities in particular, which are rooted in the patterns of the local culture: the men's controlling and restrictive behavior, the lack of the ability of many women to speak up and stand up to the men, the lack motivation of some women, the large family sizes, and the women's work burden being among the most important ones. These have to be taken into consideration when developing approaches to the integration of the women of Piedra Blanca and Paletales into forestry related activities. Integrating the women into activities that the men from the forestry group would have to pay them for is problematic because the group does not generate an income at the moment. Integrating them into forestry related activities, which involve different products from the forest apart from the wood itself, would circumvent this problem and would bring money into the village from outside.

5.3 Data Discussion

In this section, we discuss the research findings presented above in relation to the theoretical discussions outlined in our literature review. In the first part of the section, we apply Moser's Gender Needs Theory on our research. Next, we take up the Western feminist versus Post Colonial feminist debate. We then discuss the findings of other researchers on households, family and gender relations and link them to our research context. Finally, we generate hypotheses based on our research findings, which can be tested in other studies in the future.

5.3.1 Practical and Strategic Gender Needs

As discussed earlier in our literature review, Moser presents a conceptual framework for incorporating gender into development planning practice. According to the author, it is important to disaggregate the needs and interests of households and families based on gender, and planning for low-income women in the Third World must be based on their *interests*, or their *prioritized concerns*. These can then be translated into *planning needs*, which are the *means by which their concerns may be satisfied* (Moser 1993). We have explained the

distinction between practical and strategic gender needs in the literature review section. Here we will limit ourselves to reminding that practical gender needs are formulated from the concrete conditions women experience and derive from their practical gender interests for human survival, and unlike strategic gender needs, they are formulated directly by the women rather than through external interventions (Moser 1993).

5.3.1.1 Practical gender needs

As we mentioned in our literature review, practical gender needs “...*often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care, and employment*” (Moser 1990: 40). During our research in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, we have discovered a great degree of diversity concerning many issues among the men and the women in the villages, such as whether men forbid or allow the women to go out, whether the men approve the idea of their women working in the field or outside the households, the level of women’s motivation to attend meetings and to organize, etc. However, there seems to be a very important and consistent pattern in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, both among women and men, namely the importance of income. Income and money were constant topics in the conversations with the women. We have discovered that income and material safety are some of the issues that are of greatest importance for the people in the villages, and the people (both men, but especially the women) are constantly looking for ways to achieve them. Also, as we mentioned in the previous section, income generation is by far the greatest motivation for women to participate in productive activities. This points to the fact that the most important *interest* of the women of Paletales and Piedra Blanca is material safety and income, and that this *interest*, or *concern*, can be satisfied by fulfilling the *practical* gender need: access to employment and income earning activities.

We have also mentioned that many women, when asked about how they understand wellbeing, mentioned nice houses in addition to income. Having a decent house seems to be an important issue for the women in the communities. This is also a practical gender need, namely *housing*. Hence, the *concern* expressed by the women about having a nice house can be translated into the practical gender need for *housing*, although the means to fulfill this need can be attributed to income as well, since it requires money to be able to afford a nice house.

Moser argues that basic needs of the women relate to things required by the whole family, especially the children, but they are by the women themselves often identified as the practical gender needs of women (Moser 1993). This is also the case in Paletales and Piedra Blanca: many women mentioned education for their children when talking about their own dreams, and generally improvements in the lives of the women very often referred to wellbeing of their children. This is because the women see their primary role in a family as mothers, and the practical gender need for access to employment can be attributed to the need to provide material safety for their children in order to fulfill their roles as good mothers.

“I would like to have a nice house. A good work. Give an education to my kid so he can be a teacher. And live a better life in the future, have my house nice, in order and clean. Take care of my kids, educate them and teach them all the good things in life” (I.C.: 3.23, 5-8).

Some women also mention good health when asked about their understanding of wellbeing and a good life. Thus, there is also a practical gender need for health care in Paletales and Piedra Blanca. However, firstly, this need has been mentioned very few times. And secondly, it was mentioned as a precondition for being able to earn an income.

To sum up, it can be argued that the most important practical gender need of the women of Paletales and Piedra Blanca is access to employment. This means that by integrating the women into forestry related activities - those that will generate an income for the women - the most important practical gender need of the women will be fulfilled. Furthermore, by generating an income, the women will also satisfy another practical gender need identified by Moser (1993), namely housing.

5.3.1.2 Strategic gender needs

According to Moser (1993), besides trying to fulfill the practical gender needs of Third World women, policy makers should also take into account their strategic gender needs. As mentioned earlier: *“Strategic gender needs are those needs which are formulated from the analysis of women’s subordination to men”* (Moser 1990: 39). The following strategic gender needs are identified by Moser (1993: 39) and Molyneux (1985: 240): *“abolition of division of labor; the alleviation of the burden of domestic labor and childcare; the removal of institutionalized forms*

of discrimination such as rights to own property or access to credit; the establishment of political equality; freedom of choice over childbearing; and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women”. Moser argues that the wish to fulfill strategic gender needs has to come from the women themselves, or by the “*bottom-up struggle of women’s organizations*”, as Moser puts it (Moser 1990: 39).

In our case, some women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca did indeed mention that they cannot count on being with their husbands tomorrow due to lack of trust. This fact thus contributes to their motivation to work and earn their own money in order to free themselves from the pattern of mutual dependence, which could be argued to be a strategic gender need for *abolition of division of labor*. However, the majority of the women did not express any of the strategic gender needs mentioned by Moser. Some women told us that they do realize that their men restrict and control them, but few women (Alejandra being one of them) openly speak up against it or think about leaving their men. Furthermore, when asked about their understanding of wellbeing and a good life, some women even expressed that besides income, a good life means serving their men when they come home from the fields. Thus, except for a few exceptions, the majority of the women do not see gender equality, which is the most important objective of gender planning, as part of their wellbeing – they are much more preoccupied with material safety and fulfilling the practical gender need for employment. Thus, the majority of women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca do not see the strategic gender needs mentioned by Moser.

In addition, according to Moser, the most effective way to fulfill the Third World women’s strategic gender needs is to fulfill their practical gender needs in a way that challenges the existing patriarchic norms and the sexual division of labor (Moser 1993). Moser (1993) argues that providing the women with training could meet the women’s practical gender need for employment. However, whether women’s gaining access to employment will lead to the fulfillment of strategic gender needs depends on the type of training, Moser (1993) argues. For instance, training associated with household activities such as cooking, vegetable gardens, etc. is argued to maintain the gender division of labor and the separation between private and public sphere based on gender, and such training, according to Moser (1993), does not recognize the productive role of women. On the other hand, “*The training of women in areas traditionally identified as “men’s work” may not only widen employment opportunities for women, but may*

also break down existing occupational segregation, thereby contributing to the strategic gender need to abolish the gender division of labor” (Moser 1993: 50).

In the case of Paletales and Piedra Blanca, it means that training the women in forestry related activities could, following Moser’s logic, potentially fulfill their strategic gender needs, whereas training sessions associated with household activities would not be able to do so. Thus, according to Moser (1993), the women would benefit more from training in men’s activities rather than receiving training in maintaining vegetable gardens and soy food cooking sessions, because it is argued to maintain the current gender labor division.

We have heard several women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca saying that there is a need for training them and educating them about the benefits of being organized. Also, some women mentioned that in order for the women to become more independent of their men, it is important to educate them and make them conscious of benefits of earning an income. However, we have observed that the women who actually talked about the need for training were the ones who have already had experience with working in women’s groups, who have already attended training in different areas and have been in contact with international organizations. Thus, these women are influenced by the Western views of external organizations. The rest of the women, on the other hand, did not express any need for training, and only talked about the importance of income. Thus, it can be argued that the need for training is less important for the majority of the women of Paletales and Piedra Blanca and when they express the need for training, it is often in relation to the practical gender need of access to employment. Most women do not see the benefits of training sessions unless they can help them directly to get access to employment and income earning activities.

Thus, we argue based on the abovementioned that the most important *interest* of the women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca is income, and thus it should be translated into the practical gender need for employment. Since the majority of the women did not express any strategic gender needs, in our perspective, fulfilling them should not be a priority for Nepenthes-ANPFOR. In relation to training, we argue that it should be up to the women themselves whether they wish to be trained within activities related to the domestic sphere, or “men’s work” such as forestry related activities. Integration in forestry related activities, in the case where they generate an income, might fulfill their practical gender need for employment, which is their main *concern*

according to our data. Soy cooking sessions and other training associated with domestic tasks, on the other hand, would not provide them an opportunity to generate an income in that particular context, but might help them to better carry out their roles as mothers and wives by giving better nutrition to their families, which is also an important aspect in the women's lives. Whether or not providing training for women of Paletales and Piedra Blanca would lead to fulfillment of strategic gender needs is difficult to judge – it might trigger a process of change in the women's mindsets, as suggested by Moser (1993), but that remains to be seen, and in our opinion should not be enforced.

To sum up, according to Moser's framework, the women of Paletales and Piedra Blanca should be integrated into forestry related activities in order to fulfill their practical gender needs, because they comprise what is important to them at the moment.

5.3.2 Taking up the Western Feminist vs. Post Colonial Theory debate

As we mentioned in the literature review, WID proponents consider economic activity as the key to improving women's status, and therefore support income-generating activities as a way to help poor women. On the other hand, the GAD approach, the empowerment approach and gender planning approaches stress the need for organization in order to increase the political power of Third World women (Young in Visvanathan et al 1997; Moser 1993). All of these approaches share the objective of giving more economic or political power to the women and thereby challenging the so-called subordinate position of the Third World women. This focus on challenging existing patriarchic norms and gender inequalities can be attributed to the fact that the approaches to integrating Third World women in the development process such as WID, GAD, and gender planning are based on Western feminist views that tend to categorize Third World Women as being a rather helpless and homogeneous group. According to Koczberski (1998: 401), integration efforts of large international organizations have promoted an approach that presents Third World women as powerless, ignorant and oppressed, and gives the women little control over how and whether they wish to be integrated into development projects.

According to Moser (1990), the empowerment approach to women is derived not from the research of Western feminists, but more from the Third World feminists, who claim that

feminism is not only a recent, urban, middle-class import. However, the focus of the empowerment approach is still rather westernized: it focuses on short-term and long-term strategies for breaking down the structures of inequality between genders, classes and nations (Moser 1990). Thus, although this approach stems from the writings of Third World feminists, it still has a universalistic and normative view on what a good life for a Third World woman should constitute.

Although Moser does mention that strategic gender needs are rather context-dependent, and that they have to be formulated by the Third World women themselves and not be imposed in a top-down manner by external organizations, she still emphasizes the importance of fulfilling them in order to challenge the existing patriarchic norms in a society, thereby illustrating her appeal to universalism. Moser (1993) argues that these strategic gender needs can be fulfilled by fulfilling some of the practical gender needs such as access to employment, which in turn can be fulfilled by training the women. Thus, by arguing that the existing patriarchic norms need to be challenged by fulfilling the women's strategic gender needs, she is showing the ethnocentric universality of her approach to gender planning. According to Mohanty, ethnocentric universality comes into play, when phenomena such as legal, economic, religious and familial structures are judged from Western standards. *"What is problematical about this kind of use of 'women' as a group, as a stable category of analysis, is that it assumes an ahistorical, universal unity between women based on a generalized notion of their subordination"* (Mohanty 1991: 64).

According to the logics of Moser (1993) and other Western Feminists, they would argue that the reason why the women of Paletales and Piedra Blanca do not express the strategic gender needs, such as abolition of gender labor division and gender discrimination, is because they are uneducated, helpless, and subordinate. They would suggest that the women should be offered training sessions in men's work areas and integrated in productive activities, not only because it would fulfill their practical gender need for employment and income and make them more capable of providing a better life for their families, but also in order to gain independence from their men and abolish gender division of labor. They would also argue that they should organize themselves into collective groups based on their gender, because they should identify themselves with the other women with whom they share similar interests and problems. However, after conducting field research in Paletales and Piedra Blanca and talking to and

observing the women as well as men in these communities, and while trying to understand how the patriarchic norms affect their lives on a daily basis, we have come to an understanding that the biggest problem these communities are facing, in the eyes of the majority of the men and the women themselves, are not gender inequalities. Except for a few cases, the majority of women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca feel that they are to a greater extent marginalized based on their class. Both men and women of Paletales and Piedra Blanca are mainly preoccupied with being 'poor' - not having access to employment or source of income, not having an education and not being able to provide better nutrition and housing for their children. Moser argues that it is important to disaggregate households and families within communities based on gender, when identifying the needs of women and men (Moser 1993). However, we realized during our field research in the communities that it is difficult to separate the women from their households and families. We saw that the most important aspect of a good life for the majority of women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca is being able to provide for their children, and that the women prefer to organize on family level, because they are more concerned with the wellbeing of their families, rather than their own independence or working collectively with the other women in the community. This is what defines a good life for a woman of Paletales or Piedra Blanca, and we argue that this should be respected and taken into consideration by Nepenthes-ANPFOR, when implementing the gender strategy. The women's definition of wellbeing might change during the process of fulfilling their practical gender needs according to Moser's prediction, and it might happen that the women begin to strive for more than income in future, but this process should not be imposed by external forces. Thus, we argue that it is not the mandate of Nepenthes-ANPFOR to change people's mindsets, and their gender strategy should focus explicitly on how the current situation and the current mindsets of the people are. If their mindsets change, it should come from the people themselves and not be something imposed by Nepenthes-ANPFOR or other external organizations.

Based on our findings, we critique the Western Feminist approaches to the integration of the Third World women in the development process, including the ones of WID, GAD and Moser, because they impose ethnocentric and universalistic views upon Third World women about how they should live their lives and how they should define their wellbeing. We thereby support Mohanty's argument that: *"Just as 'Western women' or 'white women' cannot be categorized as a homogeneous group, neither can 'third world women' be defined as a coherent unity,*

because they are divided by different classes, religions, ethnicities and interests (Mohanty 1991: 5-7).

In order to present a context-specific approach to the integration of women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca into forestry related activities, we relate our research findings within the context to the themes presented in the literature review.

5.3.3 The context of Paletales and Piedra Blanca

Research on family, households and gender relations offers rich insights into the local realities of Third World women. We have therefore been inspired by research that has been conducted in that area. It has driven the focus of our own field research in the two communities. The findings of our case, the men and women of the two communities Piedra Blanca and Paletales, confirm in many cases what researchers and theorists within the field have written about on a more theoretical level or in relation to other cases in Latin America or other parts of the world. This chapter serves to summarize what we have found out about the local context of the women in the two communities.

As previously mentioned, we have identified four underlying logics within our data: public/private sphere, material safety, lack of trust and mutual dependence of men and women. They link the themes of our data presentation and greatly influence and define many aspects of people's lives in Paletales and Piedra Blanca. They can thereby explain many of the processes and phenomena in the two villages and are important for an understanding of the local context.

We have already widely discussed that material safety is one of the strongest concerns of the women in their lives and their greatest motivation for involving in productive activities. The division of public and private sphere has important implications for the spaces the people of Paletales and Piedra Blanca move in and is closely related to the distinction between productive and reproductive activities. It strongly influences the sexual division of labor and explains why the women carry such a high work burden and do not generate any or only a small income, which makes them dependent on the man. Mutual dependence strongly defines the relationship between husband and wife in the villages: then man in the house is dependent on his wife to do all the housework, while the woman is dependent on the man because she has in most cases no

income herself and needs to feed her children. The man therefore fears that the woman might leave him when she earns an income and thereby gains more independence. Lack of trust from the men's side explains the fear of the men that the women might leave them, which might be a reason for their restrictive behavior. In the case of some women, this creates a motivation to involve in income generating activities because they do not trust their man to be with them in the future.

5.3.3.1 Public and private sphere

Durham (in Jelin 1991) points out that in every society there is some sort of division of labor and it always centers to some extent around the division of social life into a public male sphere and a domestic feminine private sphere. The sexual division of labor is closely related to the separation between public and private sphere: according to Brydon & Chant (1989), reproductive activities, which are activities mainly connected to the private sphere, are in most societies carried out by women.

Rosaldo (1980 in Jelin 1991) argues that the confinement of the woman to domestic tasks is the root for her subordinate position. Brydon & Chant (1989) in contrast point out that this view might be too universal. Many of the women in Piedra Blanca and Paetales we have talked to expressed that they feel controlled and restricted by the men. However, they have not directly expressed that they feel subordinate to the men. Therefore, although subordination of women is a topic widely discussed in the literature on gender relations, we do not speak of women's subordination in our thesis, but rather of women feeling that they are controlled and restricted by their men, since that is something they express on their own. Thus, their situation might be viewed as subordinate in relation to the men through Western eyes, but the women themselves might not have that feeling of subordination themselves.

Our findings from Piedra Blanca and Paetales indicate the presence of the stereotypical pattern of family structure in Latin America, the concept of the patriarchal nuclear family as described by Brydon & Chant (1989), although there are exceptions in the form of female-headed households, which is a topic discussed below. Life in the villages is clearly separated into a public male and a domestic feminine sphere, as described in the literature: while the men go out

to the fields to work, the women mainly stay at home except for some women who help with harvesting or planting activities, but only in certain seasons. This confirms Radcliffe's (1986) findings on labor division in poor families in Cuzco, Peru: women participate in the work on the fields only in busy times such as harvesting seasons.

Most of the women do not earn any income except for some women, who have a small shop in their house, produce bread or cheese or cook food for other people to take along to the fields. This provides them with a small income but the man is still the main provider for the family. This is similar to what Radcliffe (1986) observed concerning the sale of crops in Cusco, Peru: women generate a small income by selling subsistence crops, while men sell barley to local breweries, earning a higher income. The above-mentioned productive activities women carry out in the communities show that our findings also confirm what Draper (1985) has found: paid employment opportunities for women in Latin America are often limited to an extension of their unpaid domestic activities.

The women in the communities have expressed several times that the men do not see and do not value their domestic work and many of them do not seem to see the value of their work themselves. This points to the fact that women's activities in the villages are not valued in the same way as men's work which might be explained by the phenomenon Chant (1989) describes: participation in production is considered to be of greater value than involvement in reproductive activities or subsistence farming. Although Jelin (1991) criticizes Durham's (in Jelin 1991) division of life into a public male and a feminine private sphere for being too universal, it has resulted to be applicable for the two communities we have studied.

The productive activities that women are already carrying out at the moment and the productive they suggest when asked about their ideas are closely linked to their traditional domestic tasks. Concerning their involvement in the forestry group, the women mention that they could sell services to the forestry group like planting trees or growing trees in tree nurseries. This confirms what Hansen (2009) found when talking to some women in different communities participating in the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Project. Their own ideas for productive activities mainly involve areas of traditional women's projects: animal husbandry, making bread and vegetable gardens, or selling or reselling goods like food they prepare, clothes or agricultural products.

Some of the women do not feel the wish and motivation to go out of the house, but many of them name the men's restrictive and dominating behavior as the reason for their confinement to the domestic sphere which is in many cases due to the men's lack of trust: they fear that the woman will find another man if she goes out alone and that she might leave them if she earns her own income and learns to live more independently. This confirms what Chant (2002) states about the growth of the amount of female-headed households in Latin America: due to women's increasing participation in the labor force, they have greater bargaining power in relation to their husbands and the possibility to take the decision to leave them because they are less dependent on them. The husband is therefore under constant pressure to fulfill his duties concerning household survival not to lose his wife and often react to that pressure with controlling violent behavior.

Several women in the two communities have told us that their husbands drink, beat them up, openly cheat on them and impose restrictions on them. At the same time, they told us that it is difficult to speak up against their husbands, tell them what they want or even leave them because they are financially dependent on them. This confirms what Chant (1989) writes about the implications for a woman of the patriarchal nuclear family model: the woman has little independence and in the presence of gender discrimination it is difficult for her to achieve any. Under these conditions she is pressured to attach herself to a man.

The prevalence of the patriarchal nuclear family pattern, the clear sexual division of labor and the distinction between a public male and private feminine sphere are factors explaining the high work burden of women in the communities. We will now turn to discuss that topic.

5.3.3.2 Women's work burden

According to a survey by Browner (1989), women in Latin America work more hours each day than their husbands no matter if employed or entirely dedicated to domestic chores. Folbre (1986) and Palmer (1977) refer to case studies conducted in India, Botswana, Bangladesh, Nepal and the Philippines which have all shown that women work more hours per day than men do and that men in contrast to women still have time for social activities with friends. Our research in the two villages shows similar results: even the men stated that they realize that the women

work more hours than they do. Their domestic tasks stretch over the whole day and they express that they do not have any free time. The women in the villages who help in the fields during certain seasons stated, that they suffer from the double burden of work, as described by Durham (in Jelin 1991) and Brydon & Chant (1989): after coming home from the fields around midday they still have to do all the housework. The time some of the women are investing in activities with the women's group is adding up to their work burden: they expressed that during the days of group activity they have barely enough time to do all the work that has to be done in the household and stated that involving in further productive activities, like forestry, would lead to an even stronger double work burden.

According to Chant (2002), most research shows that the participation of men in household chores and childcare remains very low in Latin America. Scholars have named several possible explanations for this phenomenon: men lack the skills for fulfilling tasks in the household. Putting household work in the hands of men means giving away activities that have traditionally earned the women's legitimacy in the society. On the other hand, the unwillingness to participate in domestic work from the men's side can be explained by the intent to protect their masculinity. Our data suggests that the men's participation in the housework is in most of the families in the two villages absent. Except for a few exceptions, the men do not possess the ability to carry out domestic tasks. In general the women's reaction to the idea of men participating in the household activities has been positive, but we have not experienced any woman actively expressing the wish for sharing the domestic work with her husband. Our data thereby does not allow any judgment on if the women would be willing to hand over some of the domestic tasks or not. A statement by Pedro shows that part of the reason why men do not help out with domestic chores might be the need to protect their masculinity:

"[...] I do not know how to cook or iron. I do not wash. I do not want to learn how to do that, because I do not want to be embarrassed if a girl sees me washing or cooking. [...]" (I.C.: 3.21, 20-25)

According to Brydon & Chant (1989), Latin American women tend to gain social status and emotional strength by becoming a mother and strive to give birth to as many children as God sends them. Motherhood is seen as very prestigious and marrying and becoming a wife is for many women only a step in the pursuit of becoming a mother. Our data shows that motherhood

is a central theme in the women's lives in Paletales and Piedra Blanca: they talk a lot about becoming a mother and they all, apart from very few exceptions, have the wish to have children. They see their main role as mothers of the family. Many of them have expressed that they feel that they cannot control when or how many children they will have: they leave it up to God to decide that, which is what Brydon & Chant (1989) describe as a typical trait for Latin American women. More and more women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca practice birth control. In many cases the men do not mind, but in some cases the men do not like it. In general the women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca assign great importance to children but childcare takes up a great part of their workday and they state that taking care of the kids can be hard work.

The women dream about having a job and generating an income mainly to be able to provide an education and a good life in the future to their kids. In general many of the dreams the women have about improvements in their lives refer rather to their children, than themselves. Income enables the women to carry out their role as a mother in a better way because they are able to provide material safety for their children. This finding confirms what Chant (2002) states: women often see employment and earning a wage as one more chore that contributes to the task of mothering.

The fact that men do not help in the household and leave domestic work entirely up to the women is closely related to the presence of the cultural notion of Machismo, typical for Latin American societies. This will be discussed in the following.

5.3.3.3 The cultural notion of Machismo

Brydon & Chant (1989) introduce the term Machismo and describe it as a vital aspect underlying gender relations in Latin America: it encompasses the domination and control of men over women, courage and virility of men and competition among them. In families and households the presence of Machismo shows in the way the men controls processes of decision-making and imposes restrictions of different kinds on the female members of the household concerning their sexuality, their social behavior and their economic resources. Violence within families against female household members is often considered as legitimate due to the notion of Machismo.

Our data shows that Machismo clearly defines gender relations in the two villages. The women have expressed at many occasions that they feel controlled and restricted by the men. The conversations with the men and women and our observations have shown that Machismo is a strong factor that holds many women back from going out and working and is an obstacle for the women in organizing, gaining capacity and carrying out income generating activities. Brydon & Chant (1989) furthermore refer to the virility of men as part of the Machismo notion, which manifests in the villages in the fact that men have officially or unofficially several women and children with them and most of the women quietly accept it because they are financially dependent on the men. Another manifestation of Machismo Brydon & Chant (1989) mention is the violence within families against female household members, which is often considered as legitimate due to the notion of Machismo. Violence against women appears to be a common phenomenon in the two villages according to what several women said: some of them openly talked about being beaten up by their husbands but do not consider leaving them.

According to Brydon & Chant (1989) the Roman Catholic Church has contributed to strengthening Machismo and the subordinate position of the woman. Our field research in the two villages has shown that religion constitutes part of the explanation why women are dependent on their husbands and feel the need to obey them: the people believe that according to the bible the parents hand over all responsibility for their daughter to the husband when a girl marries and therefore they expect her to obey him. According to them, the bible says that a woman should respect and obey her husband and it should be the man who rules in a household. The way people interpret the bible poses several restrictions on them, especially the women.

Chant (2002) points out that women's income in Latin American countries is in many cases still controlled by their husbands and even the decision over which job to pursue or if to pursue one at all is often taken their husbands. Jelin (1991) points out the control and management of the family budget as one aspect that might lead to intra-domestic conflict. Our findings from the two communities run counter to this: we have observed that women often have the freedom to independently exercise control in management of the family budget and their own income, in the cases where they have one. It seems to be in many cases the men leaving it up to the women to manage the family budget because the women do not trust them with money out of fear that they will drink it all away. A prior experience of some of the women in Paletales as being members

of the forestry group has shown that the men did control the income on group level and were unwilling to integrate the women as equal members and let them participate in the profit they made by selling the timber. However, on household level the majority of women seem to have control over family budget. As we have only talked to a very limited amount of women about this topic, it is difficult to judge based on our data if this is a prevalent pattern in the two communities.

5.3.3.4 The importance of household and family in rural social organization

Brydon & Chant (1989) state that the household is a very widespread form of social organization in many developing countries and an especially important feature in rural areas. It is the place where productive and reproductive activities are allocated and carried out and their outputs are consumed. According to Jelin (1991) the members of a household combine their skills and resources to carry out these shared activities. Members for a household are mostly selected based on family ties.

In our case, conversations with women in the two villages have shown that the women prefer to work and organize in networks of households with close kinship ties instead of in the form of a women's group where female members of different families work together, and cooperation across the borders of a household and family is demanded. Thus, the social organization in these communities takes place based on either individual households or network of households with close kinship ties to each other, and not extended family. The women would like to work in a women's group and be organized, but have their own individual activities together with their households and close family members. The women feel that they cannot trust people from other families to work for the benefit of the group, and not for their individual advantage and the good of their own family. Several women have mentioned negative experiences from prior participation in women's group where women have taken advantage of group work to benefit their own family. While the men cooperate across household and family borders in the forestry group, the women tend to prefer a different way of organizing.

This finding confirms the importance of a household whose members are usually connected by close kinship ties for the social organization in the two villages and has important implications

for how to organize and practically facilitate the integration of the women in productive activities.

5.3.3.5 Diversity among the women

Postcolonial feminists such as Mohanty, Spivak and Russo criticize the way that Western Feminists present Third World Women as a homogeneous group across cultures and classes. Mohanty (1991) argues that they cannot be defined as a coherent unity because they are divided by different classes, religions, ethnicities and interests.

Although the villages are small and people live under the same conditions and belong to the same ethnicity, our data clearly indicates that there is a great diversity among the women concerning the level of their motivation to work, organize and participate in meetings, the extent to which they let themselves be restricted by the men, their ability to stand up to the men and their level of resistance to the men's Machismo. We observed that the older women are keener on talking openly and speaking up and in general more capable of handling machismo than the younger and more inexperienced women in the communities. They show resistance to the men's Machismo. Thus, it can be argued that generation plays an important role concerning the women's ability to stand up to the men and handle the Machismo in Paletales and Piedra Blanca. We have also discovered that there is a great extent of diversity not only among the women in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, but also among the men regarding the extent to which they restrict and control their women.

Furthermore, the motivation of the women to work and the initiative to organize and attend meetings and training sessions varies greatly among the women even within each of the two villages. The women who acknowledge that it is important to be organized are usually the ones who have some experience with organizing in women's groups and have previously participated in training. A factor that might influence in the level of some of the women's motivation is religion: according to Brydon & Chant (1989) the Catholic Church encourages people to accept and endure the situation they live in to prepare for a better life after death. This might influence the women's motivation to engage in activities like training sessions to be able to actively change something about their situation but our data does not provide proof for this.

5.3.3.6 Female-headed households

Chant (2002) outlines several important changes in the organization of domestic life that have occurred during the last few decades, which strongly affect the structures and organization of families and households in Latin America. One of them is the enormous growth of female-headed households. Female headship can be due to several different reasons: divorce, death of the husband, non-marriage, migration, etc. The ‘Lone Mother Household’ and the ‘Female-Headed Extended Household’ are the most common forms of female-headed households in Latin America. As already mentioned, due to the increasing participation of the Latin American women in the paid labor force, women gain independence and more and more women take the decision to leave their husband.

We have come across several female-headed households in the two villages: they commonly consist of a mother living alone with her children, so ‘Lone Mother Households’ according to Chant’s typology. We have observed and heard in conversations with the women that single mothers or single women in general are used to do strong physical work in the fields and face an even higher work burden than women with a partner because they do not have a husband to provide for them. They pointed out that life as a single mother is hard because the man in the house is missing with his income. The most common reasons for female household headship were separation, either from the man’s or the woman’s side, or that the husband was murdered or migrated to the US.

Summing up, our data to a large extent confirms what the literature on family, household and gender relations presented in our literature review argues concerning women’s work burden, the division of life into public and private sphere and the sexual division of labor in rural areas of developing countries and the specific Latin American context. Our findings concerning women’s work burden and sexual labor division are very similar to what Radcliffe, Draper, Palmer and Folbre have found in their case studies. The cultural notion of Machismo described in the literature is strongly present in the two communities and has an important influence on gender relations. We have found several female-headed households in the villages that indicate

that there are exceptions to the prevalent stereotypical patriarchal nuclear family pattern in the villages. We have identified the importance of household and family in the social organization of the villages, which has an important implication for the way people organize their productive activities. Our findings support Mohanty's argument that Third World women cannot be seen as one homogenous group: even among the women of these two village communities a large diversity concerning their motivation to organize and work, their ability to stand up to the men, and the extent to which they are restricted by the men exists.

5.3.4 Hypotheses generated from our research

We have mentioned earlier that our research is an exploratory case study, which means that we cannot generalize based on our research findings. Therefore, based on our research findings, we have generated several hypotheses that can be tested in other cases and contexts.

- For poor Third World women in rural communities, income is the main concern and motivation for participating in productive activities.
- Wellbeing is for a poor rural Third World woman closely linked to material safety and thereby being able to provide for her children.
- The household or networks of households with close kinship ties is the most important form of rural social organization for rural women in Third World countries.
- The clear division between public and private sphere, and the gender division of labor present in rural communities, is not only due to men's behavior, but also to the fact that women are used to the deeply imprinted Patriarchic cultural patterns and do not have the wish or need to break them.
- Lack of trust and mutual dependence between men and women contribute to men's restrictions placed upon their women.

6 Implications of our research findings

In the data presentation we have outlined our findings about the local context the women of Paletales and Piedra Blanca live in, which we have subsequently discussed in relation to the literature presented in our literature review. The division of life in the villages into a male public and a female private sphere and the sexual division of labor, where men are responsible for productive activities, while women carry out reproductive activities, are clearly visible in the two communities. Women face a high work burden: the domestic obligations they have stretch across the entire day. In addition, some of the women help out on the fields in certain seasons. All of this has important implications for the integration of the women in forestry related activities: it is difficult for the women to leave the house for an extended amount of time because they have to take care of the children and all the other domestic tasks. Participation in forestry related activities will create the double burden of productive and reproductive work. Findings of different scholars indicate that this can lead to a decrease in wellbeing of the women. Reallocating domestic tasks to the men to disburden the women does not seem to be a realistic option in the short run, because the pattern of the sexual division of labor is deeply imprinted in the local culture. In addition, it is not clear if the women would be willing to hand over part of the domestic activities to the men. Keeping the United Nations' definition of gender mainstreaming in mind, which states that the final goal of gender mainstreaming is gender equality, it is from a planner's point of view desirable that the implementation of the gender strategy of Nepenthe-ANPFOR's project leads to a more equal redistribution of the women's domestic tasks among both sexes, and thereby increases their opportunities to carry out productive income generating activities. However, due to our critical stance on Western feminist approaches to the integration of women in the development process, we argue that these changes in cultural patterns, if they take place at all, should be a process that evolves naturally and is driven by the local people themselves. The way labor division is organized in the villages, might it be just or unjust, equal or unequal in our Western view, has created a certain balance in the families and households. The data clearly shows that reproductive activities are central in women's lives in the communities and if they cease to carry them out, the households cannot function. Integrating the women in productive activities means implementing changes that might endanger family balance. In addition, several men have expressed that they do not like the idea

of the women going out working and that they worry about them not being home to do all the housework.

The cultural notion of Machismo is ever present in the lives of the people in the villages and strongly defines the way gender relations are structured: it manifests in a range of restrictions imposed by the men on the women's freedom to move freely and do what they want, and also in cases of domestic violence. It has previously inhibited the participation of women as equal members in the forestry group, as we heard from women in Paletales. As already mentioned, Machismo is a strong factor that holds many women back from going out and working and is an obstacle for the women in organizing, gaining capacity and carrying out income generating activities. In this way, integrating the women in forestry related activities could potentially cause conflict between men and women in the families and households. According to what experts said in the background interviews (it has to be kept in mind that these are subjective opinions of individuals, but are based on professional experiences with work with rural Honduran women), fear of conflict with the men might hold the women back from participating in the project. Our data shows that many women do not speak up to the men and it is therefore questionable if they would participate in the Nepenthes-ANPFOR project in case the men reject that idea. It is thus important to identify activities related to forestry that women can carry out without neglecting their reproductive functions.

Income is the strongest - and it seems for many of the women the only - motivating factor to involve in productive activities, which is attributed to the fact that material safety plays a big role in their life and they constantly strive to achieve it. As long as they receive an income, they do not mind what kind of work they are doing, and they would be happy to involve in forestry related activities. In case these activities do not generate an income for them, they do not see the sense in participating.

The women see their main role as a mother of the family. Motherhood is a central theme in their life. Income enables them to carry out their roles as mothers in a better way. Their definition of wellbeing mostly comprises income, money and being a good wife by taking care of and serving their husbands. In that way, participating in forestry related activities is for them a means to achieve an end, which is fulfilling their main role as a mother of the family. These findings from

the villages support the information Berit R. provided about the definition of wellbeing of rural Honduran women.

We argue that Nepenthes-ANPFOR's approach to the integration of the women in forestry related activities should be sensitive to the actual needs and interests of the women themselves, who are interested in productive activities first and foremost in order to earn an income and take better care of their children and close family. The women should only be integrated in forestry related activities that can provide them with an income as this is their strongest need and desire. Our findings hereby support what Xiomara E. said: participating in forestry related activities entails participating in training and acquiring new capacities. This might lead to a change of the women's definition of wellbeing and their aspirations but, as already argued, this is a process that takes a long time and should come from the women themselves. Our line of argument in this way supports what Berit R. and Xiomara E. said about the processes of change a project like the one of Nepenthes-ANPFOR might initiate. When asked, women themselves rather come up with ideas for productive activities that are closely related to their domestic tasks. This supports the findings of Hansen (2009) in communities around Olanchito participating in the Nepenthes-ANPFOR.

We argue that an obstacle to the integration of women in forestry related activities is the fact that the women feel that they are busy all day and do not have any time to allocate to these extra activities. We personally had the impression that they do have some free time during the day when they are sitting in front of their houses with their kids. An explanation might be that they have a different concept of time as compared to our Western one, and this should be taken into consideration when planning how to integrate the women into forestry related activities: it might be advisable to plan them in a way that they do not take place at specific hours of the day, but can be carried out whenever the women feel they have time for them, thus the activities should allow some degree of flexibility.

We have found that there are great differences among the women concerning their motivation to go out of the house, participate in meetings and training sessions and to organize. Some women see the benefits of being organized and receiving training while others do not see them if it does not directly provide them with an income. Some women might not have the possibility to join training sessions or meetings because their husbands are very restrictive while others have

husbands who do not mind them going out and participating. Some women strive for more independence and autonomy from their husbands, which can be facilitated by having their own income and are therefore very motivated to learn to work themselves, others do not express that wish or need. As we argue that change of mindsets should not be imposed upon the women, we suggest that Nepenthes-ANPFOR should start working with the women who are motivated and would like to participate. The participation of some women might have a trickle-down effect on other women who were previously not interested in participating, and this could lead to more and more women joining. As material safety plays such a big role in their lives, in our opinion, a lot of women will be motivated to join as soon as they see that the forestry related activities that women get integrated in generate an income for the participating women.

The single women in the villages are in our eyes a good target group for the project: they have an even stronger need than women with a partner to generate an income and are used to carry out a variety of different productive activities in the fields or other places. They do not face restrictions imposed by a husband. They already have a high work burden, so the drawback might be that they have even less time to allocate to the integration in the project than women with a partner. We argue, however, that if it is possible to identify forestry related activities that give them the possibility to generate an income in a more efficient way than the ones they carry out now, then they could cease these and dedicate their time to participation in the project.

It is a widespread pattern in development projects to create women's groups where women organize and administer their group and its income only among women, separately from the men. Our findings from Paletales and Piedra Blanca indicate a different approach: the women have expressed that they prefer to work in networks of households with close kinship ties instead of in the form of a women's group where female members of different families work together and cooperate across the borders of households and families. The women would like to be organized in a women's group to exchange experiences and attend training sessions organized by Nepenthes-ANPFOR, but have their own activities together with close family members of both sexes. Our findings run counter to what Berit R. and Eva S. M. said in the background interviews: that women administer and organize better among women and it is therefore advisable to let them work in a separate women's group. The women in the villages say that they would like to work on an individual level but from what they say it is clear that they refer to work with family members. This indicates that it is not possible to disaggregate

households in the villages based on gender and thereby separate women from their households and families.

7 **Conclusion**

In our thesis, we have taken our point of departure in the critique of gender mainstreaming approaches in International Development Assistance, mainly associated with Post Colonial feminist literature. This has led us to the formulation of our research question:

Given the critiques of the gender mainstreaming approaches in International Development Assistance, how can the women of Paetales and Piedra Blanca be integrated into the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project?

Based on the research question, we explored the local context of Paetales and Piedra Blanca in order to come up with a context-specific way in which the women of these two communities can be integrated into the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project. In order to answer our research question, we conducted a field study in the communities of Paetales and Piedra Blanca, in which we have carried out focus-group interviews, participant observations and PRA sessions. The data collected from these methods has provided us with information on gender relations, labor division, the spaces men and women move in and their daily activities. We have explored their roles in the families, the patterns of organization of the people, their definition of wellbeing and their aspirations, together with the cultural patterns influencing their lives. This way we gained a deep insight into the local reality of Paetales and Piedra Blanca, which has helped us to come up with a context-specific approach to the integration of women into the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project. Based on this insight and their implications summarized in the previous section, we have formulated recommendations for Nepenthes-ANPFOR, which are presented below.

7.1 Recommendations for Nepenthes-ANPFOR

The above-mentioned implications of our findings in the two village communities Paletales and Piedra Blanca lead us to the formulation of recommendations for the integration of the women in the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project implemented by Nepenthes-ANPFOR and thereby the implementation of their gender strategy. Our recommendations take into consideration the ideas Nepenthes (2006) described in the initial project document, the suggestions Hansen (2009) outlined in the midterm evaluation of the project, and the ideas mentioned by members of the forestry groups and the women in the villages.

In our eyes, it is unlikely to assume that it will be possible to integrate the women in the forestry groups as active members with an equal say and an equal share in the profits (in case there will be an income in the future) due to the cultural notion of Machismo and the fact that many women do not speak up in the presence of men. The women will only have the motivation to participate in forestry related activities if they receive an income for it. The forestry group does not have any income at the moment and according to some of the men, it would not have enough resources to pay women even in times when they generate an income. It is therefore in our eyes not recommendable to involve the women in activities the forestry group would have to pay them for, like administration of the group, planting trees, growing trees in tree nurseries, etc. Integrating them into forestry related activities, on the other hand, would circumvent this problem and would bring money into the village from outside.

Due to the reasons mentioned earlier, the women cannot neglect their domestic reproductive functions. They should therefore be integrated in activities that they can carry out at home or close to home, at times when they feel they have time for them. Activities that fulfill both of these requirements (income generation and being home based and flexible time wise) are agroforestry activities - horticulture and fruticulture, and commercialization of non-wood forestry products. These areas of activity are suggested in the gender strategy for the project and our findings support that they can be relevant areas to integrate the women in. The processing and sale of edible goods from the forest, medicinal plants and orchids are in our eyes good ways to facilitate that, and the women are motivated to carry out these activities. The project director suggested that the women could be involved in processing edible goods from the forest such as

pacaya, avocados, kapuka, jilotillo, palmiche, and pellmite. The women could can them and sell them in a supermarket in the nearest city.

The women also expressed that they are more motivated to work among family members of different sexes than in the form of a women's group. As we argue, the approach to the integration of the women should be based on what they want and feel comfortable with, therefore, it is in our eyes advisable for Nepenthes-ANPFOR to organize the activities in a way that allows the women to cooperate with their family members and generate income on a family level. The women have expressed the wish to attend training sessions on a women's group level. Offering training to women in a group provides ANPFOR with the opportunity to extend the capabilities primarily of the female members of the households, which they can then use to work on a family level.

The women expressed the wish to go to the forest with the men so that they could teach them about the plants and show them how to harvest them. Harvesting of edible goods and non-wood forestry products such as medicinal plants requires going to the forest and takes the time away from their reproductive tasks. We recommend that the women, who have the time and wish to do that (the single women or the women that have older kids who can take care of themselves, or have the possibility to leave the small children with the bigger ones) could go to the forest and learn how to harvest these goods. The women, who do not have the time for it, could potentially leave the task of harvesting the goods to their men, and only be responsible for canning the goods at home. The income generated from these activities would thus be shared by the household or the network of households with kinship ties, and hopefully help the women to increase their own wellbeing, which is, according to our findings, to a great extent associated with ensuring material safety and being able to provide for their children and their families.

8 Perspectives for future research

In the following, we outline perspectives for future research that have emerged from our field study. During our field research, we have come across several topics and themes that we were not able to gather enough data on to recognize patterns or draw valid conclusions. Some of these topics do not belong to the main focus of our research, but might still be relevant for Nepenthes-

ANPFOR's gender strategy in the project. Some of them are of explanatory nature: they might explain patterns in the lives of the people in the communities that we were able to recognize. In other cases, we have identified contradictions between what the literature says about general patterns in Latin America and what we found in the context of Paletales and Piedra Blanca. These topics would require in depth investigations and closer attention, to be able to judge if the reality in the two communities is really different from what is discussed in a wide field of literature on patterns prevalent in the region.

Findings from Latin American countries confirm that the double work burden of productive and reproductive activities decreases a woman's wellbeing and has detrimental effects for her health. Which impact the double work burden, caused by their engagement in forestry related activities, would have on the wellbeing of the women in the two communities is difficult to judge based on the data we have gathered, and it remains to be explored.

The literature argues that for Latin American women, handing over certain tasks in the household to the men means giving away activities that earn them legitimacy in the society. If this is the case in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, it could potentially be an obstacle from the women's side for sharing the work burden of the domestic tasks and thereby making it easier for the women to participate in Nepenthes-ANPFOR's project. The limited time spent in the communities and the scope of our thesis have not permitted us to ask the women if they would like to hand over domestic chores to the men or not. This would be an interesting topic for future research.

Some of the experts we talked to in the background interviews, together with the literature on gender relations, households and families in Latin America state that women in Latin American societies often do not have any control over the family budget or their own income. The few women we have talked to about this topic and some of our observations contradict this general pattern: they either decide independently or collectively with their husbands on what to spend the family budget or their income in cases where they have one. If the women get successfully integrated in income generating forestry related activities in the project, but are not allowed to keep and freely spend their income, they would not benefit from the project as their main motivation for participating is receiving an income.

The above-mentioned areas for future research can offer useful insights for the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project or other similar projects in the area and are thereby worth investigating in our eyes.

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Appendix I: Summary

Gender Mainstreaming is an approach that has gained prominence within International Development Assistance during the last few decades. The most important objective of gender mainstreaming is to achieve empowerment of women and gender equality, and it has been widely criticized for its appeal to universalism and viewing Third World women as a homogeneous group with similar problems and interests. This has led to the increasing need for an approach that takes into consideration the local realities of Third World women when implementing a gender strategy within a development project. The aim of this thesis is, by taking its point of departure in Post Colonial critique of gender mainstreaming, to provide a context-specific approach to how women can be integrated into the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project implemented by the Danish NGO Nepenthes and its local counterpart organization ANPFOR. This leads to the following research question:

Given the critiques of the gender mainstreaming approaches in International Development Assistance, how can the women of Paetales and Piedra Blanca be integrated into the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project?

In order to answer this research question, we have conducted a field study in two communities belonging to the project, namely Paetales and Piedra Blanca. The data collection methods employed in our research are participant observation, focus-group interviews and PRA sessions. The empirical data gathered in these communities is analyzed by utilizing the Framework Analysis approach, and the findings are further discussed in the light of Moser's Gender Needs Theory, the debate on Western feminism vs. Post Colonial Theory, and the research findings of others scholars on family, households and gender relations in Third World countries.

Our findings suggest that the main interests of the women of Paetales and Piedra Blanca are income and material safety. These interests can be translated into the practical gender need for employment, which is why the women who show the interest in earning an income should be integrated into forestry related activities. The high work burden and the gender labor division present in the communities suggest that the productive activities the women will be integrated in should allow some degree of flexibility. The women prefer to organize and work based on

networks of households with close kinship ties, which means that they should be allowed to work together with their close family members and share the income generated from this work. Furthermore, although patriarchic norms and Machismo are present in the communities, the women do not express the strategic need for abolition of gender labor division, nor any other strategic gender needs mentioned by Moser. Thus, the women should be trained in and gain capacity to be able to work and earn an income in order to increase their wellbeing, which is highly linked to income and being able to better provide for their children. Because of the great diversity among women in terms of motivation to work and the degree to which they are restricted and controlled by their men, only women who have the time and wish to engage in activities outside the households should be integrated into the project. This might cause a trickle down effect on other women, but should not be imposed by Nepenthes-ANPFOR. In addition, we discovered that the single women might be a good target group for Nepenthes-ANPFOR, because of lack of a partner as the main breadwinner, and lack of restriction and control from a man.

Based on these findings and their implications, we recommend that Nepenthes should aim at integrating the women into forestry related activities such agroforestry (horticulture and fruticulture), and commercialization of non-wood forestry products, because these activities allow some degree of flexibility for the women in terms of working hours and workplace, and would be able to bring money into the communities from the outside. On the other hand, based on our findings, we argue that it is not recommendable to integrate the women directly into forestry groups as active members, or to make them sell services to the forestry group, due to lack of income from forestry activities and the cultural notion of Machismo.

Appendix II : Definitions

Following are the concepts used widely in the thesis that need to be explained and defined:

Empowerment refers to increasing the spiritual, political, social, or economic strength of each individual and communities.

In our thesis, ***Euro Centrism*** refers to the practice of postulating past or present superiority of Europeans over non-Europeans. ***Ethnocentrism***, on the other hand, refers to a set of beliefs or practices based on the view that one's own race or ethnic group is the most important or that all aspects of one's culture are superior to those of other groups. In our thesis, we have chose to use these terms interchangeably.

Ethnocentric universality refers to the situations when phenomena such as legal, economic, religious and familial structures are judged from Western standards.

Feminism refers to movements and academic debates aimed at establishing and defending equal political, economic, and social rights and equal opportunities for women.

Gender equality describes the absence of obvious or hidden disparities among men and women based on gender. These disparities can be attributed to discrimination in terms of opportunities, resources, services, benefits, decision-making power and influence. Whereas gender equality is generally about "outcomes", ***gender equity*** refers more to equal opportunities for both sexes.

Gender mainstreaming refers to the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, together with a strategy for making women's as well as men's concern an integral part of developmental project, with the ultimate goal of achieving gender equality.

Gender strategy refers to the strategy employed to promote gender equality within developmental projects.

International Development Assistance refers to aid given by bilateral and multilateral organizations to support socioeconomic, governance and sustainable development of developing countries.

Machismo refers to patriarchic norms typical for the Hispanic world, which entails the domination and control of men over women, courage and virility of men and competition among them.

Marxist-feminism can be defined as a sub-type of feminist theory, which views private property and capitalism as the root of women's oppression, because it gives rise to economic inequality, dependence and unhealthy social relations between men and women.

Post Colonial Theory refers to a set of theoretical and political positions that have influenced a wide range of disciplines including anthropology and development studies, which emphasize the

unjustness of the neocolonial world we live in today.

Productive activities are defined as activities that generate an income in urban areas, although in rural areas the definition is more blurred, as subsistence farming also can be considered as a productive activity. However, in our thesis we consider as productive activities only activities that generate an income.

