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A Profile on Gender Relations
Update 2006

Towards Gender Equality in Mozambique



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Edda Van den Bergh-Collier, Maputo, November 2006.

Preamble

This is an update of the previous Gender Profile for Mozambique which was produced in 2000. Sida produces gender profiles for several countries with the purpose of providing a short and concise summary of the gender equality situation in partner countries. The profile is a desk study reviewing and compiling available statistical material that may be of interest to anyone interested in women's social, economic and legal position and understanding gender relations in Mozambique.

The human development indicators show that significant gender gaps exist in Mozambique. Thus a study of gender relations must repeatedly stress the relative deprivation of women in relation to men. The present profile emphasizes data that illustrates the relative position of men and women rather than attempting to capture and analyze gender relations in the whole country. A detailed discussion of gender relations for each thematic area would require extensive data and sociological/anthropological literature on the construction and dynamics of power relations between men and women in relation to that specific aspect of public and private life. For the most part, this kind of data is not available in Mozambique. Thus, the profile gives an overview of the types of issues women face as well as a brief indication of what is being done to address these challenges.

Sida has developed generic terms of reference that identify specific issues and topics to be dealt with in individual country profiles. While the updated country profile for Mozambique addresses all of the issues and topics described in the generic terms of reference, the data is presented in a specific sequence in order to more closely reflect the structure of the PARPA (Poverty Reduction Programme) and PES (Social and Economic Plan) of the Government of Mozambique. The PARPA and PES are central planning instruments for the Government; it is thus considered that this structure highlights potential linkages between Government priorities and Sida's own development cooperation planning.

List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome
AMMCJ	Associação Moçambicana das Mulheres de Carreira Jurídica
ANE	Administração Nacional das Estradas
ARV	Antiretroviral
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CD 4	Viral load count (degree of HIV infection)
CEA	Centre de Estudos Africanos
CEDAW	Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CIUEM	Centro de Informatica da Universidade de Eduardo Mondlane
CNAM	Conselho Nacional para o Avanço da Mulher
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women
DINAGECA	Direcção Nacional de Geografia e Cadastro
DNM	Direcção Nacional da Mulher
EP 1	Ensino Primário (primeiro grau); Primary School, grade 1-5
EP 2	Ensino Primário (segundo grau); Primary School, grade 6-7
EPG 1	= EP1
EPG 2	= EP2
ESG 1	Ensino Secundário primeiro ciclo/grau 1; Secondary School, grade 8-10
ESG 2	Ensino Secundário segundo ciclo/grau 2; Secondary School, grade 11-12
EU	European Union
FEWS	Famine Early Warning System
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
FRP	Feeder Roads Programme
GCG	Gender Coordination Group

GDG	Gender Donor Group
GDI	Gender Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GFP	Gender Focal Point
GRB	Gender Responsive Budgeting
GU	Gender Unit
HDI	Human Development Index
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IEC	Informação, Educação Cívica
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INGC	Instituto Nacional de Gestão de Calamidades
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística
IT	Information Technology
JR	Joint Review
LDH	Liga dos Direitos Humanos
LINK	Forum de ONGs; NGO Forum
LTP	Limpopo Transfrontier Park
MAE	Ministério de Administração Estatal
MDG	Millenium Development Goals
MICOA	Ministério de Coordenação Ambiental
MINAG	Ministério de Agricultura
MMAS	Ministério da Mulher e Acção Social
MTFF	Mid Term Financial Framework
MULEIDE	Mulher, Lei e Desenvolvimento
NAC	Nacional AIDS Council
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OMM	Organização da Mulher Moçambicana
ORAM	Associação Moçambicana de Apoio Mútuo
OVC	Orphan and Vulnerable Children
PAEI	Política de Agricultura e Estratégia de Implementação
PARPA	Plano de Acção para Redução da Pobreza Absoluta
PEN II	Plano Estratégico Nacional de Combate ao HIV/SIDA
PES	Plano Economico e Social
PGEI	Política de Género e Estratégia de Implementação
PNAM	Plano Nacional para o Avanço da Mulher
PPP	Purchase Power Parity
PRISE	Programa Integrado do Sistema das Estradas
PROAGRI II	National Plan for the Agriculture Sector



PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PVT	Prevention of Vertical Transmission
REDE CAME	Rede Contra o Abuso de Menores; Network against child abuse
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional de Moçambique
ROCS	Roads and Coastal Shipping programme
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SETSAN	Technical Secretariat for Food Security and Nutrition
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SISTAFE	Sistema de Administração Financeira do Estado
SWAP	Sector-wide Approach
TDM	Telecomunicações de Moçambique
TV	Television
UEM	Universidade Eduardo Mondlane
UNAC	União Nacional de Associações de Camponêses
UNAIDS	United Nations Programme to Combat HIV/AIDS
UNCDF	United Nations Capital Development Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Organization for Education and Science
UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women
UTREL	Unidade Técnica para Reforma Legal
WHO	World Health Organization
WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa



1. Context

1.1. Key statistics

General	National
Population projection for 2004	19 million
Children under age 18 (2004)	9,613,470
% of population that live below poverty line (2003)	54%
Water and sanitation	
Access to safe drinking water (2003)	35.7%
Access to sanitation (2003)	44.8%
HIV/AIDS	
HIV/AIDS Prevalence among pregnant women aged 15– 49 year (2002)	12.9%
Education and illiteracy	
Adult illiteracy rate (2003)	53.6%
Female illiteracy rate (2003)	68%
Female gross admission rate (2004)	137,4
Male gross admission rate (2004)	144,2
Female gross enrollment rate (2004)	111,8
Male gross enrollment rate (2004)	130,5
Female net enrollment rate (2004)	73,2
Male net enrollment rate (2004)	78,0
Maternity care and adolescent fertility	
Fertility Rate (2003)	5.5
Maternal mortality (2003)/live births	408/100,000
Births attended by skilled health personnel (2003)	47.7%
Births in health institutions (2003)	49%

Source: Compiled from UNICEF Mozambique & MINEC, Education Statistics, Annual School Survey 2004 and Republic of Mozambique, Report on the Millennium Development Goals, August 2005, National Institute for Statistics (INE).

1.2. Administrative divisions

Mozambique is divided into 10 provinces (*provincias*) and 1 capital city (*cidade*) with provincial status. The Northern region is composed of three provinces: Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Nampula; the Central region consists of Sofala, Zambezia, Tete and Manica provinces; the Southern region comprises Maputo Province, Gaza and Inhambane. Each province is divided into districts and municipalities with a total of 128 districts and 33 municipalities (*municípios/autarquias*) in the country. Each district is governed from a district capital (*Vila Sede*) and consists of

several Administrative Posts (*Postos Administrativos*) that represent localities (*localidades*) that in turn regroup various communities (*comunidades*).

1.3. Demographic characteristics and construction of gender relations

According to the last population census held in 1997, the total number of inhabitants is approximately 19 million, of whom 52% are women and roughly half are younger than 15 years of age.¹ Zambezia and Nampula are the most populous provinces, with about half of the population. Mozambique's major ethnic groups encompass numerous subgroups with diverse languages, dialects, cultures and histories. Many are linked to similar ethnic groups living in neighbouring countries. The Makua are the dominant group in the northern region; the Sena and Ndau are prominent in the Zambezi Valley and the Shangaan (Tsonga) dominate in the south. Other groups include Makonde, Yao, Chopi, Shona, Ronga and Nguni. There is a small number of Europeans, mostly of Portuguese ancestry and a mulato minority. A small Asian community, mostly of Pakistani and Goan origin, has settled in Mozambique and specializes in trading and fisheries respectively. In coastal areas there has been some influence of Islamic coastal traders and European colonizers, but inland the people of Mozambique have retained the indigenous culture based on ancestor worship, animism and small-scale agriculture. Portuguese is the official language and is especially predominant in cities; in rural areas African languages are often spoken as first language.