Reproductive activities are in our thesis defined as activities related to the domestic sphere, namely biological reproduction (giving birth to children and nurturing them), physical reproduction (the care for the household members who are engaged in productive activities), and social reproduction (the maintenance of the ideological norms and values a household).

Third World feminism, also known as **Postcolonial feminism**, refers to a feminist philosophy that centers around the idea that racism and effects of colonialism are bound up with the gendered realities of non-white, non-Western women. Postcolonial feminists criticize Western feminists for universalizing women's issues.

Underemployment refers to the high proportion of workers in the informal urban sector or the rural economy, which engage in temporary activities or activities with very low productivity and income, and subsistence activities.

Unemployment refers to the number of people in an economy actively looking for, but unable to find work.

Western Feminism in our thesis refers to a body of literature mainly originating from Western scholars (but not necessarily only stemming from Western cultures) that categorizes non-Westerners as 'others' and themselves as Western, thereby assuming privilege and superiority of their own cultural norms in related to those of non-Westerners and presenting Third World women as a helpless homogeneous group.

Women's empowerment is a key condition for enabling women to demand and make use of equal rights, resources and influence and thus for gender equality. The concept implies that each individual acquires the ability to think and to act freely, to take decisions and to fulfil his or her own potential as a full and equal member of society.

Appendix III: Acronyms and abbreviations

ANPFOR – Asociación Nacional de Productores Forestales de Honduras (National Association of Forestry Producers in Honduras)

CDM – Centro de Derechos de Mujeres (Center for Women’s Rights in Honduras)

CEM-H – Centro de Estudio de la Mujer – Honduras (Center of Women’s Studies in Honduras)

CIDA – Canadian International Development Agency

Danida – Danish International Development Agency

DAWN – Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era

FSC – Forestry Stewardship Council

GAD – Gender and Development

HDI – Human Development Index

ILO – International Labor Organization

IMF – International Monetary Fund

MDGs – Millennium Development Goals

OAS – Organization of American States

PRA – Participatory Rural Appraisal

SAPs – Structural Adjustment Programs

WID – Women in Development

WEP – World Employment Program

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Guía de entrevista:

1. Introducción.
Nos gustaría escuchar un poco sobre el trabajo del grupo de mujeres.
2. El grupo de mujeres.
Cuándo se estableció, quién era la iniciadora?
Cuál era la motivación para establecer un grupo de mujeres?
Cómo han cambiado sus vidas?
3. Qué actividades hacen durante el día las mujeres?
Cuánto tiempo libre tienen durante un día?
Qué hacen los hombres durante este tiempo?
Se sienten más encargadas las mujeres que los hombres?
4. Sí pudieran, que cambiarían en sus vidas?
Qué quieren lograr en sus vidas?
Cómo ven su rol en la familia?
Cómo entienden una buena vida?
5. Les gustaría ayudar a los hombres en su trabajo en el bosque? Por qué?
Cómo pudieran ayudarlos con el buen manejo forestal?
Tienen algunas ideas para actividades que pudieran hacer en el bosque?
6. Cómo se imaginan la reacción de sus maridos, si serían involucradas en el buen manejo forestal?
Cómo ven los hombres el trabajo de mujeres fuera de la casa?

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1 Arturo: Es bueno de que vayamos analizando bien cómo nos hemos sentido de lo que
2 hemos venido haciendo usted como grupo, y cómo se sienten bien, si bien o, cómo les
3 gustaría sentirse mejor, pues así, para poder compartir.

4
5 Esteban: Por el momento, que usted ya están organizados, y cuáles son los beneficios que
6 han tenido del proyecto y qué esperan también del proyecto, alguna pregunta alguna
7 clarificación así, cómo nos hemos sentido en el momento que ANPFOR nos ha apoyado,
8 cuál es el objetivo, seguir haciendo pan, hacer tabletas, cosas así pues. Entonces vamos a
9 dar comienzo a esta reunión y sabemos que este tiempo está disponible para eso. Ayer
10 estuvimos reunidos con ellas ahí un poco pero luego también vamos a tener una otra
11 reunión con los hombres nada más, y siguiendo otra, y vamos a estar hombres y mujeres
12 ahí en la escuela, para que aprendamos a conocer lo que es el género, que vayamos
13 aprendiendo que tampoco la mujer se sienta inferior al hombre y el hombre tampoco a la
14 mujer, verdad, porque a veces siempre saben lo que sucede que es el hombre quién
15 manda a la mujer. Y yo creo que tenemos derecho de igualdad. Y de esa forma hay que ir
16 aprendiendo, hay que reunir. Ahorita en este tiempo que yo veo Olanchito, en la oficina lo
17 que más que están son las mujeres las que están funcionando en la oficina, antes sólo
18 hombres y la mujer estaba por abajo. Hoy que la mujer tiene derecho de altura e igual al
19 hombre. Así doy la palabra a la presidenta.

20
21 Hilda: Ya nos comenzó!

22
23 Arturo: No, pero es la agenda que tenemos. Por qué no hacer una pequeña presentación?

24
25 Hilda: Ah, machista!

26
27 Arturo: Ustedes ya conocen a todos, a mí ya me conocen. Qué quieren saber de mí, no?
28 Algo así como para ellas.

29
30 Esteban: El presidente tiene el poder de empezar, no es ninguno de los directivos ni el
31 coordinador. La presidenta da las palabras de bienvenida aquí y después de las palabras
32 del presidente viene la oración. Hay que recordar que por él estamos aquí, por el poder de
33 él estamos aquí alegres.

34
35 Hilda: Buenas tardes, compañeras. Yo les invito para hacer una pequeña oración como
36 estamos acostumbrados al creador del universo. Y invitamos al compañero Esteban a
37 empezar con la oración.

38
39 Esteban: Bueno, vamos a cerrar nuestros ojos, [oración].
40 Y ahora viene la presentación, verdad? Vamos a empezar por aquí, de aquí vamos
41 terminando hacia adonde está la compañera, verdad, todas van a dar su nombre.

42
43 [Presentación de los nombres: Hilda (presidenta del grupo), Hilaria (socio), Maribel (fiscal),
44 Elisa (socio), Débora (tesorera), Ernesto (socio), Esteban (coordinador del grupo y socio),
45 Elena (secretaria), Irena (vocal 1), Daniela (vocal 2), Esperanza (vocal 3), Arturo
46 (agronomo)].

47
48 Naza: Tal vez nosotras... Mi nombre es Naza Zhurtanova y soy de Dinamarca. Vivo en
49 Copenhague y estudiamos juntas en Copenhague y tengo 16 años.

50
51 [Presentación de Naza y Judith, con un poco de risa sobre los nombres.]
52

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1 Esteban: Bueno, como estábamos hablando ellas quieren escuchar de nosotros, verdad,
2 ya les dije. Cualquiera que quiera expresarse: por qué estamos organizados y desde qué
3 tiempo, en qué fecha, en qué mes y qué esperamos del proyecto. Porque a veces las
4 ayudas nunca llegan a las manos del beneficiario. No se ven los resultados. Pasa a uno,
5 pasa al otro y al fin ya no queda nada. Por eso entonces ellas quieren escuchar alguna
6 parte de la organización pues. No sólo yo voy a hablar.

7
8 Judith: Tenemos unas preguntas ya preparadas.

9
10 Esteban: Si. Es que ellas están evaluando el grupo.

11
12 Naza y Judith: No.

13
14 Esteban: Así como casi casi. Más o menos.

15
16 Naza: No, es que sólo somos estudiantes y necesitamos escribir nuestra tesis de Maestría
17 y por eso vamos a hablar con ustedes y con los hombres sobre el aspecto de género pero
18 no vamos a evaluar o hacer nada, no. Sólo estamos cooperando con ANPFOR pero no
19 somos de ANPFOR o Nepenthes.

20
21 Esteban: No, no, sí.

22
23 Judith: Sólo somos estudiantes y es que nos interesa, no? Por qué tienen este grupo y qué
24 beneficios tienen y cómo les gusta y sí.

25
26 Esteban: Bueno, pues, pregunten. Ellas van a preguntar algunas preguntas.

27
28 Naza: De primero, cuándo se estableció el grupo? Quién era la iniciadora?

29
30 Hilda: 14 de Septiembre. Del año pasado.

31
32 [Discusión entre Hilda, Esteban y otras mujeres sobre la fecha.]

33
34 Esteban: El grupo fue fundado más antes pero hubieron fracasos ahí entre compañeras.
35 Yo no estaba, ni él. Entonces lo volvimos a formar de nuevo porque constituyéndolo ya con
36 más seriedad con un coordinador porque antes no tenían nada. Entonces yo como quizás
37 sé bastante de organizaciones, pues yo pedí consultoría a una muchacha de ahí. A ver si
38 yo podía participar y ella me dijo que sí y ellas me afectaron como coordinador. Entonces
39 de ahí para acá ya el grupo tomó más formalidad. De qué fecha?

40
41 Hilda: 14 de Septiembre.

42
43 Arturo: Pero antes lo coordinaba una compañera.

44
45 Hilda: La presidenta. No, no había coordinador, sólo presidenta.

46
47 Arturo: Pero por qué hoy tienen presidente y coordinador?

48
49 Hilda: Porque ya lo tomamos más en serio.

50
51 Arturo: Sí, pero qué puesto desempeña el coordinador y qué puesto desempeña el
52 presidente? Puede tener que haber presidente y coordinador?

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Esperanza: El puesto que desempeña el coordinador es cuando estamos trabajando, él lo va coordinando. Si algo va mal hecha él viene.

Arturo: Y esto no puede hacer el presidente?

[Discusión entre varias mujeres.]

Daniela: Sí, claro que puede.

Hilda: A mi nada más me queda, bueno, voy a convocar a la compañera Hilaria a una reunión, no me toca a mi. Vengo yo y se lo doy a la secretaria y ella se va con los vocales a la compañera.

Arturo: Porque yo me pienso en este caso cambiar como el termino. Que en vez de coordinador es un asesor. Y un asesor no siempre puede estar dividiendo la sesión o todos los trabajos. Como un asesor está en caso de que se necesite, en caso que se necesite.

Hilda: Y no está el presidente.

Arturo: Aunque puede estar presente y tiene voz y voto. Pero está ahí como para algo que no se entendió, bueno pues, que se discute. Y el asesor es como una persona que conoce un poco más. Pero entonces en este caso el presidente no tiene, ... , si todo el tiempo dirige el presidente...

Hilda: No tiene mucho trabajo.

Arturo: Sí, porque ...

Esteban: O sea, en esta área yo no me tomo las atribuciones de ella porque es la presidenta. En algunos momentos de trabajo, eh, siempre coordinamos como trabajar por ejemplo. Hay tiempos que la mitad del grupo la coordinamos y hace una actividad. Para otra fecha hace la otra pero tenemos que llevar bien coordinado. En caso de sesiones yo no tomo la potestad de decir vamos a reunirnos tal día, es ella. Ella con el secretario toma la nota de convocatoria a la reunión, a la asamblea. Yo no puedo. Yo más bien soy convocado por ellos. Y en algunos momentos yo les dije: "sí, puedo trabajar, si ustedes permiten que esto lo coordinemos mejor." Porque por esto es coordinador que coordina cualquier cosa que está media... Entonces decimos esto, que se va a hacer así. No teniendo la potestad que ella como presidenta es la que manda todo. Cualquier solicitud requiere la firma del presidente. Y cualquier sección, ella. Yo no lo puedo. Siempre cuando algunos misiones yo las hago siempre con la potestad de ella. Yo no puedo sobrepasarme porque si yo me pago, sería, en abuso de autoridad y yo no puedo. Así trabajamos. Y lo que dice Arturo, bueno. Eh, ... cómo dijo Arturo? Un asesor, lo casimente ahí. Que tiene un poquito la palabra de experiencia pero casi es igual. Porque estaríamos hablando como del liderazgo. Hay tres tipos de líderes: hay presidente, dirigente y líder. Y líder es que dice: "hagamos, vamos todos". Y presidente se pasa ahí en casa y dice "vayamos!" El ordena. Tres tipos de líderes. Hay uno que tiene para mi tiene mucho más capacidad. No es la palabra resonante que esto: "Hágamos", no, "Hagamos, todos!". Por esto digo yo entré a esa fecha siempre llevándolas. Aunque se nos han salido tres compañeras. Bueno eso, conocemos bien lo que es estatutos y reglamento de organizaciones, que, la afiliación es voluntaria. Y el retiro: voluntario. Entonces aquí van a estar como hasta el tiempo hasta que usted quieran. Pero el día que usted se quiera salir haga también su nota, eh, a la junta

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1 directiva y se va a retirar. Nota de retiro, ahí se va a discutir y tiene su derecho de trabajo.
2 Quien ha trabajado pues tenga, mira. Porque no queremos trabajar, qué van a decir
3 compañeras? [...] Y aquí nadie tiene nada. Aquí estamos trabajando. No con el objetivo de
4 tener un montón, si no avanzar poco pero vamos a ver.

5
6 Arturo: Cuánto tiempo tiene de laborante aquí como coordinador?

7
8 Esteban: Bueno desde el tiempo que fue fundado.

9
10 Arturo: Pero cuánto es eso?

11
12 Hilda: Desde septiembre, octubre, noviembre, diciembre, enero, febrero, marzo, abril,
13 mayo, junio, diez meses ya.

14
15 Arturo: Diez meses, sí?

16
17 Naza: Y, eh, la iniciadora de este grupo antes de 14 de septiembre, pero al inicio quién era
18 la iniciadora de empezar este grupo?

19
20 Hilda: Yo mismo.

21
22 Naza: Sí?

23
24 Esteban: Ella misma.

25
26 Naza: Y cuál era la motivación para establecer el grupo? Por qué han establecido el grupo?
27 Su motivación?

28
29 Esperanza: Ah, el objetivo de nosotros de estar en este grupo es que queremos trabajar
30 unidas. Ahorita estábamos trabajando en huertos familiares pero no nos dio. Y esperamos
31 una ayuda, una cooperación que nos va a obtener el proyecto de una casa porque vamos a
32 hacer un horno para hornear pan.

33
34 Arturo: Entonces, trabajar más.

35
36 Hilda: Trabajar más, queremos seguir adelante.

37
38 Naza: Para ganar un ingreso?

39
40 Hilda: Sí, así es.

41
42 Arturo: Pero de ustedes nació la idea para ANPFOR, o ANPFOR, o quién les trajo?

43
44 Hilda: ANPFOR.

45
46 Arturo: Nadie más?

47
48 Hilda: No. Ellos vinieron primero. Y nos coordinaron.

49
50 Arturo: Se deben a ANPFOR ustedes.

51
52 Hilda: Ellos nos motivaron a nosotros.

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1
2 Naza: Mmh.

3
4 Judith: Y les supusieron hacer pan y horno?

5
6 Esperanza: No, eso fue idea de nosotros. Una manera de que nosotros hayamos más
7 rentable para trabajar en esta comunidad porque esta comunidad es de escaso recurso y
8 no podemos poner una tienda de ropa ni de zapatos porque no hay suficiente dinero para
9 que la gente va a venir comprando. Eso es lo que nosotras más primero que hicimos: poner
10 una tienda de ropa. Que nosotros teníamos la gran idea que con 10000 Lempiras
11 podíamos. La ropa, a vender. Pero no lo logramos, no logramos a llegar a tener el dinero
12 que necesitábamos y no la pusimos. Quedamos haciendo el pan.

13
14 Naza: Y a cambiar sus vidas al mejor?

15
16 Arturo: Como pueden medir ustedes el avance como mujeres han cambiado, han
17 mejorado, en qué han mejorado, con estar en organización organizadas? Les ha hecho
18 cambiar algo, les ha hecho despertar algo, cómo pueden medir? Qué ha cambiado en
19 ustedes? Les ha servido o no les ha servido?

20
21 Hilda: Sí, sí nos ha servido bastante el grupo. Bueno por una parte no, porque no tenemos
22

23
24 Daniela [en el fondo]: Ayuda, no nos hizo nada!

25
26 Hilda: ... ayuda del proyecto pero por otra parte nos motiva porque nos ...

27
28 Esperanza: Nosotros estamos siempre animados con el trabajo.

29
30 Hilda: Sí, nosotros tenemos deseo de trabajar. Sí!

31
32 Esteban: O sea, ayuda hemos tenido.

33
34 Hilda: No, muy poco!

35
36 Esteban: Económico es que no porque tampoco hemos hecho una gestión, es decir de
37 hacer una solicitud de un como modo de préstamo para obtener otro beneficio más
38 rentable del negocio. Hasta ahorita no. Pero sí hemos obtenido ayuda por parte de la
39 institución.

40
41 Hilda: Muy poco.

42
43 Daniela: En qué? En qué nos ha ayudado?

44
45 Esteban: Por ejemplo la capacitación es lo primordial y es que menos se analiza. La
46 capacitación es lo más especial.

47
48 Esperanza: Si nos ayudaron mucho, la capacitación.

49
50 Arturo: Pero si al decir que no han tenido ayuda, con qué sienten la necesidad, qué harían
51 ustedes si ANPFOR les consiguiera 50.000 Lempiras?

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1 Hilaria: Trabajar!

2
3 Esperanza: Ah, yo ...

4
5 Arturo: Cómo trabajarían, en qué trabajarían, en qué beneficiarían, qué harían ustedes?

6
7 Esperanza: Nosotros, si nos prestaron el pinto, nosotros lo que vamos a hacer era comprar
8 la cosecha de que sale, entonces la iríamos a vender a otro lado.

9
10 [Discusión entre varios.]

11
12 Arturo: Es que muchas veces nos vemos con esto de que: qué me trae?

13
14 Daniela y Hilda: No, pero no es así.

15
16 Arturo: Porque si, yo digo, conseguimos un préstamo de 50.000, 100.000 Lempiras qué
17 harían en Paletales con el dinero?

18
19 Hilda: Bueno, ya, nosotras lo que siempre hemos pensado...

20
21 Arturo: Creen ustedes que les sería rentable comprar una carga de frijoles de aquí y
22 venderla a Olanchito?

23
24 Varias mujeres: No! [discusión]

25
26 Esteban: Aquí han venido, a mi me han llamado gente que compra, aquí! Aquí se compra a
27 un precio y se vende a otro. Sin moverse al pueblo y ganar un poco rápido, eso es tener
28 beneficio.

29
30 Arturo: Pero ustedes, entre ustedes, no son capaces ni en la organización que han tenido,
31 eh, comprar cinco quintales de frijoles.

32
33 Hilda: Sí, pero sí, sí, sí hemos sido capaz pero la verdad es que nosotros no los podemos
34 vender cinco quintales de frijoles porque ni un carro va a venir a llevarlos.

35
36 Arturo: Pero yo podía comprar más, el grupo podría comprar. Con diez quintales viene un
37 carro.

38
39 Esteban: Y el dinero?

40
41 Daniela: Y el dinero para comprar ...?

42
43 Arturo: Yo estoy en que, yo tengo varias experiencias ya. Y alguien me dice: "mire yo
44 quisiera poner aquí una porqueriza. Unas cuantas cuerdas para cerdos. Y tener unos 20
45 cerdos." Y el pone 30. Yo le digo a esa persona: "dame esa madre, ya me sonaba." Pero si
46 me dice: "yo quiero hacer una cuadrilla aquí a ver si me pueden colaborar un poco y poner
47 2 cerditos, y si me va bien, yo pongo 4. Ahí le cayó más.

48
49 Daniela: De poquito sí, pero es bastante.

50
51 Esperanza: De poquito en poquito pero ...

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1 Arturo: Pero es más.

2
3 Maribel: Cómo dicen ustedes, en vez de iniciar los huertos que si voy va a traer unas
4 gallinas hasta el grupo si nos va a ayudar con las gallinas, nos motivó usted.

5
6 Arturo: Sí, sí, no, pero es que, espérense! Espérense, no se alarman. Yo tengo
7 experiencia. Si yo les llevé 90 gallinas, no las pudieran manejar y tuvieron que venderlas.
8 Les llevé 19 cuadras para cerdos, tampoco pudieran manejarlas. Entonces cosas así. Pero
9 personas que quedaron con sus cuadras, llevando sus cerdos, y aprendieron como
10 manejarlas, eso si es que nadie se los quitó. Y, a veces el dinero no lo es el todo. Y hay
11 instituciones que ayudan. Y ANPFOR podría ayudar, en el sentido que se llama
12 autogestión. Han parados por ANPFOR y ustedes deben hacer una especie de propuesta a
13 cualquier financiadora. Aquí hay ONGs que alquilan dinero, financian, pero alquilan dinero
14 a bajo costo. Por eso, han hecho a pensar ustedes si cuanto me es rentable comprar un
15 quintal de frijoles y ponerlo aquí con un dinero al 3 por ciento por decir algo. Es, ah, es que
16 yo necesito 50.000 pesos.

17
18 Esperanza: No, también estamos buscando eso. Pero mire, ahorita, yo le digo de mi pues,
19 ahorita estuvimos viendo los huertos. Me parece a mi que esta institución me está, no le
20 ayuda mucho a uno, porque yo, mi huerto mira, a punto de hacha con la plaga.

21
22 Daniela: [...]

23
24 Esperanza: Yo no espero que me regalen pisto, no!

25
26 Esteban: Miren, todas las instituciones cuando preparan a los grupos en lo que es, eh, en
27 la parte de la formación vale la pena que todos participemos. Porque ahorita somos
28 poquitos y estamos empezando con poquito pero podemos lograr algo grande porque esa
29 razón: si aprendemos a manejar lo que es una pequeña y mediana empresa, la panadería
30 ahí se toca el pisto, poco pero se toca. Entonces, como dice Arturo, si ya nosotros bien
31 organizados y asesorados por parte de ANPFOR, nosotros metemos una solicitud a una
32 ONG diferente y como tenemos pequeño dinero ya con el dinero hay que ver qué hacemos
33 pero hay que prepararnos antes. Pero tenemos el dinero, queremos que prepararnos y ver
34 qué hacemos con el pisto. Entonces, dice Arturo, se puede tener para comprar cuatro
35 quintales de frijoles pero ya más no. Yo tengo buenos amigos que me han dicho: "Hay
36 buenos frijoles ahí para ir a traer. Cómpratelo, nosotros te lo vamos a comprar a otro
37 precio." Entonces, esperamos pues que, por esa forma de estar organizados sentirnos uno
38 con otro y de parte de la institución también que estamos como, quién dice, ya con un
39 pacto de compromiso de estar ligados a lo que es la organización que no nos deje solos.

40
41 Arturo: Bueno, es porque, si el proyecto ANPFOR tuviese un dinero para dárselo, tampoco
42 vale la pena regalar pero si la cabuya, si alambre, si todo eso. Mujeres, les damos todo,
43 pero ustedes, eh, de Paletales tienen que pagarnos esto a tal tiempo para darle a Piedra
44 Blanca porque no tenemos para darle a Piedra Blanca. Si hasta ahorita, qué harían
45 ustedes con una ayuda de esa forma? Ya pensando qué hacen, se perdían la cabeza. Se
46 dan cuenta que para mi mejor decir: "ah, yo quiero comercializar con frijoles. De esto me
47 compro o mujeres, compramos un quintal de frijoles."

48
49 Ernesto: Arturo, dice la muchacha de las cabuyas, de primero estaba diciendo: "el proyecto
50 de nosotros es millonario!" De primero.

51
52 Arturo: Qué? Cuándo ha dicho? Cuándo? Nunca.

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 1 in Paletales
Date of interview, location: 30th June 2010, 3 – 5 PM, Esteban's house
Participants: Naza, Judith, Hilda, Hilaria, Maribel, Emelina, Débora, Ernesto, Esteban, Elena, Irena, Daniela, Esperanza, Arturo

1
2 Esperanza: Este proyecto dijo que trabajó, trabajó!

3
4 Arturo: Otra cosa es, hasta la vez, eh, nos sentimos conformes con ANPFOR, hasta qué
5 punto conformes y tenemos ayuda o no. Y hasta qué forma estamos conformes con
6 ANPFOR.

7
8 Esperanza: Bueno, ANPFOR nos trajo la semilla de, ... tenemos ahorita de tomate, de
9 chile, de cebolla pero...

10
11 Hilda: Ah, sí, estamos conformes con ANPFOR con las cosas con que nos van a ayudar.

12
13 Esperanza: ... pero también nos dijo que con el 50 por ciento, no nos dijo que nos iban a
14 regalar, sólo dijo que al 50 por ciento.

15
16 Hilaria: No, no nos han regalado nada.

17
18 Arturo: Ellas traen unas preguntas más preparadas.

19
20 Naza: Sí, gracias. Queremos hablar un poquito del horario de sus días, su trabajo. Cuánto
21 tiempo trabajan en el jardín y en la casa y qué hacen durante un día por ejemplo?

22
23 Esteban: Vamos, cualquiera.

24
25 Judith: Cuándo se levantan y qué hacen después? Porque para nosotras, no sabemos.
26 Tenemos una vida muy diferente.

27
28 Esperanza: Bueno, yo por la mañana, cuando me levanto, yo, nada más que hago, me
29 pongo a limpiar y de ahí me vengo y aprendo mi fuego, lavo la cocina y el patio, y de ahí
30 me pongo a fregar, hago un poco de desayuno, ah, un montón de cosas, en mi casa.

31
32 Daniela: Asear a tus hijos.

33
34 Hilda: También, llevarles a la escuela.

35
36 Arturo: Pero de primero levantan sus huertos. De veras?

37
38 Esperanza: De veras. Mi esposo me dice: "Y usted, qué hace tanto en ese cerco? Que te
39 vas a hacer loca en ese cerco." Como que no me costó, el me va a decir que soy loca.

40
41 [...]

42
43 Arturo: Pero han comido tomates? Pepinos, sí?

44
45 Esperanza: Tomates, pepinos, rábanos, ...

46
47 Arturo: Mustaza, han comido?

48
49 Esperanza: También.

50
51 Arturo: Y patastillo?

52

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 1 in Paletales
Date of interview, location: 30th June 2010, 3 – 5 PM, Esteban's house
Participants: Naza, Judith, Hilda, Hilaria, Maribel, Emelina, Débora, Ernesto, Esteban, Elena, Irena, Daniela, Esperanza, Arturo

1 Esperanza: También.

2
3 Naza: Sí, otras opiniones?

4
5 Esteban: Hablen, hablen!

6
7 Judith: Sí, para nosotros no sabemos porque venimos de otro lugar.

8
9 Esperanza: Hacemos tortillas también.

10
11 Hilda: Yo, me levanto por la mañana, preparo el desayuno, aseo la casa, y después paso
12 mis niños al kinder, otro a la escuela, y luego me voy yo también porque yo voy al kinder y
13 a la escuela.

14
15 Ernesto: Y después el marido le echa a chapear potrero.

16
17 Hilda: También a las 4.30, a las 4, 3 de la mañana estoy levantada para despachar mi
18 compañero porque él se va a trabajar. Después que vengo de la escuela voy a lavar, tengo
19 que hacer el almuerzo, luego alimentar los animales y así es que todos los días trabajo.

20
21 Naza: Aha, trabajando todo el día.

22
23 Naza: Y tienen tiempo libre también?

24
25 Hilda: Muy poco. No, pero por ejemplo, mire, cuando tenemos actividades del grupo
26 nosotros trabajamos a las 9 de la mañana. Es el horario de trabajo del grupo. Nosotros nos
27 ponemos a hacer tabletas. El día que hacemos tabletas terminamos a las 2 de la tarde. Y a
28 esa hora ya nosotros ya venimos pensando por hacer ya la cena para los niños. En estos
29 días casi no nos queda tiempo de hacer más trabajo. Los sábados nos reunimos a las dos
30 de la tarde también cada 15 días aquí en el grupo. No tenemos días libres nosotros. Sólo
31 que nosotros nos demos el descanso.

32
33 Hilaria: Mire, yo es que me puse a pintar.

34
35 Arturo: Ahí estaba descansando.

36
37 Hilaria: No estaba descansando, estaba trabajando.

38
39 Arturo: El descanso lo hacen trabajando. A qué hora se acuestan a dormir?

40
41 Daniela: A las 9 me acuesto yo.

42
43 Naza: Y se levanta a las 4.

44
45 Hilda: Sólo los domingos me levanto a las 6.

46
47 Esteban: Otra, otra que diga. Están preguntando.

48
49 Naza: Pero cuando tienen reuniones con el grupo, quién está cuidando los niños?

50
51 Hilda: Mire, nos caemos porque no tenemos tiernos. Tiernos sólo ellas tienen [...] Cuando
52 hacemos actividades a veces dejamos a ella cuidando los niños.

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Esperanza: Porque vamos al campo, [...], hacemos actividades en el campo también. Cuando antes hacíamos pan, llegamos a hacer pan. Y cuando hay en el campo, en el campo nos íbamos y le dejábamos a la señora, le dejábamos los niños. Sí, le dejamos los niños porque salíamos muy tarde, salimos hasta las 5 de la tarde. Cuando nos vamos a chapear los plátanos también.

Naza: Y sus esposos están en el bosque o están trabajando fuera?

Hilda: Sí, trabajan en el campo, ellos trabajan en la agricultura.

Judith: Todo el día?

Hilda: Sí, sí, sí. Vienen a las 4. El mío viene a las 4, a veces a la una. Todo el día.

Arturo: Pero no trabaja aquí.

Hilda: Sí, aquí trabaja ahorita.

Arturo: Pensé que trabaja en la finca?

Hilda: No, aquí trabaja.

Hilaria: Yo me levanto para rancar frijoles. Y luego despacho mis niños a la escuela. Yo me levanto a las 4 de la mañana.

Judith: Y después?

Hilaria: Y después yo me voy a trabajar al monte. A rancar frijoles.

Hilda: Como hombre trabaja.

Hilaria: Yo vivo sola, yo no tengo compañero, no tengo esposo.

Hilda: Ella es soltera.

Hilaria: Yo trabajo desde las 6 hasta las 12 en el monte.

Naza: Parece que las mujeres son un poco más encargadas que los hombres.

[Chistes sobre las solteras y encontrar un hombre en Paletales para Judith.]

Hilda: Bueno, pues seguimos. Ya nos divertimos un momento.

Naza: Sí, estaba preguntando si se sienten más encargadas que los hombres, o no? Es que, trabajando todo el día, sí.

Hilda: Sí, nosotras trabajamos más que ellos. Porque ellos realmente llegan a la 1 a dormir y nosotras: no hay descanso.

Esperanza: Ya a las 2 de la tarde ya vienen a dormir a la casa!

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Participants: Naza, Judith, Hilda, Hilaria, Maribel, Emelina, Débora, Ernesto, Esteban, Elena, Irena, Daniela, Esperanza, Arturo

1 Hermano de Hilda: Yo trabajo 4 horas hasta ahorita, y otra hora y media hasta las 5!

2
3 Esperanza: Pero siempre tiene descanso más el hombre que la mujer.

4
5 Ernesto: No hombre, la mujer trabaja menos....

6
7 [Discusión entre varias sobre este tema.]

8
9 Arturo: No, pero ustedes no se sienten orgullosas estar una mujer?

10
11 Hilda: No, tal vez no.

12
13 Maria: Sí, estamos orgullosas.

14
15 Arturo: Tienen que dar razón, gracias a señor que estoy mujer.

16
17 Esperanza: Yo sé que si soy hombre yo sé que voy a bajar la leña, yo sé que voy a buscar
18 y tengo mi burro y le voy a aliar. Yo tengo mi milpa y sé que la voy a chapear, son las
19 cosas que tengo que hacer. Y la mujer no, todo el día está caminando.

20
21 Arturo: Qué lastima, ven. Pues, otra.

22
23 Naza: Sí. Si pudieran qué cambiarían en su vida?

24
25 [Risa.]

26
27 Naza: Si pudieran qué cambiarían en su vida? Qué cosas querrían cambiar?

28
29 Maribel: Pues algo más mejor para hombres y mujeres, vivir más tranquilo.

30
31 Daniela: Si yo tuviera dinero yo dijera: "pues yo voy a pagar a quien me ayude a lavar esta
32 ropa". Pero no tengo, tengo que trabajar.

33
34 Arturo: Cuál es lo más pesado de todo lo que hacen en la casa?

35
36 Hilda: Ay, para mí sólo lavar.

37
38 Daniela: Lavar. Y moler en el molido no es pesado? Moler y hacer tortillas no me hace.

39
40 Arturo: Lo más pesado es lavar?

41
42 Hilda: Para mí no. Se me hace trabajar fácil.

43
44 Esperanza: Lavar y ..., bueno mujeres que más cosas dicen ustedes? Para mi es lavar.

45
46 Varias: Lavar.

47
48 Maribel: Sí, porque mire, yo me voy a las 7 y vengo a la 1 de la tarde...

49
50 Arturo: Pero si hubiera alguien que le ayudara que no pudiera lavar pero que trabajo le
51 dejaría para que usted pudiera lavar? Qué intercambiaría de su trabajo?

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Participants: Naza, Judith, Hilda, Hilaria, Maribel, Emelina, Débora, Ernesto, Esteban, Elena, Irena, Daniela, Esperanza, Arturo

1 Hilda: Lavar y cuidar a los niños.

2
3 Arturo: Es pesado también?

4
5 Hilda: A veces, sí.

6
7 Hilaria: Yo le voy a decir que me asea la cocina, me tuviera, me...

8
9 Hilda: No, yo tengo que cuidar a mis chiuines. Yo haría la cocina.

10
11 Hilaria: Yo cuando estoy comiendo, estoy tranquila, y cuando la cocina está limpita.

12
13 Hilda: Como no tiene hijos, eso dice ella.

14
15 Arturo: Pero hacer esto, qué trabajo desempeñaría usted?

16
17 Hilaria: Que cual.

18
19 Arturo: Que alguien le haría la comida hecha y que asearía la cocina y todo, qué desempeñaría usted?

20
21
22 Hilaria: Yo no sé, pero no lavar.

23
24 [Discusión sobre el tema de lavar. Las mujeres se quejan que los hombres se ponen telas
25 duras pesadas como los jeans que son muy difícil a limpiar. Todos están de acuerdo que
26 lavar es lo más pesado.]

27
28 Naza: Lavar es lo más pesado. Y cómo se puede cambiarlo con dinero?

29
30 Varias: Pagando a uno para hacerlo.

31
32 Arturo: Y si ustedes lavan, no les pagan?

33
34 Daniela: Quién nos va a pagar?

35
36 [RISA]

37
38 Naza: Y cómo ven su rol en la familia como mujer? Qué es el papel de una mujer en la
39 familia? Pueden describir?

40
41 Varias: Una madre de la familia.

42
43 Daniela: Pegarles cuando me hacen malas pasadas. Cuando no me hacen caso yo les
44 castigo.

45
46 Naza: Aha, castigar.

47
48 Daniela: Castigarlo. Y darles buenos consejos.

49
50 [Judith se enferma, discusión sobre esto.]

51

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 1 in Paletales
Date of interview, location: 30th June 2010, 3 – 5 PM, Esteban's house
Participants: Naza, Judith, Hilda, Hilaria, Maribel, Emelina, Débora, Ernesto, Esteban, Elena, Irena, Daniela, Esperanza, Arturo

1 Naza: Cómo entienden una buena vida ustedes? Qué significa una buena vida para
2 ustedes?

3
4 Esteban: Qué significa una buena vida para ustedes?

5
6 Esperanza: Tener la salud porque uno con la salud, pues, se va a trabajar hoy, ya trabaja
7 su vida y compra su alimento y si no tiene la salud no puede trabajar.

8
9 Maribel: Vivir sin problemas.

10
11 Daniela: En el hogar vivir en paz.

12
13 Naza: Sí, otras cosas?

14
15 Esteban: No, porque hay gente que sólo mire el hogar y los demás no, entonces debe de
16 ser en la casa, con su familia.

17
18 Daniela: Primero su casa. Uno tiene que educar primero su casa.

19
20 Hilda: También ser atento en el hogar...

21
22 Arturo: Atención.

23
24 Varias: Atención.

25
26 Hilda: Cuando el compañero llega de trabajar, atenderlo, a limpiarle su ropa.

27
28 Maribel: Jaja, que buen punto!

29
30 [RISA]

31
32 Arturo: Pero eso se debe a la buena vida?

33
34 Hilda: Sí.

35
36 Arturo: Pero eso es una actitud que se debe detener.

37
38 Esteban: Y si no se detiene, que se pone en práctica.

39
40 Arturo: Pero quisieran entonces tener esa actitud de esa buena vida de esa forma?

41
42 Varias: Claro que sí.

43
44 Arturo: Ya tienen esa forma de hacerlo?

45
46 Esperanza: Cuando un hombre se va sin comer por ejemplo para algún trabajo yo
47 ciertamente a esa hora a las siete yo tengo que estar dejarle su desayuno adónde él está
48 trabajando. La responsabilidad mía es irle a dar su alimento. Su café.

49
50 Hilda: Y eso significa una buena vida?

51
52 Esperanza: Aha, el amor!

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 1 in Paletales
Date of interview, location: 30th June 2010, 3 – 5 PM, Esteban's house
Participants: Naza, Judith, Hilda, Hilaria, Maribel, Emelina, Débora, Ernesto, Esteban, Elena, Irena, Daniela, Esperanza, Arturo

1
2 Esteban: Pero no tampoco todas las veces. Porque yo me voy a trabajar yo la levanto
3 oscuro y yo me voy preparado pero, perdón, pero hay hombres que si le van a dejar la
4 comida la primera vez la quieren todas las veces para allá.

5
6 Esperanza: No, por ejemplo, si está largo uno se tiene que mañanear a las 4. Y si está
7 cerca si él quiere comer caliente hay que írselo a dejar ahí porque hay que tenerle amor.

8
9 Arturo: Es una buena vida para ustedes?

10
11 Hilda: Sí, porque estamos pobres. Nada más queremos dinero para tenerse una vida, no,
12 porque no lo vamos a tener, entonces...

13
14 Arturo: Pero si ya lo hacen ya tienen parte de esa buena vida. No va con la pregunta: qué
15 desearían para tener una buena vida? A qué le llaman ustedes buena vida?

16
17 Hilda y Hilaria: Salud, amor.

18
19 Arturo: Cómo evaluarían lo que ya tienen para esa buena vida? Están llevando un 50 por
20 ciento de la buena vida? O un 60? O como un 30 o 20?

21
22 Naza: Tal vez tener niños es muy importante para una mujer?

23
24 Hilaria: También tener sus hijos.

25
26 Esperanza: Es una bendición que dios le da a uno.

27
28 Arturo: Entonces no hay de que quejarse.

29
30 [Conversación sobre la enfermedad de Judith.]

31
32 Naza: Y sí. Pocas preguntas más: les gustaría ayudar a los hombres en el bosque cuando
33 trabajan en el bosque o en el manejo del bosque?

34
35 Daniela: Si nos gustaría ayudarles a los hombres a trabajar en el monte o en el bosque?

36
37 Maribel: No, en el bosque.

38
39 Daniela: En el bosque.

40
41 Daniela: En el bosque, a cerrar madera. Ah, si nos pagan nos vamos!

42
43 Hilda: Sí, nos gustaría.

44
45 Naza: Si pagan?

46
47 Daniela: Ah, si pagándolo, sí!

48
49 Esperanza: Sí hombre, si nos pagan, sí porque tal vez ellos pueden ser muy fregados. A
50 ellos les gustaría de que uno les va a ayudar de regalado.

51
52 Arturo: Pero que el hombre les pagaba a ustedes?

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1
2 Esperanza: Sí, que nos ayudaran en algo.

3
4 Maribel: Son los maridos de nosotros. Ellas están hablando de los del bosque.

5
6 Esperanza: Ellas están hablando de los del bosque, no están hablando de nuestros
7 maridos.

8
9 Arturo: Sí, verdad, porque ustedes están dentro de una organización de un buen manejo
10 forestal. Y eso son sus maridos. No es que ustedes van a hacer una actividad de ir a cerrar
11 madera o ir a hacer algo para que los demás les paguen.

12
13 Hilda: No, es que los maridos de nosotros no están.

14
15 Varias: El mío no está.

16
17 Arturo: Pero si va a hacer frijolar, va a hacer milpa, ...

18
19 Esperanza: Sí, cuando va a hacer frijolar, yo le digo a sembrar, yo le digo a arrancar, yo le
20 digo a chapear frijoles.

21
22 Esteban: Y quién le ayuda? La ayuda siempre se le da la mujer al hombre. Por ejemplo en
23 la cuestión del alimento, quién es la primera que trabaja?

24
25 Maribel: Pero ellas nos están preguntando lo del bosque.

26
27 Hilaria: Ellas nos están preguntando lo del bosque.

28
29 Esteban: En el bosque, sabemos algo, que nadie va a trabajar porque lo miré. La
30 cooperativa va tener entrada de dinero. Entonces, pienso que hay una forma de que la
31 cooperativa puede disponer algo para el grupo. Y cuando se hagan los viveros. Por
32 ejemplo yo fui al presidente que iba a traer una bolsa para hacer unos viveros por allá.
33 Entonces, sólo ir por trabajar, nadie reventa. Ahora si fuera que ellos ganaran ... lucros
34 económicos. Yo no estoy de acuerdo que ninguna de ellas va a trabajar sólo para trabajar.

35
36 Esperanza: Sólo regalado no vamos, no, porque sabe si no encontramos la libra de arroz
37 no le vamos a hacer un cuchachito, y si nos vamos para esa montaña y los cipotes se
38 mueren del hambre... No, no es lógico.

39 Mire, un ejemplo: nos dicen a nosotros: "vayan a trabajar que no les vamos a pagar",
40 nosotros nos podemos ir. Porque si nos vamos y no tenemos ni para la libra de arroz, los
41 niños se quedan llorando en la casa: "dame comida, mami, dame comida." Y dónde les
42 vamos a dar? Y tal vez vamos a trabajar para que nos pagan, pero de regalado no
43 queremos ir. [RISA] Porque ellos tampoco, me imagino, que no sacan ese poco de madera
44 de regalado. No la llevan para regalarla en el valle, si no es porque les van a pagar la
45 madera.

46
47 Arturo: Pero cuando sacan madera, qué hacen con el pisto?

48
49 Esperanza: No nos dan detalles!

50
51 Hilda: Sí, estamos de acuerdo ayudarles.

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Participants: Naza, Judith, Hilda, Hilaria, Maribel, Emelina, Débora, Ernesto, Esteban, Elena, Irena, Daniela, Esperanza, Arturo

1 Maribel: Pero que nos paguen!

2
3 Naza: O tal vez en administración del grupo.

4
5 Hilda: También.

6
7 Esperanza: Arturo, déjame explicar esto: mi padrino, Jorgito, es de la cooperativa, verdad.
8 Y me imagino que mi padrino no va a Olanchito si no le pagan. Entonces nosotros por qué
9 vamos a ir a esa montaña para que nos pique la plaga, y el otro qué hace con la bolsa
10 ruela?

11
12 Arturo: No vayan a ser tontas! Pero entonces significa que ustedes desearían una
13 chamba?

14
15 Varias: Sí, hombre, claro que sí!

16
17 Arturo: No van a decir que ya no alcanzan ...

18
19 Esperanza: Ah, dejamos de lavar.

20
21 Arturo: Y quién les va a lavar la ropa?

22
23 Hilda: Los sábados, y a veces tenemos un solo vestido con que andar.

24
25 Arturo: Mujeres, ustedes quieren más trabajo? Quieren chamba ustedes, quieren chamba?

26
27 Hilda: Sí, danos pues, a todas nosotras.

28
29 Esteban: Pienso que hay algo que tengo que mencionar. El que tiene dinero manda a
30 hacer sus cosas. Y él que no tiene, tiene que hacerlo. Pero qué vamos a hacer? Ubicar el
31 tiempo que se va a hacer tal cosa, otro día otra. Porque todo el tiempo no van a estar
32 lavando.

33
34 Hilda: No, todo el tiempo no.

35
36 Esteban: Todo el tiempo no van a estar durmiendo. Todo tiene su tiempo. Entonces si la
37 cooperativa busca, buscar porque no es tan posible, busca a alguien que pueda pilar, hay
38 mujeres que sólo pueden hacer. Pero deben de ganar algún sueldo porque sólo de
39 regalado no. [...]

40
41 Esperanza: Yo he trabajado con un señor que se llamaba Chiril. Mire, yo me iba de aquí a
42 las 5 de la mañana. A las 12 lo sacaba. Me pagaba 100 Lempiras. Yo a esa hora me venía
43 por acá con los frijoles, venía a poner todos los consejos y no me paraba. Uno cuando
44 quiere trabajar, trabaja.

45
46 Arturo: Pero haciendo pan, haciendo otras actividades, no pueden sacar diario cada una
47 sus 100 Lempiras.

48
49 Varias: Pero estamos haciendo la fuerza!

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1 Arturo: Porque yo, yo si salgo de este trabajo en vacaciones, me dan vacaciones, diario
2 como mínimo 200 Lempiras. Pero me consigo de 500 hasta 800 Lempiras en el día. Y me
3 consigo 200 diario.

4
5 Esperanza: Aha, Arturo. Y ahora piense en la orden de leña. Vale nada más que 3
6 Lempiras.

7
8 Arturo: En 9 días me gané 9000 pesos.

9
10 Esperanza: Oigan, y nosotros acá con 3 pesos que cada una hace.

11
12 Arturo: Hice un negocio una vez. Alquilé 3500 Lempiras y hice a negociar en 28 días, no en
13 3 meses vendí 28.000 Lempiras, moví. Me quedaban 13.000 Lempiras de ganancia bruta.
14 Ganancia bruta es todo aquello... Tienes una ganancia sin sacarle los gastos. Y una
15 ganancia neta arroja los gastos, me quedaban unos 7000 Lempiras.

16
17 Esperanza: Nosotros aquí somos pobres, pobres.

18
19 Arturo: Por eso digo si ustedes quieren más trabajo, si la hecha del pan ganan dos
20 Lempiras, para qué lo hacen?

21
22 Hilda: Porque no hay otra cosa que hacer!

23
24 Esteban: Es que en Honduras somos tan pobres.

25
26 Esperanza: Arturo, usted es un hombre. Nosotras somos mujeres.

27
28 Esteban: Vamos a ver. Mencióneme algo en que puede ganar mejor una mujer. Usted que
29 dice que tiene que tener unos conocimientos. Cómo se puede lograr?

30
31 Hilda: Sí, esa!

32
33 Arturo: Yo les decía que en vez de que viniera un carro cargado de verduras y usted se la
34 comprara, hombre pues, mejor que saliera de aquí. Es una de las primeras cosas.

35
36 Esperanza: Sí, hicimos la fuerza! Usted miró que pusimos todo el esfuerzo. Bueno, yo lo
37 puse todo. Aha Arturo, que hasta de loca me trataba. Aha, imagínese! Aquí es muy helado.
38 Aquí el tomate, el mío pues, mi tomate se heló. Yo sembré 280 palos de tomate. Y adónde
39 está la producción de los tomates?

40
41 Arturo: Un primer intento. Un primer intento. Hay que buscar temporada del año. Digo, esa
42 fuera la medida.

43
44 Esperanza: Sí, Arturo. Pero ya con lo que se trató esa hortaliza ya no se va a tratar la otra.
45 Porque mire el hermano Tin. Y era una tomatera. Vaya a preguntar cuánto dinero hizo:
46 4000 Lempiras de ese tomate que tiene. Pero por qué? El le puso todos los químicos.

47
48 Arturo: Los venenos.

49
50 Esperanza: Sí, se les puso todos.

51
52 [...] [Discusión sobre el veneno en las verduras.]

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 1 in Paletales
Date of interview, location: 30th June 2010, 3 – 5 PM, Esteban's house
Participants: Naza, Judith, Hilda, Hilaria, Maribel, Emelina, Débora, Ernesto, Esteban, Elena, Irena, Daniela, Esperanza, Arturo

1
2 Naza: Sí, y entonces si les pagan querrían trabajar en el bosque o ayudar a los hombres. Y
3 tienen algunas ideas de qué pueden hacer? Tal vez en la administración?

4
5 Varias: Repítalo!

6
7 Naza: Sí, algunas ideas de qué pueden hacer en el bosque o en la administración del
8 manejo del bosque?

9
10 Judith: O tienen ideas para productos que podrían ser del bosque?

11
12 Naza: Como orquídeas tal vez.

13
14 Esteban: Bueno, podemos analizar de que nos vino hablando tiempo atrás de si el grupo
15 de mujeres, recuerden, por ejemplo aquí está en el bosque la pacaya que es también un
16 producto que se tienen traer al fondo. Tenemos la quila que la gente la come. Hay en el
17 bosque para tener algunos beneficios.

18
19 Arturo: Ustedes, de lo que yo entiendo, quieren una chamba que les dé pisto. Y en qué
20 chamba están pensando?

21
22 Esteban: Al campo fueron estas mujeres un día. Y sabe cuánto tenían de ganancia? 10
23 pesos.

24
25 Esperanza: Y todo el día llevando hasta hambre porque no habíamos almorzado.
26 Entonces hacemos el esfuerzo!

27
28 Esteban: Bueno compañeras, sigamos adelante! Porque la gente organizada, es cierto así,
29 las instituciones las están palpando a ver cómo está este grupo. Y si miran que hay un
30 poco de esfuerzo puede ser que dicen: "mira, aquí es este poco dinero. No es regalado
31 pero es como préstamo, pagando interés." Pero sólo unidos, solo es difícil.

32
33 Naza: Y también juntos con los hombres?

34
35 Esteban: Sí. Bueno, no se ha llegado el caso. Pero pueda ser que llegue, no sé si mañana
36 o en dos años o en un año. Si el grupo hace una solicitud, Arturo, de un préstamo, a quién
37 le van a pedir? A la cooperativa? Si la cooperativa, el presidente con el deseo, mire, firma,
38 aquí esta. Por esto digo hay que mantenernos con la cooperativa unidos.

39
40 Hilda: No, nosotras no queremos.

41
42 Esteban: Porque este grupo no es de lo que estamos hablando. Estamos preparándonos.
43 Si así queremos seguir, pues sigamos. Ellas están haciendo unas preguntas bien buenas:
44 cómo cambiaría el rol de la mujer? Si yo mejor si tuviera, si me mandaron andar a chapear
45 potrero, yo me quedo en la casa, porque hay pisto. Pero como no, yo tengo que hacerlo, la
46 señora en su casa. Pero si un día el grupo dijera: "bueno, vamos a hacer este esfuerzo,
47 solicitemos este pequeño préstamo, compremos cosecha aquí, vendamos aquí, esas ya
48 son otras cosas. Pero para esto, déjenme decirlo que la cooperativa es la que está
49 representando su grupo. Entonces una solicitud, y mira, aquí está la firma. Pero si nos
50 mantenemos

51
52 Esperanza: ... unidos.

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 1 in Paletales
Date of interview, location: 30th June 2010, 3 – 5 PM, Esteban's house
Participants: Naza, Judith, Hilda, Hilaria, Maribel, Emelina, Débora, Ernesto, Esteban, Elena, Irena, Daniela, Esperanza, Arturo

1
2 Esteban: La unidad más que todo. Y sépalo bien, el grupo ha nacido pero quién lo ampara
3 es la cooperativa. Así es, Arturo?

4
5 Arturo: Más o menos.

6
7 Esteban: Entonces, así hay que estar.

8
9 Naza: Y nosotros vamos a hablar con sus esposos mañana. Y en sus opiniones, cómo va a
10 ser la reacción de sus esposos? Va a haber resistencia o quieren integrar a las mujeres
11 también?

12
13 Hilda: A qué hora?

14
15 Naza: Mañana a las 3.

16
17 Hilda: Con los hombres de nosotros.

18
19 Daniela: Con los maridos de ustedes ellas van a platicar!

20
21 Judith: Bueno, con los del grupo forestal.

22
23 Varias: Ah, los del grupo. [Discusión.]

24
25 Hilda: Espera, espera. Sólo esta mi papi en la cooperativa. Mire, los esposos de nosotros
26 no están en el grupo de ninguno. Sólo él de ella.

27
28 Judith: Cómo imaginan la reacción de los hombres si ustedes dicen: “nosotras también
29 queremos trabajo, ya no queremos hacer todo el trabajo en la casa.” Cómo sería la
30 reacción?

31
32 Hilda: A ver, vamos a hablar con ellos. A ver qué nos dicen.

33
34 Arturo: Por eso a mi me gustaría una reunión con sólo mujeres. Una reunión con sólo
35 hombres. Y una reunión con ambos.

36
37 Esperanza: Con todos los hombres y mujeres.

38
39 Hilaria: Está bueno.

40
41 Hilda: Bueno, vamos a ver mañana.

42
43 Arturo: Mañana sólo vamos a tener una reunión con hombres. Pero quedaron para el
44 próximo ... jueves quedaron?

45
46 Naza: El martes.

47
48 Arturo: Martes de la siguiente semana si yo voy a estar presente. Entonces una reunión
49 con todos. Una asamblea.

**Appendix
V**

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 2 in Paletales
Date of interview, location: 2nd July 2010, 3-4 PM, Alejandra's house
Participants: Naza, Judith, Alejandra, Isaura, Clara, Maria

Guía de entrevista:

1. Un poco sobre nosotras y nuestra tesis.
2. La experiencia de Alejandra con grupos de mujeres, organización de mujeres. Cómo les sirvió organizarse?
Qué era la motivación para organizarse?
3. Trabajo de mujeres.
Cuánto tiempo libre tienen?
Se sienten más encargadas?
4. Si pudieran, que cambiarían en sus vidas?
5. Cómo ven su rol en la familia?
6. Cómo entienden una buena vida?
Sus sueños cuando eran niñas?
Qué significa el bienestar para ustedes?
7. Cómo ven la integración en actividades forestales?
Tienen algunas ideas para algunas actividades que podrían hacer para el grupo forestal?
8. Creen que ganar un ingreso podría elevar su bienestar en general?

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 2 in Paletales

Date of interview, location: 2nd July 2010, 3-4 PM, Alejandra's house

Participants: Naza, Judith, Alejandra, Isaura, Clara, Maria

1 Naza. Vamos a empezar. Yo puedo hablar un poquito de nosotras mismas y qué vamos a
2 investigar aquí. Somos estudiantes y estamos estudiando el aspecto de género aquí –
3 cómo son relaciones de género y también el trabajo de mujeres, del grupo de mujeres, y
4 cómo se benefician de organizarse las mujeres aquí. Sí, al primero nos gustaría escuchar
5 un poquito de este grupo – cómo se organizó, y cuándo, y su experiencia de Alejandra con
6 organización de mujeres y los beneficios de organizarse.

7
8 Alejandra. Si, tenga muy buenas tardes y muy bienvenidas a nuestra comunidad y a mi
9 pequeña organización que tenemos acá, verdad – porque es una organización de familia.
10 Se faltaron dos compañeros, pero ahorita va a llegar uno que nos apoya en la chapea de
11 los huertos familiares. Nosotras nos organizamos... yo estoy organizada del 1989, con
12 algunas... personas, algunas mujeres de la comunidad las cuales estamos algunas activas,
13 y otras pues, ya salieron. Pero dentro de esto, varias mujeres de esta comunidad, yo fui la
14 primera en organizar y enfrentar las organizaciones de las mujeres. De allí por acá, pues,
15 han salido otras mujeres con el propósito de organizarse porque les ha gustado mucho
16 estar organizadas. Y ahorita, actualmente, nosotras propusimos hacer un huerto familiar,
17 no dependiendo hasta el momento de ninguna... cuando nos organizamos no estábamos
18 pensando de que alguien nos va a apoyar otra vez de nuevo. Porque nosotras nos estaba
19 apoyando el proyecto 'Apoyo a la Mujer Rural', pero ahora después nos hemos
20 desintegrados y volvimos a formar este pequeño grupo de familia porque sentimos la
21 necesidad de estar organizadas o sea más apoyo, cómo trabajar, cómo producir porque
22 como dice el dicho: "una sola ave no hace nidos". Entonces, nosotras hemos visto que la
23 importancia de lo que es un huerto familiar, con lo cual estamos trabajando ahorita,
24 verdad? Y de una o otra manera, nos beneficia mucho. Yo miro de que ahorita, pues, no
25 tuvimos una cosecha tan excelente como para generar ingreso pero si también no fue
26 como para perder, verdad, porque siempre cosechamos para la alimentación. Y algunas
27 personas de la comunidad que, pues, propusimos regalarle a la gente, eso viene a
28 beneficiar a la comunidad. Y... en cuanto.... a lo de género, es una gran cosa. Saber lo
29 que es género. El género se dice que es hombre y mujer, verdad? Pero ambos con
30 distintos rubros de trabajo. Algunos, digamos, el de varón es más... genera más ingreso, y
31 de la mujer, menos. Pero que siempre ayuda al hogar. Y nosotras mismas tenemos que
32 aprender a valorarnos no sólo porque no tengamos una empresa de trabajo, nosotras
33 tenemos que buscar la forma como sostener nuestras familias, algunos dependiente de
34 nosotros y incluso la gente de la comunidad. Y como decía ahora Daniel, es bastante
35 costoso cambiar la... la cultura, la cultura con que nos hemos criado. Pero sí podemos,
36 haciendo un esfuerzo, se puede cambiar. También dependiendo que alguien, o una ONG,
37 que son las organizaciones que apoyan más a las comunidades pobres de nuestro país.
38 Porque son las que más nos apoyan por acá. Hemos visto el buen resultado de ALFALIT
39 de Honduras, nosotras hace años luchábamos por un proyecto de agua. Hacen años yo
40 trabajo en patronatos desde muy joven aquí en esta comunidad, caminábamos para allá y
41 para acá solicitando apoyo y nunca lo habíamos podido obtener. Y ALFALIT de Honduras,
42 ya pues nos ha apoyado mucho, entonces tenemos el resultado de las organizaciones
43 internacionales que nos sirven de mucho apoyo, siempre cuando nosotras también
44 tengamos el deseo de trabajar y enfrentar, no con la gran cantidad de dinero, pero sí, saber
45 que es un apoyo el que ustedes nos dan – hablo de ustedes porque ustedes vienen del
46 exterior, verdad? - con el propósito de instruirnos, darnos alguna idea como podemos hacer
47 para cambiar lo de género. Y están las otras muchachas a ver qué preguntas tienen
48 ustedes para ellas.

49
50 Naza. Sí, estamos hablando del trabajo de mujeres, muchas veces el trabajo de mujeres es
51 invisible. Por ejemplo, no es valorado igualmente como el trabajo de hombres porque es un
52 trabajo en la casa, quedar los niños y los animales. Qué piensan ustedes, su trabajo es
53 valorado igualmente como el de los hombres o no?

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 2 in Paletales
Date of interview, location: 2nd July 2010, 3-4 PM, Alejandra's house
Participants: Naza, Judith, Alejandra, Isaura, Clara, Maria

1
2 Isaura. Quizás que no, no es valorado como el trabajo de ellos. Pero en verdad que es algo
3 importante. Siento yo que es importante el trabajo de nosotras mujeres. Nosotras hacemos
4 todo lo del hogar, nosotras los atendemos. El hombre sabe trabajar fuera de la casa pero
5 no sabe lavar trastes, a lavar su ropa, hacer comida, ni a cuidar niños, ni asearlos, ni asear
6 la casa, nada de eso. El sabe su trabajo allá, eso es su parte de su trabajo, y nosotras
7 tenemos nuestro trabajo en el hogar que les ayuda mucho a ellos porque viéndolo bien que
8 si un hombre, le toca trabajar en el monte y de ahí viene a asear la casa, hacer comida, a
9 cuidar niños, a lavar, se le hace difícil. Es un trabajo muy importante lo que nosotras
10 desempeñamos aunque no lo valoren pero en verdad, sí es un trabajo... porque es todo el
11 día. Ellos llegaron del trabajo tal vez del campo, ya llegaron, ellos descansaron en su
12 hamaca, almorzaron y ya descansaron, y de ahí pueden hacer otra cosita pero siempre
13 descansan, pero la mujer no nos sentamos, todo el día. Principalmente en esta comunidad,
14 bueno, en la ciudad es una facilidad pero en estas comunidades, si nos tocó traer la leña
15 después de hacer el desayuno, nos vamos. Si nos tocó lavar la ropa de los niños, asearlos,
16 darles de comer, y cuántas veces te fuiste tal vez embarazada con gran sacrificio. Ellos no
17 se embarazan, y nosotras, mira, así trabajando duramente en el hogar, y ellos no lo
18 valoran, pero, ellos tal vez que se hacen machistas y no valoraron porque si a un hombre le
19 toca hacer todo eso se siente incapaz. Porque nosotras tenemos el ejemplo de un amigo,
20 de él se le fue la mujer. Bueno, resulta que ahora ellos son ganaderos. Y el muchacho ese
21 le tocó ordeñar las vacas, hacer la cuajada, hacer su comida, ir al potrero, ir a cuidar a... tal
22 vez cerdos, que tienen cuantas cosas, a ir a negociar el queso, y de ahí hacer el trabajo del
23 hogar. Y él nos cuenta que se le hace duro. Él mejor no come por no cocinar. Mientras que
24 tienen a uno, uno su comida a tiempo, todo lo que es tu ropa te lo voy a hacer. A él le toca
25 hacer su ropa. Y entonces lo que pasa es el hombre es machista, pero un trabajo
26 importante que nosotras desempeñamos las mujeres. Sí, entonces, y en eso, es, bueno,
27 una experiencia en eso, de que es importante trabajo de uno, y uno no puede descalificar
28 su trabajo. Uno es importante en el hogar, importante el igual que al hombre. Somos dos
29 seres iguales. Que nos ayudamos, ayuda mutuo a los dos. Mi conocimiento eso es, somos
30 importantes digo yo. Sí, esas son mis palabras.

31
32 Naza. Y cómo parecen sus días, un día normal. Cuándo se levantan y cuándo se
33 acuestan? Qué hacen durante un día?

34
35 Isaura. Qué hacemos?

36
37 Naza. Normalmente, sí.

38
39 Isaura. El trabajo?

40
41 Naza. Sí.

42
43 Isaura. Bueno, cuando tenemos nuestros esposos, por lo menos yo ahorita tal vez no lo
44 tengo, tengo ciertos trabajos que no los hago. Principalmente se levanta una mujer cuando
45 el esposo se vaya a la montaña a tumar la milpa a las 2-3 de la mañana. Desde esa hora
46 no se vuelve a sentar, lavando los trastes, ya llegó la hora a atender los niños, de ahí a
47 lavar, si el esposo va a ir tarde hay que jalar la leña porque no hay hora para jalarla, si hay
48 animales hay que cuidarlos nosotras, cuidar los cerdos, cuidar las gallinas, y si hay ganado
49 también hay que ir a batallar ahí con eso. Y sí, es posible hasta chapear ahí porque a
50 veces no le queda tiempo al varón. Y tal vez todo el día aseando la casa porque es un
51 trabajo inmenso que hay que estar haciendo todo el día en su casa, por humilde que sea,
52 estar aseando, regando las plantas si tiene, cuantas cosas, y llegó la hora del almuerzo, y
53 de ahí hay que lavar trastes del almuerzo, y de ahí la cena, hay que lavar los trastes otra

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 2 in Paletales

Date of interview, location: 2nd July 2010, 3-4 PM, Alejandra's house

Participants: Naza, Judith, Alejandra, Isaura, Clara, Maria

1 vez, y ya estamos en eso, se viene acostar uno a las 7-8 de la noche, ya bien cansada. Y
2 es un trabajo que es de todo el día.

3
4 Judith. Pero, bueno. De ustedes 4, 3 no tienen esposo aquí, no?

5
6 Isaura. No, no tenemos. Somos solteras.

7
8 Judith. Y a mi me interesaría cómo se siente. Se siente, a veces quizás, más libre? Bueno,
9 si ustedes nos cuentan, no, que bueno está el hombre y controla, y nos hace hacer este
10 trabajo. Se sienten más liberadas a veces o es más difícil?

11
12 Maria. En eso ellas pueden dar más detalle porque yo no soy soltera entonces todas ella
13 pueden dar más detalles.

14
15 Clara. No, sí, se siente unas veces, el esposo hace falta en el hogar, pero tenemos que
16 irnos adaptando a una nueva vida, pero es un poco difícil. Pero no, siempre uno hace el
17 esfuerzo a seguir adelante, a mantener sus hijos y todo, pero no es tan fácil. Aquí en estos
18 lugares, en otras partes es diferente. Pero aquí no hay trabajo para las mujeres, es bien
19 difícil el trabajo aquí, porque ir al campo a trabajar para una mujer no es tan fácil. Es difícil.

20
21 Judith. Y cómo lo ve usted?

22
23 Alejandra. No, es un fracaso para nosotras mujeres, principalmente para las mujeres
24 solteras porque el hombre, de una o otra manera, es un aporte para el hogar. Pero cuando
25 uno tiene su compañero, piensa en algunas cosas, pero en otras no. Porque para el caso
26 que yo les decía, las actividades cotidianas, diarios, y eso es indiscutible que nos vamos a
27 dejar que hacerse sea que tengamos esposos y o sea que no. Pero sí, luego de que ya
28 somos mujeres solteras, uno tiene una sobrecarga, una sobrecarga. Ya de ser hombre y
29 ser mujer. Ver cómo trabaja uno, cómo consigue, digamos, cómo generar el ingreso de
30 dinero para surtir el hogar. Cómo hacer su comida, todo eso tiene que hacerlo uno, ya es
31 una sobrecarga. Ver dónde ir a trabajar para conseguir dinero para comprar el arroz, el
32 azúcar, la manteca, el jabón, verdad. Y cuando uno tiene su compañero, él aunque sea
33 como sea, pero él está diario con 70 Lempira que se ganan aquí diario, trabajando para
34 traer el arroz y azúcar a la casa. Pero cuando somos solteras, tenemos que ver cómo
35 vamos a hacer para poder sostenernos. Es bastante crítico, bastante lamentable, como le
36 decía ahora, no tener una fuente de ingreso como para poder ayudar al hogar entre juntos.
37 Porque aquí no sería dejarle la carga a uno sólo sino que para él que tiene su compañero
38 ver cómo se lleva la carga entre juntos. Como les decía yo ahora que lo que hace falta es
39 una fuente de trabajo. Aunque ahora oí a Daniel, que es bastante crítico, que todo ese
40 aporte, que dije: claro, cuál es el tipo de aporte que puede venir? Pero si no hay lo
41 económico,... Les voy a poner un ejemplo: ustedes están estudiando, quieren graduarse.
42 Las mandaban para Honduras, pero si no hubiera lo económico, cómo hubieran podido
43 viajar ustedes a Honduras? Aunque ustedes sus sueños sean en eso, venir a conocernos a
44 nosotros, andar en estas montañas, mirar cuántas cosas salen en las montañas, en el
45 bosque. Pero si no hay lo económico como para viajar en un avión, ustedes no lo hubieran
46 hecho. Así son nuestros sueños. No ser las que somos, ni estar como estamos. Sino que
47 ser otras mujeres, de otro ambiente. Como para ayudar a nosotras, a nuestros hijos, y
48 ayudar a la comunidad en general.

49
50 Judith. Pero ustedes lo han logrado?

51
52 Alejandra. En algunos aspectos, sí. En algunos aspectos lo hemos logrado. Porque, como
53 decía ahora, la preparación que uno recibe a través de las organizaciones nos ha ayudado

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 2 in Paletales
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mucho. Ya no somos las mujeres aturdidas que éramos antes. Nosotras teníamos hasta temor de hablarles, cuando yo tenía ponerme a platicar con ustedes. Si era posible yo me encerraba adentro porque yo creía que yo era menos que ustedes. Yo les tenía temor. Pero hoy no. Hoy yo puedo enfrentar cualquier crisis económica y decirle : "mire, yo tengo cierta necesidad y usted puede cooperarme en esto, la necesidad más preeminente que tengo es esto y esto". Exponer. Como dice: pedir esfuerzo y darle voluntad. Uno expone a las organizaciones internacionales que vienen sus necesidades y su voluntad que tiene, de poner su esfuerzo uno como para trabajar. Si nos toca poner un huerto pues lo vamos a ir a hacer. Pues, si nos dijeron: "hagan un huerto", pues vamos a ver cómo lo vamos a hacer. Bueno. Que nosotras lo interno lo tenemos, pero lo externo que viene de allá, que es el apoyo, más mejor que nosotros, no lo poseemos. Yo tengo machete, tengo una lima, como para poder ir a hacer ese huerto. Pero si no tengo como comprar una semilla me quedo con el chapeado del huerto, y dónde está el dinero para la semilla? Yo solo tenía para el aderezito, para comprar la sal, el azúcar. Allá está chapeado el huerto pero con qué vamos a comprar la semilla? Eso es que uno a veces, no se desarrolla por falta de apoyo, apoyo externo, apoyo que nos venga de otros lados. Porque la voluntad la manejamos para trabajar. Como les decía que son 12 horas que trabajamos. Eso trabajamos. Usted ve la hora que yo me levanto, a las 5 de la mañana. Y son las 7 en la noche y estoy lavando trastes todavía.

Naza. Entonces, si había trabajo fuera de la casa que podría generar un ingreso, les gustaría trabajar fuera de la casa?

Alejandra. Pues, sí. Que nos generará un ingreso, tendría que hacerlo uno, porque este tiempo lo tendría que desocuparlo uno, ya uno pone sus metas, verdad? Uno pone sus horarios y si me toca ir a trabajar, poniendo al bosque, vamos a ir a hacer un vivero, vamos a ir a sembrar las plantas. Entonces, qué tiene que hacer uno? Más sacrificio también para uno, sí?

Naza. Sí.

Alejandra. Más sacrificio. Porque como decía Daniel: si usted le da la ropa a la otra que se la lave, se quita la carga de usted pero se la pone a la otra. Así es. Pero ya uno lo haría con otro ambiente. Ya uno dice: "bueno, me toca ir al bosque, son dos horas para llegar. Entonces, qué hace uno? Se levanta a las 3 de la mañana, a las 5 de la mañana ya está listo con su almuercito y su machete ahí para irse, ya lleva su desayuno y su almuerzo. Bueno, si hay hombre, ya se le deja a ese y le dice: "cuando venga: caliente!", verdad? Pero sabe uno que tiene, de allá viene con que comprar esa comida. Tiene esperanza, se va a la trucha y le dice: "fíjeme una provisión hasta tal día." Tiene su comida y tiene una esperanza. Aunque esté mirándose como maceta allá en el monte, pero ya uno, sabe de que va a generar un ingreso con aquel trabajo que está haciendo. Es lo que tiene que hacer es darse su tiempo también es más sobrepeso. Pero eso es otra aspiración ya. No es saber uno que ya no me falta la sal, me falta el arroz y con qué lo voy a comprar? Pero uno ve: ah, pero estoy trabajando! Ganó tanto al día, verdad? Y empieza uno ya a tener otro ambiente. No es como estar trabajando todo día, lavando la ropa. A veces ni el jabón consigue uno para lavarla, pues. Yo digo que sí lo haríamos aunque con muchos esfuerzos porque ya es sobrecarga. Lo de la casa, y lo del campo. Pero, sí necesitamos nosotras una fuente de trabajo. Lo que tendríamos que hacer más grande la tarea. Pero sí, es necesario, es necesario. Aquí hay gente, aquí hay mujeres que no prenden el fuego, y si lo prenden, tal vez para calentar agua. No es toda la gente que usted le va a ver en suficiente ambiente, como de decir que así nos darán provisión, vamos a cocinar y... no es toda la gente. Aquí hay gente que sufre marcamemente.

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 2 in Paletales

Date of interview, location: 2nd July 2010, 3-4 PM, Alejandra's house

Participants: Naza, Judith, Alejandra, Isaura, Clara, Maria

1 Naza. Pero en términos económicos, no?

2
3 Alejandra. Claro.

4
5 Naza. Porque hay el concepto de, por ejemplo, bienestar o una buena vida: hay aspectos
6 económicos, pero hay otros aspectos como familia, amor, niños... Y por eso nos interesa
7 saber si sí, claro, si una persona es muy limitada en términos económicos, no tiene un
8 ingreso, es difícil decir que esta persona está feliz, por ejemplo.

9
10 Alejandra. Es difícil decir uno que está feliz, que vive bien en esta comunidad. Vivimos bien
11 porque, pues, sabemos convivir en familia y en una comunidad, por eso vivimos bien. Pero
12 ya digamos económicamente no vivimos bien, no vivimos bien. Tampoco uno no quiere de
13 que nada le venga de regalado porque sabemos que hay que trabajar para recibir. Pero sí,
14 aquí no vivimos bien por esa parte, por esa parte. Aquí hay gente que tiene que ir a los
15 ocotales allá, mire. A vender hasta 3-4 cargas de ocotes. Unos agarran aquí en bicicleta,
16 otros agarran en burro, otros en mula, para poder traer el arrozito del valle. Así es
17 bastante... porque digamos que está lo que es el recurso bosque, la madera. Pero la
18 madera, tal vez le da los coyotes. Alguna gente han vivido de la madera. Pero nosotros no
19 hemos vivido de la madera.

20
21 Naza. Por la crisis?

22
23 Alejandra. La crisis, sí. Porque aquí siempre se ha querido trabajar legalmente, y para
24 trabajar legalmente supuesta demasiado. Entonces que hacen los coyotes es robar la
25 madera, cuando uno quiere hacer algo, ir a hacer su palito, ya no está. Ya el coyote se lo
26 ha llevado porque como uno quiere trabajar legal, con su permiso. Alguna gente se dedica
27 a la madera, otra a sufrir.

28
29 Naza. Sí. Pero tal vez ustedes tienen algunas ideas para actividades que pueden hacer
30 para ganar un ingreso, en el bosque o en el campo. No sé si hay algunas ideas?

31
32 Alejandra. Maria?

33
34 Maria. Pues, sí hay, porque por ejemplo ahorita que el grupo forestal va a trabajar, me
35 imagino que a ellos le dan una orden que tienen que hacer apilado, que tienen que
36 sembrar árboles, y esa sería una buena idea para que los grupos de mujeres tuviéramos
37 un ingreso, porque tal vez los apilados en vez de dárselos a los mismos socios, se los
38 pueden dar al grupo de mujeres para que pues, uno gane algo también. Una parte de lo
39 que ellos han llevado porque ellos ganan la mayoría. Pero si quiera algo o una parte que
40 uno le dieran, sería bueno. Pues, sería el único trabajo que haya aquí para mujeres,
41 porque aquí no hay otra forma de trabajar para mujeres o hacer huerto o trabajar en el
42 bosque, es de la única forma. Porque si uno aquí va a lavar, no gana nada. De ninguna
43 forma gana dinero. Es de la única forma.

44
45 Naza. O una tienda? Usted ha hablado de tienda de consumo?

46
47 Alejandra. Ahora hablábamos respecto a las tiendas de consumo. Hablábamos respecto a
48 la panadería que quiere plantar el otro grupo. Pero podíamos, de primera, sin haber una
49 fuente de trabajo, podemos plantar el negocio que plantemos y siempre fracasamos.
50 Ustedes, no digamos que vienen ofreciendo, pero ustedes dicen: "les vamos a dar tantos
51 miles para que pongan una tienda de consumo, pero si no hay la fuente de trabajo, de
52 ingreso, a la gente, la comunidad, desde los niños, porque hasta los niños pueden
53 integrarse a trabajar con nosotros. No digamos los de la escuela, pero hay unos niños que

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1 ya salieron de la escuela que pueden trabajar. Si no hay una fuente de trabajo que genere
2 un ingreso, es un fracaso, cualquier tipo de negocio que se plante.

3
4 Judith. Y no eleva el autoestima tampoco?

5
6 Alejandra. No lo eleva porque en vez de elevarlo más bien lo discrimina. Porque si voy a
7 sacar de una provisión al vecino ahí que tiene su trucha. Y si le digo yo: "démela que se la
8 voy a pagar el sábado", y estoy trabajando yo para pagarle al vecino la provisión, y más
9 bien voy a quitarle su provisión ya con la mañosidad porque no tengo de donde pagarle
10 esa provisión a este vecino. Entonces, qué hago yo? Quedo mal. Ya ni me dejo vender, ya
11 ando escondida por el monte. Más bien le baja su autoestima a uno. Ir a quitar una
12 provisión porque no tenemos con que irle a pagar. Como lo cual es yo plantaba una tienda
13 de consumo y ahí están los cuadernos 18 – 20.000 Lempiras. Ni para atrás, ni para
14 adelante, me corrieron hace como 10 años. Nadie vino a decirme: "Cuánto le debo? Aquí
15 está". Y como yo hice fuerza para la gente, cómo lo van a mandar si no hay una.... Cómo
16 van a mandarlo si no tienen un trabajo diario? Se pierde. Digo yo, lo primordial es tener una
17 fuente de trabajo, si no, cualquier tipo de negocio que se implemente es un fracaso. No se
18 discute que se puede probar, poner la panadería, poner la tienda de consumo. Pero
19 quiénes son los consumidores de esto?

20
21 Judith. Pero usted lo tuvo, no? Usted puso?

22
23 Alejandra. Yo tuve esa casita que estaba ahí. Deshecha, que se deshizo. Era una tienda de
24 consumo.

25
26 Judith. Y sí, funcionó?

27
28 Alejandra. Funcionó al principio, porque la gente al principio estaba trabajando la madera.
29 Trabajaban, unos moleaban, otros aserraban. Y aquí yo daba la provisión y el sábado
30 estaban pagando. Hasta 1000-1500 Lempiras el menos que llevaba la provisión, pagaban.
31 Yo alegrísima. Iban bien las cosas. De ahí se desapareció el negocio de la madera, adiós,
32 se quedó los cuadernos y la provisión. Entonces, es lo que pasa. La fuente de trabajo en
33 esta comunidad...

34
35 Naza. Se parece que un gran problema de esta comunidad, y tal vez de otras comunidades
36 también, es la falta del mercado para quien pueden vender.

37
38 Alejandra. Claro, la falta del mercado. Porque, mire, cuanto tiempo tiene este proyecto de
39 Nepenthes, andar luchando por ver como legaliza esta cooperativa para que pueda vender
40 su madera legal a un mejor precio, a un mejor costo. Y mire hasta que tiempo vamos ya,
41 son dos años, y solo vendió como 5.000 pie de madera en todo esto tiempo. Para 12-16
42 socios que son, ah, cómo alcanzó esto? Para esto que ya van a ser años! Si uno había
43 esperanzado a esto ... no hacemos nada.

44
45 Judith. Pero, entonces, hasta ahora, bueno, vimos las huertas, no?

46
47 Alejandra. Sí.

48
49 Judith. La de usted y también la de las otras, y hay hongos, hay como se deshecha la ...

50
51 Alejandra. Hay plagas...

52
53 Judith. Sí. Pero entonces, se echa mucho trabajo, pero...

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Alejandra. La producción ...

Judith. Sí ...

Alejandra. ... es nada.

Judith. Entonces, hasta ahora, qué beneficio han tenido de estar organizadas?

Alejandra. Bueno, por ahorita no hemos obtenido ninguno. Nada más que picar su tomatito con tortilla. Pero algo de ingreso de dinero, nada. Estuvimos como 2 meses con un pico y una pala y un azadón, esa tierra toda la tenemos escarbada, ahí dónde vieron ustedes. A puro pico y azadón, mire. Y azadoniamos la tierra. Y hasta nos quemamos de estar trabajando y no obtuvimos nada. Nada de ingreso. Nada. Pero sí, vemos que si se le pone toda la atención como es merecido, sí podemos lograr algo. Sí, podemos lograr algo, porque algo que hagamos. Aquí un muchacho hizo como 2000 – 3000 Lempiras de una tomatera igual a esa de nosotras. Pero él le puso todo químico. No con lo natural como estábamos nosotras aquí. El le echó todo lo que necesitaba, siempre se le arruinó una parte, pero se hizo como 3000 Lempiras.

Si hubiéramos conseguido nosotros hubiéramos conseguido para la sal. Nosotras no conseguimos nada, no logramos nada. Pero sí, es una buena cosa, la huerta, porque viene mejorar la dieta familiar en su casa. Es una gran cosa la de los huertos porque viene a mejorar la dieta familiar en la casa. Es una gran cosa los huertos porque ya nos fuimos a traer el tomate. Tenemos tomates. Aunque sea en una mala calidad, pero si tenemos hambre vamos a arrancar un tomate y ya vamos a comer. Sí, es una buena cosa seguir con los huertos familiares.

Naza. Sí, aunque no hay un ingreso, pero para...

Alejandra. Para subsistir...

Naza. Consumir, sí...

Alejandra. Consumir, sí. Aunque no hay ingreso, pero tenemos que esforzarnos a trabajar lo que sea porque tenemos necesidad. Así no lo compramos, aunque sea mala calidad, pero ahí lo tenemos, sí. Nos ayuda mucho. Y hay que dar un valor a todo lo que es importante para vivir, todo se valora, los huertos es una gran cosa. A mi me gustan los viveros. A mi me gusta mantener, ahí tengo mi vivero ya. De todas estas plantas que tengo, hago mi vivero. Ya le daba un montón de gente y a mis hijas para comer. Yo en mi vivero he vendido, de manzanas, ahí tengo de canela, yo en mi vivero. Me gusta hacer viveros de plantas para si quiera chupar mi frutita. Es muy bonito.

Naza. Pero los actitudes de hombres aquí, como son sobre el trabajo de una mujer fuera de la casa? Porque si una mujer trabaja fuera de la casa, no tiene mucho tiempo para limpiar su casa, y....

Alejandra. Para atenderlos a ellos, también.

Naza. Sí...

Alejandra. Sí, a los hombres por lo general, en las comunidades, era lo que decía la otra noche, que le gusta decir "aquí te tengo, aquí tu estas", verdad? Ellos no les gusta de que llegaron a la casa y que el fuego está apagadito. A ellos no les está importando que sea

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1 que uno está trabajando para ellos mismos. Sino que a ellos lo que les gusta es venir a la
2 casa, y comer calentita pues el guineo con sal. Pero ahí tiene que estar la mujer siempre
3 prendiendo este fuego para agua caliente para que sea que él quiere lavar sus patas y se
4 llegue a enojar. Pues ahí tiene que estar este fuego aprendido. Que uno no tenga que salir
5 a otro lado. Son machistas! Los hombres de las comunidades son machistas. Donde están
6 liberadas, los hombres y las mujeres, son en las grandes ciudades. Donde los hombres
7 miran la necesidad y sienten la necesidad que tienen que trabajar el hombre y la mujer
8 porque tienen que pagar grandes impuestos y a veces el hombre gana muy poco y no le
9 alcanza. Entonces este hombre por fuerza tiene que dejar que esa mujer vaya a un empleo
10 de trabajo para poder abastecer el hogar. Pero aquí como no se paga ningún impuesto ni
11 nada, ni uno no es exigente en pedirle, lo que le gusta es que no vive en la casa. Pero no
12 es porque vive bien, sino porque le gusta el machismo y de tenerlo a uno ahí y aquí te dejé
13 y ahí te estas y es posible le ponen hasta cenizas a ver si se paró en las cenizas y se salió.
14 A ver si deja marcado los patos: "Aha, adónde saliste, mira, y adónde pusiste el pie? Para
15 dónde te saliste?" Así son los hombres en las comunidades. Los hombres. Sólo que se
16 hacen más machistas, [...], porque tenemos un varón en el grupo. Todavía él es un joven,
17 no es casado. Él es un joven – cuñado de ellas dos. Él nos apoya. Entonces, así son los
18 hombres aquí en la comunidad.

19
20 Naza. Pero ustedes piensan que es posible cambiar esta mentalidad de los hombres,
21 porque si hay trabajo para ustedes, pero si los hombres no les gusta que las mujeres
22 trabajan, y entonces van a

23
24 Alejandra. Pelear, más bien?

25
26 Naza. Sí, conflictos...

27
28 Maria. Por lo general, al hombre de la aldea no le gusta que una mujer aprenda a valerse
29 sola. A ellos les gusta que una vida de ellos, porque así uno no tiene salida de la casa y
30 uno decidirse a irse no puede porque él lo mantiene, él le da todo y así si esta mujer
31 trabaja, va a ganar dinero. Y si ella gana, después, pues, me va a dejar. A ver, me va a
32 dejar o va a hacer de mi lo que quiera. Y eso es lo que a los hombres de la aldea no les
33 gusta. A ellos les gusta cuando uno depende de ellos, pero sí es muy importante uno
34 organizado aprender, a valerse sola, a trabajar, porque uno hoy tiene el hombre, mañana
35 no lo tiene. Tiene sus hijos. Y si uno aprende hacer la vida uno solo no se le hace difícil. De
36 la manera que sea, sea trabajando, pues como uno pueda, uno sostiene su familia.
37 Mientras que cuando uno se adapta a la manera de vivir ni el hombre le lleva a la cocina,
38 por eso uno organizado aprende mucho. Porque la mujer que no es organizada sigue, que
39 ellas y el hombre no saben que cocinar y los niñitos lloran del hambre. Y cuando uno ya
40 está organizado uno busca la forma como darles de comer a los hijos. Y sí es muy
41 importante, pues, lo de género es muy importante porque no sólo el hombre vale, uno
42 también vale. El trabajo de uno es bastante fuerte, y, bueno, a mi me gusta estar
43 organizada y yo, allá donde hay trabajo, yo trabajo. Porque así, sería más fácil la vida, que
44 el hombre y la mujer metan ingresos a la casa.

45
46 Judith. Entonces, piensas que estar organizada, bueno, quizás ahora no han generado
47 como un ingreso con la huerta, pero sí te ha servido para valorar más a tu mismo y tu
48 trabajo?

49
50 Maria. Sí, sí, me ha servido de mucho porque uno, al menos yo me siento orgullosa de
51 aunque no cosechamos para vender, pero yo me siento orgullosa de ir a trabajar ahí, que
52 me pregunten: "Que está haciendo?" "Estamos haciendo un huerto del grupo de mujeres.
53 Estamos viendo si cosechamos algo". Aunque no, pues, no conseguimos nada de ingreso,

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1 pero hemos comido, hemos compartido con la gente y pues, yo digo: "La segunda vez
2 vamos a cosechar". No me deja desanimado y vivo con esa esperanza que vamos a
3 cosechar. Y siento que es bien importante aprender uno a vivir de por si uno, no solo con el
4 hombre porque bueno, los hombres de este tiempo, hoy están con una, mañana la dejan,
5 porque tantas mujeres que hay, y lo dejan a una por otra. Entonces, hay que aprender a
6 trabajar para vivir uno solo, no sólo con un hombre. Cuando una es soltera tiene que
7 enfrentar la vida. Y yo tengo pues mi compañero pero también tiene su esposa él allá y de
8 repente me deja y yo tengo que aprender a trabajar.

9
10 Judith. Y entonces las capacitaciones que hay, como ayer, están juntas con el otro grupo
11 de mujeres, o ustedes también tienen capacitaciones?

12
13 Maria. No, nosotros no. A nosotros Don Angel no nos da capacitaciones, nos invita allá al
14 otro grupo. Sólo vamos yo y mi mami, las otras no van. Pero nosotras sí a tocarnos,
15 nosotras alcanzamos a las otras y aprendemos entre todas. Y hemos tenido varias
16 capacitaciones y mami siempre ha salido como siempre está organizada y ella nos ha
17 enseñado muchas cosas buenas. A como poder uno vivir la vida, sobrevivir uno sin marido,
18 pues. Sólo, con sus hijos. Como poder enfrentar la vida. Y es muy importante, porque uno
19 tiene muchas cosas. Estar organizado es muy importante.

20
21 Naza. Entonces, aunque a los hombres no les gusta que sus mujeres están trabajando,
22 están organizando, pero hay que hacerlo, porque es...

23
24 Alejandra. Hay que desobedecerles un poquito para poder superar.

25
26 Maria. Ellos son machistas y groseros al mismo tiempo. Porque mire, nosotras tal vez
27 andamos, despachamos los niños a la escuela, nos vamos para el huerto a trabajar,
28 venimos de allá hacer el almuerzo y tal vez el hombre está, mire, acostado y nosotras
29 trabajando, vamos a buscar leña, hacer todo porque ellos – nada. Si ya no están en el
30 caserío de madera que trabajan ellos, porque como son del grupo forestal, ya sólo
31 durmiendo. Y mire, nosotras trabajando todo el día. Y aún así ellos no le valoran al trabajo
32 de uno, porque a veces uno pues, yo digo, así en esto cabe lo de género, que sí es la
33 mujer está trabajando y ellas están argañando, porque ni prendan el fuego si quiera, pero
34 no, si uno viene ahí todo quemado, regañándolos, y yo ni andaba. Hay que aprender, hay
35 que aprender a vivir solo, pues. Solo digamos porque le toca a todo, sabe, que si me toca
36 jalar la leña, la voy a jalar. Si me toca, pues, trabajar también porque si los hombres no
37 están con ganas, ya no hacen nada. Es el problema que hay así en la comunidades aquí
38 porque a ellos no les ... sólo eso pues. Y si no hay cerillas, no hay nada, no hay ingreso.
39 Ni por parte de la mujer, ni por parte del hombre, porque la mujer no tiene con que meter
40 ingreso al hogar.

41
42 Judith. Sí, pero bueno, las... lo que platicamos con las mujeres del otro grupo, nos parecía
43 que, bueno, lo más importante para ellas realmente es generar ingreso, no, que, bueno,
44 también dijeron "Bueno, sí, claro, nos gustaría participar en actividades productivas, pero si
45 no hay mercado, si no podemos ganar nada, para qué lo hacemos, no?" Sí, pero el ingreso
46 lo ven ustedes también, si genera un ingreso, se eleva la autoestima y se mejora todo, o?

47
48 Maria. Sí, claro, porque uno, generando un ingreso, tal vez uno no sufre, la vida es
49 diferente, le cambia. Y uno vive más tranquilo, descansa por esa parte. Porque tal vez está
50 trabajando uno a pensar que no está ganando nada, que no va a hacer nada. Que tiene
51 varias necesidades en el hogar y no tiene con que suplirlas. No es fácil para uno. Y
52 generando un ingreso tal vez sería más fácil, trabajar uno con más amor, con más alegría,
53 porque dice que: "bueno, pues, estoy ganando y lo que estoy haciendo, pues, me va a

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1 ayudar mucho para mis necesidades que tengo". Sería muy bueno. A veces uno tiene que
2 acostumbrarse ... ahorita no estamos ganando pero tenemos que acostumbrarnos porque
3 para poder ganar tenemos que aprender a trabajar.

4
5 Judith. Como capacitaciones como ayer?

6
7 Maria. Sí, sirven de mucho, porque por ejemplo la hecha de la galleta, ya uno hace su
8 galleta, la va a vender y ya genera un ingreso para uno. Lo malo que aquí en esta
9 comunidad es no hay ingreso ni para los hombres, ni para las mujeres casi. Así los
10 hombres tienen que salir a otros lugares a trabajar porque no hay trabajo aquí.

11
12 Alejandra. Y la esposa queda solita, porque el hombre tiene que irse para poder estar
13 comiendo a uno. Entonces, es más el sufrimiento, porque después de tenerlo jalado que se
14 le vaya por estarlo manteniendo a uno por no tener un fuente de trabajo tanto para el
15 hombre como para la mujer. Es un sufrimiento grande, aunque reciba dinero pero el amor?
16 Donde está? Allá está, lejos. Pensando si está con la otra, o ya no ir a volver. Es bastante
17 crítico, es bueno que hubiera ingreso para los dos para no separarse porque también es
18 difícil vivir separados, es difícil.

19
20 Judith. A mi me interesa usted ha mencionado muchas veces la liberación de las mujeres,
21 no? Y dice que muchas mujeres aquí aunque las capacitaciones y todo, aún no se han
22 liberado?

23
24 Alejandra. Sí, hay mujeres que no se han liberado todavía. Pero no sé que pasará verdad,
25 porque aquí en esta comunidad hay la mujer que no esté integrada acerca de lo que es la
26 liberación de la mujer. Hablamos de la liberación es aprender uno que uno es valioso
27 igualmente que los varones, y que no tiene que vivir tan sumergida al hombre, viva bien o
28 viva mal. Uno tiene que buscar su propio beneficio. Si uno no lo busca, quién se lo va a
29 buscar? No puede vivir marginado toda una vida solo por vivir con un hombre, aunque le
30 iba dando [...], pero como es mi marido, como decía, que ella que su papa decía que no le
31 cuida los hijos porque tenía que tener con ese hombre porque no quería que anduviera con
32 una y con otra. De qué sirve...? Claro. La mujer tiene que valorarse, uno solo tiene que
33 cuidarse. Porque no es necesario ir a acostarse con un hombre para poder comer. Uno
34 tiene que buscar la forma de vida para poder ayudar a estos hijos y ayudarse a uno mismo.
35 Pero eso es que van a vivir sumergido sólo porque no hablen, porque no la critiquen,
36 porque no... No, a esa vida no me acomodo. Porque aquí hay mujeres de esas que el
37 hombre mire, [...].

38 Entonces esa es la ignorancia más grande que hay en las mujeres que no están liberadas
39 todavía. Y los hombres también que son machistas. De pensar que la mujer es una ayuda
40 como dice, y no, ni es una ayuda para un hombre. No es que la va a tener como burra, a
41 golpes y "aquí te tengo y aquí te estás y vas a vivir como yo quiera y así vas a vivir". Por
42 eso es que uno... Cuando la mujer se libera, dice: "ah, es que ya se volvió machista. Ya a
43 mi no me hace caso. Ya sé que lo que le parece. "No, no es que se lo parece, sino que
44 miró que es mejor no vivir dominada por un mal hombre, que tener un buen trabajo. Para
45 mi es mejor tener un buen trabajo que tener un mal hombre. Que me viva golpeando, que
46 me viva engrosando el granito de frijol que me dio al día. Es bastante duro para uno.
47 Entonces eso es el propósito de la mujer organizada, pero sí, todavía hay mujeres
48 ignorantes en mi comunidad que no cambian de mentalidad. Yo no digo que la mujer no se
49 deje dominar por el hombre porque en realidad sé que el hombre es cabeza del hogar.
50 Pero no vivir tan marginada. El día de mañana tal vez va a haber una ayuda y nos plantan
51 una fuente de trabajo, "No! Vos no vas a hacer ese trabajo y vas a quedar mal, y te vas a
52 arruinar y ese trabajo no lo vas a hacer vos!" Aunque mire que es un beneficio, no la va a
53 dejar hacerlo. Yo digo: "sí, sí lo voy a hacer. Si quieres, dame vos o si no me lo des pero yo

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1 con mi trabajo me mantengo." Lo que querría es un fuente de trabajo. Hoy la tengo. "Pues
2 si usted quiere, señor, envuelva sus maletas y vaya y déjeme a trabajar." Pero no hay
3 mujeres de esta capacidad.

4
5 Naza. No, me imagino.

6
7 Alejandra. No hay. Por eso es que ellos, ellos no le buscan formas como tenga uno una
8 fuente de trabajo que genere un ingreso. Ellos no lo van a buscar, no. Ni lo van a apoyar. Y
9 si ya viene la capacitación, que "ha, ya, se van a arruinar estas mujeres." Eso es el primero
10 que van a decir. "Estas mujeres escogen el trabajo. Vas a ver, ya no voy a tener mujer yo,
11 ni vos también. El día que hay un trabajo que genera ingreso aquí nos dejan estas
12 mujeres." Por eso es que ellos no les buscan a uno la forma como uno trabaje. Como uno
13 trabaje. Y yo no me consigo a hombre que va a decir que me va a buscar a una fuente de
14 trabajo que genera un ingreso. De estos pueden haber muchos que nos buscan un rubro
15 de trabajo para nosotras las mujeres. Si no lo buscamos nosotras, no lo vamos a encontrar.
16 De 100 hombres pueda haber uno que quiera cooperar con uno de mujer. Yo no me confío
17 a nadie. Es decir que: "Ah, este hombre sí trae buenos proyectos, buenos propósitos."
18 Nunca quieren darle el mejor puesto a uno. Quieren que uno siempre esté allá. O no, que
19 no pueden por la cultura como decía ahora Daniel. Está buscando allá. Que nunca le pude
20 canalizar como algo de que él... Sí, quiere que las mujeres tengamos una fuente de
21 trabajo. Nunca pude encontrarle, analizarle que si tiene una aspiración, como gestionar
22 proyectos para nosotras las mujeres. Nunca le pude... En la entrevista que ustedes le
23 hacía, él nunca quiso de... El habló de la cultura, él habló de la iglesia católica, él habló de
24 acá, pero nunca dijo: "Sí, estas mujeres necesitan que se les apoye, que se les plante un
25 proyecto que les genere un ingreso". Nunca dijo así. Puede captar usted eso? Todo fue
26 negativo para nosotras. Nunca hubo una amplitud como para decirles a ustedes: "Sí, estas
27 mujeres viven pobremente. Estas mujeres capacitándolas pueden manejar tal tipo de
28 proyecto". No les dijo así. No les dijo, no. Son negativos los hombres para nosotras las
29 mujeres. Nunca podemos hacer nada. Nunca tenemos libertad porque le puso que los
30 hombres son así. A nosotras no nos importan los hombres, si el día de mañana tenemos
31 una fuente de trabajo y ya no nos quieren dar nada que no nos den, pero estamos bien,
32 trabajando y ganando pisto. Ah pero así cómo nos liberamos? Y por fuerza tenemos que
33 estar como le dice [...] un grano de frijol porque no hay con que comprarlo nosotras. El día
34 que nosotras somos unas mujeres liberadas, dispuestas a trabajar en lo que sea, no hay
35 [...] condición de trabajo. Nosotras vamos a salir, vamos a salir adelante en esta
36 comunidad. Y se va a terminar el machismo. Se va a terminar el machismo. Porque el
37 machismo, ellos lo tienen el cien por ciento agarrado porque nos tienen dominadas, pues.
38 Ay, con qué le vamos a decir nosotros: "Váyase! A mi me ha sido golpeando, que mire, que
39 me tiene desnuda, váyase de mi casa!" Cómo le va a decir? Si se muere del hambre uno.

40
41 Judith. Pero usted lo hizo?

42
43 Alejandra. Yo sí lo hice. Yo sí lo hice. Yo sí lo hice. Con mi niño de un año, [...] un corredor
44 de hoja de caña y le dije: "Che, le va y no vuelva aquí!" Me trajo unas cargas de maíz en
45 tusa, y ahí las dejé que se las comieran unos chanchos y un burro y le dije: "No necesito
46 maíz, todo este tiempo atrás. [...] santo, no comía ni nada, y que se vaya directamente de
47 aquí que no le quiero volver a ver. Porque usted es un estorbo para mi. Que el día de
48 mañana me quiero meter con otro, usted me estorba." Aunque no lo hice pero sí lo corrí
49 con eso. "El día de mañana otro me va a traer la libra de sal usted me va a estar
50 estorbando, váyase de aquí."

51
52 Judith. Por qué usted tuvo esta fuerza?

53

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 2 in Paletales

Date of interview, location: 2nd July 2010, 3-4 PM, Alejandra's house

Participants: Naza, Judith, Alejandra, Isaura, Clara, Maria

Alejandra. Sí, lo tuve. Yo tuve el valor moral de enfrentar. Y me dice: lo que sí te juro que el día de mañana te vas a enfermar", me dice, "se enferme ese niño". "A mi no me vayas a molestar, ni hoy ni nunca", le dije, "no me vas a molestar ni en la vida, ni en la muerte". Y así lo hice. Ya mi hijo tiene 17 años y no se lo deja una petición para él. Y lo creí. [...] cualquier mujer se puede liberar pero hay que estar dispuesta a echar maceta todos los días. Trabajar.

Judith. Y cómo piensa usted que se puede iniciar su trabajo... este proceso de liberación?

Alejandra. Bueno, yo pienso: para liberarnos lo primero es educarnos. Educar a las personas. Tanto a hombres, como mujeres. Ya una vez educados, capacitarnos, si ellos... y viniera, viniera por suerte un proyecto que favorecía a nosotras, y una vez educados y instruidos, por qué nos organizamos y para qué, y ellos no quieren entender o dejarnos trabajar, a nosotras no nos importaría que ellos nos tomaran en cuenta o no. Porque nosotras la necesidad preeminente que tenemos es una fuente de trabajo. No nos organizaríamos ni estaríamos con el propósito de dejarlo, sino que más bien de mejorar el sistema de vida que tenemos para los hijos y aun para ellos. Pero si ellos, por machista, no nos dejaran a trabajar, entonces que queden ellos por un lado. A ver que van a hacer ellos solos y nos dejen a nosotras trabajar. Porque no es posible que nos vamos a estar muriendo del hambre toda una vida sólo por estarles haciendo... obedeciendo a ellos y con todas las necesidades encima. El propósito es trabajar juntos para el hogar. Pero costaría de mucho porque hay que capacitar esta gente primero para poder liberarse.

Naza. Tal vez también compartir las tareas adentro de la casa. Porque si una mujer tiene un trabajo afuera, hay que compartir, porque todavía hay niños, hay ropa, hay comida que hacer. Y por eso hay que explicar o motivar a los hombres que ayuden y aunque en la reunión con los hombres nos dijeron que sí, pueden cocinar, y pueden ayudar, pero...

Alejandra. Pero no lo hacen!

Naza. No.

Alejandra. La teoría es muy fácil. Pero la practica... Vayan en la practica a ver a un hombre aquí en Paletales cocinando – no mira! Allá en la hamaca o allá por el patio o haciendo los [...] allá, aunque el fuego sea apagadito. Es posible ni leña van a traer, aunque estén en la casa. Ellos dicen que sí pueden, pero no lo hacen. Esa es la carga [...]. Vamos a ir al campo a trabajar, por eso le decía yo, estamos dispuestas a lo que sea. Porque de esta manera [...] sufrimiento que tenemos. Estamos dispuestas a ir al campo a trabajar, venir de allá a lavar la ropa, asear la casa y hacer la comida. Para poder tenerlos contentos. Así es como podríamos hacer. Y si nos sobregire el trabajo! Porque también son conchudos y si uno les despacha, no se van! Y les dije: "Aquí ya no te ocupo, ha, sea que es un cangrejo, mire!" Ahí, no se van. Porque saben que otra tonta no va a llegar. Es bastante crítico. Para esto hay que educarlos, una vez, instruirlos. Si no lo quieren hacer, pues hay que echarles [...] nosotras [...]. Pero si no nos dejan vamos a dejarlos con este trabajo? No. Nosotras lo que queremos es una fuente de trabajo. Si a ellos no les gusta que nosotras trabajemos, pues, que se vayan los hombres por un lado y las mujeres por otro. Porque la mujer se aburre de aguantar, de sufrir. No somos palos. No somos palos. Uno desea no vivir tal vez en gran pompa, en gran mejoría, pero sí más o menos. Uno no se quiere levantar y que el niño no va a estar llorando agarrando a la falda: "Mi comida" – "No, hijo, es que no hay. Qué te voy a dar?" "Ay, ay, ay, mi comida". Así son los niños, pues. Los niños no saben que no hay. A los niños ya les cuesta [...] agarrando la falda para que les den. Es duro, eso. Es duro. Sí, es la situación de nosotras, es así mi ambición que también. Pero con dinero, con negocios aquí es muy cansado porque aquí no hay la fuente de trabajo, [...]

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 2 in Paletales

Date of interview, location: 2nd July 2010, 3-4 PM, Alejandra's house

Participants: Naza, Judith, Alejandra, Isaura, Clara, Maria

1 también. Yo les hablaba de un vivero. Nosotras las mujeres podemos hacer los viveros,
2 nos consiguen las semillas, las bolsas, nosotras [...] y hacemos los viveros. Ya poner las
3 plantas [...] mire, ya saber quién va a comprar las plantas, para nosotras tener un ingreso.
4 Y si es posible las sembramos nosotras también por otro dinero.

5
6 Judith. Entonces, lo que hace falta es mercado y un proyecto para las mujeres con que
7 pueden ganar un ingreso.

8
9 Alejandra. Sí, el mercado, y el proyecto que genere ingreso.

10
11 Naza. Y educar?

12
13 Alejandra. Y educar a las personas. Por qué vamos a hacer ese sistema de trabajo?
14 Porque, cuales son los objetivos, cuál es el propósito? Qué nos ha hecho a buscarnos el
15 sistema de trabajo? [...]. Esto es lo primordial: educar a las personas. Decirles: "Bueno, les
16 vamos a plantar... les podemos plantar, no les aseguramos, pero podemos plantar un
17 proyecto de trabajo pero si ustedes están dispuestos a que sus mujeres trabajen. Y si no
18 están dispuestos pues tal vez ellas están dispuestas si ustedes no las dejan pero ellas van
19 a trabajar porque sienten la necesidad. "Qué piensan ustedes? Se mejorarían las
20 condiciones de vida de nosotras.

21
22 Judith. Pero, usted piensa que los hombres todavía quieren que sus mujeres se quedan en
23 la casa aunque, bueno, si hay un proyecto con cual las mujeres puedan complementar el
24 ingreso de la familia, los hombres serían dispuestos a dejar las mujeres a trabajar? O
25 todavía siguen con su opinión de que no, mejor que se queden en la casa?

26
27 Alejandra. Pues así, eso es lo que... Cuando yo lo digo de que si nosotras encontráramos
28 un proyecto que nos genera un ingreso, una vez educados ellos, ya sabido porque y para
29 que estamos haciendo eso y uno se pone siempre con su machismo, nosotras tendríamos
30 que ya una vez y cuando plantado un proyecto, tendríamos que cumplir con nuestras
31 obligaciones de trabajo. Porque si ellos no lo quieren dejar a uno, pero uno siente sus
32 necesidades, entonces ellos tienen que adaptarse si quieren convivir con uno, y quieren
33 criar esta familia. [...]. El que le dice mal a lo bueno, es más que ignorante. Sí, porque ellos
34 siempre van a querer que uno esté ahí [...] los frijoles, "y ahora el guineo y que vamos!"
35 Eso es la vida del hombre del campo. A ellos les gusta que ahí estemos. Solo nosotras
36 sentimos otras necesidades. Puede ser de cualquier tipo de proyecto que sea. Nosotros
37 tenemos la necesidad, las mujeres de esta comunidad.

38
39 Judith. Pero ustedes ya han tenido varias capacitaciones, no, por este otro proyecto
40 todavía, que comenzó, también de genero, y muchas cosas, medicinas naturales...

41
42 Alejandra. Género, autoestima, medicina natural. Hemos tenido de comercialización, de
43 contabilidad, muchas capacitaciones.

44
45 Judith. Pero entonces nunca realmente había un proyecto en el pueblo aquí adonde se
46 podía usar estas capacidades?

47
48 Alejandra. Sí, siempre ha subsistido lo que es la cooperativa. Una vez estuvimos
49 organizados y pedían que... para el caso de la FAO, una organización nacional que apoya
50 mucho al campesino, principalmente a la mujer. Entonces ellos pedían que hubiera mujeres
51 organizadas adentro del grupo para que [...] del recurso bosque, el recurso de la madera.
52 Entonces ellos nunca quisieron favorecernos a el sistema. Estuvimos y nos sacaron. Nos
53 dejaron por un lado y [...] a cortar la madera, ya no nos tomaron en cuenta, no quisieron

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 2 in Paletales

Date of interview, location: 2nd July 2010, 3-4 PM, Alejandra's house

Participants: Naza, Judith, Alejandra, Isaura, Clara, Maria

1 darnos... Por eso le digo que a ellos les gusta ganar lo mejor parte de dinero, nosotras
2 nada, entonces nunca ellos han querido como que nosotras participemos en los mejores
3 proyectos, en las mejores ganancias sino que estemos siempre allá, organizadas, porque
4 siempre cuando hemos estado organizadas, apoyando al grupo. La mujer, a ellos les gusta
5 que no la apoyen, pero apoyarles a ellos. Entonces, por eso se retiró el proyecto de la FAO
6 así, porque sacaron las mujeres de la cooperativa. Si no hubieran sacado las mujeres
7 venían unos ayudas grandísimas. Grandes ayudas.

8
9 Judith. Y quién sacó las mujeres de la cooperativa?

10
11 Alejandra. Los varones.

12
13 Judith. Sí? De la cooperativa forestal?

14
15 Alejandra. Sí, habíamos como tres mujeres y no nos tomaron en cuenta allá cuando tenían
16 su venta de su negocio. Entonces retiraron las ayudas porque dijeron que tenía que haber
17 hombres y mujeres.

18
19 Judith. Ah, okay.

20
21 Alejandra. En vez de meternos, se retiró la FAO.

22
23 Judith. Porque dijeron que ya no sirve el proyecto, ya no están las mujeres.

24
25 Alejandra. Porque ya no estaban las mujeres.

26
27 Judith. Que lastima. Y con qué razón?

28
29 Alejandra. Simplemente no querían nosotras la mujeres participáramos en [...], ya es
30 siempre que van a compartir ya con la madera [...]. Hemos siempre estado cooperando
31 con la cooperativa pero a ellos nunca les gusta una mujer como para [...]. Cuál es el
32 propósito que nosotras tenemos como mujeres cuando nos organizamos? Porque no nos
33 vamos a organizar sólo para hacerlo. [...]. Pero es muy bonito. Yo no sé como lo ven
34 ustedes la opinión de nosotras, sí, puede ser, es un [...] para nosotras, o si podemos
35 tener algún tipo de apoyo, siempre cuando nosotras estemos dispuestas porque [...].
36 Nunca vamos a pensar que el hombre sí quiere que nosotras nos liberamos. Aunque dicen
37 ellos que están dispuestos a hacer la comida, pero no la van a hacer ellos. Somos nosotras
38 que tenemos que [...]. Ir a trabajar allá y venir a hacer para comer.

39
40 Judith. Y entonces en estas capacitaciones habían otras de aquí o de otros lados?

41
42 Alejandra. No, solamente de aquí y de las Almendras.

43
44 Judith. Entonces, también hay otras mujeres aquí que tuvieron estas capacitaciones?

45
46 Alejandra. Sí, hay más mujeres en las capacitaciones. Estaba la mujer de Jorgito, estuvo
47 capacitada. Estaba Rosa, estaba Mérida, estuvo Christina, un montón de personas de que
48 [...]. La verdad es que la organización era para toda la gente de la comunidad.

49
50 Judith. Okay, para ese proyecto del FAO?

51
52 Alejandra. Del FAO no.

Name of interview: Focus group interview with women's group 2 in Paletales

Date of interview, location: 2nd July 2010, 3-4 PM, Alejandra's house

Participants: Naza, Judith, Alejandra, Isaura, Clara, Maria

1 Judith. Para qué era?

2
3 Alejandra. El proyecto "Apoyo a la mujer rural".

4
5 Judith. Ah, okay. Del gobierno?

6
7 Alejandra. Sí, sí, del gobierno, del gobierno.

8
9 Judith. Apoyo...

10
11 Alejandra. Proyecto "Apoyo a la mujer rural". Por esto estuvimos organizadas ahorita
12 anteriormente con este grupito que tenemos. Y ahora ya nos está apoyando Nepenthes.

13
14 Judith. Y para qué propósito le capacitaron?

15
16 Alejandra. Con el propósito de formar empresas de trabajo, de cultivo, de agricultura.

17
18 Judith. Pero nunca se formaron estas empresas?

19
20 Alejandra. Cada quien trabajaba lo propio.

21
22 Naza. Su propio jardín?

23
24 Alejandra. Sí, sí, cada quien. Así todos, manzanas de milpa, manzanas de frijoles, y así
25 estuvimos trabajando. Y ahora se han desintegrados, cada quien trabaja para cada quien.
26 No siempre ha sido con el propósito de estar organizadas.

27
28 Judith. Hace cuantos años era esto?

29
30 Alejandra. Cuantos años era [...]. Desde 2006 creo que estuvimos organizadas.

31
32 Judith. Y de estas actividades tampoco podían generar ingreso? De la milpa...

33
34 Alejandra. Sí, sí, estuvimos generando ingreso pero se nos vino una de... Es que mire, el
35 cultivo es bastante riesgoso. Por primera vez miramos frijoles que por la lluvia se pudrieron,
36 los frijoles ya [...] cabuya pero se pudrieron. Y vendimos, pero muy poco. Porque para
37 poder vender había que escogerlos. Las milpas, también se vino un gran huracán [...]. Ahí
38 perdimos todas las milpas. Es que solo fue pérdida. Es que el cultivo es bastante riesgoso.
39 Así como perdimos el tomate, así perdíamos el frijol y perdíamos el maíz. Nunca pudimos
40 nosotras levantarnos, como para vender, poner una bodega como para tener un gran [...].
41 Nunca pudimos, siempre fracasábamos. Pero sí, en ciertos aspectos nos beneficiábamos
42 porque teníamos la comida y [...], sí. Ya no la compraron. Más bien [...] no era una gran
43 cantidad de comercio porque no era de buena calidad, pero sí siempre nos beneficiaba.

44
45 Judith. Sí, bueno....

46
47 Alejandra. Creo que hemos hablado más de la comida.

48
49 Judith. Muchas historias.

50

Paletales

Date: 29.06.10, 11.00 - 14.00

Activity: Walk with Alejandra to the family's vegetable garden

Location: Paletales, vegetable garden

Participants: Naza, Judith, Álvaro, Andrés, Arturo, Alejandra, Maria and two of her sons, the mother of the dead husband of Alejandra's daughter

Content:

Alejandra showed us many plants on the way to the vegetable garden with a big Machete. Many of the plants have medicinal effect, and she said she had received training in natural medicine from a Nicaraguan doctor. We looked at different plants, and Arturo and Alejandra explained us what they are good for and which diseases they can treat. Andrés kept taking pictures of the different plants and flowers.

In the vegetable garden we saw that they had planted cucumber, tomato, cabbage, capsicum, pumpkin and some others. This time, nearly all the harvest had gone bad because of the heavy rains and now they have to remove the vegetables and replant them from scratch again. After the visit to the garden we went with Emilio, his two sons and Maria to the grave of Maria's sister's (Clara) husband who got killed one year ago. Later on we got to know that her sister now lives alone with her three daughters (all still kids, one of them is only six months old). When we asked them about what happened to him, Maria simply replied: "He was killed". We asked Arturo why people kill each other here and he explained that it is because of drug abuse, lack of culture (people do not know how to behave in a society), and alcoholism. Maria said she doesn't like to go to the graveyard because it makes her sad.

After the walk we went for a while to Maria's house. She was cooking while the kids were running around playing. When one of the little boys started crying she asked one of the older brothers to take him outside.

Conversations:

- With Alejandra: she told us the names of the plants on the way and what kind of medicine one can make out of them to cure what kind of disease. She learned all of this during a course in Comayagua instructed by a Nicaraguan expert. After that she tried out some recipes and also produced soap and shampoo from plants at home. She organizes the women's group working in the vegetable garden. Sometimes it falls apart and sometimes it works again. She lives alone: she threw her husband out seven years ago and since then has enough of men.
- Talk to Maria on the way to the garden: she told us that her husband Emilio has two wives. She is 26 years old and has four kids (three boys and one girl). She told us about the family members and that when they come to work in the garden, they come to the garden at 4 am and return to the village at 10 am to prepare lunch and wash clothes. The vegetables they produce for their own consumption and for sale in Olanchito.
- With Arturo: Many people in these villages kill each other because of drug trade. It is a lack of culture.
- With Maria: We asked her what time she usually gets up. Maria replied that when she has to work in the garden, she gets up at 4am. She works there until 10 am, and then she goes home to cook, wash clothes, clean the house, etc. Then I

asked her, what time she gets up when she doesn't have to work in the garden, and she said then they get up at 5am. If the children are going to school, she has to make them breakfast and prepare them for school. They go to school at 7am.

Personal comments:

- Maria didn't change her countenance when she talked about Emilio's second wife.
- Alejandra has a wide knowledge of natural medicine.
- In general there are some women in the village who talk a lot and are open and others that are quiet and shy.
- Alejandra's daughter in law, Irma, is 17 years old. Her spouse, Ronni, is also about 17-18.
- Maria is the same age as us. She has a lot of responsibilities.

Date: 30.06.10, 8.00 - 10.00

Activity: Walk with Armando to the pine forest

Location: Paletales, pine forest, on the way back to the village: stopover at a family's house close to the vegetable garden of Alejandra's family and walk to Isabella's house

Participants: Naza, Judith, Arturo, Armando, some family members of the family at the vegetable garden, later on at Isabella's place: Isabella and her daughter, Isabella's mum and her daughter, another lady with the her kid

Content:

On the walk to the pine forest Armando showed different trees to us and how they clean the trees under sustainable forestry management so that they can grow better. The pine forest is not yet under sustainable forestry management. He cut a pine tree to show how the resin comes out and smashed a dry piece of wood lying on the ground apart to give us small pieces of wood to smell. After the forest we passed by the house of the lady whose son got killed. There we met Isabella, Emilio's oldest daughter, from his oldest wife. Emilio has 5 children with a woman who is approximately 30 years old. His other wife is Maria, who is 26. Isabella is about 18, and already has 2 kids. Then, after spending there half an hour and admiring their parrot, we went to Isabella's house. Isabella was carrying her sleeping daughter. The older one was at school at the moment. At her house we met her mother who has a daughter the same age as the daughter of Maria. Isabella brought us some bananas from the banana plot next to the house. The women were just hanging out with the kids in front of the house. Not much was going on. We sat there and talked a bit about our home countries, football, and the fact that Emilio has 2 women. The other woman did not say much. They laughed every time they saw how surprised we were by their young age, the amount of children they have, and Emilio's polygamy. After we left their house, Arturo told us that the wife is not happy about the fact that Emilio has another woman, but that she can't really do anything about it. He mentioned "machismo" as the reason why Emilio can have 2 women and get away with it.

Conversations:

- With Armando: he suggested products from the forest that could generate an income for the women: they could collect the resin from the trees and sell it to a laboratory. The dry needles of the trees can be used to weave baskets. The dry pieces of pinewood are used by people in the villages to light fire in the kitchen and can be sold in Olanchito (one big piece for 10 Lempira). The women can also be involved in cleaning the trees. They can collect the fir cones and sell them for decoration. It is possible to produce natural medicine out of the needles.
- At the family's place close to the vegetable garden: The men (Armando and another guy) were joking about pregnant women: "If her legs get too thin, then I just put another baby in her stomach." Isabella was just smiling. When Judith asked her if she wanted another baby she said no. But when Arturo asked her if she was taking any birth control or using protection, she said that she was not.
- At Emilio's oldest wife's house, there was a pregnant woman there, and we asked her, when she usually gets up in the morning. She said that she usually gets up very early, about 3am. She said her husband leaves to the forest about 4am, but some other people leave already at 3am, so the wives have to get up at 2. She has to get up to get her husband ready and send him off.

Personal comments:

- The woman at Isabella's house did not say anything but was smiling a lot.
- Arturo says that the women are suffering from the fact that the men often have several women and that they have many kids but the women don't show that. They just accept that. Arturo said that that the two wives of Emilio have a good relationship and that they are ashamed of the situation.
- Maria and her sister came and saw Naza's dirty flip-flops. They noticed how dirty they were and commented on that. They told Naza that she should wash them.

Date: 30.06.10, 10.00 – 11.00

Activity: Walk with Daniela to several vegetable gardens made by women from Don Esteban' women's group

Location: Paletales

Participants: Daniela, Arturo, Naza, and Judith

Content:

We saw three vegetable gardens, where the women grow vegetables for own consumption and sale. Unfortunately many of the vegetables have been ruined due to the heavy rains and plague. The women asked Arturo when to plant again.

Personal comments:

- Do the women not lose motivation if the harvest gets ruined?
- Arturo constantly encouraged them not to use any chemicals. He said that they would see the benefits of that in the long run: the improvement of the productivity of the soil. The women told us of examples from other farmers from the areas that use chemicals: the vegetables look very good from outside but are bad from the inside.

- Daniela did not seem very motivated to take us around the gardens when we came to her house and Arturo asked her if she could take us.
- Esperanza asked Arturo many questions when we came to her garden and said she was eager to try again although this harvest had been ruined.

Date: 30.06.10, 14.30

Activity: Conversation with Alejandra while Judith was lying in her bed

Location: Alejandra's house

Participants: Judith, Alejandra

Content:

What Alejandra said in the conversation:

She has received several trainings in gender issues. It is important that the self-confidence of the women is raised and to let them know that they can do the same activities as the men. That if there is a party, they have the right and possibility to go there. Alejandra says that she can do the same physical work as men if they give her the tools but often the men do not allow that. Many women are not liberated. The women in rural areas in Honduras lack self-confidence, that they are shy and afraid of speaking up, especially in presence of men. There is a lot of machismo in the culture; the men do not want their women to be organized. What they need is training and sensitization.

There are things in the forest that can be used by the women, and what can give them an income, will serve them. They need to be trained in how to work in the forest, but the wish needs to be created, because it is needed to escape poverty. Alejandra used to work in a forestry project, but they did not have enough capacity to sustain their business. Training is the most important thing to show the women how they can live their own life more independently. It is great to be organized: only when women are organized they can achieve something. She managed her life alone and she also managed alone to generate an income by herself although it was hard work: first she had a job where she had to travel several hours, then she put a shop in the village and she was also taking care of visitors, letting them stay in her house and preparing food for them. Other women can do the same she did but they have to be willing to work hard for it. They just have to look for a way and they will find one.

Date: 1.07.10, 9.00 – 12.00

Activity: Production of soymilk, pies and cookies with the women from the women's group of Esteban

Location: Esteban's house

Participants: Members of women's group 1, Alejandra, Maria, Judith, Naza, Arturo, the husband of Esperanza Marcos, and Ernesto – a 20-year-old son of Daniela is present too (he is a member of the women's group as well).

Content:

We went to the women's group to make soy foods as part of the training of Arturo. The women started off with washing the soybeans, then they ran the beans through a meat grinder and then used the mass for different purposes. Arturo teaches them to cook with soy because it is rich in proteins and vitamins, much cheaper than meat, and easy to grow. So the idea is to make them more conscious about their diet and make them eat more healthy and diverse foods. Most of the women were standing around in the kitchen talking and laughing and took turns in the different activities to be carried out. The ones most actively participating were Alejandra (she also instructed), Maria, Esperanza, Hilaria, and Hilda. Some women did not participate a lot. Alejandra said several times that they should all pay attention to all steps of the production otherwise they would not be able to prepare the meals in the right way by themselves.

We showed the women pictures of our families. They asked how big our families are, we told them that we are only 2 girls in my family and Judith is the only child except her stepsiblings. They started making sounds like "wow" and "aah" when they heard about the small sizes of our families. We were hanging out with them in the kitchen, talking to Esperanza and Hilda. We took some pictures, but the women never smiled while we were taking them. Hilda asked if we could take photos of her and her daughter a bit later, after she has made her hair to look pretty. The boy – Ángel – is 20 years old and has a little kid (2 years old). We tasted the soymilk and pies and they asked us if we like it. We said that we like it very much. After eating, we went back to our house to prepare for the meeting with the men.

Conversations:

- Comment of Armando to Judith on the way to the workshop: "Oh, you finally put on a skirt and you look more beautiful!"
- During the cooking, Hilda and the other women told us that their parents are very strict and always take their husband's sides. If the women want to go to Olanchito, they have to get their husband's permission, and Hilda's parents tell her that she has to obey him always, because she is not their responsibility anymore. Then Maria said that she doesn't care, she can go to Olanchito whenever she wants and her husband does not have a word to say.
- Among the women in the kitchen: talking for a long time about how it is to give birth to a child.
- Alejandra: Kids are happiness and entertainment in the house.
- Constant joke among the women: "There is nothing to do around here in the village. So if we get bored we just make children."
- Naza asked Elena, Daniela's daughter in law, if she is going to have a baby soon (she is obviously pregnant). She said yes, Naza asked her when she is due and she replied "soon". Naza told her that she would also love to have a child in future, and when the other women heard that, they seemed surprised by it. They

1 started telling each other and repeating what Naza had just said, as if they did
2 not expect us to have this wish as a woman from the West. It seemed like they
3 were approving what Naza had just said.
4
5

6 **Personal comments:**

- 7 • All the women without exception were wearing skirts; no single woman was
8 wearing pants.
9 • Some of them had their kids there with them, others not.
10 • The women talked a lot about giving birth to a child as if it was a very normal
11 every day activity. They joked a lot when they talked about it and smiled and
12 laughed all the time. They also talked a lot about their kids.
13 • Marcos and one of the two male members of the women's group were sitting
14 outside watching and doing nothing.
15 • Alejandra made a comment that the women of the other group do not really
16 appreciate the trainings and do not develop.
17 • The young boy Ernesto asked Naza if she needs a boyfriend, and if she could
18 bring him to Denmark with her. His girlfriend, with whom he has a child, was
19 present in the room. They were joking about having another girlfriend; the
20 women did not say anything.
21 • Alejandra tried to convince us today that Evangelic religion is the only right
22 religion. She could not accept the fact that we don't believe in God, they think
23 that God created us and that it is the only truth.
24
25
26
27

28 **Date:** July 1st, 15.00 – 16.30

29 **Activity:** Interview with the forestry group

30 **Location:** Paletales, school

31 **Participants:** Judith, Naza, Arturo, D. Esteban, D.Armando, D. Hugo, D. Ignacio,
32 other members of the forestry group (some were missing, among them Emilio)
33

34 **Interview guide:**

- 35 1. Introduction, history of the forestry group and the work of the group
36 2. Could you tell us a bit about your work day: which activities do you carry out
37 during the day? How much free time do you have? When do you return to your
38 house? Do you feel you have a higher work burden than the women?
39 3. If you could, what would you change in you life? What does a good life mean for
40 you, how do you define a good life?
41 4. How do you see the role of the man and the woman in the family? Would you
42 like your wives to have a work that generates an income to contribute to the
43 family income?
44 5. Would you like the women to help you with your work in the forest? Which
45 activities could the women carry out in the forest?
46

47 **Content:**

48 Judith: What does a normal workday look like for you?
49

1 Esteban: We work every day including Saturdays. There are no breaks. Sometimes
2 we relax and take a break on Sundays. When there is no work, we relax. When we
3 have to go to the field/forest, we get up at 4-5am, and then we walk there still in the
4 darkness.

6 Hugo: Sometimes we stay over night in the forest. We have tents in the forest,
7 where we stay if we stay there for several days. We sleep on hard wooden planks.

9 Esteban: The men cook themselves in the forest, when they stay there. They can't
10 bring the women because there is no private room for them. They all go at the same
11 time. We stay in the forest to make the most of the late afternoon. The men leave to
12 the forest on Monday, come back on Saturday, sleep on Sunday, and leave again
13 on Monday. There are fellows (compañeros) that go to the forest and come back on
14 the same day, it takes 4 hours by foot. Old people don't go to the forest - they stay
15 in the village.

17 Arturo: Do you go to the forest all the time, every day year round?

19 Esteban: No, we only go to the forest in certain seasons.

21 Arturo: In average, how often do you go to the forest, each week? Each six months?

23 Hugo: We haven't gone lately, there is no market, no buyers, no sales. But usually
24 we go each month.

26 Arturo: What do you do every day, each week, the rest of the year? When do you
27 get up?

29 Esteban: We have individual work. For example, I have breakfast, then I go with my
30 machete and my water and I come back when I am hungry. There is no typical day.
31 It is difficult to say what they do because it is different; they all have different types
32 of activities during the day, like sugar cane, etc.

34 Armando: We don't have a permanent job; there are times when we don't have
35 work, we don't have employment or anything to do. If there is work, it is not paid,
36 does not generate income.

38 Arturo: But what do you do when you don't have work?

40 Armando: In Olancho, people work on bean fields, they only have harvest twice a
41 year. The rest of the year they stay home and wait for the harvest.

43 Arturo: But that is in Olancho, how about Paletales?

45 Hugo: I work to eat. I grow everything myself. If I don't have, I buy it. I harvest
46 beans, corn, I have 20-30 pigs, so when I want to eat meat, I kill them. We make
47 butter. We are self-sufficient.

48 Armando: I understand that our friend Arturo wants us to think about a permanent
49 work. We need an idea on what we can do to have a permanent job.

1 One of the other guys: I would love to work every day and earn money, but
2 sometimes there is no work. If necessary, I could work three days.

3
4 Arturo: But what do you do when there is no work?

5
6 Hugo: When there is no work, I lay down to sleep.

7
8 Esteban: It is all government's fault. The poor get the least support. We are poor
9 because we don't get support from the government. The government helps the rich
10 big people. The soil in the village does not give us anything, it is not good for
11 planting. NGOs are much better at helping us because the help goes directly to the
12 beneficiaries. We are marginalized by the government, it does not help us. The poor
13 have to see themselves how they eat, live and sleep.

14
15 Hugo: We have to wait for the harvest.

16
17 Judith. But what do you normally do during the day? Is there a pattern? At what time
18 do you get up?

19
20 Esteban: When we don't have work, we get up later. But there are some people who
21 always get up at the same time. For example this man (pointing at Ignacio) – he
22 gets up at 4am every day, it does not matter if there is work or not. I get up a bit
23 later when there is no work. It depends on each one individually.

24
25 Judith. What about your wives? What do they do?

26
27 Esteban: Their work is: getting up, making breakfast and making coffee. When we
28 leave for work, they get up at 4am, and go back to bed again.

29
30 Another man: They prepare the food and then go back to sleep.

31
32 Judith: When you leave for work, what do the women do?

33
34 Esteban: They stay at home, cook, give food to the hens, clean the house, wash
35 clothes, sort beans and corn, make tortillas, clean the courtyard, make lunch and
36 dinner.

37
38 Judith. And when you don't go to work, what do you do during the day?

39
40 Esteban: We collect wood and hunt some animals for food.

41
42 Arturo: Do you let the women do that?

43
44 One of the other men: No, we don't let them find food. We are always respectful with
45 them. Yes, if they want to do it, it is ok. But we don't ask them to. It is always the
46 men who provide food.

47
48 Judith: Do you feel that you have a higher work burden than the women?

49
50 Esteban: When a man is responsible he works more than a woman. But we would
51 have to make an analysis. A man has a lot of responsibilities.

1
2 Arturo: But do you feel that you work more than the women?

3
4 Hugo: Oh yes. A man works much more than a woman. A woman is always at
5 home, sleeping all the time.

6
7 Other men: Yes, the women work a lot, but their work is softer. We have to go to the
8 fields and forests, and they don't have to do that. It is more soft their work.

9
10 Esteban: Their work is softer, but it is bigger. There is no break, no relaxation. They
11 never relax.

12
13 Hugo: Yes, like this it is. There is no relaxation.

14
15 Esteban: Yes, no break. The whole day.

16
17 Arturo: Have you ever experienced that the women's work is very heavy? Would
18 you be able to stay at home all day and do the women's work to feel that women's
19 work is very hard? It is very hard.

20
21 Hugo: Women work more than the men. Women have to work all the time. If the
22 women don't get up at 3am, we cannot go to the field/forest at 5am. They don't have
23 time off on Sundays or during Christmas or Easter. They work every day, all the
24 time.

25
26 Esteban: Yes, I have valued the work of women. When my wife gave birth to our
27 first 2 kids, the first 15 days I made her food and tortillas. It was too hard. I made
28 corn; I was washing dishes, giving food to the animals. After 4 kids, I did not want to
29 do it anymore, there was another person cooking for us. Women's work is very
30 serious. I gave her food when the midwife came, I cooked for her. I made bread to
31 serve with the coffee. Women's work is very grand.

32
33 Others: What a good man!

34
35 Judith: Do you think that the women could help you out in the field, in the forest?

36
37 Esteban: Yes, they can help. There are women who do that because they have the
38 choice to do that. Like us men, we can cook too, but it is not our task to do it
39 because we go out to the fields. My wife can clean sugar cane and I can cook but
40 we don't do it anymore, because we split up the work. One does not cook anymore,
41 because the wife is doing it in the house, and we are working in the field all day.

42
43 Arturo: How many of us can cook everything: corn, beans, rice, tortillas? And take
44 care of children, wash, and clean the house? Everything in the house? Which one of
45 you can do it?

46
47 Others: - Me.
48 - Me too.
49 - Me too.

1 One of the men: We can cook and wash clothes, but if we start to wash our own
2 clothes and cook, people would say that we are gay.

3
4 Armando: But yes, they can do it. What happens is that they haven't practiced it. We
5 are not used to letting women do this work. The women cannot do everything in the
6 forest, because they are not as strong as us, men.

7
8 Esteban: Why should we let the poor women do this work?

9
10 Armando: There is some work that the women can do but they just haven't practiced
11 it. Before, we haven't included women in forestry because we used handsaws and it
12 is too hard for them to use it. But now we use motor saws, which could make it
13 much easier for them and we definitely think that women could also do the work with
14 the motor saws. Here there are some women who are smart and are capable of
15 working.

16
17 Arturo: Yes, in Paletales and in Honduras the women are capable of everything.

18
19 Judith: Which activities do you think the women would be able to perform in the
20 forest?

21
22 Armando: There was a company that came and looked for women to employ for
23 peeling seeds in shells that fell down from the trees. I was responsible for finding
24 women for that project. This kind of work they could do in the forest.

25
26 Arturo: They could plant the trees.

27
28 Hugo: They could also make tree nurseries.

29
30 Judith: Then there are a lot of different things they could do?

31
32 Armando: Forestry does not provide enough space and income to give work to
33 women. With all the taxes they have to pay, and the expenses for things like motor
34 saws, mules, it is very expensive. The income from forestry is not enough to employ
35 so many people and give employment to the women.

36
37 Judith: Generally, do you like the idea of women working outside the house?

38
39 Hugo: To be honest, I don't like it. If a woman works outside the house, then who is
40 going to keep the order at home, who is going to take care of the children? The
41 woman is there to do that.

42
43 Esteban: Who is going to cook for us?

44
45 Hugo: Yes, that's the problem. The woman is there not to go out of the house but to
46 do the work in the house. If there are like 5 pigs, lots of animals, 6-7 children, what
47 will happen if she leaves the house?

48
49 Armando: Don Hugo, we are talking about women who do not have any work and
50 obligations at home, who do not have animals or children. We could give them work.

1 Women who don't have obligations can be integrated into work, and women who do
2 should stay at home.

3
4 Judith: So they can be incorporated in the work if it is not too far away from the
5 house?

6
7 Armando: Yes, it is all about finding the right type of work in which they can be
8 integrated to make the women become productive members. As you said yesterday,
9 when we talked about family, many women here do not use prevention. We have to
10 educate the women about contraception. They have many kids. That is a barrier to
11 their integration in the work outside the house. Me, myself, I was against family
12 planning, but I am not anymore. The bible forbids us to use family planning, that's
13 why I did not want to use it. But now I changed my mind because having many
14 children maintains poverty.

15
16 Arturo: Don Hugo, how many children do you have with your wife?

17
18 Hugo: With her? I only have one.

19
20 Arturo: One? That is very rare. How about you, Don Ignacio? 4-5?

21
22 Ignacio: I had 5, now I have only 4.

23
24 Armando: I have 16, 14 with my wife.

25
26 Hugo: And how many do you have with the other woman?

27
28 Armando: 2 with the other.

29
30 Judith: You said that you can cook and wash clothes, and that there is no work. So
31 can you imagine staying at home and helping your wife in the house, if she got a job
32 and earned money? Or is it difficult to imagine?

33
34[Silence].....

35
36 Hugo: If the women have a paid job, we wouldn't mind staying home and taking care
37 of the house. The men would have to stay home.

38
39 Armando: In some parts of the world, the men stay at home, and the women work
40 and earn money.

41
42 Other men: Yes, but there is not a lot of paid work for women around here and
43 women earn less than men.

44
45 Arturo: If a woman washes clothes all day, how much would you pay her for that?

46
47 Men: We are not going to pay her.

48
49 Arturo: I know a woman in Ojo de Agua who washes clothes. She leaves the home
50 at 7am and stays out until 6pm, and washes it in the well, and they pay her 70

1 Lempira per day. She washes 100 pieces of clothes every day. How much do you
2 earn per day?

3
4 The men: 70 Lempira.

5
6 Arturo: In Honduras, the salary of women is symbolic, their work is very badly paid,
7 no matter if it is in the village or the city. I wouldn't take a work where I gain 100
8 Lempira per day, because I can't sustain myself on that amount per day.

9
10 Judith: If you could, what would you change in your lives?

11
12 Armando: At the moment, we do not have the alternative to find women an area of
13 work. The idea, yes, we have. So it is a question of looking for help and training
14 ourselves because it is very important.

15
16 Arturo: The question was...

17
18 Judith: What do you dream about? If you could change your life to the better, what
19 would you like?

20
21 Esteban: Sometimes you have dreams but they are only illusions. I would like to
22 have money to give employment to the people, but I don't have the money so we
23 live in poverty. Like this it is always.

24
25 Armando: A change would be to create a micro enterprise to create employment for
26 all the people to escape poverty. The earth does not give much. Agriculture is not a
27 secure area that provides security; corn and rice are a little more secure than beans
28 are. Corn does not get so easily ruined by the rain. But still... We need to do a study
29 to see what we can do, such as a pig farm or chicken farm. But we have a problem:
30 what bothers us most is the market. If you have a production, but you don't have or
31 can't reach the market, what do you do? Prices are very low.. Forestry would be
32 good business but because of corruption the majority of wood is sold illegally, and if
33 you sell your wood legally with a receipt, people don't like it because they can buy it
34 cheaper.

35
36 **Personal comments:**

- 37 • Several members of the group were missing. Emilio was not there.
- 38 • All the men contributed something. They were talkative and friendly. Armando
- 39 dominated the conversation.
- 40 • Comments of Arturo about the meeting later on: "Don Hugo (Obdulio) was very
- 41 macho like. But then later he started defending himself." "They all said they wash
- 42 and cook but it is not true. That is why it is important to have a meeting with the
- 43 men and the women. They will say that it is a lie."
- 44 • Comment of Maria at some other occasion: "Here the men do not wash nor
- 45 cook."

Date: 2.07.10, after breakfast

Activity: Conversation with Arturo

Location: Alejandra's house

Participants: Arturo, Judith, partly Alejandra

Content:

What Arturo said:

- About the integration of the women into forestry activities: it does not make sense to integrate the women in the forestry activities if it does not give them any income. Then it is better to involve them in complementary activities that can generate an income until there are markets for the forestry products. Possible activities for the women within forestry: tree nurseries. The sustainable forestry management includes the rule that for each tree cut down, they have to plant five new ones. The women could grow the small trees and plant them and the forestry group could pay them for that. In addition the women could be involved in cleaning the trees.
- About the interview with the men from the forestry group: many of them did not say the truth. Go and ask them individually to cook a meal for you! Advice: have individual interviews with them or ask them specific questions and let them write the answers on a piece of paper and then discuss the answers in a group.
- About the trainings for the women: Because there are no markets for the forestry products and other things they produce in the village we are educating the women to grow their own food so they do not have to buy it. The woman is productive in that sense. Many have forgotten how to grow their own food.

Date: 2.7.10

Activity: Visit to Alejandra's daughter's house (Isaura)

Participants: Judith, Naza, Alejandra, her daughter, kids from the family

Location: Paletales, Isaura's house

Content:

We went to Isaura's house to get some sugar. Her house is much bigger than the other houses we have seen in the village. The kids started showing us pictures of their family, their dad, his siblings, and the many cousins.

We also watched some DVDs with Christian Reggaeton together with the kids. The family has an engine for electricity, television, DVD player, many DVDs, a camera, many photos: many things many other families do not have.

Conversations:

- Alejandra told us that Isaura lives alone with her 3 kids and her husband is in the States to work and help his family in Paletales. Isaura told us that her husband went to the US illegally several years ago with the help of a person smuggling people across the border. He had to pay him 100.000 Lempira. First they did not hear from him for a long time but he made it across the border and is working in a furniture factory now. He has many relatives there. She talks to him on the phone every day. She lives alone with the kids. Her husband sends money to them and supports not only her and the kids, but also Alejandra. Alejandra said that Emilio does not help them because he already has another family and 5 kids with the other woman. We talked about Isaura's husband, what he does in the US, etc. We asked her if she thinks that he will ever return and she said she has no idea. She asked us if we think he will come back. She said she knows many cases where the husbands never return. Alejandra told us that in their family, everybody helps everybody and they share everything.
- With Maria: We told Maria that Esperanza has told us that she has been with her husband for 13 years, but she has only had 2 kids. We asked Maria, how it is possible, since we thought women do not use contraception here. She told us that it is possible because some women do use contraception such as injections or pills. Sometimes the women get contraceptives from the health center, but they are also expensive. The religion prohibits them to use contraceptives, but some women do it anyway. We asked her, why a woman would have many kids by her own choice – they are such a hard work and great expense. She said that even though it is true, children are the most beautiful thing in life and they are of great help too.

Personal comments:

Family members support each other a lot here. They share happiness, sorrow, good times and difficult times. If someone has money, and someone else is in need, they typically help out and support each other.

Date: 2.07.10; 3.07.10 and 4.07.10

Activity: Various short conversations

Location: various

Participants: various

Content:

- Comment of Maria about having kids: "It is very beautiful to have kids but four are enough! They help me in the household. Who else helps you?"
- With Armando in the morning in our house: the bible says that when a girl marries, the parents hand her over to the husband and do not have the responsibility for her anymore. The couple then has to decide where to go. Personal comment: it seems like they go to the man's village in most of the cases (Hilda, son of Alejandra)
- With Irma while she was washing clothes outside: Judith: "It is hard work, isn't it?" Irma: "Yes, it is. We women work hard." Judith: "When do girls start washing their clothes?" Irma: "Very early." Judith: "And the boys?" Irma: "They just run

1 around outside, playing.” Judith: “The do not help their fathers?” Irma: “Yes, but
2 later.”

3 Irma: “My father he cooks and he can make his tortillas. My parents they share
4 their work.” She said she misses her family.

- 5 • With Irma later on walking in the village to the reunion with the young people in
6 the school: Irma: “In my community I have boots. I used to go out to the fields
7 and work with my dad. I liked it.” Judith: “And here you do not?” Irma: “No, my
8 boy friend does not like it.” Judith: “When are you going to have kids?” Irma:
9 “Whenever god sends us one!”
- 10 • Conversation with Maria in Naza’s room: Judith: “All the women seem to wear
11 skirts here.” Maria: “Yes, I like it more. The religion does not allow us to wear
12 pants, neither make-up or jewelry.”
- 13 • Conversation with the son of Armando one evening in Alejandra’s house: “I used
14 to play Salsa and Enrique Iglesias and dance. I liked it a lot. But then I converted
15 to Protestantism and now I cannot do that anymore. I only play Christian music.”
- 16 • With Esteban on the way to our small concert at Alejandra’s house: Judith and
17 Naza: “The women of your family are not coming to the concert?” Esteban: “No,
18 they do not like it!” later on we saw that Miguel(his youngest son) and the
19 husband of one of his daughters were there but none of the women. Personal
20 comment: Is that due to religion? It is difficult to believe that the women do not
21 like music. They were singing out loud during the religious ceremony.

22 23 **Moments of surprise:**

- 24 • Alejandra speaks up against machismo. Why is her son machista?
- 25 • Why does Maria accept that Emilio has another woman?
- 26 • All the men say that they do not drink any alcohol. Is alcoholism not a problem
27 here?

28
29
30
31 **Date:** 3.07.10

32
33 **Activity:** Walk with Irena and the kids to the outskirts of the village and the
34 cow paddock

35 **Location:** Paletales

36 **Participants:** Naza, Judith, Irena, Adelaida and several kids from different families

37 38 **Content:**

39 Today we wanted to go for a walk in the community and get to know other people
40 than the two women’s groups. But Alejandra said we should not walk by ourselves
41 and asked the kids to follow us. We walked around, visited the house where there
42 lived a 21-year-old girls with her husband and their two kids. She was pregnant with
43 a third. After hanging out there for a while, the girl showed us their garden where her
44 husband grows sugar cane and some vegetables, we continued walking. We then
45 continued to the cow paddock and the returned.

46 The kids were joking that one of the girls, Adelaida, who is 13 years old, has a
47 boyfriend. I asked her if they will have children soon (as a joke), and everybody
48 started laughing, including Adelaida. She did not answer my question. The kids
49 were running around being really happy and on the way back we were chasing each
50 other with the needles from the pine trees.

Conversations:

- With Miguel: "I like going to primary school but I do not want to keep on studying after that. I rather want to go out and work in the forest like my dad." Personal comment: reference to the comment of Diego that men often send their women to school and themselves drop out early.
- With Irena: She is 15 years old. She wants to study on in Olanchito to finish her A levels and then get an education to be able to open a beauty salon. She does not a boy friend right now because she still wants to study to become a cosmetologist and dreams about opening her own beauty salon.

Personal comments:

- Both the women and the men say things that they think we want to hear, while at the same time meaning something different. E.g. Maria says she does what she wants and does not want to depend much on a man. However, she puts up with her husband having another woman.
- It women's group is trying to pull us onto their side, and keep us close to them. They do not want us to walk around on our own; they say we are their responsibilities. We need to talk to other families and households in Paletales

Date: 3.07.10, 15.00

Activity: PRA with the young people (dream map)

Location: Paletales, the school

Participants: Young people between 12-18 years.

Content:

We asked the young people to draw a picture of how their dream future looks like. We emphasized that they should draw anything they want, even if it is unrealistic, it should reflect their dreams - like their future homes, location, with whom they live, themselves and what they do, animals, etc. During the session, the young people seemed quite reluctant to draw; they said they were not good at drawing. But once they started, they actually got into the process, although many people did not quite understand what we wanted them to draw, they did not understand our question. Many girls drew flowers and gardens. They put a lot of effort in it and looked very dedicated wanting to make them look very nice with color pens. What the girls said about their drawings: they would like to have a garden with nice flowers and fruits. Some said they would like to sell them; others wanted to produce only for family consumption. Many said they would just like to stay at home. When we asked the girls how many kids they would like to have, they replied "As many as God will give us". The girls were very shy about talking about boyfriends, husbands and kids, probably because there were boys present in the room. One girl said that she would like to have an education (a girl from the women's group) to earn money. But it did not show in her drawing. Irena, the girl who told us yesterday that she dreams about becoming a cosmetologist, today also drew flowers and said that she would like to have a garden and stay home.

As to the guys, they painted: a naked woman and man and a donkey, a man in a pick-up car, a Honduran flag, trees, two women feeding the chicken and cows one of them drew a car, and explained that he would like to drive people from Paletales to Olanchito and earn money this way. Another boy drew farm animals, and said he would like to have 2 wives to take care of them. Many of the boys expressed that they would like to have two or more women.

What the guys said about their drawings: one would like to have a pick-up truck to drive people to different communities like a taxi and earn money with that. Another said he would like to have two women: one to take care of the chicken and one to take care of the cows. One calm guy said that he would like to work in the forest like his dad.

Personal comments:

- Did the participants really not understand what we wanted them to do? Or do they not have dreams or future visions?
- The brother of Esperanza constantly joked about wanting to go to Denmark and finding another woman there, even in front of his pregnant wife.
- Irena who had talked about having an education before only talked about having a vegetable garden this time.
- Many girls talked in a very low voice and were hesitant to present their drawings front of the group.

Date: 3.7.10 and 4.7.10

Activity: Conversations with Alejandra

Participants: Judith, Naza, Alejandra

Location: on the way to the village

Content: Talking about her husband who got killed. She really loved her husband. They always shared all the work. But he was killed by some people from the village due to different opinions about the forestry cooperative. He wanted to build up something that would benefit the whole village community but others wanted more individual benefit. Alejandra was very sad when he got killed and left the village for a while. She then had one daughter with another man and one son with a third one, which she threw out of her house seven years ago. Since then she lives only with her son and his girlfriend and says that she enjoys life without a man.

Location: breakfast table at Alejandra's house

Content: Judith: "We realized that it is only the men coming to visit you in your house apart from your daughters. And Don Esteban's family does not come over, only him by himself." Alejandra: "Yes, I do not know why they do not come. They do not like me a lot. But the men come with respect. We exchange favors (washing, fire wood, etc.). It has always been like that that there are mainly men in my house."

Location: breakfast table at Alejandra's house

Content: Judith: "You said as a Christian you are not allowed to sing and dance but yesterday when we were playing the guitar in the dining room you were dancing."

Alejandra: "We are not allowed to dance, go out to parties or sing songs like Mariachi music. But yesterday was just for relaxation."

Personal comment: her daughters except for Maria wear jeans and make-up.

Date: Various

Activity: Observed patterns

Participants: Various

Location: Various

Content:

- Early in the morning and after darkness there are always a lot of people coming to Alejandra's house. In the morning it is mainly older men. They just come, sit down and talk a lot. In the evening it is rather young people and Alejandra's daughters with their kids. The women from Esteban's women's group never come.
- In the mornings there are barely any men in the village and around the houses. Many women hang out around the houses, not doing much.
- All the girls, even the really young ones and the ones that do not have a boyfriend and kids yet, are eager to carry around the babies and have them sitting on their laps. Example: Irena.

- Every time we come to the house of Alejandra her son is lying in the hammock or playing marbles outside with other guys while his girlfriend is working around the house (washing, helping in the kitchen, etc.)
- It is only men who wear rubber boots here. The women do not wear rubber boots even when walking in the mud while even the small boys do. The women always wear flip-flops, even when they go into the fields. When we ask them why they do not have any rubber boots, they reply that they do not have the money to buy them. But the men somehow can afford buying rubber boots.

Date: 4.7.10, 8.00 – 10.00

Activity: Religious celebration at Esteban's house

Participants: Judith, Naza, Esteban, his wife Daniela, all his sons and daughters with their partners and kids

Location: Paletales, Esteban's house

Content:

Today we participated in a religious ceremony at D.Esteban's house. The whole family belongs to a Catholic church. We sang Christian songs and D.Esteban read out some passages of the Bible. Esteban was guiding the service with a candle and the guitar in the front sitting at a table. The service was a mixture of singing songs with everybody, him talking about things from the bible and praying. Everyone had a songbook and a small bible. He integrated a small part about gender relations, saying that women and men are equal in front of God, that god said that we are all free and therefore men should let the women go where they want to go and not suspect that they will just go and find another man whenever they go out alone. He also said that a woman should respect her husband and obey her husband, and not talk badly to him, and that the bible said that it should not be the woman who rules in a household. At the end of the service everybody was going around singing and shaking hands.

After the ceremony we went to Hilda's house to talk to Hilda and Esperanza .

Personal comments:

- What Esteban said about gender is rather controversial.
- The wives of the two sons of Esteban did not say a lot and looked down all the time.
- According to the Evangelic church, women are not allowed to dance, paint their fingernails, wear make-up and jewelry. People never drink, dance or listen to music other than Christian music. Partying is forbidden as well.

Date: 4.7.10, 10.00 – 12.00

Activity: Informal conversation with Esperanza and Hilda in Hilda's house in the kitchen

Participants: Judith, Naza, Hilda, Esperanza, later on the two husbands (Marcos and Ramón) and their brother Ignacio joined

Location: Hilda's house

Content of the conversation:

Esperanza left school early, after primary school (6 years) because she did not like studying, and was happy when it was over. She wanted kids and had her first child at the age of 16. Esperanza said that her sister Hilda, on the other hand, really enjoyed studying and was quite intelligent. She finished the school in the village and would have liked to continue studying in college and get a degree to be able to earn more money but there was not enough money for that. Her younger brother is studying in Olanchito though.

Judith and Naza: "Did you want kids?" Hilda: "Yes, I really wanted kids. Having kids is beautiful and they help you. But I would not want to have more children because it is so expensive. But it is important to have kids because they will support you later on. That is why a family should have several children in case one dies. Having many kids is also a lot of work. Esperanza's son said: "if you only have one kid and he dies, what are you going to do? If you have 10 kids and one of them dies, you will still have 9 left".

Hilda's and Esperanza's comment about Alejandra's son staying with her: the youngest son usually stays in the house and inherits. The older ones leave and make their own life. When a girl gets married, she leaves her home and stays with her husband's family, or the family builds a house for them.

Judith and Naza: "Do you also go out to the woods and the fields?" Yes, in the seasons when it is time to plant and harvest corn and beans. We join the men in the morning, then we come back and do all the housework. If we produce enough we sell part of the harvest. We will plant beans around 20th of July. Naturally, when we work in the garden, we also have to work at home".

While we were talking to the women, Ramón, Hilda's husband, came in together with her brother Ignacio. They were listening to Reggaeton on the radio outside in front of the house and her brother asked if we wanted to go to the disco in Olanchito to dance with them. They said that they are not allowed to dance because of their religion. But Ignacio started dancing, so we asked if the boys are allowed and they said that boys can dance but the women cannot. – "He can dance because he is a man". Hilda said that her brother does not care about religion but in general for men it is not so bad if they dance.

Her brother was joking again about finding another woman. We said that if men are allowed to have several wives, the women should also be allowed. The brother said "yes, they can do it, if they want to", but Hilda shook her head and said, "No, he does not mean that. It is not true. A man can have several women but a woman cannot do that".

Hilda works for the kinder garden in the village but they do not pay her as promised so she will stop doing that.

Moments of surprise:

Women are not allowed to dance but men are?

Date: 4.7.10, 14.00 – 15.30

Activity: Walk with Maria and her sisters to collect firewood

Participants: Judith, Naza, Maria, Isaura, Clara, and their children

Location: Around Paletales

Content:

We went around the community to gather firewood with the women and their kids. The women brought machetes to cut it. Maria showed us on the way to cut big pieces of firewood in small ones, make a bundle and then she carried on her head on top of a wrapped towel. On the way she showed us some nice views.

Maria said that although it is normally men's job to gather firewood, women often do it instead, when the men do not have time or do not feel like doing it. Women stay home in the kitchen.

After gathering firewood, we went to Isaura's house to watch television with the kids.

Conversations:

- Maria: Even the young girls know already how to use the machete. The men sometimes help us cutting firewood. We also go out to the fields with them in certain seasons. We leave house at 5am and come back at 1pm. When we come back home, the men go to sleep and we do all the housework and go to bed very late.
- We passed by a soccer field, and Maria said this is where men practice soccer sometimes. We asked her whether women also play soccer here. She laughed and said that it is only men who do that; you would never see a woman here playing soccer. It is a men's activity.
- At the house of Isaura we watched and listened to Christian music. I asked Maria if everybody in their family are Evangelic Christians, and she said that almost everybody are. However, she does not belong to a church. She used to be Evangelic, but she is not anymore. I asked her why and she said that you have to a good person and a woman to be a part of that church.

Personal comments:

- While gathering firewood, we noticed how strong the women are physically. They were so used to using machetes, cutting the branches, and carrying big and heavy loads of firewood on their heads. We were not able to do the same.
- All of the small girls are so eager to hold the small children. They always run up to the mom of the baby and want to take the baby from her.
- The young men are really flirty here. Several of them have already asked us if we want to have a boyfriend and bring him to Denmark. Even guys with wives and kids keep flirting with us in front of their girlfriends and wives.

Date: 5.7.10, 10.00 – 12.00

Activity: Visiting Isabella's house and neighbors in the lower part of the village

Participants: Judith, Naza, Isabella and her daughter, Isabella's mother and her daughter, Isabella's husband, an Evangelic pastor (José), some men, neighbors

Location: Isabella's house and lower part of Paletales

1 **Content:**

2 This time when we came to Isabella's house there were quite a few men hanging
3 out there. One of them was her husband, another an evangelic pastor. We sat down
4 in front of the house and Isabella offered us a coffee. The men at the house were
5 looking at half naked women in newspapers joking about that they were German
6 women.

7 We then went to see some of the neighbors and met a lady called Diana. She
8 showed us the new house her and her new husband are constructing. Her husband
9 is building it all by himself but she puts the clay on the walls to finish them.

10 On the way back we met a girl called Adelia, who asked us to come and visit her
11 family's house. She lives only with her mum and her siblings because her dad got
12 killed.

13
14 **Conversations:**

- 15 • With the pastor: he told us that there are 3 churches in Paletales: Catholic,
16 Evangelic and Adventist church. He is a pastor of the Evangelic church. He told
17 us that it is not allowed to drink, dance and party in Evangelic church, and in
18 Paletales. We asked why, and he said it is not a healthy way of spending your
19 time. The young people here play sports for fun and it is much healthier than
20 alcohol and parties. The pastor said that sometimes the men take the women
21 along to the fields but some of them do not go because they do not like it.
- 22 • With the men: they told us that the bean and corn harvesting season starts now.
- 23 • With Isabella: she said that she also goes out to the fields, her mum not. Isabella
24 said that they do not have a vegetable garden but a banana tree plot.
- 25 • With Diana: She told us that her first husband had gone to the US illegally but
26 never sent any money to her and the three kids. He only sent money to his
27 parents. He then married another woman in the US so Diana married another
28 man in Paletales.

29
30 **Personal comments:**

- 31 • This part of the village looked quite a bit poorer than Alejandra's house or the
32 place of Esteban.
- 33 • There was one 16-year-old girl with her baby son. She was quite chubby and her
34 clothes were dirty and had holes but she was smiling to her baby all the time.
- 35 • When we asked Isabella and the others if they ever dance, the pastor got quite
36 annoyed by our question. He replied: "No, we do not dance, drink or party here.
37 It is prohibited by our religion".

Date: 5.7.10, 17.00 – 18.30

Activity: Another visit to the lower part of the village

Participants: Judith, Naza, kids and adults from that part of the village, Pedro (Armando's son)

Location: Adelaida's house

Content:

Judith played a few songs on the guitar and then the father of the family played some religious songs and all the kids sang and clapped along loudly looking very happy. He then tried to teach us about the bible and read out some paragraphs from the bible to make it clear to us that people who do not believe will be thrown in the fire lake.

Conversations:

- Adelaida's father: "Here many times the women do men's work as well. They are going out to the fields with us. I also cook. I make good wheat tortillas, but not so good corn tortillas. When my wife is sick I prepare food for her. I also wash." (His wife confirmed that information when we asked her standing next to her husband.)
- Pedro (the youngest son of Armando): "If I have a wife and I give her my clothes to wash and she has not done it when I come home, then I smack her. I do not know how to cook or iron. I do not wash. I do not want to learn how to do that, because I do not want to be embarrassed if a girl sees me washing or cooking. Here people find each other because of love but also because a man needs a woman to do the housework."

Date: 5.7.10, 14.00 – 16.00

Activity: PRA with the women from the women's groups

Participants: Judith, Naza, members of don Esteban's women's group, Alejandra, Maria

Location: Paletales, the school

Content:

Today we had a PRA session with the women, where we asked them to draw a daily activities schedule and discuss their workloads among themselves.

The women generally expressed that they have a lot of work and not much free time. They have only a couple of hours to rest, and there is usually always something to do. They asked me how it is in Denmark and I explained that in Denmark women only cook dinner and their husbands help them. For breakfast they normally eat corn flakes and lunch they usually eat at work, or they grab something quick such as a sandwich. The women said it sounds really nice and they wished it was like that here in Paletales. They always have to cook something different for each meal, which takes a lot of time. They have to wash clothes by hand, and it can take a whole day to wash all the clothes.

The women get up at 4am, brush their hair, and light the fire. At 6am they make and have breakfast and send their kids and husbands off to school or field. Then they start sweeping and cleaning the house, washing the dishes, washing clothes and feeding animals. At 11am they start making lunch, and at 12 they have lunch with the children and the husband, who are home from school and work. After the lunch they would typically clean up the kitchen again, and tidy up the rooms. They might have time to relax in the afternoon, between 2pm and 3pm. Around 3 – 4pm they have to start preparing dinner, as they have dinner already at 4-5. After the dinner they spend time with the kids, and go to bed at 7-8pm.

While Naza did the daily activity schedule on one side of the room, Judith sat down with six women and asked them to individually draw their life as a woman as they wish it to be, as it is in their dreams. Results of the pictures:

- Alejandra: she would like to have a seat in the village administration. Then she would make sure that the women and their projects are well supported. She wishes that the housing situation in the village could be improved for the whole community: the houses, the streets, the plants, etc. and that there would be appropriate places to close in the animals so that they do not run around everywhere in the community. What she wrote on her picture: "This is my dream in the future: to build an improvement of the housing situation."
- Maria: what she wrote on her picture: "I would like to provide my kids with an education and give them all the best in their lives. I would like it that they gave us a higher value as women. I would like to have a pig farm, which could generate an income for me. I would like to have a nice house. I would like that there was

1 work for the women. I would like to have a car. I would like to have a chicken
2 farm. I would like to be a sewer. I very much like flowers.

- 3 • Maribel (daughter of Armando): she would like to have a nice house with a
4 vegetable and a flower garden and pineapple plants in Olanchito. She would like
5 to have a car so that she can sell goods she produces like cheese.
- 6 • Hilaria: She would like to have a proper house with a vegetable garden next to
7 the mountains and live there with her family and a husband. (She is a single
8 mum with 9 kids. She left her husband. The kids are from three different men.
9 She is doing hard physical work in the field to feed the family. Some of the kids
10 have already older and have left the house. She does not have a proper house,
11 only one built out of palm leaves and sugar cane. She is missing several teeth.
- 12 • Hilda: what she wrote on her picture: "I am Hilda. My wish is to work so that my
13 children can have a better life, that I can build them a house so that they can
14 have a nice life and that I can give them an education. I would like to work for the
15 good of everybody." She would like to have a car and a nicely made house.
- 16 • Débora: "I would like to have a nice house. A good work. Give an education to
17 my kid so he can be a teacher. And live a better life in the future, have my house
18 nice, in order and clean. Take care of my kids, educate them and teach them all
19 the good things in life."

20 21 **Personal comments:**

- 22 • Strange reaction of Hilda when Alejandra and Maria came in. She got a bit
23 angry: "we thought that this is only for the women's group!" But the two women
24 did not mind and just sat down and participated.
- 25 • Alejandra got very angry because there were so many kids everywhere
26 distracting the session. She said the women should have the opportunity to
27 arrange that someone else take care of the kids while the women are having the
28 session. She always referred to our PRA and interviews as capacitación
29 (training). Maybe this was a misinterpretation of the purpose of our visit? Calling
30 it training also gives it the image that the women will get a benefit out of it and
31 people seemed to be very eager to get something out of our visit also in a
32 material way (constantly asking us to leave them our boots when we leave and
33 so on.)
- 34 • The two guys from the women's group (Ernesto and Ramón) wanted to
35 participate in the PRA. When asked why there are two guys in the session the
36 women said because they are part of the group and they should also participate.
37 When Judith asked them if they would like to draw their life as a woman, they
38 laughed and said no and left the room.
- 39 • Even though the women say that they do not have much time to relax, we have
40 often seen them sitting around in the house, with their children, and looking
41 really bored. They might have a lot of work, but they do not work all the time, as
42 they describe it themselves.

Date: 6.7.10, 9.00 – 11.30

Activity: Walk to the women's group's banana tree plot in the mountains

Participants: Judith, Naza, Esperanza, Irena, Débora, their kids, Maribel, later on Esteban

Location: Paletales to the banana tree plot and back

Content:

Maribel, the daughter of Armando, picked us up. We then walked with her to Esteban's house, and then from there together with the other women up the mountain to the banana tree plot. It was about half an hour walk from the village. All of the women wore flip-flops and all of them except Esperanza wore skirts. On the plantation we met Esteban working there. On one side the women have a small banana tree plot, on the other side next to it Esteban has a big one. The women said they come every 7 to 15 days to work on their plot. The trees were still small. They said they would harvest for the first time in one year. Then they want to sell the harvest. Esteban showed us his sugar cane field, his mill to grind the sugar cane and said that further on he has another farm with a different type of bananas. He comes every day to work here and sometimes all the family members come and they divide the harvest among them. The Panela they produce from the sugar cane they sell in the village. On the way back to the village the women carried a big bulk of bananas on their heads. They said they are used to carrying heavy stuff on their heads.

Conversations:

Maribel: "The women of the group are often not very nice to me." Us: "Why?"
Maribel: "Because they are bad. We are only two people from outside the family in the group: me and my sister." We asked her why there is a boy in Esteban's women's group, and she replied that there are actually two boys in it. She told us that she has a kid with a guy who has many women, that is why she left him. Now she is single and lives with her two and a half year old son and her parents. She helps her dad with the cattle. They have about 50 cows. She milks them and takes them to the cow paddock. They have cows for milk and others for meat. It is good business. Her dad also has a banana tree plot. She will not leave the village to study like her two brothers. She will stay here and work with her parents. She has two sisters who live

1 in other villages with their husbands. They have cars and their husbands have
2 businesses and sell clothes. In Paletales there are three cars altogether.

3
4 **Personal comments:**

- 5 • The way to the banana tree plot was very steep and hot. The women walked
6 very slowly.
 - 7 • The family of Armando seems to be quite well off. Maybe that is due to the cattle.
 - 8 • Esteban has a lot of land. The family must be quite well off, too, although they
9 always talk about being so poor and the houses of Esperanza and Hilda are
10 quite small and simple.
 - 11 • Daniela trades goods like coke, toilet paper, etc. in her house.
 - 12 • The banana tree plot of the women is right next to Esteban's one. To what extent
13 does he control it?
 - 14 • Why are there boys in the women's group?
- 15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22

23 **Moments of surprise:**

24 The amount of land Esteban has!

25

26 **Date:** 6.7.10

27 **General impressions of Esteban's women's group**

28

29 **Personal comments:**

- 30 • There are two guys in the group, the two sons of the family. The women do not
31 think that this is weird. When we asked Maribel why there are guys in the group,
32 she just said: "Because they put them in."
 - 33 • When we said we would only like the women to participate in the PRA, the
34 women said: "but the two guys are part of the group." The women did not
35 understand that the exercise was about getting to know the women's view of life
36 and how they view themselves as women.
 - 37 • Esteban is very dominant in the group. He sees himself as the coordinator. He is
38 present at all the meetings and leads them in certain directions, as he thinks it
39 should be. This was also the case in the formal interview we had with the group.
40 In the group interview he did not really answer Arturo's question why the group
41 needs a coordinator if they also have a president. He said he couldn't make any
42 decisions, that is the president's role. During the interview he talked more than
43 any of the women.
 - 44 • On one of our first days in the village Esteban showed us a stamp he made for
45 his women's group. He said: "I am not sure the other group is legalized as a real
46 women's group."
 - 47 • Esteban: "the women who are not in the organization are not really eager to
48 participate in meetings."
- 49
50

Date: 6.7.10, 7.00

Activity: Conversation with Alejandra about abortion and birth control

Participants: Judith, Naza, Alejandra

Location: Alejandra's house

Content of the conversation:

Abortion is illegal. She is religious but she thinks that it is good to practice birth control. In her generation people have not practiced birth control a lot due to religion or because they did not like it. But the current young generation in Paletales is practicing birth control, which is why they only have two to three children.

Personal comment:

We have heard from several young people though that they do not practice any birth control.

Date: 6.7.10, 15.00 – 17.00

Activity: Meeting with the men and women of the community

Participants: Naza, Judith, D. Armando, Ignacio, Maribel, Esperanza, Débora, + some other men from the forestry group

Location: Paletales, the school

Content:

We opened the meeting by summarizing in front of the people what we had heard from the men and the women in the meetings we had with them.

- Women: they are willing and ready and have a high motivation to work. They would like to have a work and participate in some kind of activity that gives them the opportunity to earn an income, as well if it is an activity outside the house.
- Men: Until now there is no income from the forestry activities so it does not really make sense to integrate the women in these activities in the forest. But in general the men think that the women have the capacity to carry out many of the activities in the forest that the men carry out. There are seasons though when even the men do not have work. If it is possible to find an activity for the women that generates an income the men would be willing to help with the tasks in the household. In general the men are willing to accept that the women have a work that generates an income.

Questions we asked them:

Do you have any ideas how to realize this?

Do you have any ideas for activities the women could carry out?

1 Which of the women would be interested in having a work that generates an
2 income?

3
4 What participants said:

5
6 Armando: there are not enough sources of income in the community. We have to
7 look for something new to earn an income; we have to look for changes; it is a thing
8 of raising the awareness of people. A big problem is the bad alimentation. A woman
9 is a principal contributor of food into a household.

10
11 Esteban: We have not analyzed the situation well enough. We have to analyze
12 thoroughly the opportunities to earn an income. We have to include women in
13 productive activities. We are very egoistic (generally people of Paletales), we only
14 think about our own wellbeing. At first, we were cooperating as a united group, but
15 now we are divided.

16
17 Another man: I think in this village community we will not advance anymore.

18
19 Armando: The community is not very well organized. Some ideas for a project for
20 the women could be to make a henhouse, or may be a dwell. There is no consensus
21 – we need to reach an agreement, work together.

22
23 Esteban: We need to learn to manage things in our community. We have to plan, to
24 make a plan of investment. The population of Paletales is increasing; we do not
25 have space for everyone. We have to learn how to plan family – it is better to use
26 contraception than to die of hunger. We also need education to manage water. Lack
27 of education is a big problem. Also, the land in Paletales is badly cultivated; there is
28 mismanagement of water, land, and animals. The animals should be controlled and
29 closed in so that there are not so many excrements lying around everywhere in the
30 village.

31
32 Armando: We (men) are machista; we need to stop being machistas. We would like
33 to establish a micro-enterprise and buy a motor furniture workshop to give
34 employment to people. In this micro-enterprise we could integrate women as well.

35
36 Esteban: To change this community, everybody needs to change their mindsets. It
37 is not enough if only a few people change. We need have solidarity among people,
38 not rivalry. It is important to create a mentality of change in the village. It is therefore
39 important to educate the people and form ideas of how to change the situation.
40 There will be no changes if we do not all change.

41
42 Armando: In San Pedro, the women are also working with woods in the forest.
43 Employment of the women is very important.

44
45 Armando: idea of forming a micro enterprise: to add value to the wood by making
46 furniture in the micro enterprise. The women can be integrated in the process of
47 making furniture. Integration of the women by making a tree nursery.

48
49 Esteban: The micro-enterprise should not only involve forestry, but other activities
50 too. And the women can be a part of that. There are many hard-working women but

1 there is no employment for them. It is important to change the mentality of the
2 people but there are always women who oppose themselves to that.

3
4 Esperanza asked Armando: in what could we work concretely?

5
6 Esteban: a micro enterprise is not only about the wood. In general the people
7 receive more support when they are organized.

8 Armando: We have to find solutions so that not more people migrate to the cities.
9 Many people do not have the motivation to come to meetings.

10
11 Esteban: creating a micro enterprise would not only benefit the women from the
12 group but all the women from the village.

13
14 Armando: when there is a football match everybody is joining in. But when we are
15 looking for ways to improve the situation of the village then nobody is turning up.
16 We should use what we have and do what is possible and not strive for the
17 impossible.

18
19 Esperanza to Armando: when will you give us the promised work to put the seeds in
20 bags? Nobody really replied.

21
22 Armando: There are some women who are lazy and do not wish to work, who just
23 expect luxury (like clothes) but there are also many women who are hard working. In
24 general the integration of women is important.

25
26 **Personal comments:**

- 27 • Armando and Esteban were dominating the discussion, but some of the men
28 also participated. From the women only Esperanza said something. The
29 other women were not participating in the discussion at all. In general the
30 women at the meeting were very passive and did not say anything and did
31 not look very motivated while most of the men looked interested and followed
32 the conversation.
 - 33 • They agreed on the fact that everybody has to participate otherwise change
34 is not possible and that people have to be open and willing to change. They
35 have to look for new income generating activities because the soils do not
36 produce as they used to anymore.
 - 37 • Armando: When we asked him about the fact that women do not have boots
38 he said that the women do not go out to the fields with them a lot.
 - 39 • The men said the reason why only a few women showed up is that women
40 do not like going to meetings. None of the men from the forestry group bring
41 their wives.
 - 42 • Alejandra did not show up wither, nor did any of her daughters. She said she
43 did not go because last time at the PRA session, the women from the group 1
44 told her it was only for the women from Esteban's group. She did not want to
45 tell us why she is not going to come to the meeting, but then she told
46 Armando the next morning. Then Armando said that the community needs to
47 work as a united front and not only as family businesses. He said that as it is
48 now, it everyone is only thinking about their own benefit and not the common
49 good.
- 50

Date: 7.7.10, 10.00 – 11.30

Activity: PRA with school children at the local school

Participants: Judith, Naza, teacher (Delia), primary school students from 1st to 3rd grade

Location: Paletaes, the school

Content:

Today we went to the school to have a drawing session with the kids. We divided the kids into 2 groups, one group we asked to draw pictures of what they want to do when they grow up, and the other group was asked to draw their homes and what their parents usually do.

Naza's group drew their future lives and professions. Most of the boys drew a house, banana trees, farm animals, and a car. When Naza asked them what they want to do with the car, they said that they would like to cultivate bananas or other fruits and bring them to Olanchito to sell them. None of the boys expressed a wish to move out of Paletaes and do something else than being a peasant.

The girls drew similar things, except for the car. They drew houses, gardens with flowers, vegetables, farm animals, etc. When Naza asked them what they want to work with, many of them replied that they would like to grow flowers, vegetables and bananas. None of the girls drew anything that had to do with education or working outside the home.

We also asked the children to draw what their mum and their dad were doing in the household, their tasks.

Results:

Activities of the mothers:

- Brushing the floor in the house.
- Brushing their hair in the house.
- Cleaning pots.
- Looking out of the window.
- One picture: coming back from Olanchito.
- One picture: both parents are sitting at a table writing.

Activities of the fathers:

- Cutting grass.
- Milking the cows.
- Harvesting beans.
- Playing football.
- Working in the forest.
- Some pictures included a car.

Personal comments:

The kids were motivated and put a lot of effort in their drawings

Date: 7.7.10, 15.00 – 17.00

Activity: Visiting Adelia 's house

Participants: Judith, Naza, Adelia 's mother (Dulce) and kids from the lower part of the village

Location: lower part of Paletales

Content:

After spending some time at Isabella's house and having coffee there we went to Adelia's house with some of the kids. She had asked us several times when we would come to visit her. The house was in the middle of a banana tree plot. Behind the house there was a vegetable garden. In front of the house there was a swing in one of the banana trees where children went to play and we took photos of them. They liked a lot and it made them laugh. They said they would miss us and cry when we leave Paletales. In the house there are five people living there: the mum with four kids (one boy and three girls).

Conversations:

- With Dulce: Adelia 's dad was killed in the forest when she was ten years old (two years ago) but she had left him many years earlier because he had 12 different women at a time from different communities and also four children with another lady in the village and she did not want to live like that. The other children have another dad who works on a banana plantation in the valley but he comes home during the weekend.
- She used to be part of Esteban' women's group. That is why she has the vegetable garden, which she wants to continue but she left the group two weeks ago because she did not like it anymore. She does not want to go to any church service because she does not like it. She has not harvested anything yet because the harvest got ruined due to heavy rains.

Personal comments:

The house looked very simple and a little dirty. Some of the kids had clothes with holes and were dressed less neatly than in other parts of the village.

Moments of surprise:

The first person in the village we talked to who does not go to church (apart from Maria).

Date: 8.7.10

Activity: Observed situations

Participants: various

Location: various

1 **Content:**

- 2 • At Alejandra's house: while Irma and some of the younger girls were sitting on
3 the pick-up truck peeling beans, the boys (including Ronny) were playing
4 marvels in front of the house.
5 • At Isabella's house: while Isabella and her mum were doing a big load of
6 washing, the men were lying in the hammocks listening to the radio.
7
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10

11 **Date:** 8.7.10, 8.00 – 12.00

12 **Activity:** Visiting Don Ignacio and his wife on their finca

13 **Participants:** Judith, Naza, Ignacio and his wife Mariana

14 **Location:** Ignacio's finca
15

16 **Content:**

17 Ignacio picked us up and we walked to his farm, which was lying a bit outside of the
18 village down a steep valley. On the farm we met his wife. She climbed on a mango
19 tree and shook it so that we were able to collect the mangos that fell down. We then
20 walked down to his sugar cane field and grinded sugar cane.
21

22 **Conversations:**

23 With Ignacio:

24 He is 65 years old and one of the founders of the forestry group along with
25 Armando, the dead husband of Alejandra and the father of Emilio. He thinks that it is
26 very important to be organized but it is often difficult to make it work so that people
27 do not only work for their own good but the community. In the beginning they also
28 had problems with that in the forestry group, which is why Alejandra's husband got
29 killed.

30 He has heard about the women's group that lately a few women have left the group
31 because some people in there are very egoistic.

32 Some people in the village do not like to be organized and do not like to participate
33 in meetings

34 He thanked us a lot for coming to visit him. He seemed very happy about it.

35 "Even if we are poor: if we work hard we can get somewhere, we can change
36 something." He named Emilio as an example: he is very intelligent and has
37 achieved and learned a lot. He has worked his way up and now is president of the
38 forestry group. He is a good man!
39

40 With Mariana:

41 She is the older sister of Esteban. The parents were not able to take care of them so
42 she basically grew Esteban and took care of him. Her first child she had all by
43 herself, nobody helped her while she was giving birth. Ignacio she got know a lot
44 later but she is happy to live with him on the farm. She is educated as a midwife and
45 sometimes helps women in the village to give birth.
46

47 **Personal comments:**

48 Ignacio is only 65 but he looks a lot older.

49 Mariana also looks quite old but she can still climb trees. They look very happy
50 together.
51

Date: 8.7.10, 16.00 – 17.00

Activity: Interview with Armando

Participants: Judith, Naza, Armando

Location: Paletales, Alejandra's house

Content:

We had a very informal interview with Armando, without real prepared questions, just a few spontaneous questions. He told us about how the forestry group was founded and the trouble they faced in the beginning. He said that the cooperative was founded when Padre Paola came here from Spain and he helped poor people. He helped and supported the creation of the cooperative, where Armando, Ismael (Emilio's father), and Ignacio also were the first founders. Before that they had employers who paid them to cut the woods. Then they created a cooperative to work for themselves. There was another agrarian group in the village, which was a company. There was trouble with having both groups so they merged them but that meant that some people started working in a more individually oriented way. The group disintegrated but now it works again. There were times when they had an income from the forest and wood but at the moment they do not. But he sees many good things about being organized. You get something out of it anyway.

Armando is very active in organizations. He is also the secretary in the village administration. He has had much training in different areas.

Armando really wants to organize a micro-enterprise, like a workshop or similar. We asked him why there are no female members in the cooperative. He replied that when they started working in the cooperative, the work was very hard and heavy; therefore they did not include women in their work. There are only some men who forbid their wives to go out and work, others are different. If they succeed to establish a micro-enterprise, they want to add more value to the wood. If they manage to form a micro enterprise with the forestry group and manage to get facilities to process the wood then women can get involved too.

The women in Paletales are not motivated because of lack of education and training. They are not aware of the benefits of being organized, they lack control and discipline, and motivation is not present. On the other hand, there is a lot of machismo in the society, which also holds the women back. Some women want to go out, but their husbands would not allow them. The only free woman in Paletales, according to Armando, is Alejandra. The rest of the women in Paletales do not dream about education, a profession, or being independent. They only want to stay at home and have a garden.

In Honduras, there are 3 types of couples/relationships: 1. Por amor; 2. Por obligación (when a woman cannot leave her husband because of the kids and dependency on him); 3. Por interes (money).

Also, he told us that marriage between cousins is very normal here, because people trust someone from their own family more than they would trust a stranger. Furthermore, there are not sufficient men for every woman; therefore many men have several lovers.

1
2

Date: 8.7.10

Activity: Conversations and observations

Participants: various

Location: various

Content of conversations:

Conversation with one of the younger guys from the forestry group:

At the moment he goes to the forest three times per week. The other days he works on his bean field, which is also several hours walk away. When he goes to the field he returns to the village around 13 or 14.00. When he goes to the forest he comes back around 19.00.

Comments of guys from the village frequently heard:

- There are some women who get up in the morning to prepare breakfast for us but then when we leave they go back to sleep.
- When we do not have work, we just go to sleep.

Observations at the different houses we have visited during our time in Paletales:

Sometimes the men were there in the morning just hanging out. Sometimes we were told that they were out on the bean or cornfields. Sometimes some of the women were out in the fields, too, but only very few times.

Maria's kids were always a lot more clean and neat than other kids.

Adelia's house and some others in the area looked very poor (chubby 16 year old girl with her baby: they wore torn and dirty clothes but looked very happy)

At Isabella's house: there were constantly women passing going back and forth to the well to wash clothes. They were carrying big buckets with clothes on their heads.

Piedra Blanca

Date: 18.7.10, 19.00 – 20.00

Activity: Conversation with Modesto

Participants: Judith, Naza, Modesto, Natalia

Location: Modesto's house

Content:

We talked about the case of Emilio, that he openly has two wives. Modesto said that the culture is different in Piedra Blanca. It does not happen here. In Paletales there are several cases like that but also many cases where men secretly have another woman. Women also sometimes have two men, but secretly. People in Piedra Blanca see it as bad if a man has two women.

Personal comments:

- In Modesto's family, the girls are very loud and outgoing. The boys are more quiet and reserved. The women also dress much more modern than in Paletales. The girls are wearing jeans, nose piercings, and make-up.

Moments of surprise:

- Two girls in Modesto's family (Mónica and Emelina) are studying in college in Trojas, a nearby small town. The children of D.Celestino study or have studied. His grand child, Maria, also studies in Trojas. Here the people are keener on sending their daughters to school. Emelina is studying Business Administration and wants to find a job in the city after graduating.

Date: 18.7.10, 9.00 – 11.00

Activity: Catholic Church service

Participants: Judith, Naza, Modesto, Mónica, Emelina, Celia, unofficial priest, six women with kids

Location: Catholic Church

Content:

We went to the Catholic Church to observe the Sunday celebration.

At the end of the services the priest asked people for help by giving some donations so he could take his daughter to the doctor. She got a swollen neck but they have not been able to figure out what it is.

Personal comments:

- It was a rather quiet interactive church service where the priest asked several questions to the people from the village.
- There were nearly only women and not many people in general.
- There were only 6 women at the church, their men stayed home because they are too lazy and want to relax after working all week. Modesto and his wife do not belong to a church and do not want to attend one. They listen to modern music at home and dance.

- Comment of several women: the men do not like to go to church. They rather stay at home and sleep.

Date: 18.7.10, 11.00 – 12.00

Activity: Visiting Don Celestino's house

Participants: Judith, Naza, Modesto, Mónica, Celia, Emelina, Celestino, his wife Consuela, one of his daughters

Location: Celestino's house

Content:

We got to know some of the community, visited Celestino and his daughter. Celestino is the leader of the forestry cooperative in Piedra Blanca. His daughter's name is Dolores and she just gave birth to her baby (she has 4-5 of them already) 2 weeks ago. She is a member of the forestry group, as is her husband, Teodoro. At Celestino's house we looked at the pictures of his and his wife's children – they have 14 of them.

We visited him together with Modesto, talked and Consuela showed us some pictures of all her children.

Conversations:

- With Celestino:
There are several ways couples form in the community: either the boy comes to the girl's parents' house and asks them for permission and they have coffee in the parents house. Then the parents decide how long they can see each other before getting married. Or the boy robs the girl and they run away to the boy's village without the parents knowing it in advance.
- With Consuela :
They have 14 kids. Most of them live in Olanchito or San Pedro Sula or other places. Quite a few of them are studying or have studied. One of his sons is still studying to become a teacher while he is still living with his parents.

Personal comments:

- The house and the garden looked very neat and well made.
- The whole family is not from here. They moved here because they were looking for land.
- Don Teodoro (the son in law of Celestino) told us that he tried to escape to the US illegally but they caught him at the border and sent him back. He spent two years in Mexico on the way. He actually wanted to marry another lady in Mexico to get across the border to the US.

Moments of surprise:

- The house is very neat.
- So many of their kids are studying compared to other families.

Date: 19.07.10

Activity: Visiting Modesta's house

Participants: Don Eugenio, Modesta, her three daughters (Gabriela, Georgina , Griselda)

Location: Modesta's house

Content:

We watched Modesta how she was making sweet bread: from the dough to how she put it in the oven next to her house. Georgina, her 14-year-old daughter, lit the oven and brought her the trays for the bread. Her older 17-year-old daughter Gabriela also joined us. Another younger daughter also helped. When the bread was ready we bought 15 pieces and also some cold Pepsi they had brought up the hill from Trojas, keeping it cold with ice in a box.

She lives in her house with her 3 daughters and her husband. Modesta has many kids, the oldest one lives in San Pedro and other places. Modesta has a small shop (pulperia), where she sells bread, soft drinks, sugar, etc.

Conversations:

- With Modesta: She likes working. She does not like just sitting around. She has been making bread since she was a kid. Her husband works on the Standard banana plantations in the valley, every day until 4-5 pm. She wants to form a cooperative again with two men and three women to make and sell bread and also to buy and sell chicken and meat. She would like it to be a family cooperative. There has been a cooperative before but it dissolved.
- With Gabriela: She started studying in Olanchito but came back to the village after half a year. She has a boyfriend in Olanchito. She said she came back because she had an accident with the bike and she wants to go back to Olanchito again. (Don Teodoro said though that she came back because she did not want to work to be able to pay the rent.) We asked her if she likes to go out to dance. She said that there was an inauguration of the central park in Trojas but her parents did not let her go. We asked her if she would like to go to other places a bit further away, such as San Pedro, and may be visit her siblings there. She said that she would really love to do that, but her parents wouldn't allow her to go. She doesn't know why, it is just like that. Then we asked her if boys are allowed to go to more places than girls, and she told us that boys do have more freedom to go to places far away.
- With Georgina: she does not like studying. She only finished the school in the village and is now just helping her mum. They often go to Trojas to bring goods to sell.
- Comment of Eugenio about a girl from the village: "she was so pretty and then she got two children, what a pity!"
- Conversation the next day with Teodoro about Eugenio: "He is a very funny happy man!" "Yes." "And his wife?" "No, she does not like to go out of the house."

Personal comments:

- All of the daughters of Modesta were wearing fashionable clothes, earrings and tight jeans. They were listening to Reggaeton and other popular music (even in English) when we were there. Some of the girls even liked dancing,

1 and Gabriela said that she likes to go to nightclubs in Olanchito. I asked her if
2 girls here like to wear jeans, and she told us that she likes jeans very much,
3 better than skirts. This is very different from Paletales.

- 4 • We heard about several people studying in Trojas or Olanchito. Natalia and
5 Silvia both mentioned that it is a good investment, because then their kids
6 can find a good job and support them.

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17 **Date:** 19.7.10, 14.00 - 15.00

18 **Activity:** Visiting Silvia's house

19 **Participants:** Naza, Judith, Arturo, Silvia, her daughter Angelita (15 years old)

20 **Location:** Silvia's house

21
22 **Content:**

23 They were rebuilding the walls of the house when we came with clay. Earlier on we
24 met them searching for clay close to our house. While the women were fixing the
25 house, the husband of Silvia was hanging out outside with a friend.

26
27 **Conversations:**

- 28 • With Silvia: four of her daughters live in Roatán and others live in Trojas, etc.
29 None of them has wanted to study at the university but she hopes that her
30 son who is still studying in Olanchito will do so.
- 31 • With Angelita: she has been studying in Roatán in the high school for one
32 year but then she came back

33
34 **Personal comments:**

35 The women help a lot with building the houses. We have also observed Natalia
36 working on the walls of our house a couple of times.

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41 **Date:** 19.7.10, 17.00 – 18.00

42 **Activity:** Protestant church service with Emelina

43 **Participants:** Judith, Celia, Emelina, Emilia, several people from the village

44 **Location:** Protestant church

45
46 **Content:**

47 Church service guided not by a professional priest but different people from the
48 village. People took turns in preaching. People were constantly screaming: "Gloria a
49 dios! Halleluja!" A lot of songs were sung.

50
51 **Conversations:**

1 With Emelina on the way back to our house: “my dad also has a kid with another
2 woman. He just told my mum recently. The kid is eleven years old. The woman is
3 somewhere close to Roatán. Don Eugenio also has a kid with another woman.”
4

5 **Personal comments:**

6 The service was a lot livelier than the other service. It sometimes even was a bit
7 aggressive. People were preaching in a very emotional loud agitated way. Some
8 others were jumping around when singing.
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21 **Date:** 19.7.10

22 **Activity:** Conversations and observations around Modesto’s house

23 **Participants:** various

24 **Location:** Piedra Blanca, Modesto’s house
25

26 **Content:**

- 27 • Modesto behaves like the lion king, being friendly and funny but sitting in his
28 chair and bossing people around. He orders them, especially Emelina, to bring
29 him coffee, food and other things. Emelinain general works a lot around the
30 house: cooking, washing, taking care of the younger ones. Also the mum orders
31 her to bring her things.
- 32 • One evening: Modesto returns the food his wife has cooked to her with the
33 words to us: “She did not prepare for me what I wanted.” It was already after
34 19.00 and dark but his wife then put on the fire again to cook him Mondongo
35 soup. Another evening he was the only one who got a piece of meat while all the
36 others only got beans and tortillas.
- 37 • Martín is always on somebody’s leg, most of the time with his mum. All the kids
38 including Celia carry him around, also the boys. Natalia is mainly sitting around
39 with the baby ordering the kids to do things, except for when she is cooking or
40 sometime working on the walls of the small house.
- 41 • There are altogether 7 kids in the family. Modesto seems to enjoy a lot spending
42 time with the kids: in the evening they are all around him, sitting on his lap.
- 43 • The kids even Darielli and David wash their own school uniform. Enrique always
44 rides the donkey, also to bring things from Trojas. He brings milk for cheese from
45 another family in the village and firewood.
- 46 • The boys do not help in the household but they e.g. bring wood for the fire at
47 night.
- 48 • Since a short time Natalia makes cheese at home and sells it in the village. She
49 also has a small store in the house.

- Conversation with Emelina: she is studying Business Administration on Saturdays in Olanchito. Before she finished the high school in Trojas. She would like to work in a company in Olanchito later on.
- General observation: people in the village wear rather modern clothes, especially the young ones. Women often wear pants. They listen to pop music on their radios and dance. When Eugenio came one evening to the house he was dancing to guitar music. Mónica dances to Shakira on the radio.
- Conversation with Natalia: “It is good if the children study.” “But then they will stay in Olanchito or San Pedro later on?” “Yes, but then they can send money home or the parents will also move down there if all their kids move. There is one woman in the village who did that.”
- Natalia: Modesto does not really work on the fields. He pays workers to do that.
- Conversation with Natalia: “I do not like going out of the house a lot. You might be bored just being around the house every day but I am not. I am so used to just being around the house.” One day we went with her to Teodoro’s field and got some radish. After that we visited her friend Dominga at the upper end of the village. Natalia said she had not been up there in years.

Date: 20.7.10, 16.00 – 17.00

Activity: Visiting Silvia’s house

Participants: Naza, Judith, Arturo, Silvia

Location: Piedra Blanca, Silvia’s house

Content:

Sitting in Silvia’s house, talking to her.

Conversations:

- With Silvia: Arturo was saying how badly men treat their women here in Honduras, and how difficult it is for the women to leave their husbands. Suddenly Silvia started telling us in low voice how her husband beats her up all the time, how he drinks and treats her really badly. She told us that her husband has a lover who is a 20 year old, red haired woman who lives next to them and we have already met her. She said: “he got me very young and gave me many babies to make sure I would not run off with someone else”. She told us that many men in Piedra Blanca and elsewhere in Honduras treat their women badly and there is a lot of domestic violence going on inside households. Her husband and her got to know each other when they were 13 and 14 years old.
- With Silvia: Angelita would like to go and find a work in Olanchito but her school certificate is in Roatan and the school does not want to hand the certificate over so she plans to do the last year of school again to get the certificate. The grand daughter Ingrid is staying with Silvia. Her mother left

1 the father and did not want to keep her. She then had a boy with another
2 man whom she also left and now she lives and works in Olanchito with
3 another boyfriend. She is 23 years old.
4

5 **Personal comments:**

- 6 • Arturo told us later on that Silvia had to commit so early to her husband to
7 escape her step dad who was abusing her.
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12 **Date:** 20.7.10, 13.00 – 13.10

13 **Activity:** Conversation with one of the teachers (Naomi) after playing games
14 with the kids at the village school

15 **Participants:** Naomi, Naza, Judith, Isidora

16 **Location:** school in the village
17

18 **Content:**

19 Informal conversation with Naomi.
20

21 **Conversations:**

22 What Naomi said:

23 Many people in the village do not have the motivation to implement any changes in
24 their lives like making their house look nice or fixing the clothes of their kids, which
25 you can also do when you are poor and do not have any money. Families like the
26 one of Don Celestino have another mentality. Have you seen his neat house? There
27 is a group of people further up the hill and you can see that they really take care of
28 their houses and they work hard and cultivate things (vegetables) nicely behind their
29 house, the men and the women. But apart from that the women here do not really
30 go out to the fields or work outside a lot, they rather stay in the houses.

31 Many of the kids suffer from malnutrition: they only eat beans and tortilla. Families
32 like the one of Modesto are different but they also have access to things from
33 Olanchito.

34 Talking about dream maps and our experience with the young people in Paletales:
35 the kids have dreams but they will always draw fields and corn and frijoles.

36 The two teachers are 26 and 27 years old. One of them has a boyfriend but none of
37 them is married. They are still studying and live Nombre de Jesús.
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42 **Date:** 21.7.10, 9.30 – 13.00

43 **Activity:** Walk with Arturo and Consuela through the village

44 **Participants:** Naza, Judith, Consuela , Arturo

45 **Location:** Piedra Blanca
46

47 **Content:**

48 We visited the houses of Modesta, Custodia at the soccer field, Lupe, Daniela and
49 invited them for the training for making foods with soybeans.
50

51 **Conversations:**

- 1 • With Gabriela: She would like to get a job in San Pedro Sula in a maquila.
2 She misses her boyfriend in Olanchito. He is still studying but in a different
3 school than the one she went to. He never comes to visit her and when she is
4 in Olanchito her family never lets her go out because it is dangerous because
5 of the gangs (maras). When she is in San Pedro she hopes to be able to visit
6 him by bus. She would like to be a teacher: "They sometimes do not have to
7 work and still get paid."
- 8 • With Consuela: Her husband (Celestino) used to have another woman beside
9 her but not anymore because she left the village. Now she is calmer. To the
10 question if he does not mind her going out alone she said no, he does not
11 mind but there are many women in the village whose husbands mind and
12 they only stay at home.
- 13 • With Dolores: With After visiting Modesta, we walked around in the
14 community and asked several women to come to the soy workshop. One of
15 them, the woman who lives in the house with a pulperia, said that she has to
16 talk to her husband first. The other woman (Dolores – Teodoro's wife) looked
17 at Teodoro, when I asked her, and said that she cannot come because she
18 has a small baby that is ill.
- 19 • With Custodia: Her daughter is sick: she has a swollen throat since six
20 months and now she also has headaches and her brain hurts. They already
21 took her to the hospital in San Pedro Sula but they said it is nothing. They do
22 not have money for a biopsy but they are giving her herbal treatment. The
23 daughter has a two-year-old son with the son of Consuela and Celestino but
24 he is studying in Nombre de Jesús. He sometimes comes around to visit his
25 child. Arturo said it is probably too late to treat her tumor, since it has gotten
26 so huge already and she has lost about 15kg in a few months. She is 18
27 years old and has a 2-year-old kid.
- 28 • With Modesta: First we went to Modesta's house to invite her to the soy
29 workshop tomorrow. She said she would like to come, but needs to ask her
30 husband if it is ok. Arturo talked about women and work, and Modesta
31 admitted that women work a lot more than men: she gets up at 3-4am and
32 works all day long. However, her work is not as valued as her husband's,
33 only because his work is physically harder and more demanding. When he
34 comes home from work, he lays in the hammock all day long, relaxing while
35 she is serving him.
- 36 • We also visited a woman named Paola. She is 28 years old and has 8 kids.
37 They live in a very small house. Her husband was there when we came, but
38 when he saw us he went inside and stayed there. We asked Arturo why he
39 went inside and did not want to talk to us, and Arturo told us that many men
40 here are embarrassed because of their poverty and the fact that they have a
41 small house and so many kids. We asked Paola why she has had so many
42 kids, and she said that hopefully they would support her in the future, when
43 they will get old. Already now they are helping her around the house. When
44 we asked her if she would like to come to the workshop, she said she would
45 like to, but it is difficult because she has 8 kids to take care of.

46 **Personal comments:**

47 Modesto's daughter already told us that he has a kid with another woman, who lives
48 in Roatán. Also, Celestino's wife told us that her husband used to have another
49 woman, who left the village.
50

Date: 22.7.10, 9.00 – 13.00

Activity: Making Ticucos at Carmela's house with the women

Participants: Judith, Naza, Arturo, Conchita, her mother Cristina, Cruzita, Angelita, Silvia, Custodia, Delfina, Dora, Carmela, Modesta, Dolores, Elvira.

Location: Piedra Blanca, house of Carmela

Content:

We gathered all the women whom we invited yesterday at Carmela's house. D. Arturo told them that he would like to establish a women's group and start training them in different things, such as cooking with soy beans, alimentation, medicinal plants, etc. Arturo explained the women about how important good diversified nutrition is and how they could grow it on their own field. The women were very motivated and interested, especially Cristina, Conchita, Dora and Carmela. Arturo noted their names and assigned them posts such as coordinator, president, secretary, etc. of the women's group. The women were hesitant to get the posts assigned in the beginning; they said they were not capable of handling this responsibility. After forming the group, we introduced ourselves and asked the women to come to a meeting next week to talk with us. We explained that we are students and that we are here to learn about their lives. The women agreed to come to the meeting with us. Then we made ticuco's and had several interesting conversations with some of the women.

Conversations:

- With Cristina: Her husband went to the States. They moved to Piedra Blanca from Olancho because they were looking for land to have cattle. But her husband was drinking a lot and sometimes bet her, so they do not have cattle now cause he drank away all the money. Now he is calmer and only goes out drinking once in a while. They have a big piece of land where they grow chili close to Eugenio's place. A Mexican company that produces salsa comes and buys the chili. Each her husband and her have their own piece of land for growing chili and sell what they harvest individually as she does not trust him anymore. Cristina's piece of land is smaller than her husband's one.
Cristina used to be part of a women's group in Colón when she was younger but the group fell apart. She liked being in the group. They had fishponds. Now she would also like to have a fishpond. She asked Arturo about possibilities for funding and material.
She has nine kids: the oldest is Conchita (19 years old). The youngest is five months old. When I asked her why she got nine kids, she said that she had enough after eight but her husband said that one is missing. She is now 36 years old.
- With Carmela: She said in the reunion that she would like to work with chicken, put a chicken farm and asked about possibilities for funding. Another conversation with her while making Ticucos: "Whose kid is that [small boy at her house]?" "He is my grandson." "And where is his mum?" "She lives somewhere up there. They gave him to me when he was six months old. His mum did not

1 want him and his dad decided to marry another woman.” (Observation: also
2 Delfina and Silvia are bringing up one of their grandchildren.)

- 3 • With Conchita : She used to work in a maquila in San Pedro Sula for the
4 underwear company SEXY. She returned to the village because her mum was
5 sick. Now many maquilas have closed down because of the state coup last year,
6 but SEXY stayed. She would like to go back to work in a maquila again.
7 She also talked about the Standard Fruit Company: they thought about
8 withdrawing entirely from Honduras but the unions protested, so they stayed. It
9 would have been a disaster for the people in the villages because many of them
10 work there and they pay well. The work conditions are by now reasonable.
11 (Several people including Arturo have said that.)
- 12 • With Conchita: Conchita told us that they moved to Piedra Blanca from Colon
13 because they wanted to have many cows and a big ground. They have had
14 cows before, but her dad was always drinking heavily and drank all the money
15 and cows away. Now they do not have the cows anymore. Cristina, Conchita’s
16 mom, also told us that her husband beats her up.
- 17 • In the meeting Arturo described a typical rural macho man: “many young women
18 are happy and talkative when you visit them in their house. But then when their
19 husband comes in and he shouts and gives a dog a kick to show his masculinity,
20 they shut up and become very small.” The women laughed but also nodded and
21 seemed to agree.
- 22 • With Dora: Dora was telling us that she is tired today because her mom woke
23 her up at 1.30 am. She thought it was already 3 am because the phone showed
24 the wrong time. I asked her when she normally gets up and Dora replied that she
25 usually gets up at 3 am, because her brothers work at Standard Fruit company’s
26 banana plantation, and the women need to get up at 3 to make breakfast for the
27 men. Then Dora started talking about how much they have to work at home. She
28 said she would prefer to work outside because it gives an income and security,
29 but there is no work for them. The employment situation has worsened since the
30 coup d’etat and a lot of multinational companies have closed down. Dora used
31 to work for “Sexy” lingerie company in the city (their maquila factory), and it was
32 quite a decent job and she liked it, but then they closed down (or fired her – she
33 just said “no habia empleo para nosotras”) and she had to go back to the village.

34 **Personal comments:**

- 35 • Cristina asked Arturo to write down the recipe for biological anti-pesticides for
36 the chili plants.
- 37 • Modesto told us that he used to drink a lot before, and his wife did not trust him
38 with money because he would spend it on alcohol. Also, Silvia told us that her
39 husband drinks and beats her up.

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45 **Date:** 22.7.10, 17.00 – 18.00

46 **Activity:** Conversation at Modesto’s place with some men of the forestry
47 group

48 **Participants:** Judith, Naza, various men of the forestry group

49 **Location:** Piedra Blanca, in front of our house

1 **Content:**

2
3 **Conversations:**

4 • With Celestino:

5 “Does your wife go out to the fields with you?” “No, she has never done that. She
6 does not like that.” “Would you like that?” “Oh yes, I would.” “And what about
7 your sons and daughters?” “No, none of them have ever gone out with me. They
8 like the city life and studying more.”

9 • With Eloy:

10 “My wife lives in Olanchito. She did not like it here anymore and then she found
11 herself a new man there,” “So now you are all alone?” “Yes, I am. It is not so
12 easy in my age to find a new woman here in the community.”

13
14
15 **Moments of surprise:**

16 And why do so many married men have two women then?
17
18
19
20

Date: 22.7.10

Activity: Conversations with Don Arturo

Participants: Judith, Naza, Arturo

Location: Piedra Blanca, various

Content of conversations:

- About Silvia: Her step dad was abusing her so she committed to Don Moncho very early to protect herself from him. Now he sometimes beats her and has another woman (the 20 year old neighbor). Her son has killed someone for 3000 Lempira close to the village on the way to Trojas because he was on drugs. Now he lives in Roatán.
- About Emelina: She was working as a housekeeper at a rich family's house for a long time. She had a very good and trustful relationship with them. But then one day he boss forced her with a gun to have sex with her. She got pregnant and was therefore kicked out of her family's house and had to have her child at her aunt's house. 11 years later she met Arturo.
- "Arturo, where do the people make all these kids?" "Well, right next to their children in the bed. That is why so many older brothers abuse their younger sisters because they see their parents doing it next to them so they also want to try."

Date: 28.7.10, 8.00 – 10.00

Activity: Informal conversation with Carmela and Cristina

Participants: Naza, Judith, Carmela, Cristina, Natalia

Location: Piedra Blanca, in front of our house

Content:

Today we had invited several women to a meeting with us at Modesto's house. We invited them last Thursday and said that we want to know more about their lives. Only 2 women showed up on time, then Natalia, Dora and Conchita came later. The rest of the women stayed away, even though when we asked them if they are coming, they said yes. Carmela said that women here are not really motivated to attend meetings.

The informal conversation we had with Carmela and Cristina was guided by the following questions we had prepared for the PRA session:

1. It seems like the women do not leave the house a lot around here. Why is that? Is it because of their husbands?
2. What do the men do during the day while you are working in the house?
3. Is there an activity that you do not carry out in your life until now but that you would like to carry out? Would you like to work outside if the house?
4. There are some of you who are involved in activities that generate an income. Who decides what to do with that income?
5. Do you have ideas for activities that can generate an income that you would like to involve in?
6. What do you think of the idea of canning eatable products from the forest and sell them in Olanchito?
7. What does a good life mean for you? And wellbeing?

1 8. How do you imagine the reaction of the men when you get involved in
2 activities of the women's group?
3

4 After the meeting we visited Cristina and Conchita in their house where they have
5 been living for two years. Cristina said that any place they move to she puts a
6 garden like this. Apart from the chili farm they will also plant coffee trees.
7

8 **Conversations:** 9

- 10 • Notes from the conversation with Carmela: We formed the women's group many
11 years ago with a president, a treasurer, and a fiscal – the whole board. We all
12 worked united. When one of us did not go to work one day it was not a problem.
13 Because it was for a reason. But if it was two times the person did not show up
14 then we would visit her to see why. Every day we were at work. In the mornings
15 and afternoons. In the garden. When the harvest time came we sought for a
16 buyer and he was coming and everyone in the group were picking chili, onion,
17 tomato, all that was there. We were negotiating. We shared out everything. We
18 made a field where we grew beans. It was pretty good. It is nice to work in groups
19 but I do not like it because always within groups there are people who have more
20 advantage and they used it to their benefit. And then it happened at last that
21 during the night several children of the members were going to get the product. It
22 was taken, stolen. I did not want to work like that. Then it is better individually. I
23 plant and work on my field with my children and my husband and everyone, it is
24 better. When we finish the work, we share the money. This experience taught me
25 not to work in groups, but individually. To form the group but that everyone works
26 with their own thing. Now we formed a group but to work individually. We will train
27 together but everyone will be working as they it suits them. This way I like. That
28 was my experience that I gained during these times.

29 Us: "But we have also spoken with the forestry group. There are products in the
30 forest that can be sold in Olanchito for example. And maybe there is a possibility
31 that the women of the women's group can help with packaging and selling
32 products. What do you think? Or just individual work for you?"

33 Yes, for me individual work only.

34 You talk to him about what you think of doing with it because the household is a
35 partnership. Although the man really fails on these terms in Honduras, he is the
36 main head in a household. Thus a couple has to talk and understand what the
37 money is spent on. I say it like this: if a husband is drunkard and always
38 abandons you, then I would do the things in my own way, and I would not
39 consider him. Because if I gave him about 200 Lempiras and asked to buy
40 something, he would drink it away. But my husband has never been drinking and
41 chasing after other women, therefore I have to talk to him too. What I work with is
42 his work as well. We talk. If he works we talk about what he is going to buy and I
43 tell him: "yes, it is good." There is confidence. But if he were a womanizer or a
44 drunkard, I would not give him money.

45 If I want to go to Trojas or Olanchito I talk to him. And he says: "yes, it is fine."
46 Because if I go and he does not agree, I feel bad, I walk around thinking that
47 when I come back we will fight. And he will say something to me and I am very
48 angry and he says a bad word, me too, I also feel sick. But if it is arranged that
49 way there is no fight, there is nothing. We move on.

50 I like going to church, to visit my children in San Pedro. I say to him: "I have a
51 wish to go to San Pedro to see my children." "Well, let's see," he says, "to see if

1 you can go." He then provides me with money and organizes my trip to see my
2 children. But I do not like walking, no. To Trojas either. I am lazy, it is very hard. I
3 do not like it, it requires a lot of strength.

4 Us: "But there are also men who are not like yours. There are men who restrict
5 their wives much more."

6 These men are so machista, machos. Here in Honduras there are plenty of them
7 is. Here in Honduras it is given, the machismo.

8 Us: "And you also work with your husband in the field. You go out to the field?"

9 Yes, I like to go where he goes. And now I say to him, "let's make a tomato plant
10 garden. Let's make a vegetable garden. We're going to fix it out there. Let's chop
11 the ground, let's put a fence." "Yes, we will arrange the land for you to work," he
12 says. I have no young children who delay me, he is already big [Pointing at her
13 youngest kid]. He rather walks with me where I walk. He does not bother me
14 because he is yearning. And he does not need milk. My son Walter also said:
15 "We're going to fix there a vegetable garden and eat tomatoes." Tomatoes in
16 Olanchito are very expensive at the moment Olanchito tomato.

17 Us: "But is it very difficult to grow tomatoes?"

18 No, not really. It takes three months from sowing to harvest. What I have right
19 now in the house is wide and thin coriander.

20 We women work hard here. The whole day we stand up, we are busy, while the
21 men just relax. She has to prepare food for the men, clean the house, feed the
22 animals, etc.

- 23
- 24 • Both (Carmela and Cristina) said that it makes them feel good to work and earn
25 an income. They both said that they have always liked to work. The men are
26 allowed to do whatever they want and go wherever they want, but the women
27 have to get permission first. She would like to have a pig farm and a vegetable
28 garden.
 - 29 • With Cristina: She told us a long story of her alcoholic husband. She had another
30 husband when she was 13 but he treated her badly. Then she met her current
31 husband Cristóbal when she was 14. He has always been drinking a lot and
32 hitting her. She left him three times but he always came looking for her. He made
33 intent to go to the States but was sent back. The second time he succeeded but
34 he never sent money and was drinking a lot. Then he got into prison. A family
35 member got him out. He never sent money and when he came back he drank
36 away all the money they got from selling all the cattle and land they had in Colón
37 so the family could not buy new cattle when moving to Piedra Blanca. He was
38 drinking, beating her up and treating her like an animal. Once Cristina threatened
39 to kill him with the machete and actually but him a little bit. Since then he has
40 been better, he does not drink so much anymore, just sometime goes out
41 drinking. Cristina knows a woman who killed her husband with a machete. When
42 asked why she recently got another baby (her 9th kid), she said that her husband
43 wanted another one and she did not want to be alone in the house as the other
44 kids are already older. She got pregnant several times although she is getting
45 injections. Three times she lost a child. Now they live in a beautiful house with a
46 beautiful garden (the most beautiful and well-kept garden we have seen in Piedra
47 Blanca). They grow chilies and sell them to a Mexican company that sells and
48 produces Mexican salsa. Cristina works on her own piece of land (chili and corn)
49 since her husband drank away all the money before. Now she does not worry
50 about it anymore as they each have separate incomes. She does not trust him
51 anymore with money because she is afraid he will spend it on alcohol. We talked

1 about the women's group and what the women want to do with it. Carmela wants
2 to have a small pig farm and earn money by selling them. Cristina wants and
3 dreams about having a fish pond and selling fish. Both of the women would like to
4 have individual business instead of a common activity with the group. They both
5 have experience with working in women's groups, and they say there are always
6 conflicts and egoism involved with it. They want to work and earn their income,
7 but do it apart from the other women. They just want to do their own thing.
8 Cristina wanted to escape to the US when times were very bad but nobody
9 wanted to take care of her kids so she stayed. About her experience with the
10 women's group in Colón: the problem was that everything they cultivated was on
11 one of the husband's piece of land who then took everything in the end. That is
12 why she is also convinced that the women should work individually. She would
13 like to put a fishpond and sell the fish in the village. "I work like a man in the field."

- 14 • All the women said about Silvia that she does not like working. In general there
15 are always women in groups that let the others work and are only there at the
16 hour of payment. That is why they do not like working in groups. They
17 mentioned the double work burden.

18 **Personal comments:**

19 Cristina's house is very neat and clean and has a very beautiful garden.

20 **Moments of surprise:**

21 A woman who has such a hard life creates such a neat place, putting so much work
22 in it!

23 **Date:** 29.7.10, 14.00 – 16.00

24 **Activity:** PRA with the younger women of the women's group

25 **Participants:** Dora (20), Conchita (19), Elvira (19), Cruzita (15)

26 **Location:** Piedra Blanca, our house

27 **Content:**

28 **Questions:**

29 Cruzita and Elvira came late. With Dora and Conchita we individually drew a picture
30 illustrating how we dream of our life in the future and asked them some additional
31 questions in the end. Naza and Judith also drew and presented a picture.

32 **Conversations:**

- 33 • With Dora: Dora drew a nice house – it is not very big; she said that she did not
34 draw a big house because it is not very realistic for her. She drew a garage and
35 a car, a garden with flowers, and a woman who took care of them. When we
36 asked her if the woman is she, she said no, it is a woman whom she would hire
37 to take care of the garden. She explained that she would like to have a
38 permanent job, on a maquila factory or something similar, to be able to afford the
39 house and the car. She would really like to work in an office but she does not
40 have an education, and they cannot afford to send her to school. Therefore she
41 can only work in a factory. Dora did not draw a man or children. Judith: "Dora,
42 will there be a man in your life?" (There was no man in her picture.) "We will see,

1 if god wants it.” Later on she admitted that she did not draw a man in her picture
2 because she did not want to be with a macho guy and it is very hard to find guys
3 who are not like that around here. Naza: “So what about a foreigner?” Dora: “Oh,
4 but they probably rather want pretty girls with money.” Then Conchita told us
5 about an American boyfriend she once had. She was with him for two months.
6 She met him in the movies when she lived in San Pedro Sula. Both of them have
7 had several boyfriends. Conchita ’s mum had told us that many guys have
8 already come to the house because they are interested in Conchita but she did
9 not want any of them. She wants one that is loyal to the church.

- 10 • With Conchita: Conchita ’s drawing is very similar to that of Dora: a house, a
11 garden, flowers, a cat. Conchita would like to live in a nice house in the city and
12 she hopes that her dad will come to visit her there. (He also appeared in her
13 picture but she did not draw her mum.) “And your mum?” “Oh, yes, of course,
14 her too.” She also said that she would like to work outside the house and earn
15 her own money. When we asked them who gets to decide over money that a
16 woman earns, they said that here the women decide what they want to do with
17 their own money. Conchita used to work in a maquila. They paid her 800
18 Lempira per week. She worked until 16.00 every day. If you wanted to earn more
19 you had to work longer. There was hardly any money left to spend. The two
20 women said: “there are many ways to make money in the village.” They make
21 Tamales and fried chicken with Tajadas and the people buy it in the morning to
22 take to the fields.
- 23 • With Cruzita: After Conchita and Dora finished presenting their drawings, we
24 asked Cruzita and Elvira about their dreams. Cruzita said similar things to others
25 - namely that she would like to move to the city and have a nice house, a car, a
26 garden, and a job. But she does not want to have children. (she has 8 siblings).
27 She wants to have a good life and beautiful things.
- 28 • With Elvira: Elvira is 19 years old and has a kid that is about 6 months old. Her
29 husband works for Standard Fruit Company. When we asked her about her
30 dreams, she said she would like finish her education on distance (she has
31 studied Business Administration in Olanchito) and work in a company in the city.
32 She would like to work in an office too. Now she has a husband and a baby with
33 whom she lives in Piedra Blanca.
- 34 • With all of them: When we asked the girls where they would like to live, all of
35 them said that they would like to live in a city and thus not stay in Piedra Blanca.
36 We also asked them what work means to them, and all of them said it is a
37 means for them to be able to afford things. Conchita and Dora said that it feels
38 good to earn your own money. They would like to live in a city bigger than
39 Olanchito like San Pedro because of job opportunities. They would also like to
40 have an education but at the moment they do not have the money for that. It
41 would mean that they would have to work and study at the same time. One of
42 them said that she likes working itself (Conchita), the other one said that it was a
43 necessity to earn your own money (Dora): the bible said who does not work does
44 not earn anything. Only Conchita said that she actually likes and enjoys working.
45 After talking about the drawings we started asking them some questions. The
46 first question we asked was how they understand “good life” and “wellbeing”. All
47 of the girls said that a good life to them is to have a nice house and live well:
48 good nutrition, health, education, earn a good stable income, afford nice things,
49 be able to provide for the kids and family, enjoying fun things and going out, etc.
50 Then we asked them which kind of boyfriend they would like to have. Dora said

1 that she does not want to be with a machista guy, or someone who will drink and
2 treat her badly. She said it is very difficult to find a good man in Honduras; that is
3 why she did not draw a man on her drawing. She prefers to be alone rather than
4 be with a bad man. We asked if they would like to find a foreign boyfriend, and
5 Dora said that she thinks that rich (foreign or Honduran) guys will always only
6 marry rich girls. To this Conchita replied that she had a boyfriend from the US
7 and he was quite nice and special, but he had to go back to the US. All of the
8 girls (except Elvira, who did not say much) agreed that finding a good man is
9 very difficult in Honduras. Many men do not give any money to their wives and
10 the money they earn they spend on drinking before they even come home. Dora:
11 "in case I will have a husband who takes the money I have earned off me, I will
12 just spend it on nice things like a dress the same day I receive it." Most men here
13 cheat, or drink, or beat up their wives. We also asked them how the men here
14 view if their women work outside their homes. The girls said that it depends on
15 the man, some men do not like it when their women work and earn an income,
16 but many men do not mind if their women can contribute to the family budget.
17 Regarding the women's group, the girls agreed with their mothers that they
18 prefer to work individually rather than having a common activity and common
19 responsibility. They said people here have different work ethics and some people
20 would always tend to work less and want to have access to the money. They
21 said they would like to work in a women's group and be organized, but have their
22 own individual activities together with their families.

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27 **Date:** July 30th

28 **Activity:** Going to see D. Teodoro's farm, and visiting the wife of d.Celestino and
29 Teodoro and then visiting Dolores

30 **Participants:** Judith, Naza, Natalia, Mónica, Enrique, Cristina, Conchita , Cristina's
31 kids, Consuela , Teodoro, Dolores

32 **Location:** Piedra Blanca, Teodoro's farm, Celestino's house, Teodoro's house and
33 Dolores 's house

34
35 **Content:**

36 Today we went to see Teodoro's farm, where he grows coffee, sugar cane, onions,
37 radish, etc.

38 At Teodoro's farm we saw Teodoro working in the field with his children, all of them
39 except the youngest ones. They were listening to the radio while working. After
40 visiting the farm we passed the house of Celestino. His wife was home alone, and
41 Celestino was at work in Olanchito (at the Nepenthes office).

42 Then we went to Teodoro's house and saw his wife and the little baby, while
43 Teodoro was working, the wife was at home with the youngest kids.

44 After visiting Teodoro's house, we went to visit Dolores . She was home with her
45 mother in law and her children. At Dolores 's house, Natalia told us that she has not
46 visited them in many years, and the old lady barely recognized her. She said she
47 barely walks so far away from home, because she does not like it. Dolores was also
48 at home while her husband was working at the Standard Fruit Company plantation.

49
50 **Conversations:**

- With Natalia: On our way Natalia told us that she barely ever walks outside her house. When we asked her why, she just said that she does not like it. We asked her if she ever gets bored staying at home all day, and she said no, because she is used to that.
- Natalia told us about her grandmother, who died at the age of 92, and she died because she was smoking a lot.

Date: July 31th

Activity: Going to Trojas to send off Judith to Olanchito

Participants: Judith, Naza, Natalia, Mónica. On the way back Modesto and Enrique joined us.

Location: Piedra Blanca, Trojas

Contents:

We walked to Trojas to send Judith to Olanchito with a bus. Before leaving Judith paid Natalia some money for staying in their house and the food. After we sent Judith off, Natalia bought a lot of groceries for their little shop and we put the goods on a donkey and walked back to Piedra Blanca.

On our way back Modesto and Enrique joined us. Both of them were riding a donkey each. Mónica, Natalia, and me walked back on our feet.

Personal comments:

- Natalia could decide how to spend the money that Judith gave her; she had the decision power over the money
- Modesto and Enrique were riding donkeys, while the women (Natalia, Mónica and me) were walking from Trojas to Piedra Blanca. They did not offer their donkeys to the women.

Date: August 1st

Activity: Visiting Eugenio

Participants: Naza, Eugenio, Beatriz (his wife), their 5 children, David, Mónica, Emelina, Eugenio's brother Bartolomé, his wife Berta

Location: Piedra Blanca, farm of Eugenio

Content:

Today we went to visit Eugenio. He lives quite far away from the rest of the houses; we had to walk there for about 45 minutes. At their house I met Eugenio's wife, Beatriz. Although we have been in Piedra Blanca for 2 weeks now, we have not met her before, because she does not really get out of the house.

Conversations:

- With Beatriz: Naza asked her why she does not leave the house, and she said it is because of the mud – it rains a lot and therefore there is a lot of

1 mud, and it makes it difficult to walk to the village, and she does not have
2 rubber boots.

- 3 • She also told me that Irma's husband really wants to have kids, but Irma
4 does not really want a kid at the moment. She is on birth control pills and he
5 is very angry about it. Irma feels she is too young to have children. Beatriz
6 told that she had her first child when she was 25. Irma's husband is also very
7 jealous, according to Beatriz. Once, one of Irma's male friends called her,
8 and her husband got angry and took her phone from her, and threw it away.
9 Irma got very upset and they had a huge fight, and Irma left him and went
10 back to her parents' place. Then Ronni came after her, begging her to come
11 back, and she went back to him. Since then they have not fought like that. I
12 asked Beatriz if Eugenio is jealous, and she said that he is not jealous as
13 many Honduran men are. She also told me that he got very mad when Ronni
14 robbed Irma, and in the beginning he did not talk to him at all. But now
15 everything is fine between them. But it was difficult for him to accept her
16 choice in the beginning.
- 17 • With Eugenio's brother's wife Berta: Eugenio's brother's house, his wife was
18 at home, while he was in Trojas. I asked her if she always stays at home and
19 she said yes, she is at home with the kids, while her man is working on the
20 Standard Fruit Company's banana plantation.
- 21 • Beatriz told me that these days Irma is gathering beans with her husband and
22 some friends. She is really happy to go because she likes working in the field,
23 but her husband barely lets her go.

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32 **Date:** August 3rd

33 **Activity:** Final meeting with the forestry group and the women's group

34 **Participants:** Naza, Álvaro, Andrés, Modesto, Eugenio, Celestino, Teodoro,
35 Carmela, Silvia, Cristina, Dora, Elvira + other members of the forestry group and
36 the women's group.

37 **Location:** Piedra Blanca, house of Modesto

38
39 **Content:**

40 We are having a meeting with the forestry group, where the newly established
41 women's group also is present. The women from the women's group, together with
42 the female members of the forestry group, are seated behind the men. The agenda
43 of the meeting is:

- 44 1. Andrés will present the Forestry Management Plan
- 45 2. They will talk about the commercialization of wood
- 46 3. Álvaro will talk about how to integrate the women into forestry activities

47
48 **Conversations:**

- 49 - Álvaro: there should be cooperation between the boards of the forestry group
50 and the women's group. It is important that the cooperation is organized and
51 structured.

- Men should explain the women how to cut pacaya and other fruits in the right and sustainable way.
- Also, people here do not consume or know these edible goods, therefore they are not aware of the opportunities it can yield selling them. Àlvaro found a bottle of palmiche in a supermarket for 167lempira. When he tells about that, people seem to be surprised.
- The women's group should be trained in how to package these goods and sell them to supermarkets.
- The women seem motivated: they say that it is a very good idea, and that they would like to learn and work.
- Àlvaro asks the men if they would accept that the women would participate and harvest edible goods. The men seem to agree to that.
- D.Carmela says that they need the men to teach them about the plants. They would like to go out to the forest one day and they would like the men to show them everything (the plants, how to harvest them, etc).
- Àlvaro says that Nepenthes will bring a person who can train them to package the plants.
- The women also express their wish to plant tomatoes, cabbage, onions, etc. Àlvaro says that Nepenthes can assist them in doing so. He tells them that the women's group in Calderas already sold some packaged goods.
- Modesto says that he would like the women's group to make cakes and sell them in Piedra Blanca during the holidays, such as Christmas or Easter. In that way, the women can earn some money, and the people would not have to go to Trojas to buy them.
- Àlvaro says that his wife can come to Piedra Blanca and teach the women how to make cakes, package flowers, etc. (Pasterla, floreria).

Personal comments:

- The men are sitting in front, closest to Àlvaro. All of the women are gathered behind. The female members of the forestry group do listen to what Andrés is saying, but do not really participate in the discussion. At some point they even stop listening to what the men are talking about, not participating in the discussion at all, they are just sitting behind and talking with each other.
- After the meeting we gather in a circle, Àlvaro starts speaking to the women and asking them how they can participate in productive activities associated with forestry management. He mentions some ideas, like:
 - o Orchids (make a nursery and take care of them and sell them afterwards). There are orchids all over the forest; there are some special areas where there are lots of them. So an orchid project could be an interesting and realistic opportunity.
 - o Medicinal plants
 - o Edible goods: Pacaya, aguacate, kapuka, jelotillo, palmiche, pellmite. There is especially a very large quantity of pacaya in the forest. Cristina says that she has already been cutting pacaya and selling it for 15 lempira in Tocoa.
- An important question is who will get the money from selling these goods. Dora says that the women's group has a treasurer, who should manage the money

Date: August 9th

Activity: Debriefing meeting with Nepenthes

Location: Nepenthes office, Olanchito

Participants: Naza, Álvaro, Modesto, Celestino, Emilio, Arturo, Diego, Yadira

Content:

Today we had a final debriefing meeting with Nepenthes, in which I presented our findings and recommendations.

Conversations:

Diego: It is wrong for the forestry group to pay the women. They should manage the income themselves.

Modesto: We have 5 women in the forestry group, but they do not participate. We should try to change that. There are many opportunities for the women to participate, we should seek them.

Diego: We should change their vision from short-term to long-term. As of now, they do not see their long-term future. They think: "Why should I engage in productive activities, if it is not going to give me an income tomorrow?". This is a problematic way of thinking, because the vision of Nepenthes is long-term, 30 years ahead. Therefore, the mindsets of women should be changed.

Modesto: Many girls do have dreams, but they do not have resources to realize them. That is why they do not want to express their dreams openly.

Álvaro: We will keep working with the women and go further with the gender aspect. We want to make them participate in productive activities, because that is what they need to get a better life. We need to give the women ideas on how to improve their homes, e.g. put cement on the floor. We should help them improve their housing situations, because it is one of the objectives of the project.

Appendix XI: Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the following people who have helped and supported us throughout the process of writing our thesis.

First of all, we are very grateful for the highly professional guidance and helpful inspiration provided by Maribel Blasco – our thesis supervisor.

Thanks to André Mildam from Nepenthes for the invaluable support you have given us in order to make our research possible.

Our gratitude goes to Medardo Castillo – the project director of the Olanchito Sustainable Forestry Management Project – for helping us with valuable information, planning our stay in Paletales and Piedra Blanca, and last but not least, making us feel highly welcome in the office of Nepenthes-ANPFOR.

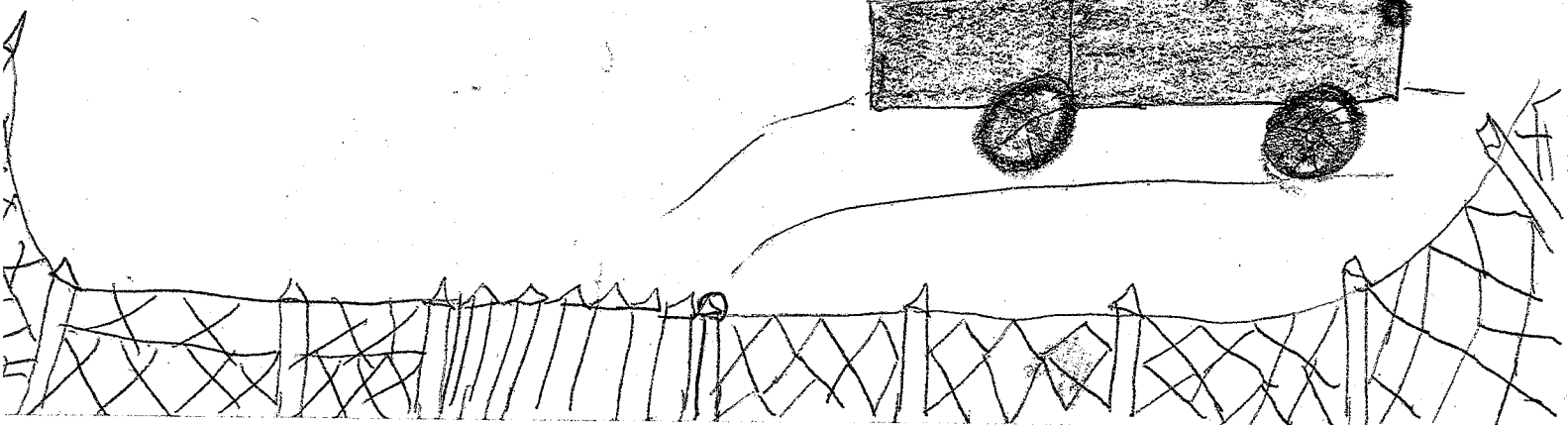
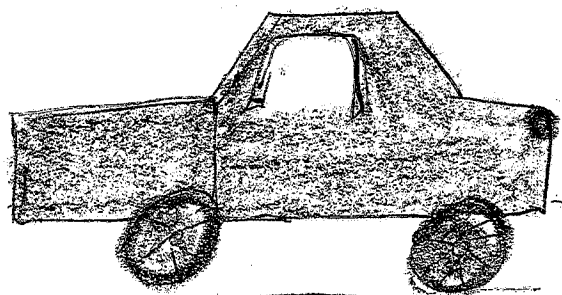
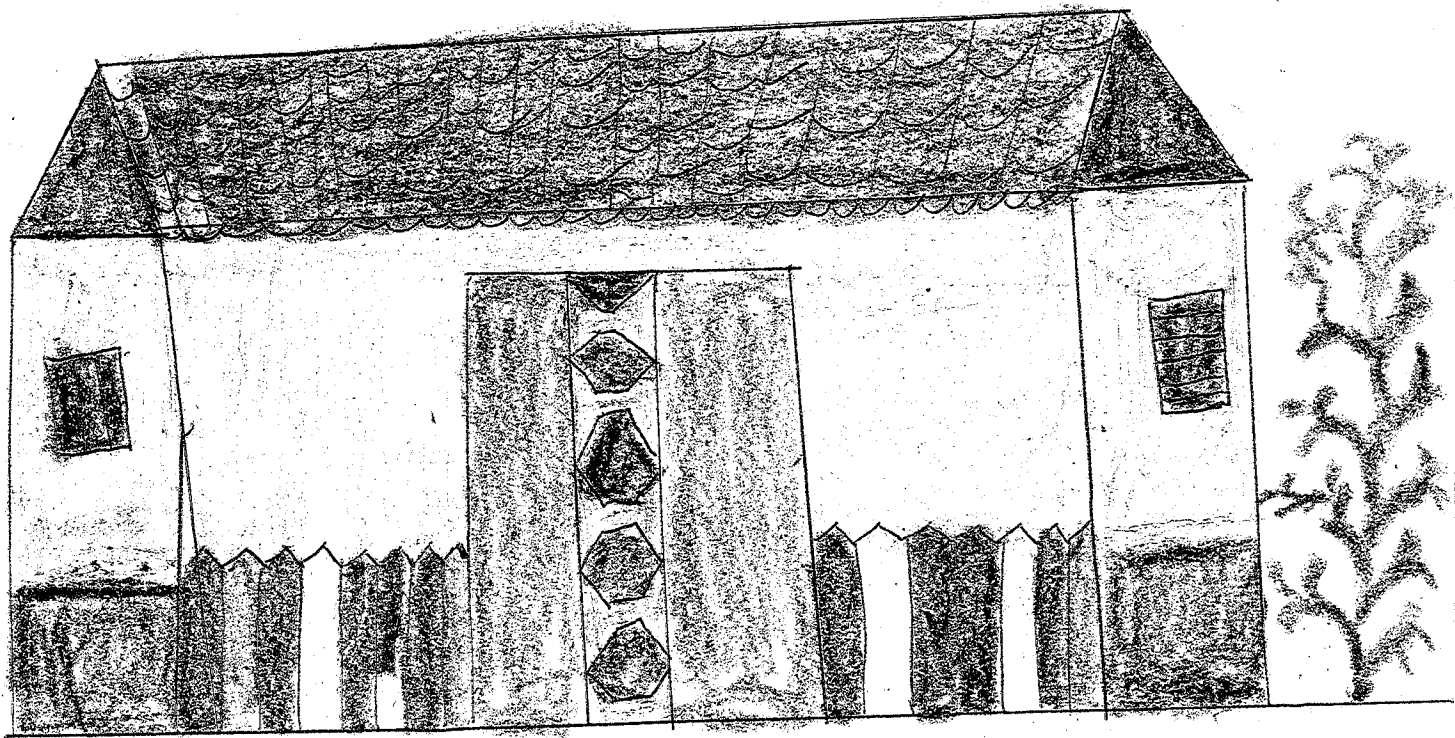
We would also like to say special thank you to Àngel Maria Pacheco – the agronomist working for the ANPFOR-Nepenthes project – for his useful advises and friendliness.

Thanks to Yadira Alvarado Riego – the office administrator at the Nepenthes-ANPFOR office in Olanchito – for your hospitality and support with practical issues.

Last but not least – we are grateful to the people of Paletales and Piedra Blanca for their hospitality, taking the time to talk to us and get to know us, and for making us feel welcome during our stay in your communities. We will never forget you and the experience we gained during our time there.

Paletoles 5 de Junio 2010

Soy Nilcia mi deseo es Trabajar
Para que mis hijos vivan bien
hacerles una casa Para que ellos
Puedan Pasar su vida bien y Poder
Es todarlos me gustaria Trabajar Por
el bien de los demas



Paletales 5/7.2010.

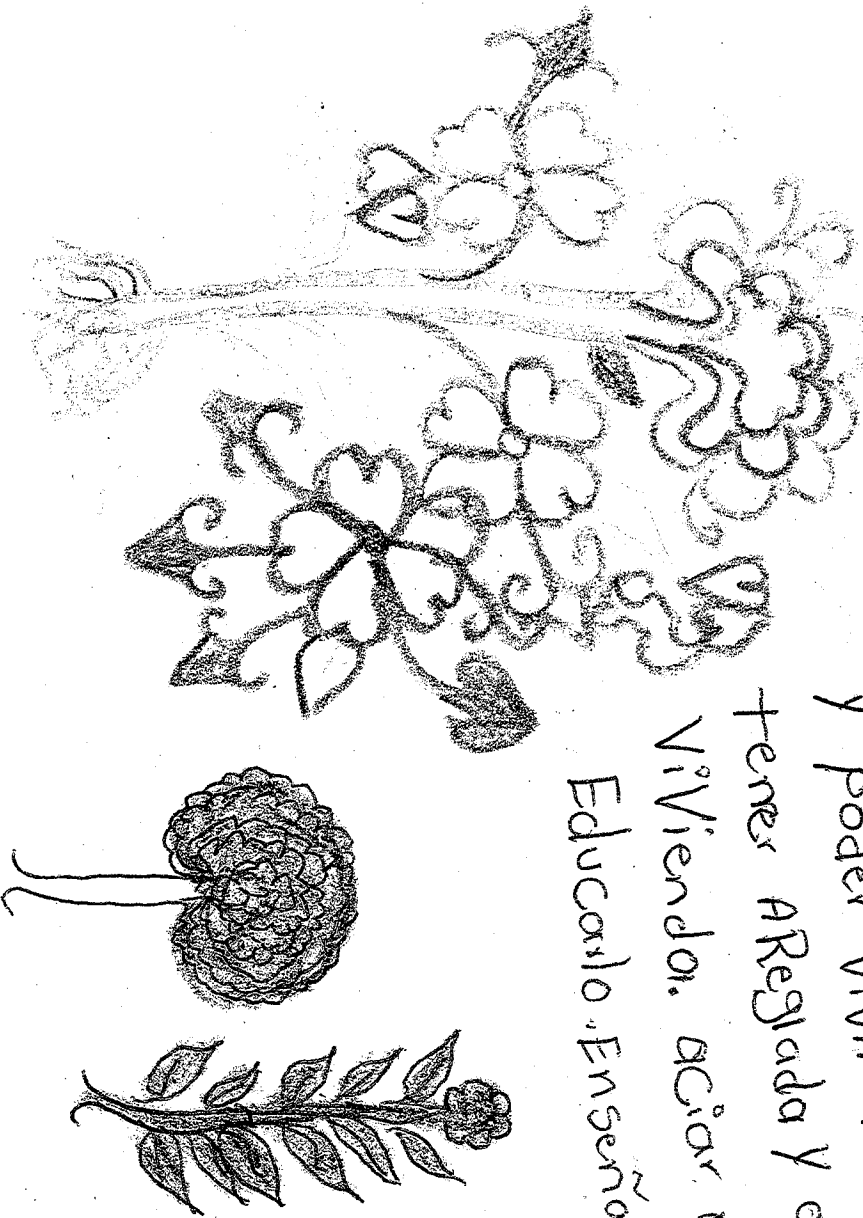
Yo. Dinora Urbina.

Me gustaria tener. mi buena casa. mi

mi buen trabajo Estudiar mi hijo

Para que sea un Profesor.
Y poder vivir mejor en el futuro,

tener AReglada Y aciada nuestra
ViVienda. aciar mi hijo; Cuidarlo,
Educarlo. Enseñarle cosas buenas



Paletés de Julio del 2010

Me gustaria tener una granja
de gallinas

Me gustaria educar ha mi hijos
y darle todo lo bueno en la vida

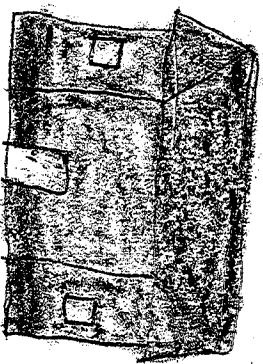
Me gustaria que a las Mujeres
nos dieran un mejor salario

Me gustaria tener un Puerquero
Para que me genere Higosos

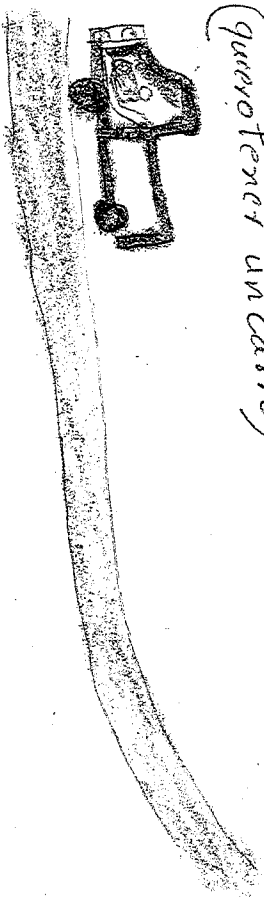
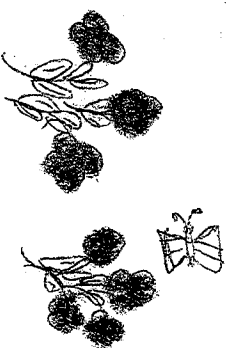
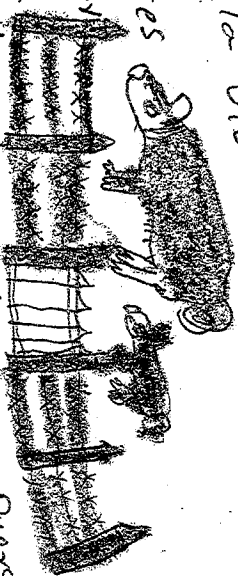
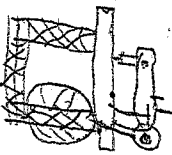
(quiero tener una buena casa)

(quiero que haya trabajo para las mujeres)
(quiero tener un carro)

Me gustan muchos los
Flores

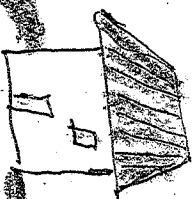
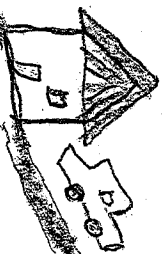
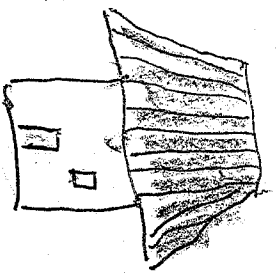
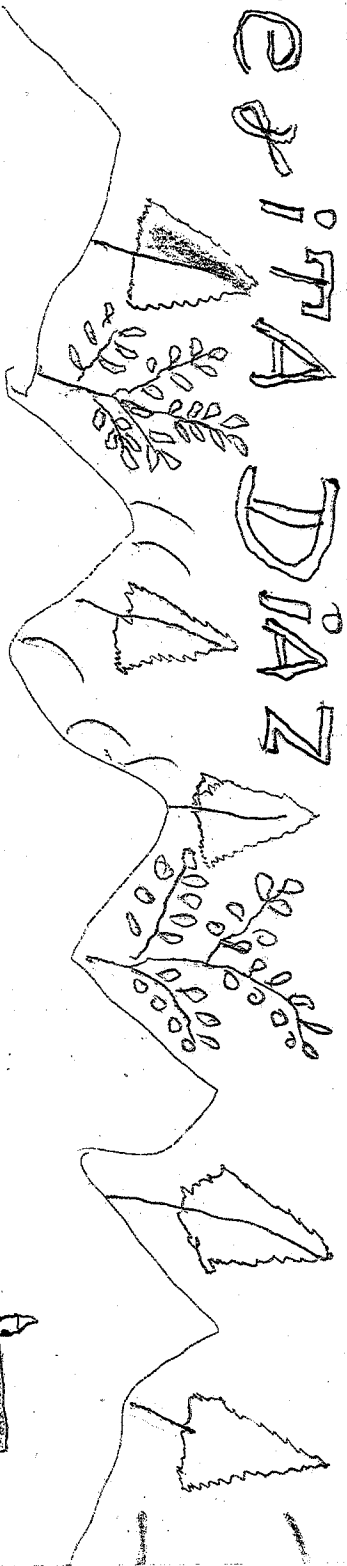


quiero ser sastre

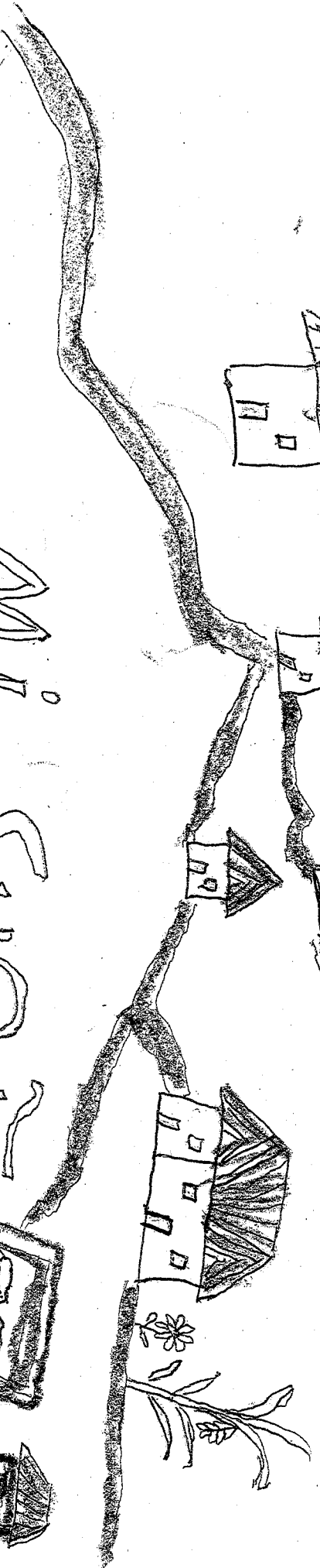


Fueryn Marleny Rodriguez Diaz

EMERITA DIAZ



Alcaldesa

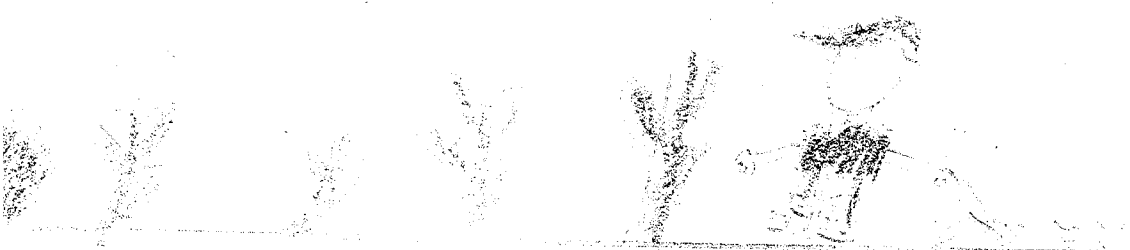
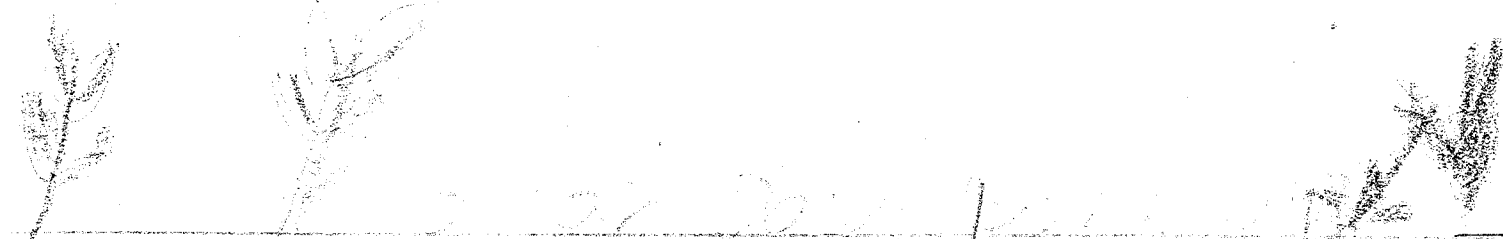
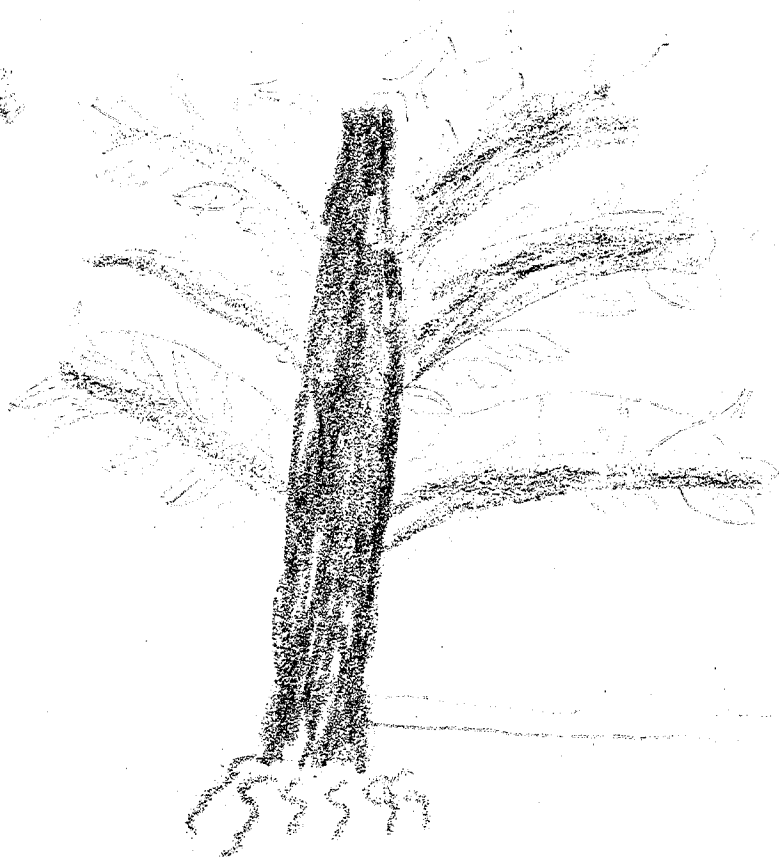
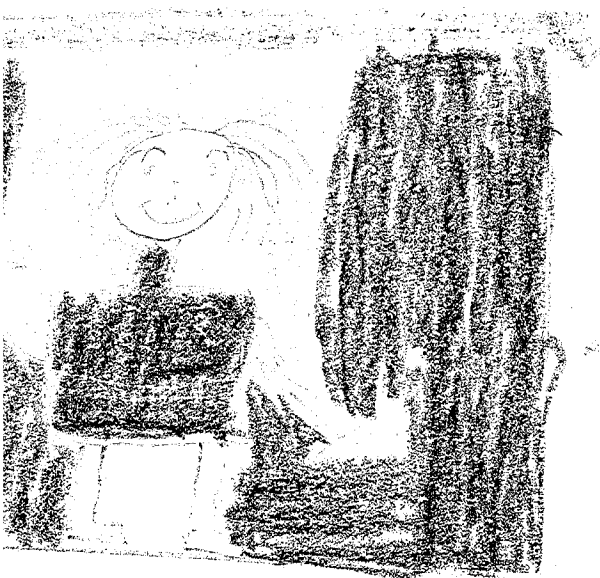


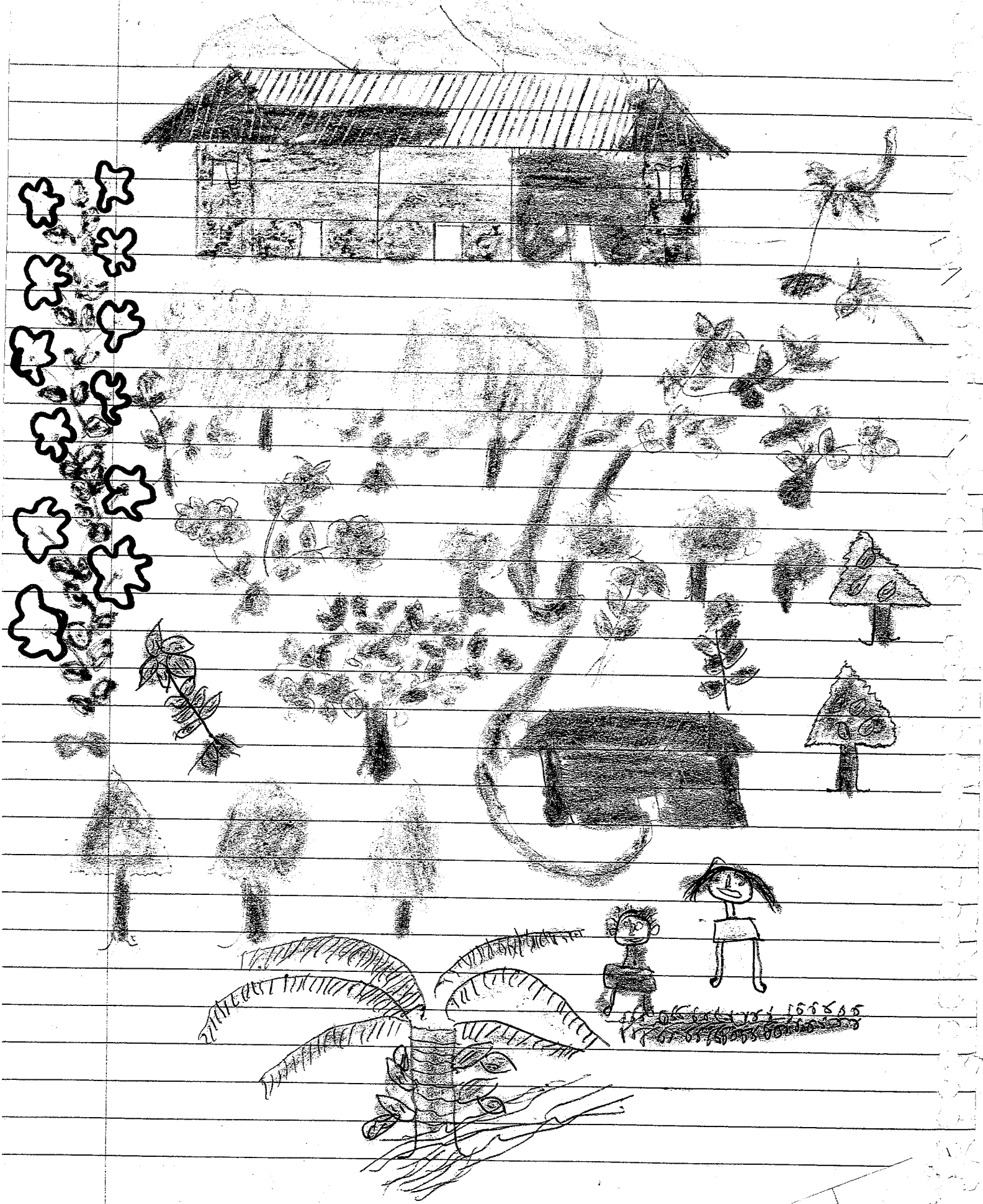
ESTE ES MI SUEÑO EN EL
FUTURO CONSTRUIR UN

MEJOR A MIENTRO DE VIVIR

Paletalez 5/7.2010
Josefa felipa Rosales.









- salir a bailar conmigo
- hombre que me hace reír
- casa en la naturaleza
para cerca de la ciudad

- dos hijos

- ir de viaje

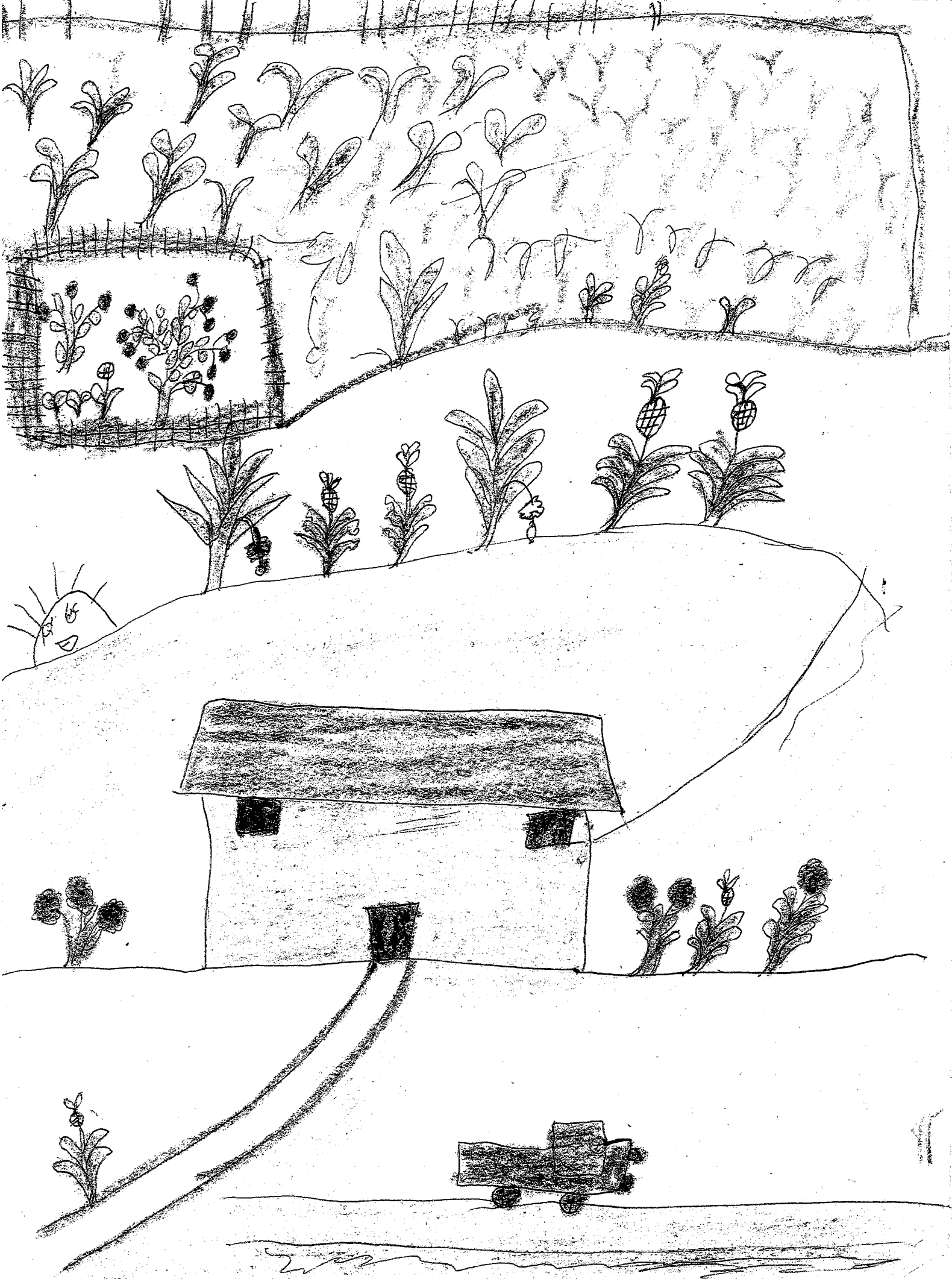
- los dos trabajamos

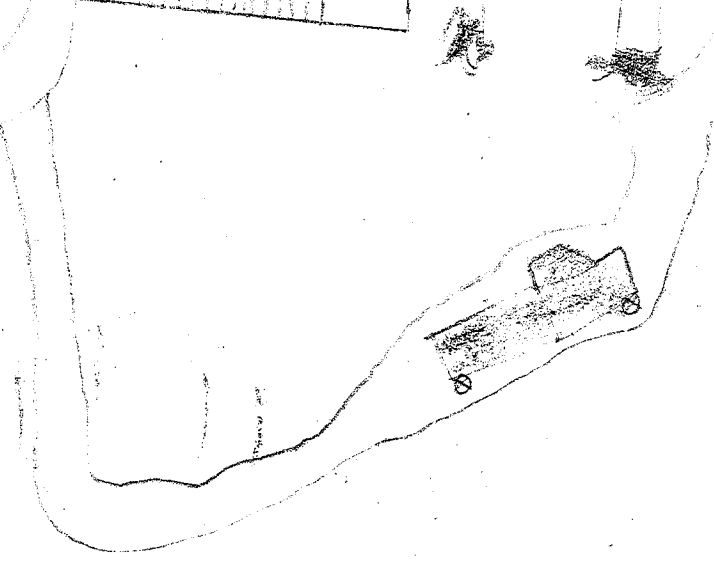
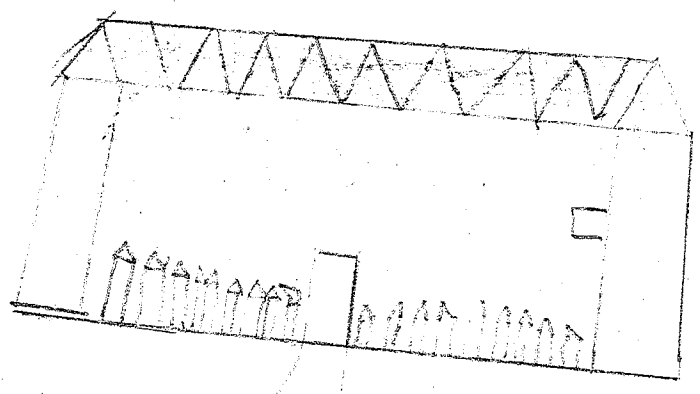
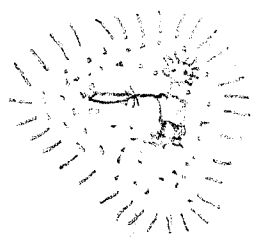
- ni ricos ni pobres, vivimos bien

- que pasemos el tiempo libre
juntos

- pasar tiempo juntos en la natura-
laleza, tener un hombre activo

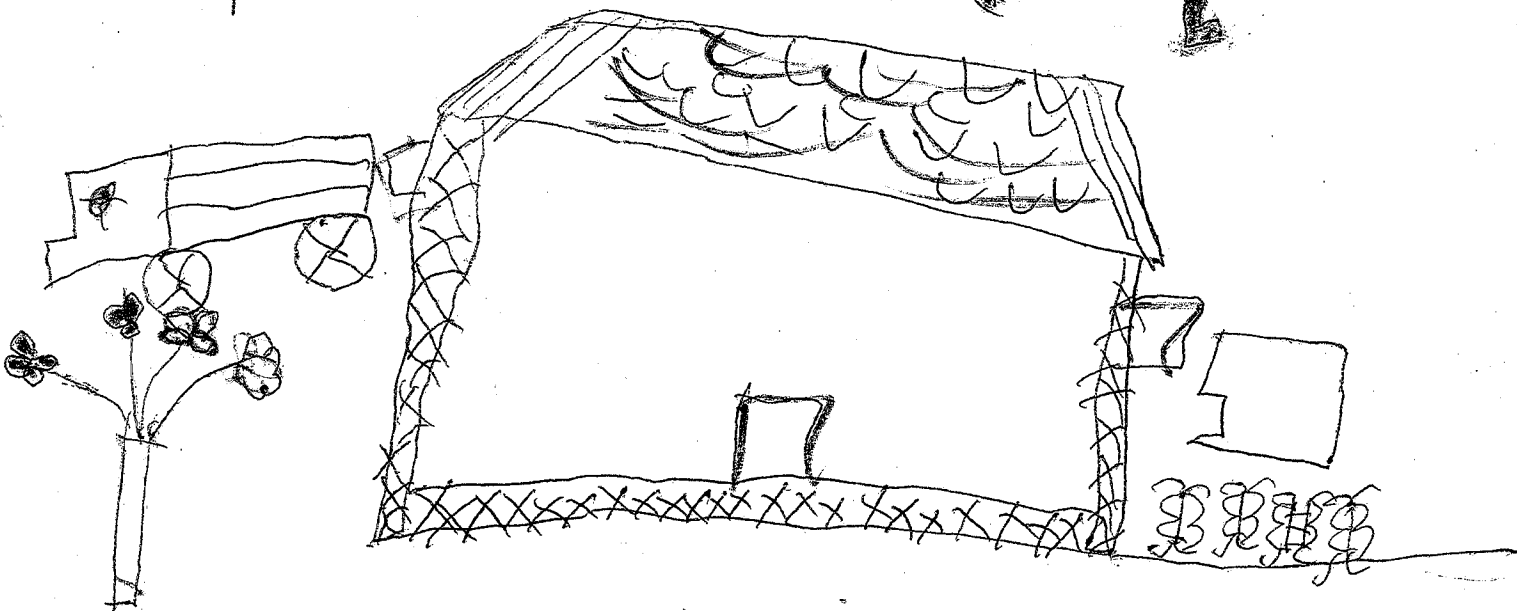
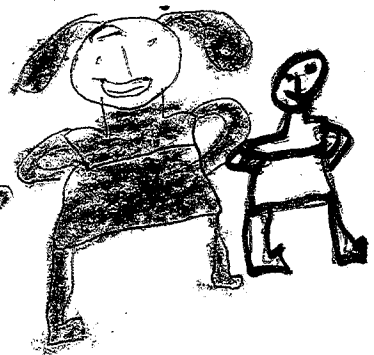
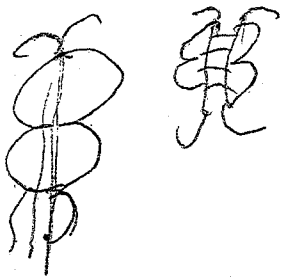
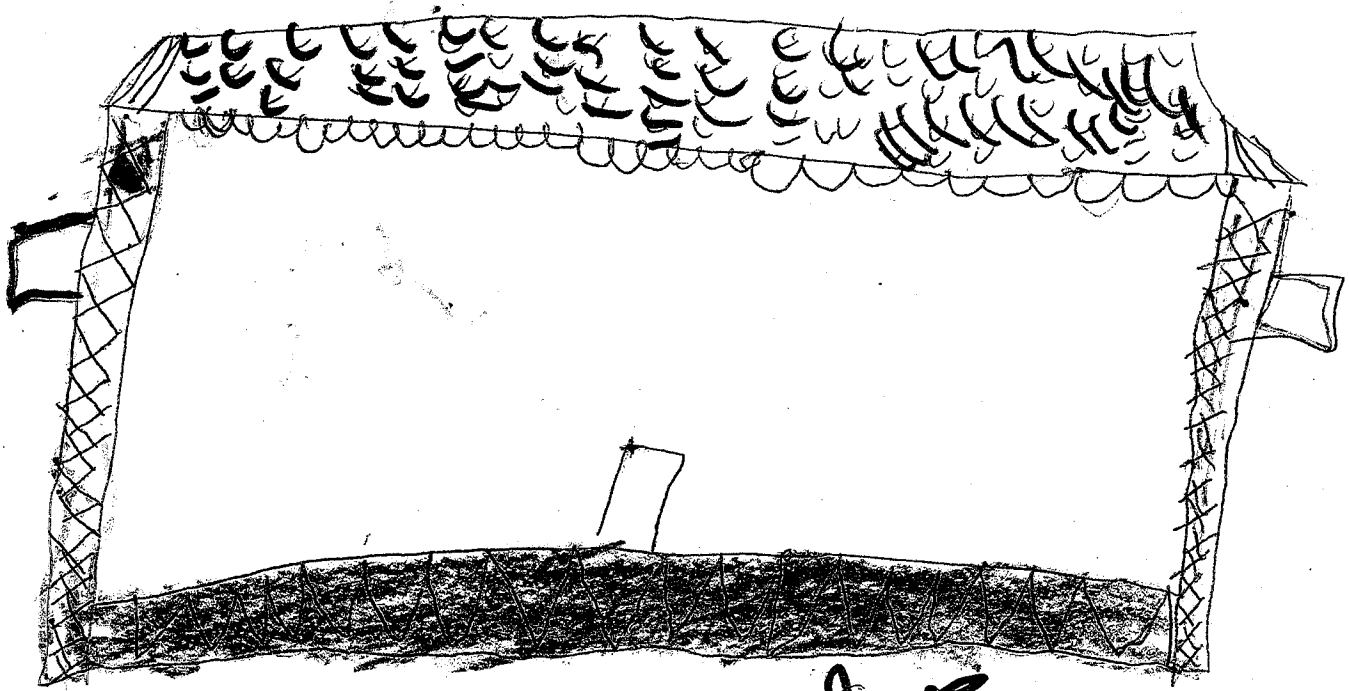
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a compartir el trabajo, tam-

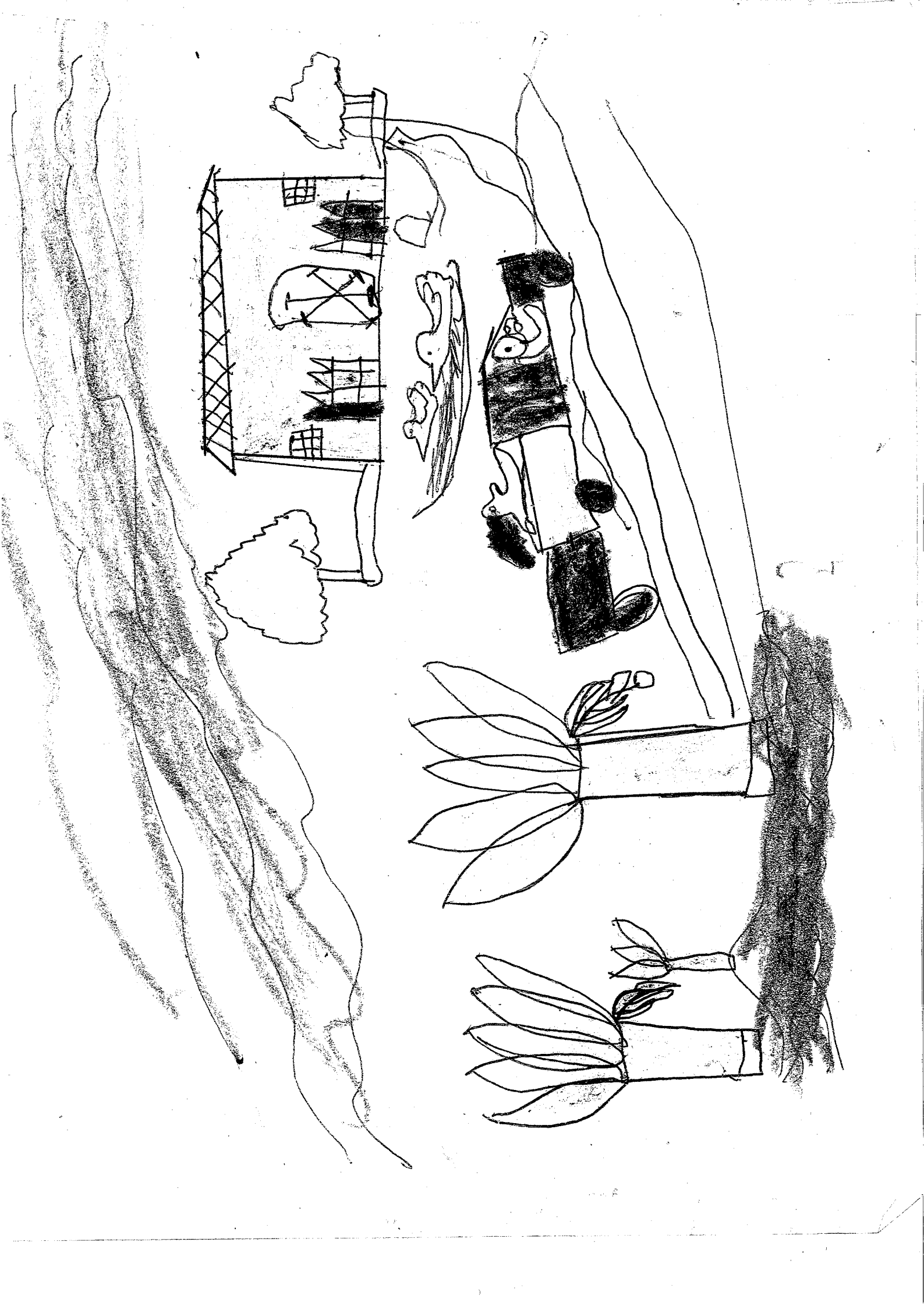




14/5 feriado

Casa





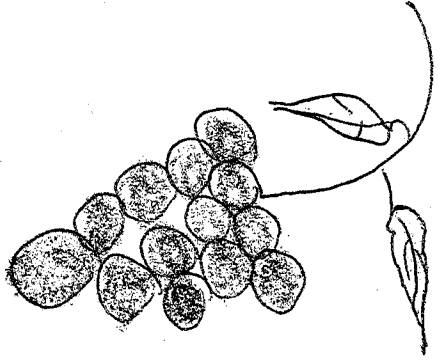


Sandía

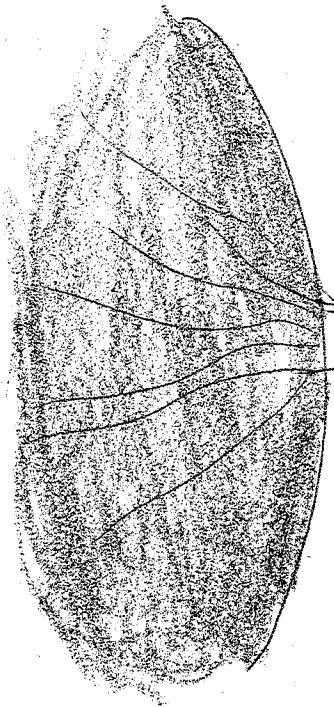
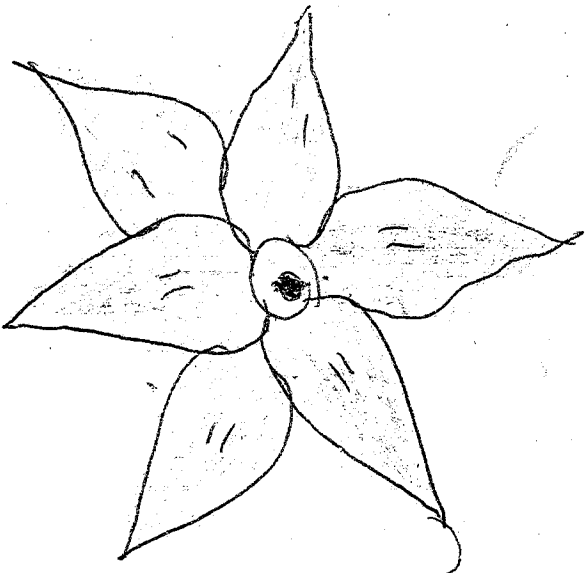
uva

Naranja
Ami me gustaria tener
un Jardin

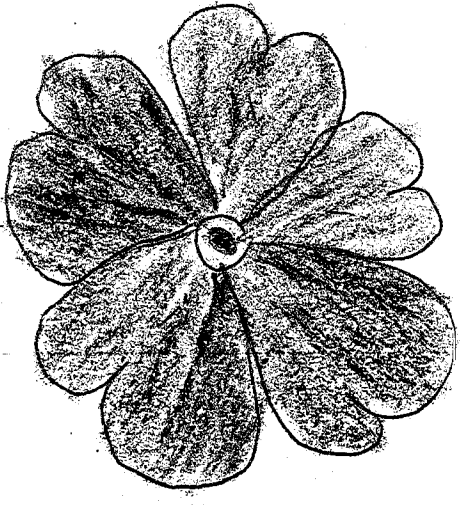
Iris
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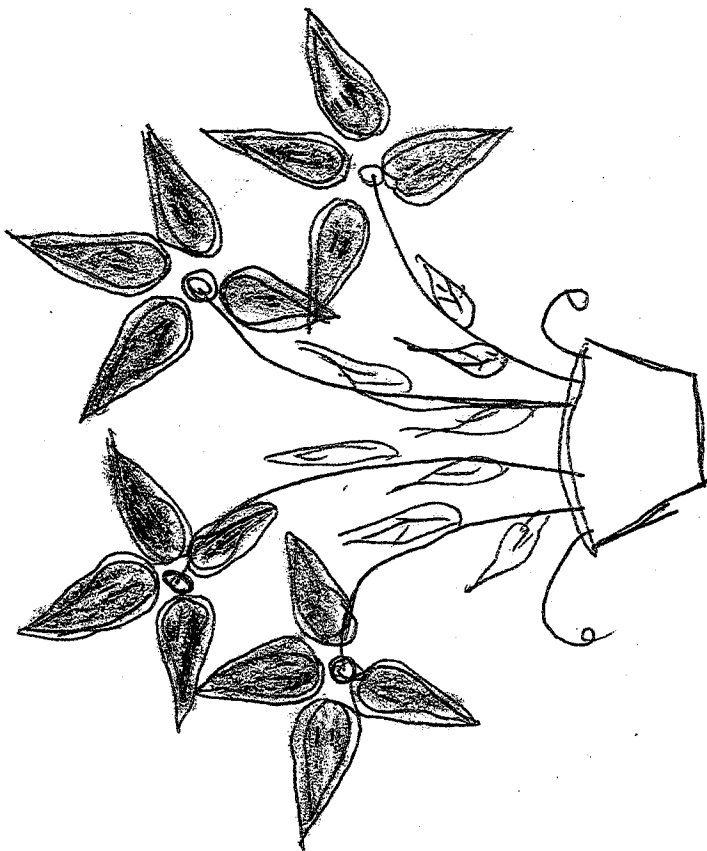
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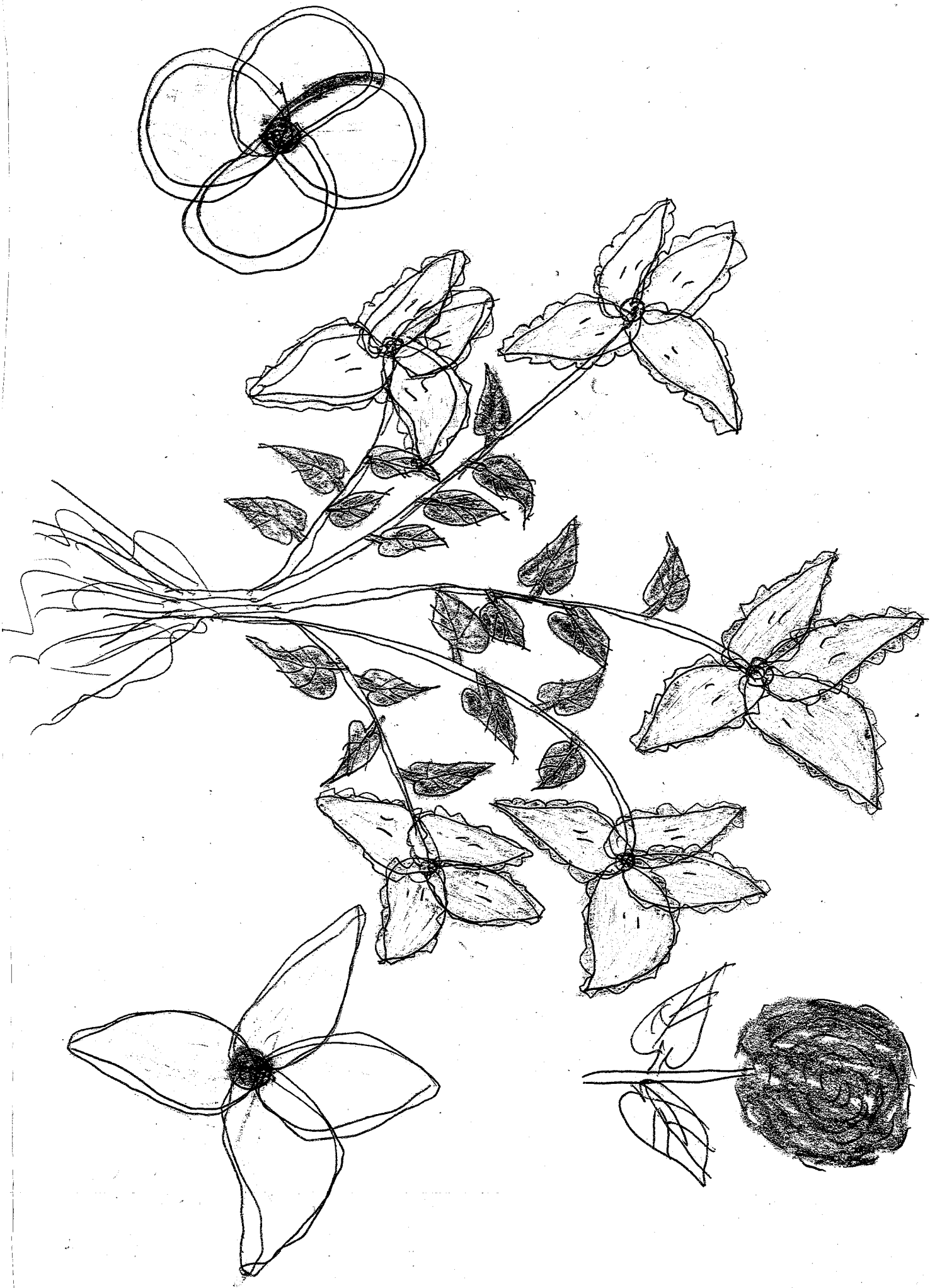
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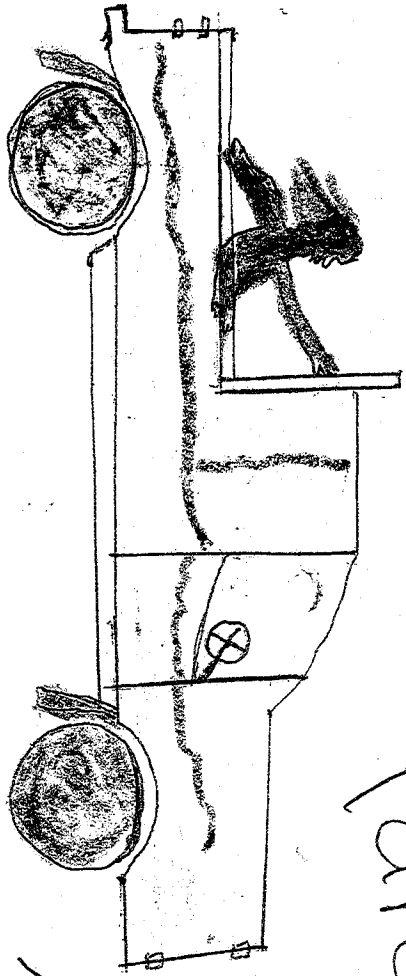
KENIA VEEA



Kelin Xiomara Rosales



meataria
Para Servicio
de todos

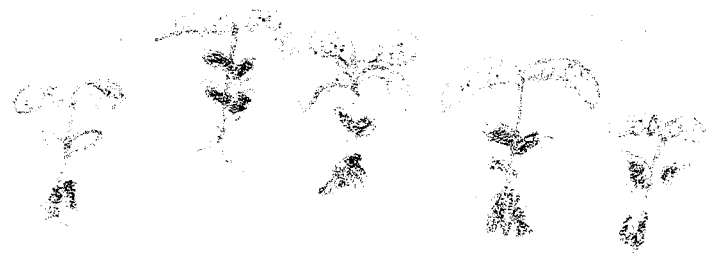
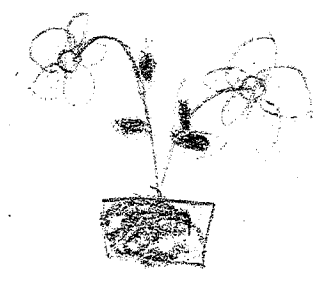
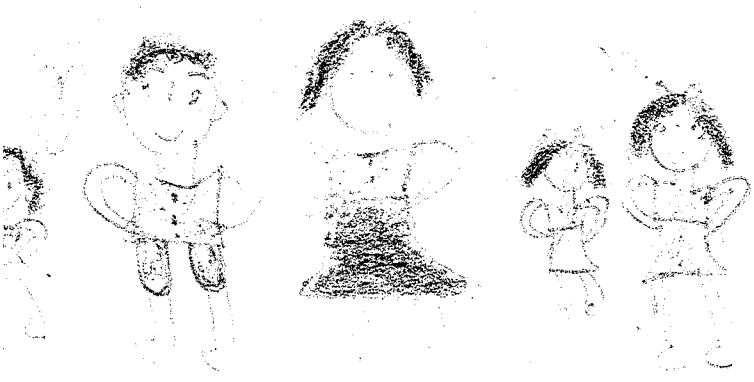
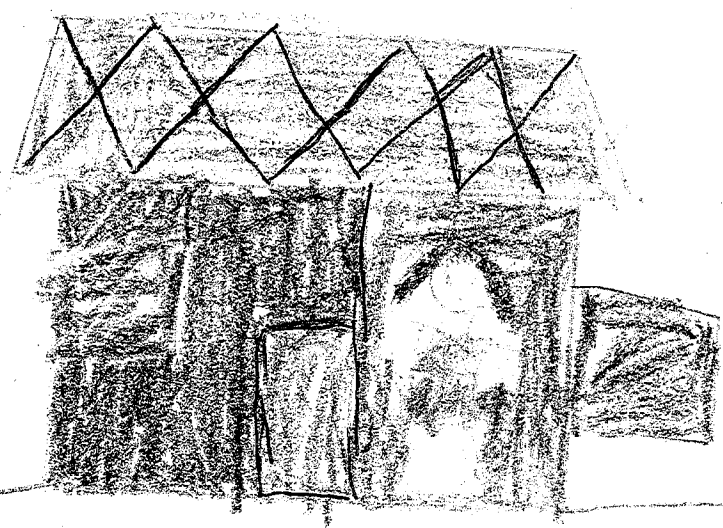


De Angel

150 Bros

~~Belkin lisbel y urbing~~

Belkin lisbel y urbing

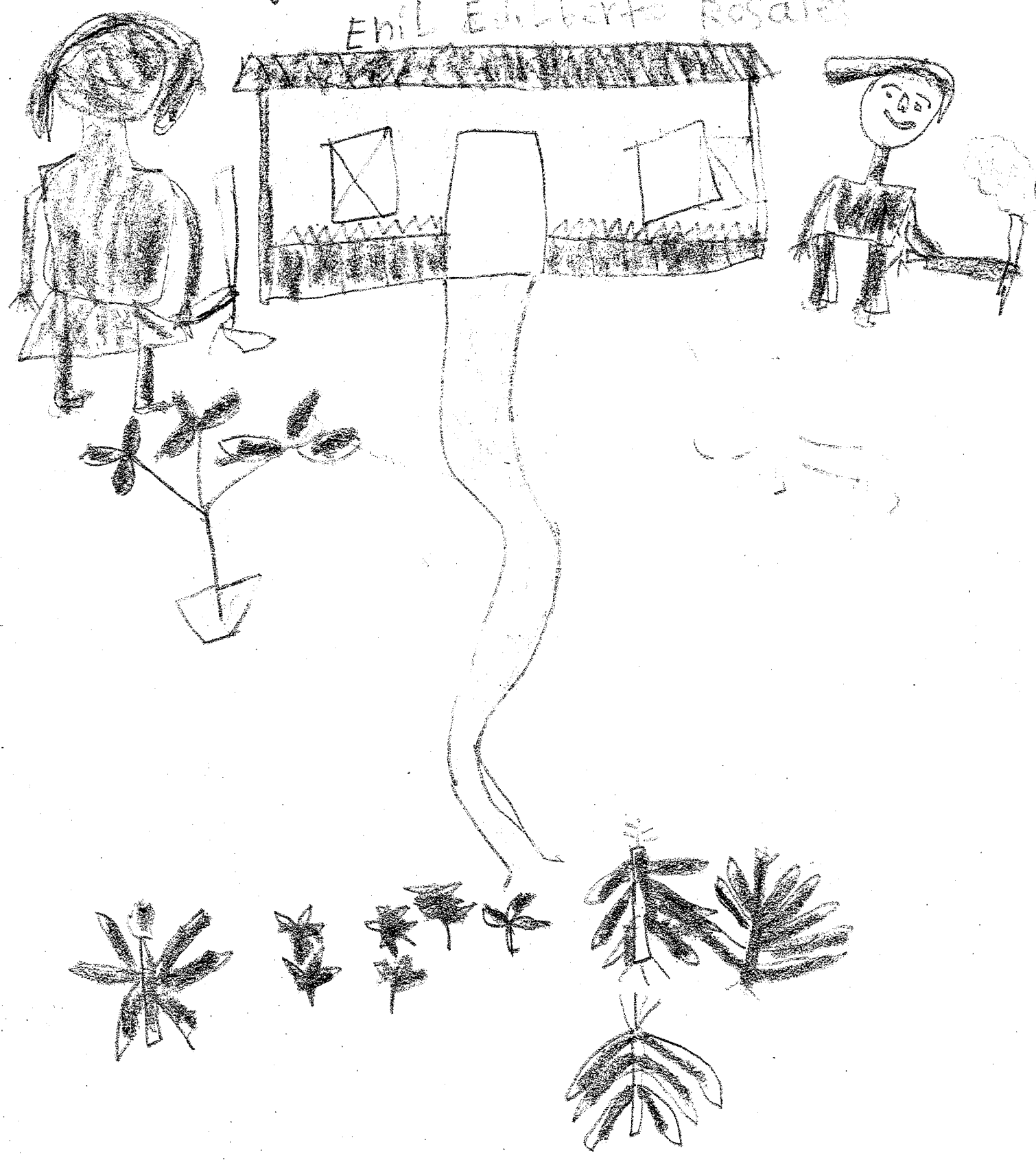


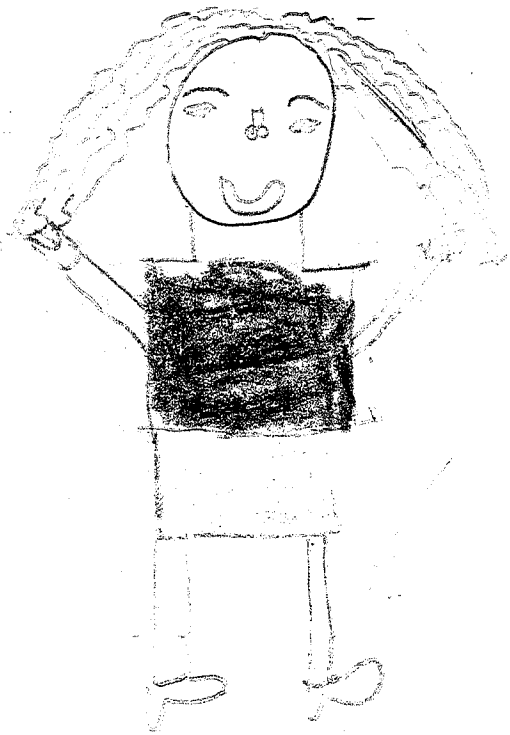
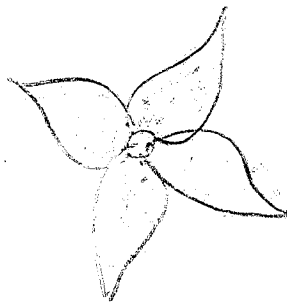
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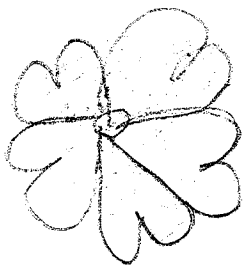
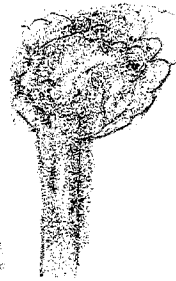


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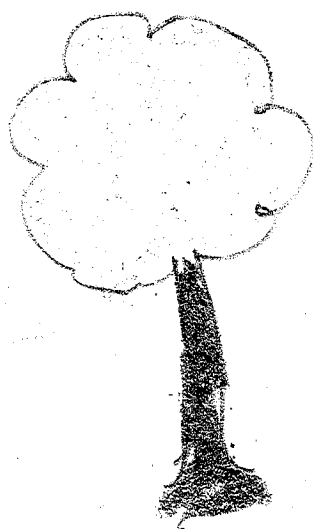
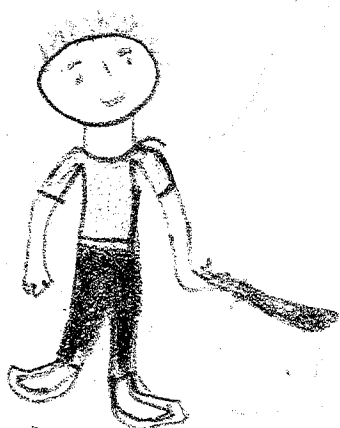
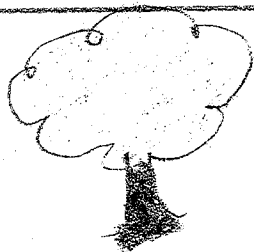
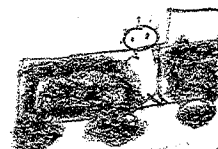
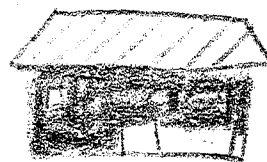




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Danel4

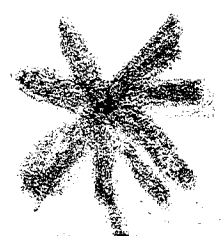
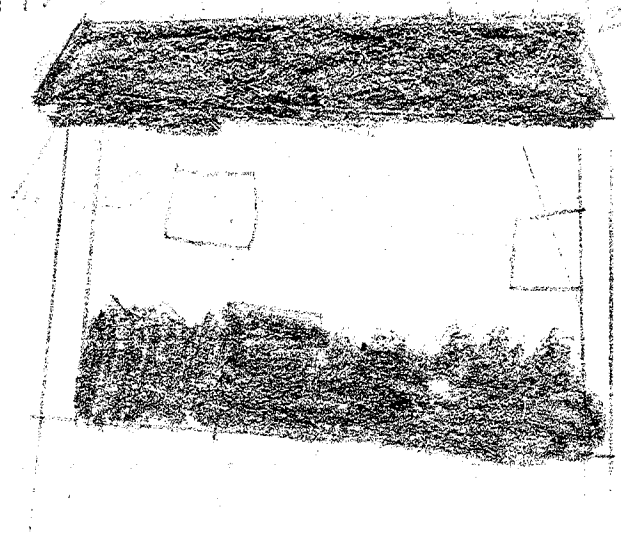


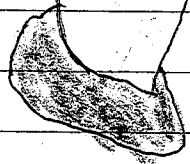
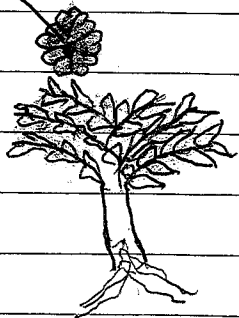
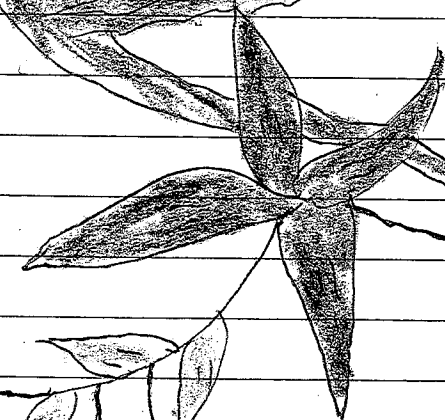
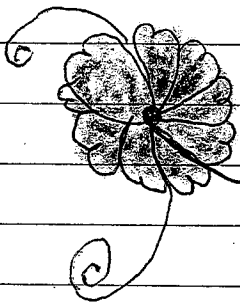
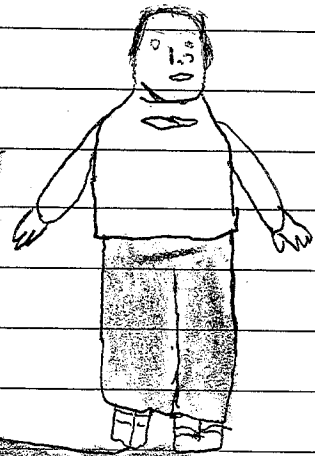
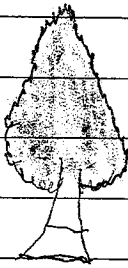
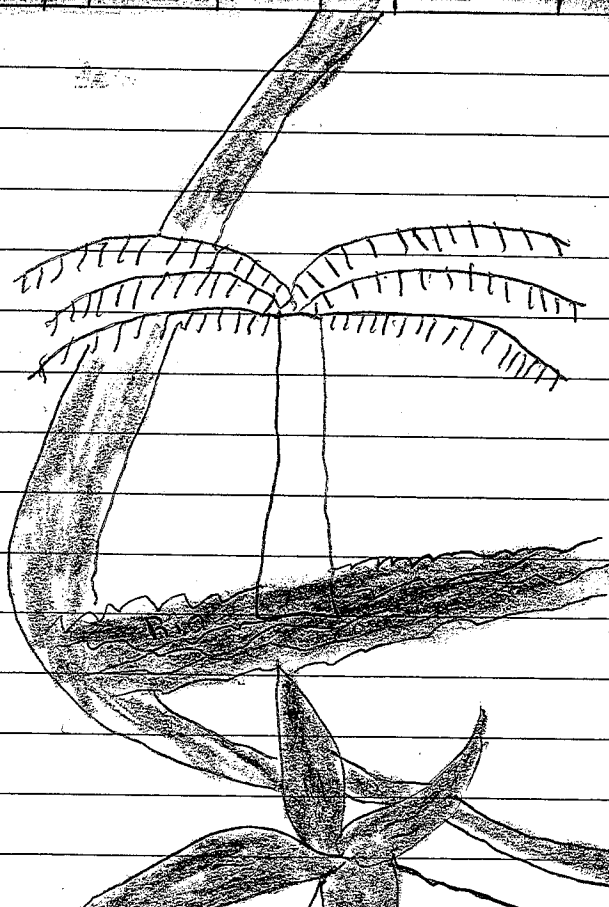
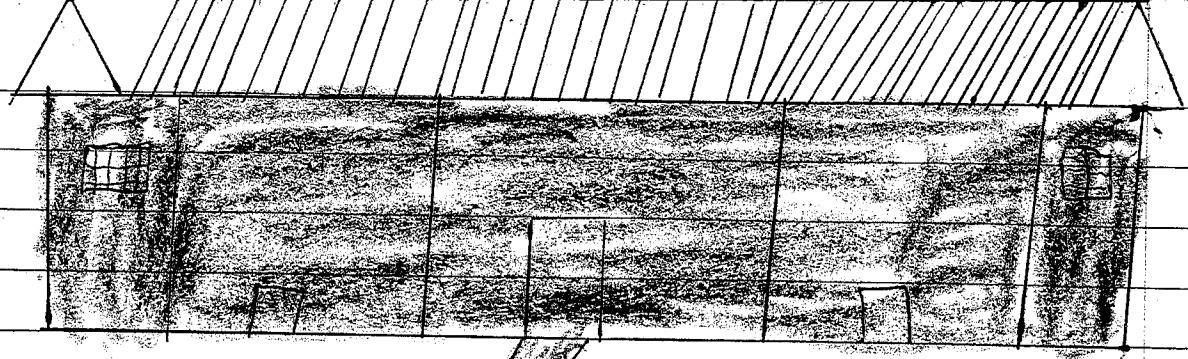
ILSA ya eli RIVERA



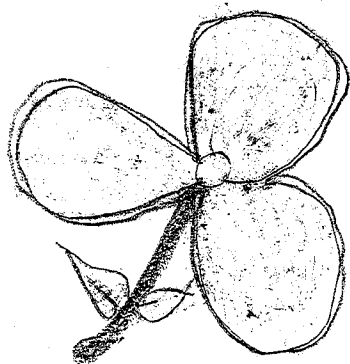
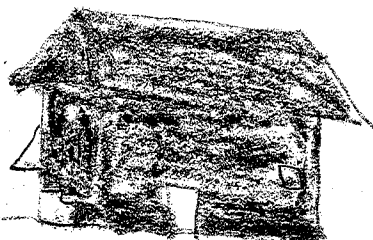
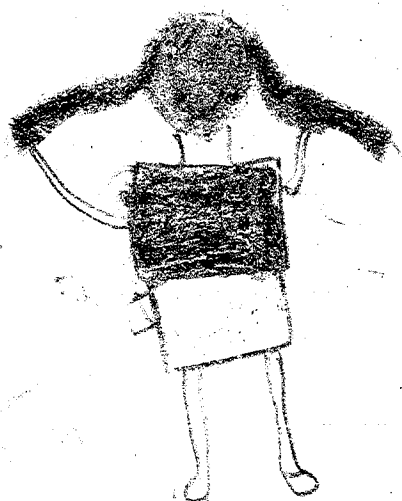


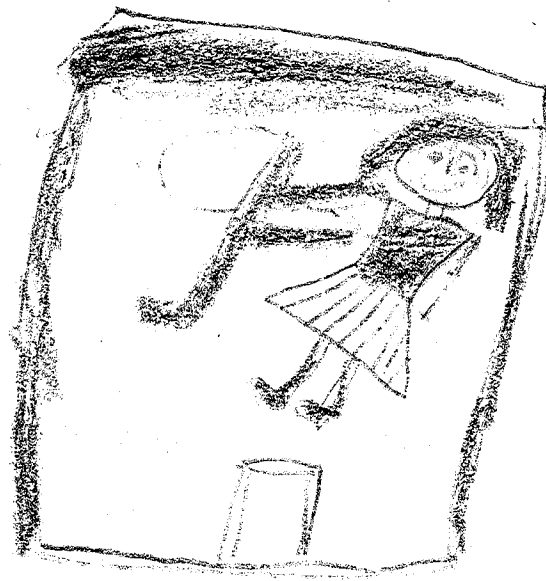
Ehwa - Small Village Road



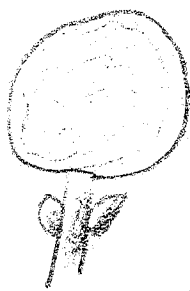


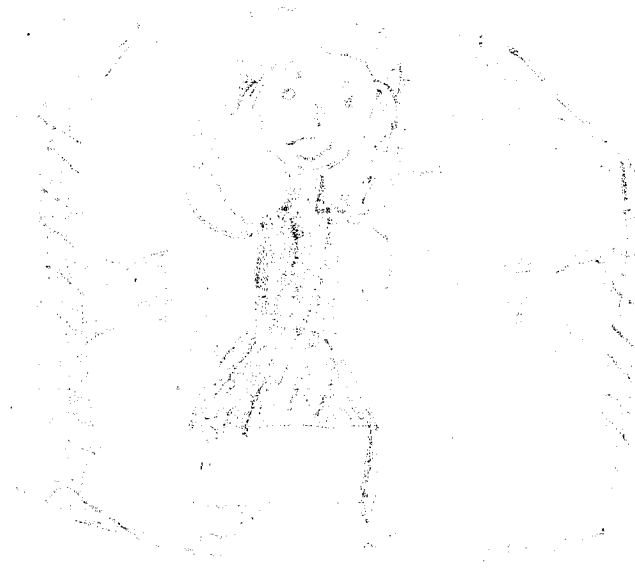
Sandra



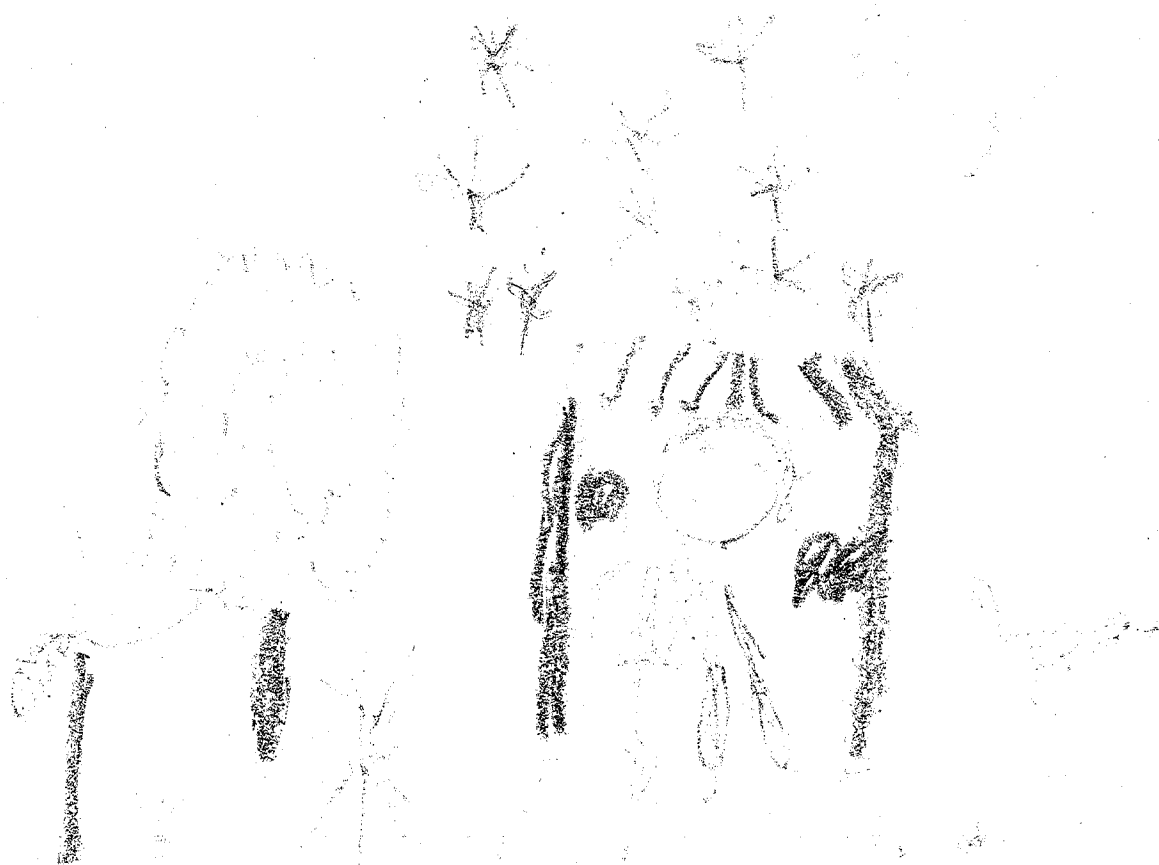
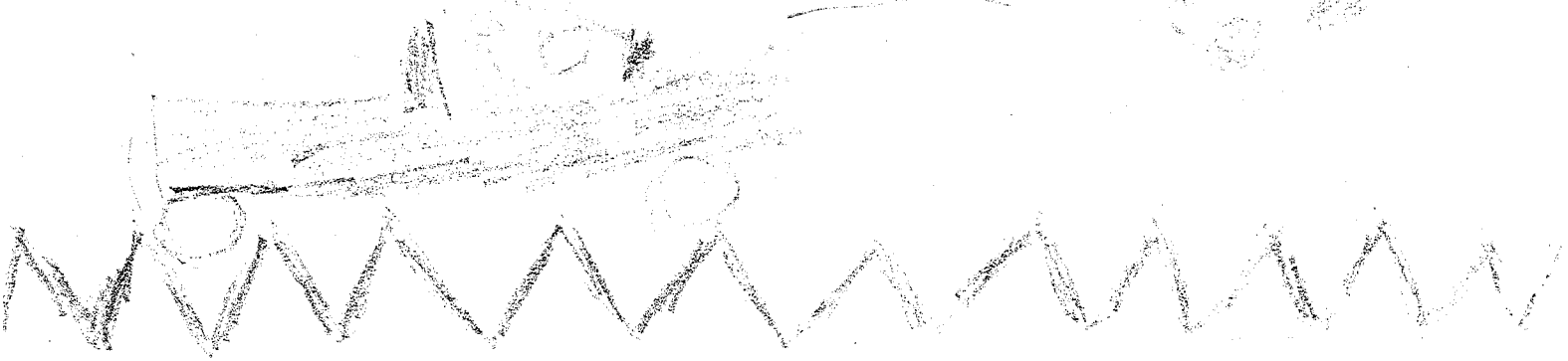


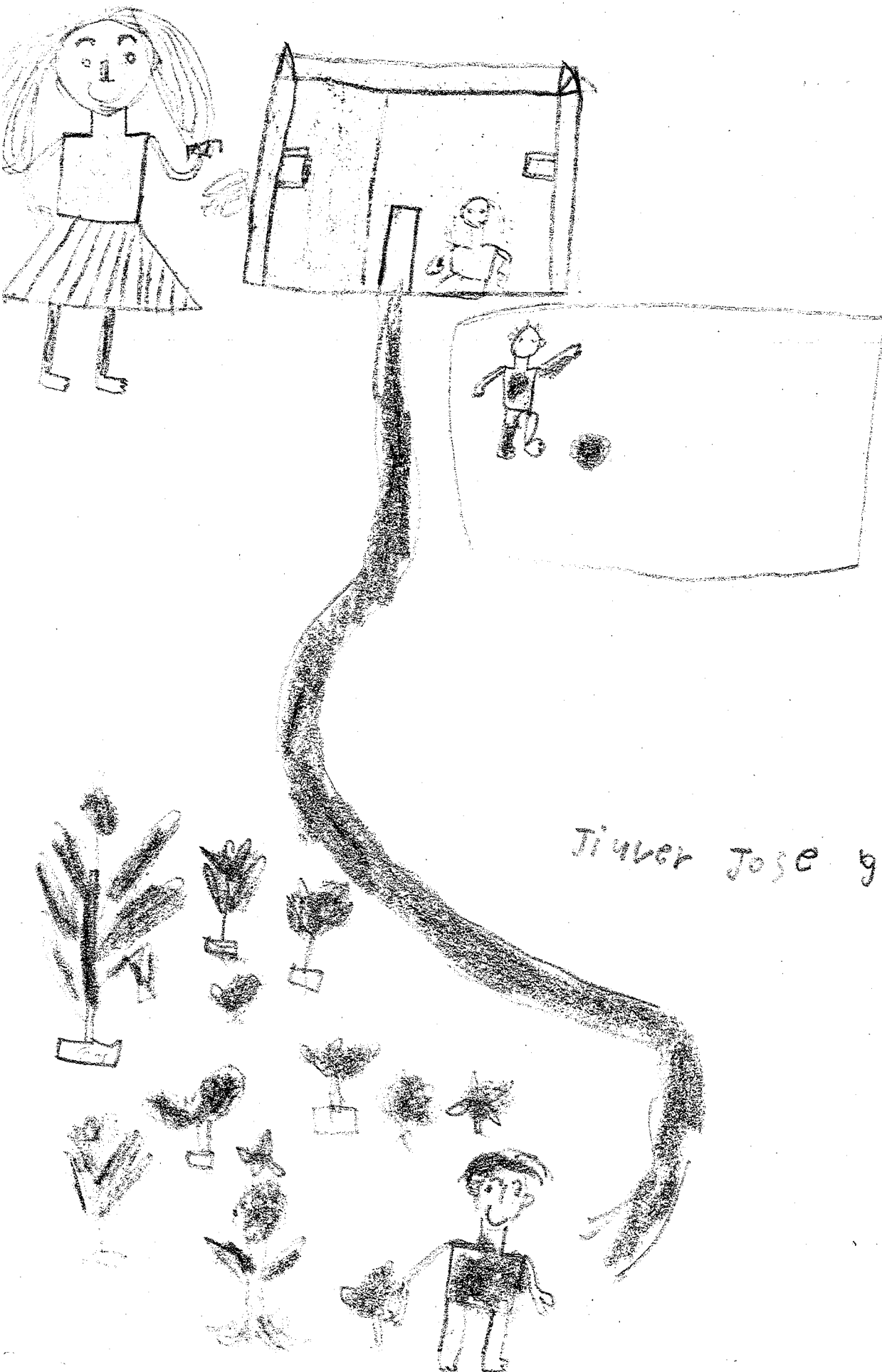
keili yelina matute



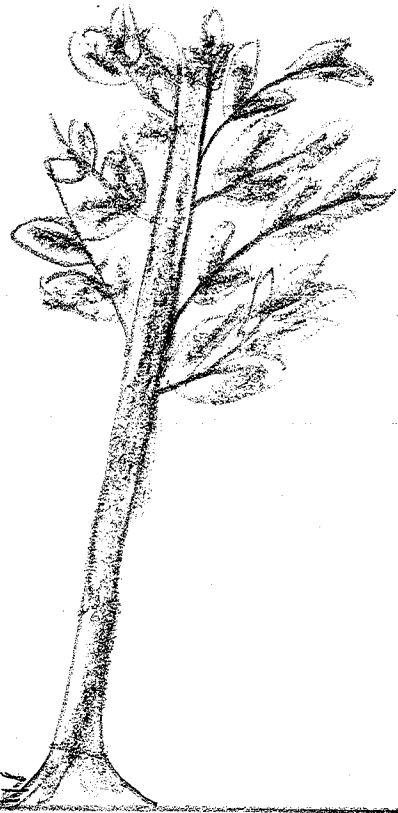
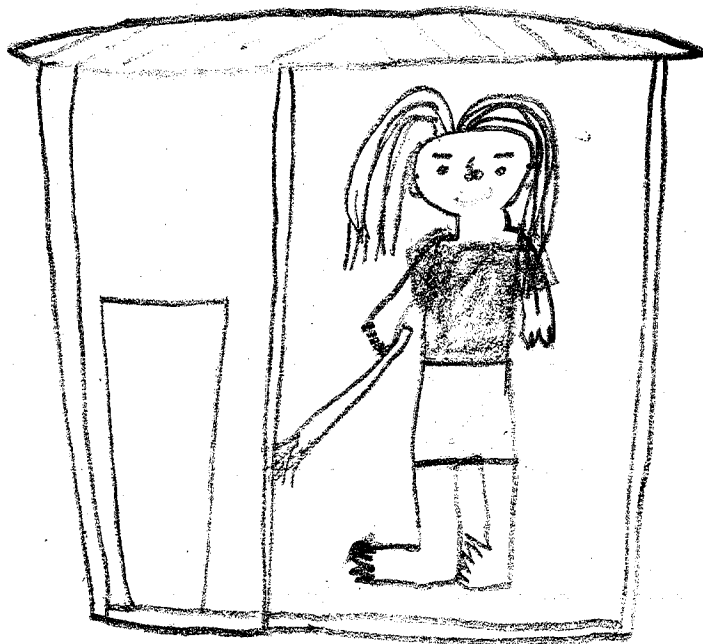


Chlorophyll



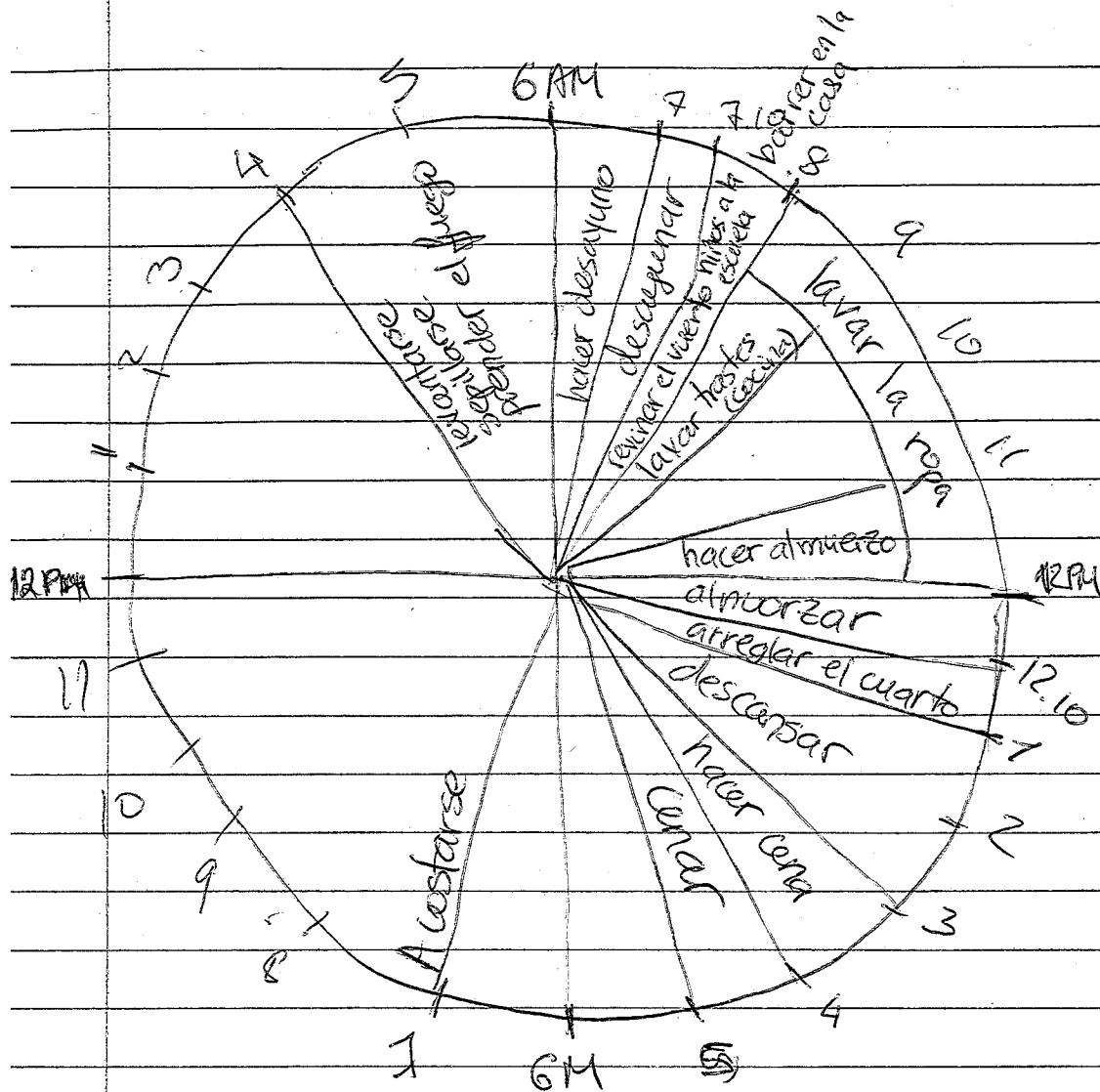


Jiuler Jose garsia



Claudia ya qaelin fune





They said they always have to cook something different for each meal and that takes a lot of time.

Las mujeres que viven en el campo trabajan la agricultura tanto al interior como fuera de sus unidades domésticas. Realizan largas caminatas a través de las montañas para garantizar agua en sus hogares. Para salir de la pobreza, establecen pequeñas empresas a las cuales dedican su vida. Además, siembran plantas medicinales y construyen sus propias viviendas. En fin, son madres, abuelas, esposas, tías, curanderas, costureras, panaderas, maestras, artesanas, artistas, escritoras y poetas. También son migrantes. Algunas dejan atrás la residencia familiar en busca de empleos como trabajadoras domésticas u obreras en las maquilas en las grandes ciudades. Otras cruzan las fronteras hacia los países del norte, poniendo en riesgo sus vidas e integridad, se movilizan hacia nuevos horizontes. Conviven con la naturaleza, constituyen su fuerza y, además, son sus cuidadoras. Se organizan, reclaman, luchan y quieren que sus voces sean escuchadas. A pesar de todo lo arriba descrito, tanto su trabajo como su aporte a la economía son constantemente invisibilizados. Ellas no aparecen en las estadísticas. Este es el caso, a pesar que su trabajo "invisible" posibilita y garantiza la reproducción del sistema. Las horas que dedican al trabajo doméstico y al cuidado de las y los hijos, crean las condiciones para que los varones trabajen la tierra y adquieran su propiedad.

Desde hace muchos años, organizaciones feministas y de mujeres han centrado esfuerzos en denunciar estas situaciones mediante el análisis de las inequidades y desigualdades de género. Con base en ello, estructuran propuestas de cambio con miras a lograr que los derechos de las mujeres sean incluidos como contenidos en las leyes y las políticas públicas. Aspiran a que la participación femenina sea considerada pieza clave en el desarrollo de los pueblos. De hecho, uno de los resultados de estas luchas fue precisamente la aprobación de la Política de Equidad de Género en el Agro, (PEGAH, 1999).

Cabe mencionar que es una de las primeras políticas públicas contentivas de derechos de las mujeres aprobadas en Honduras. Contiene el marco conceptual, normativo y estratégico que apunta a la incorporación de las mujeres en la vida productiva del país. A diez años de su implementación, se han logrado algunos cambios; entre estos, puede mencionarse reformas legales relacionadas con el derecho a la tierra, la creación de instancias especializadas encargadas de velar por la implementación de la PEGAH y la progresiva incorporación de las mujeres en las estrategias de desarrollo.

Sin embargo, aún quedan muchos obstáculos por superar. Ejemplo. El porcentaje de mujeres participando en los programas y proyectos es inferior al de los varones. Las acciones dirigidas exclusivamente a las mujeres son escasas, a baja escala y de baja rentabilidad -en términos de generación de ingresos- y con montos muy por debajo a los proyectos realizados con los varones. Además, persistente la tendencia a proponer estrategias productivas que reproducen los roles tradicionales de las mujeres. No es ocioso recordar que estas estrategias se limitan a la generación de alternativas productivas y no tomar en cuenta que para ser exitosas necesitan incluir factores que coadyuven a la transformación de los factores culturales. De más está decir que estos últimos están detrás de la subordinación femenina.

En gran medida, todo lo arriba descrito está vinculado a la falta de voluntad política real desde el Estado. En efecto, esta carencia se expresa a través de lo siguiente: insuficiencia de la asignación presupuestaria a programas y proyectos que se realizan con mujeres; bajo apoyo a las instituciones encargadas de implementar la PEGAH y las demás políticas sectoriales. A ello es preciso sumar, la falta de sensibilización de las autoridades y del personal técnico sobre los problemas enfrentados por las mujeres en el campo. En todo caso,

esto último implicaría trabajar desde la perspectiva de género lo cual conlleva la formulación de estrategias orientadas al logro de un cambio sustancial en la situación y condición de las mujeres.

La necesidad de contar con evidencias que den cuenta del nivel de implementación de la PEGAH y los impactos de las acciones realizadas por el Estado motivó al Centro de Estudios de la Mujer (CEM-H) a realizar esta investigación. En efecto, este ejercicio investigativo brinda -desde la propuesta teórica feminista- una mirada crítica a las acciones y medidas implementadas en el país, específicamente, con las mujeres que viven en el área rural.

El Capítulo 1 contiene un análisis de la situación de las mujeres rurales. Arranca con una descripción de la pobreza rural en Honduras y la situación del agro en el país. Aborda los problemas específicos que viven las mujeres en el campo, a ser: pobreza, empleo, ingresos, educación, salud, violencia contra las mujeres, acceso a puestos de decisión e inserción en las actividades productivas. Se clarifica la importancia del trabajo femenino no asalariado para la economía familiar así como para la economía del país.

En el Capítulo 2 describe y analiza el contenido de los instrumentos internacionales, la legislación nacional y las políticas públicas que rigen la participación de las mujeres en los procesos de desarrollo. Este ejercicio permite conocer el marco normativo vigente en el país contentivo de los derechos de las mujeres rurales al igual que las obligaciones del Estado consignadas en estos instrumentos.

Entre tanto, el Capítulo 3 incluye un balance de los avances y limitaciones enfrentados al implementar la PEGAH. Por un lado, enfatiza en la creación de la institucionalidad necesaria para el cumplimiento de sus objetivos y fines contrastando con el debilitamiento o desaparición de las unidades de género creadas dentro del sector público agrícola. Por otro, revisa la falta de claridad conceptual y metodológica sobre las implicaciones de la inclusión del enfoque de género en el accionar del Estado.

El Capítulo 4 está dedicado al análisis y descripción de los siguientes: programas y proyectos que se ejecutan con mujeres -o, por lo menos, las incluyen-; porcentajes de participación de las mujeres por institución; y, ejecución de algunos programas y proyectos específicos. La lista incluye: seguridad alimentaria, bono tecnológico, programas de agro negocios, proyectos de vivienda, cajas rurales, huertos familiares, proyectos productivos, comedores solidarios y proyectos no tradicionales al igual que los contenidos en la ERP, PROYECTO PASA, Red Solidaria y Programa de Reasignación Familiar (PRAF).

Desde nuestro punto de vista, en el Capítulo 5 desarrollamos uno de los aportes más importantes de esta investigación y es el análisis de los impactos concretos de estos programas y proyectos en la vida de las mujeres. Abordamos temas a ser: el aumento de ingresos y el control de los recursos productivos así como las ganancias obtenidas y el acceso a la tierra. De igual manera, revisamos el mejoramiento de su salud sexual y reproductiva, el aumento de sus niveles educativos, la prevención y erradicación de la violencia y mejoramiento de su calidad de vida. Este análisis nos permite comprender cómo todo esto incide en los niveles de empoderamiento. No está de más decir que su incremento debe ser el fin último de toda acción a realizar con y hacia las mujeres.

Para recabar la información necesaria en este análisis, se utilizó fuentes primarias y secundarias. La revisión bibliográfica incluye las principales investigaciones y documentos realizados en Honduras. Estas fuentes abordan temas a ser: la situación de las mujeres en la zona rural, la normativa internacional y nacional así como políticas públicas vigentes en nuestro país. De igual manera, se revisó los informes proporcionados por instituciones del sector público agrícola. Esto fue acompañado con entrevistas a informantes clave y un grupo focal con mujeres campesinas organizadas provenientes de todo el país. El trabajo de campo se realizó entre los meses de noviembre y diciembre del 2009.

re en el área rural es 29 veces menor que el porcentaje del 20% más rico.

Los estos factores han contribuido al aumento de la pobreza de personas que viven en el campo. Datos revelan un incremento de la pobreza en 6 puntos porcentuales -entre 1998 y 2003- en la población rural la cual vive con ingresos per cápita inferiores al to de la canasta básica⁴. Cabe señalar que la pobreza rural en Honduras no se acentúa de la misma manera en todas las regiones del país. En efecto, puede percibirse una diferencia de ingreso per ita por región. En el norte, el ingreso es de 741 lempiras por mes; en el litoral Atlántico es de 713 lempiras por mes; entre tanto, en la región occidental apenas alcanza 311 lempiras por mes. Es decir, las primeras dos prácticamente duplican a la tercera. Las regiones con mejores ingresos poseen menores niveles de desigualdad, ya que el grado de pobreza rural en la región occidental es al menos 10 puntos porcentuales más alto que en regiones más prósperas del país.

Los cambios en el contexto internacional vinculados a la globalización así como a la aprobación de tratados de libre comercio (TLC) – suscritos con Estados Unidos y la Unión Europea – han venido a incrementar la pobreza de las personas que viven en el campo. Estos procesos se sustentan en la explotación de mano de obra barata, la flexibilización del trabajo, la eliminación de las barreras legales, comerciales y arancelarias favoreciendo a los más ricos. Asimismo, la privatización de los servicios públicos como la explotación irracional de los recursos naturales ha llevado a más pobreza al país –y, a toda la región centroamericana y del Caribe– dado que acentúan los procesos de exclusión social y de pauperización de la fuerza laboral⁵.

⁴ Véase el artículo anterior; Pp. 7.

⁵ Vería Rosa Renzi. Perfil de género de la economía del istmo centroamericano (1990-2000). Consideraciones y Reflexiones desde las Mujeres. (Managua, PNUD, 2002).

2. La situación de las mujeres en el campo

Las estadísticas existentes muestran que, en los últimos decenios, la pobreza ha aumentado en términos absolutos en todo el país; no obstante, también indican que este incremento incide con mayor rapidez en la población femenina. Entre los años 1991 y 1999, el porcentaje de mujeres que viven en pobreza aumentó de un 53.2% a un 60.4%. En cambio, para los varones el aumento fue menor; para este mismo período, la pobreza masculina pasó de un 34% a un 38.4%.

Otro indicador que puede servir para ilustrar este hecho es el índice de Desarrollo relativo al Género (IDG). Este mide el logro en las mismas dimensiones y con las mismas variables –educación, salud e ingresos– que el Índice de Desarrollo Humano (IDH) con la cualidad de incorporar indicadores que miden la desigualdad entre mujeres y hombres. Este índice muestra que en Honduras existe una significativa diferencia entre el valor del IDH (0.667) y el IDG (0.650). En efecto, refleja la presencia de importantes inequidades en el acceso a capacidades básicas entre hombres y mujeres.

El único campo en el cual se reporta mejoras a favor de las mujeres es en la educación. Para el período 2002 al 2007, se observa una disminución del analfabetismo en las mujeres al pasar de un 19.7% a un 17.5%. Cabe mencionar que los avances son más evidentes en las zonas rurales que en las urbanas, donde por cada hombre alfabetizado hay cinco mujeres alfabetizadas. En cambio en las ciudades, por cada hombre alfabetizado sólo hay una mujer alfabetizada.

Tanto en el campo como en las zonas urbanas, las niñas alcanzan más años de estudio promedio que los niños (4.1 frente a 3.8 años de estudio, respectivamente).

13 Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Agricultura y la Alimentación, FAO. *Situación de la Mujer Rural...* Pp. 95.

a para conseguir empleos caracterizados por largas jornadas de
ajo y con ingresos inferiores al salario mínimo.

ndo la información es desagregada por rama de ocupación
ral, podemos ver que los hombres se emplean mayoritariamente
a agricultura (47.7%), seguido por la rama de comercio, hoteles
staurantes (14.2%), y por la construcción (10.1%). Mientras, la
de actividad en la que más se emplean mujeres es en el sector
ercio, hoteles y restaurantes (34.6%) seguida por servicios
3%). Apenas un 10% de las mujeres ocupadas se emplean en la
cultura lo cual muestra que la producción agrícola es una rama
sigue siendo dominada por hombres.

Cuadro N°1.
Rama de actividad por sexo

Rama de Actividad	Hombres	Mujeres
gricultura, silvicultura, caza y pesca	47.7	10.0
lotación de minas y canteras	0.4	0.1
ustria manufacturera	11.4	21.3
tricidad, gas y agua	0.6	0.2
onstrucción	10.1	0.3
ercio / hoteles / restaurantes	14.2	34.6
rsp. / almac. / y comunicaciones	5.1	1.1
ba. Finac/ seguros/ bienes inmuebles	3.3	3.5
rvicios		
vicios comunales, sociales y personales	7.3	28.8
sabe/ no responde	0.1	0.1

ene: INE, EPHPM, 2004

desigualdades en el empleo también se evidencian cuando las
res ocupan el 51.2% de los puestos profesionales y técnicos
omo cuando sólo ocupan un 32.5% de aquellos de directoras,

gerentes y administradoras. Esto es así, a pesar que en la actualidad,
ellas cuentan con más años de estudio que los hombres¹⁴.
Si bien los procesos de la globalización han propiciado la creación de
nuevos espacios de trabajo para las mujeres, estos empleos son mal
remunerados, y en condiciones que constituyen graves amenazas
para la salud e integridad de las mujeres. Este es el caso del empleo
en las maquilas. Es necesario recordar que este sector ha crecido con
mucha rapidez en el último decenio y emplea mayoritariamente
fuerza laboral femenina. Estudios recientes muestran que a medida
que incrementa el salario devengado en las maquilas aumenta el
porcentaje de hombres empleados en este sector.

Todos estos problemas de acceso a empleo inciden directamente
en las diferencias de ingresos entre los géneros, ya que del total de
personas que reciben una remuneración por su trabajo, un 67.5%
son hombres mientras sólo un 32.5% son mujeres. Las mayores
desigualdades en relación a los ingresos laborales han ocurrido en
las zonas rurales. Para el año 2004, las mujeres urbanas ganaban un
promedio de 63% de lo que ganaba un hombre; mientras, en las
áreas rurales este porcentaje apenas llegaba a 31.3%.

Otros obstáculos para la inserción de las mujeres en los procesos
de desarrollo están relacionados con temas de salud de las mujeres
en particular lo referido a las altas tasas de fecundidad y maternidad
que persisten en el país. Para el 2003, la Tasa Global de Fecundidad
(TGF) era de 3.3 hijos por mujer; siendo de 2.6 en el área urbana, y
de 4.1 hijos en el área rural. El descenso de esta tasa verificado en
este período es mayor en las zonas rurales (un hijo y medio) que en
áreas urbanas (casi un hijo)¹⁵. Mientras, la Tasa Bruta de Natalidad
(TBN) -es decir, el número de nacimientos que en promedio
ocurren anualmente por cada mil habitantes- es de 27 por mil para

14 Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, PNUD. Informe sobre Desarrollo Humano, Honduras 2006.. Pp. 37.
15 Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, INE. Encuesta Nacional de Demografía y Salud ENDESA 2005-2006. (Tegucigalpa, INE, 2006). Pp. 60-62.

el total del país. Cuando se desagrega por locación, encontramos un nivel más bajo en el área urbana (24 por mil) frente al área rural (29 por mil). El porcentaje de nacimientos en madres menores de los 24 años de edad para el área urbana es de 39%, frente al 58.6% en las áreas rurales. Por consiguiente, la edad media de la primeriza en el área urbana alcanza los 21 años de edad; mientras en el área rural, los 19 años.

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El alto número de hijas e hijos y la persistencia de una cultura que establece la crianza y cuidado como una responsabilidad exclusivamente femenina incide, sin duda alguna, en las dificultades enfrentadas por las mujeres para insertarse en el mercado laboral. Por consiguiente, las labores domésticas son realizadas en un 94.4% sólo por las mujeres. Este es otro factor que incide en una mayor pobreza y dependencia porque este tipo de trabajo no remunerado tiende a realizarse en condiciones de servidumbre y esclavitud¹⁶. La falta de mecanismos sociales para asegurar el cumplimiento de los deberes de los padres en la manutención y crianza de sus hijas e hijos también incide en que al menos un 26% de los hogares en el país sean jefeados por una mujer. Por área de residencia, encontramos una proporción mayor en el área urbana (32%) que en la rural (20%)¹⁷.

La Tasa de Mortalidad Infantil –da cuenta del número de muertes de niñas y niños menores de 1 año por cada 1,000 nacimientos– también es un indicador de los problemas de salud que se enfrentan en el campo. En las zonas rurales es de 33 por cada 1,000; mientras, en las zonas urbanas de 24 por cada mil. La mortalidad de la niñez mide las muertes en niñas y niños menores de 5 años y, también, es superior en las zonas rurales que en las urbanas (43 y 29 por cada 1,000 nacimientos, respectivamente¹⁸.

16 Centro de Derechos de Mujeres, CDM. Mujeres en Cifras. Honduras/2004. Indicadores socioeconómicos de la situación de las mujeres hondureñas. (Tegucigalpa, Publigráfica, 2005). Pp.45.

17 Idem anterior, Pp. 23.

18 Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, INE. Encuesta Nacional de Demografía y Salud

La primera causa de muerte en mujeres en edad reproductiva (entre 12 y 49 años de edad) es el VIH/SIDA¹⁹. Hasta enero de 2007, se registraban un total de 24, 608 VIH Positivos. No obstante, se estima que debido a los problemas de subregistro esta cifra puede elevarse a 63, 000 personas²⁰. Al analizar los datos por sexo, encontramos que hay más casos de SIDA en hombres (58%) que en mujeres (42%); no obstante, el 60% de los casos de VIH son mujeres. Este punto deja ver con claridad la feminización de la epidemia²¹. Entre tanto, el 37.7% de todos los casos de VIH/SIDA se reportan en las zonas rurales. Los departamentos de Francisco Morazán y Cortés cuentan con la más alta concentración de casos; por consiguiente, las ciudades San Pedro Sula y Tegucigalpa son los epicentros.

La alta incidencia de esta enfermedad en la población, sobretudo en la femenina, está vinculada con la persistencia de una cultura patriarcal que legitima el uso de la violencia y la subordinación contra las mujeres. Quizá, impide que las mujeres se nieguen a sostener relaciones sexuales de riesgo o puedan “negociar” el uso del condón. A ello es preciso agregar el impacto negativo de la religión, los fundamentalismos y los discursos conservadores los cuales alimentan que la sexualidad siga siendo un tabú. Es oportuno recordar que han coartado una educación sexual adecuada y acorde con los cambios sociales.

Esto camina de la mano con la falta de interés y compromiso real del Estado en la prevención y atención de esta epidemia. No sorprende entonces que sólo un 2.9% del total de las mujeres con edades entre 15 y 29 años usan actualmente el condón masculino o preservativo el cual constituye el único método eficaz para prevenir los embarazos así como el VIH/SIDA. El porcentaje de mujeres que

ENDESA 2005-2006... Pp. 124.

19 Centro de Derechos de Mujeres, CDM. Mujeres en Cifras... Pp.12

20 Secretaría de Salud. Informe Estadístico Mensual, 2006.

21 Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, CEM-H. La vida vive en mi cuerpo. Factores socioculturales que inciden en el aumento de la infección del VIH/SIDA en las mujeres hondureñas. (Tegucigalpa, Conceptos Litho-Tec, 2008).

usan este método en el área urbana (3.8%) es mayor en relación a las áreas rurales (2.1%)²².

De hecho, los problemas en la educación sexual y en los servicios de salud disponibles también inciden en el número de pacientes con cáncer; en especial, con cáncer uterino. Esta es una enfermedad fácilmente diagnosticable la cual, en la mayoría de los casos, es resultado de enfermedades transmitidas sexualmente no detectadas ni tratadas a tiempo. Por consiguiente, representa la segunda causa de muerte de mujeres en edad reproductiva en el país²³.

Otra expresión asumida por el sistema patriarcal para legitimar la subordinación y opresión es la violencia contra las mujeres. De acuerdo con la ENDESA 2005-2006, al menos un 15% de las mujeres mayores de 15 años han sido maltratadas alguna vez en su vida. En el 62% de los casos, la persona que ejerció la violencia es el esposo/compañero o ex-pareja²⁴. Esto pone en evidencia que la violencia perpetrada contra las mujeres está asociada al machismo y a una cultura que legitima el uso de la violencia como un mecanismo de control del cuerpo, sexualidad y libertad de las mujeres. En el área urbana hay un mayor porcentaje de mujeres maltratadas que en el área rural, (17% frente a 12%, respectivamente).

Quizá, el femicidio es la expresión más cruenta de violencia contra las mujeres. Se entiende por femicidio la muerte violenta de una mujer por causas relacionadas al género. Para el período comprendido del 2002 hasta la fecha, se estima que se han producido alrededor de 1,100 femicidios. En este año y el 2007, se duplicó el número de casos. Cabe resaltar que un 69% de los femicidios fueron perpetrados

con arma de fuego. La zona norte es la región donde se presentan más casos de femicidios. El primer lugar lo ocupa el departamento de Cortés con un 29% del total perpetrándose en San Pedro Sula, Choloma, Villanueva, Puerto Cortés, y La Lima. No está de más recordar que estas ciudades concentran actividades comerciales y del sector maquilero. En segundo lugar lo ocupa Francisco Morazán, con un 26.2% del total. Como es ampliamente conocido, estos dos departamentos reportan el 55.2% de las muertes violentas a nivel nacional²⁵. Además de estos dos, los departamentos de Atlántida (7.3%), Comayagua (6%), Copán (5.5%), Yoro (5%) y Olancho (4.4%) presentan una alta incidencia de femicidio.

A menudo, la desigualdad social enfrentada por las mujeres también se observa en su participación en puestos de decisión tanto en la política partidista tradicional como en otros espacios (organizaciones, patronatos, juntas de agua, etc.) A pesar de la Ley de Igualdad de Oportunidades -que aseguraría la participación de un 30% de las mujeres en los diferentes puestos de elección popular- para el año 2005, tan sólo un 7.7% de las mujeres formaba parte de las diferentes corporaciones municipales (ya sea como alcaldesas o como regidoras de dichas corporaciones). Para ese mismo período electoral, apenas un 25% de las mujeres ocupa escaños en el Congreso Nacional²⁶.

3. La participación de las mujeres en la producción agrícola

De hecho, las mujeres se insertan en la economía productiva desempeñando un sinnúmero de actividades reproductivas y no reproductivas dentro y fuera del hogar. Estos trabajos y aportes a la economía son invisibilizados en los estudios y en estadísticas. Las mujeres trabajan jornadas dobles, superan crisis económicas,

22 Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, INE. Encuesta Nacional de Demografía y Salud ENDESA 2005-2006.. Pp. 76.

23 Centro de Derechos de Mujeres, CDM. Mujeres en Cifras.. Pp.12.

24 Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, INE. Encuesta Nacional de Demografía y Salud ENDESA 2005-2006.. Pp. 207.

25 Centro de Estudios de la Mujer. Investigación sobre Femicidios en Honduras, 2007.

26 Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, PNUD. Informe sobre Desarrollo Humano, Honduras 2006.. Pp. 36.

mas de ajuste estructural, conflictos armados y sequías. A lo, desempeñan actividades no retribuidas las cuales no son as en cuenta al momento de la planeación y elaboración de is y programas de desarrollo²⁷.

cto, la mujer rural se desenvuelve en casi todas las etapas de cesos productivos. Ella participa especialmente en el corte é, hortalizas, procesamiento del tabaco, cultivo de granos s, atención al huerto, etc. Los últimos estudios realizados ran que en el país hay 48,540 mujeres productoras agrícolas enta propia quienes representan un 9.7% del total del país. % son productoras de granos básicos; un 39% se dedican vos permanentes, especialmente, café y en menor escala, ivo de productos tales como naranja, banano, cacao, africana, etc.; solamente, un 3% se dedica a la silvicultura y ación de bosques; y, finalmente, un 2% a cultivos anuales y un rtaje igual cultiva productos tales como cebolla, chile dulce, e y papa²⁸.

ujeres, también, participan en la agricultura y se peñan como obreras en los rubros de agroexportación. el caso en la industria del camarón y los cultivos del banano y melón, donde fundamentalmente laboran ividades de cosecha y empaque²⁹. Hay rubros como la tora, donde la participación laboral femenina representa nadamente el 60%. En las empresas empacadoras de o y camarón así como en las plantaciones de melón y sandía,

las mujeres representan el 40% de la fuerza laboral asalariada³⁰.

El cultivo de plantas medicinales y flores, la elaboración de artesanías de junco, tule, tuno, barro u otros materiales, al igual que la producción de pan, jaleas, encurtidos y otros productos alimenticios constituyen actividades donde se insertan las mujeres de las zonas rurales. Cabe notar que con mucha frecuencia la materia prima es obtenida de los huertos familiares. La venta de la producción tiene a darse dentro de la misma comunidad. A pesar de la importancia que tienen todas estas actividades -tanto dentro como fuera de la unidad familiar- ni el trabajo de las mujeres ni su aporte a la economía del hogar son reconocidos.

Hemos visto que las mujeres se insertan en una amplia diversidad de procesos productivos, sin embargo, es importante notar que ello es mediado por factores de edad, estado civil, respaldo familiar, escolaridad, etnia, etc. Vemos que la mujer joven sin niños ni cónyuge o dependientes bajo su cargo, tiene una relativa movilidad para buscar trabajo fuera de la comunidad; mientras, la mujer joven con cónyuge y con hijos e hijas pequeños/as, tiene más limitaciones para incorporarse a trabajos remunerados fuera de casa. Por su parte, las mujeres mayores de edad con hijas adolescentes -u otros familiares adultos en casa- tienen más oportunidades de incorporarse activamente a iniciativas de desarrollo individual o local³¹.

De hecho, las mujeres también dedican gran parte de su tiempo a la recolección de leña y agua para el consumo familiar así como al trabajo en pequeñas parcelas o huertos familiares. Estas constituyen unidades de producción económica y de reproducción social donde cultivan granos básicos y otros productos centrales en

sión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, CEPAL. Mujer rural, escolaridad y empleo en el istmo centroamericano. (México, ONU/CEPAL, 2002). Pp. 12.

stituto Nacional de la Mujer, INAM. Informe de Investigación: Mujer Rural en Honduras. Su rol en los procesos productivos agropecuarios y artesanales, incidencia y mejoramiento de las condiciones de vida y el desarrollo rural sostenible. (Tegucigalpa, 2003). Pp.25.

Organización de las Naciones Unidas para la Agricultura y la Alimentación, FAO. El rol de la Mujer Rural en Honduras (Tegucigalpa, FAO, 2008). Pp. 91.

30 Instituto Nacional de la Mujer, INAM. Informe de Investigación: "Mujer Rural en Honduras" Pp.97.

31 Instituto Nacional de la Mujer, INAM. 2003. Informe de Investigación: "Mujer Rural en Honduras" ..Pp.48

la dieta básica (papa, yuca, tomates, chile verde y árboles frutales) al igual que productos como el tule. Asimismo, se dedican a la crianza de aves, ganado y cerdo; en algunos municipios del país, incluye el cultivo de tilapia.

En síntesis, las mujeres participan en todas las etapas de la producción agrícola; o sea, en la siembra, preparación de la tierra, elaboración de insumos orgánicos, y la cosecha. No obstante, los hombres son quienes venden, obtienen ganancias del excedente que resulta de lo destinado para el consumo familiar y deciden sobre su uso³².

La falta de reconocimiento de las mujeres como productoras agrícolas, consecutivamente, ha provocado que se le de muy poco apoyo para la conformación de empresas agrícolas. De acuerdo a las cifras, apenas representan el 6% del total de productores/as del sector agrícola. Este porcentaje está muy por debajo de la participación en otro tipo de microempresas donde alcanza hasta un 52%³³.

A pesar de todos estos problemas, se observa un importante crecimiento en el número de mujeres a cargo de negocios, pequeñas empresas agrícolas y microempresas no agrícola. En forma organizada e individual se reportan tasas anuales de crecimiento de un 12% en agricultura y por encima de un 25% en la pequeña y en la microempresa no agrícola³⁴. Todo lo arriba expuesto limita las posibilidades de que las mujeres sean consideradas beneficiarias de los procesos de titulación de tierras. Así pues, esto se evidencia en apenas un 10% de las tierras privadas nacionales inscritas a nombre de mujeres³⁵.

El mayor empobrecimiento de las mujeres, los problemas de empleo de las mujeres y su limitada participación en programas y proyectos productivos dirigidos al sector agrícola han traído

como consecuencia el aumento de las corrientes migratorias femeninas dentro del país. Un estudio realizado por el Centro de Estudios de la Mujer (CEM-H) en la ciudad de Choloma -ubicada en el Departamento de Cortés y con la más alta concentración de maquilas- señala que al menos un 63% de las obreras de las maquilas proceden de otros departamentos del país. Predominan Santa Bárbara, Yoro, Cortés y Comayagua como lugares de origen. Aún cuando es muy difícil el desarraigo de sus comunidades y de sus hogares, las mujeres se ven obligadas a migrar a otras ciudades -otros países- por la necesidad de una fuente de empleo y de ingreso³⁶.

La pobreza de las mujeres está también relacionada con el deterioro de los recursos naturales, sobre todo, lo referido a las fuentes de agua porque las obliga a recorrer muchos kilómetros al día para obtener el líquido vital. Dado que la mujer es la encargada de la economía doméstica y de los huertos familiares así como de la salud, el cuidado propio y de su familia, el deterioro de los suelos la obliga a buscar actividades generadoras de ingresos fuera del hogar. Todo esto constituye un conjunto que incrementa su carga de trabajo.

32 Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas, INE. Encuesta Agrícola Nacional. Pp. 16.

33 Idem anterior. Pp.62.

34 Idem anterior. Pp.27.

35 Oficina Técnica de la Cooperación Española. Situación General de Honduras y Principales Brechas de Inequidad. (Tegucigalpa, AECI, 2003). Pp. 12.

36 Facultad de Ciencias Económicas/ Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales. El empleo en la Maquila: mitos y realidades. Investigación realizada en la zona central del país. (Tegucigalpa, UNAH, 2002). Pp. 10.