On 25 September 1969 Mozambican nationalists took up the armed struggle for independence from Portuguese colonial rule. Many women participated in the liberation war and a fair number rose to high military rank or cadre positions within FRELIMO. After 1975, the socialist state nationalized church property and instituted state atheism, but religious beliefs persist and currently experience a cultural revival. According to the latest population census, 20–30% of the population is Christian (predominantly Catholic); 15–20% adheres to Islam and the remainder adheres to traditional beliefs. This religious diversity stems from the Portuguese Catholic influence, traditional animist religions and historic ties with the Arab trade routes. In the main, these religious and cultural influences serve to entrench a patriarchal society, which reserves a subordinate status for women, and tolerates polygamy.

From 1980 to 1992 Mozambique experienced a protracted civil war between the government led by FRELIMO and an opposition movement led by RENAMO. The war devastated the country's infrastructure, particularly in rural areas. The destruction of health facilities and schools has a particular impact on women, whose care burden increased and who were deprived of education.

In 1997, almost one in four households (23.2%) was headed by a woman. In 2003, this had decreased to 16.5%. There is no current study or explanation for this decrease, but it may be partly due to the effects of the war in 1997 (i.e. women may have been widowed or separated from their husbands during the war) and a return to normalcy after a decade of peace. Both men and women are more likely to become heads of household as they grow older, but men do so from an earlier age. In particular, by 35–39 years of age, most men describe themselves as the head of their household, whereas women are much more likely to become head of household at an older age (50 years). This reflects the fact that by

¹ INE, Population census 1997.

35–39 years of age men have established their own households and that male headship is considered the norm. Women are most likely to be heads of households due to divorce, death and separation.²

Another important factor in female headship is male labour migration; hence the percentage of female headed households is much higher in Gaza (24.9%), Inhambane (23.2%) and Maputo (19.6%) than the national average (16.5%).³ Women's social status is thus partly shaped by Mozambique's integration in the regional economy. In the absence of men, women carry responsibility for household production. Male labour migration to urban centres and neighbouring countries relies on both women's domestic and subsistence labour, thus emphasizing women's domestic duties while allowing little scope for women to occupy significant space in political or public life.

The relative positions of men and women in society are also largely influenced by cultural mechanisms that define the distribution of economic goods and productive assets. In the north and center matrilineal descent systems predominate, whereas in the south patrilineal descent is the norm. Patrilineal descent traces kinship and affiliation through the father's line; matrilineal systems trace descent through the mother's line. In patrilineal systems men have ownership of the household's resources and men must authorize women's use thereof. For example, in rural Gaza it is not uncommon to find that a woman may not slaughter a chicken without the express consent of her husband. In Buzi district (near Beira, Sofala) widows are expelled from the marital homestead when the husband dies on the grounds that all assets should be preserved for the deceased's patrilineal kin.

In matrilineal societies goods are normally passed on from the one generation to the next through the mother's relatives and thus remain part of the mother's kin group. On one hand, matrilineal descent strengthens women's position in society because upon divorce the house and children remain part of the woman's family. However, matrilineal descent does not mean that women hold formal power; in fact, most decision-making power is vested in the mother's brother (maternal uncle) who retains the right to distribute assets and resources. In the Macua tradition, for instance, the *erukulu* (literally: 'womb') is the basic unit of society, consisting of a mother and her children. The woman thus lends her name to her children but it is her brother who holds responsibility for their survival and education. The lineage is headed by the *mwene* and the *pwiyamwene* (sister or niece of the *mwene*). Although the *pwiyamwene* has a privileged status as advisor to the *mwene* and is responsible for the preparation of all group rituals, final decisions over the lineage's economic and social affairs rest with the *mwene*.⁴

Overall, gender relations in Mozambique are characterized by women's subordinate status. Both patrilineal and matrilineal communities in Mozambique are based on forms of social control that prioritize the collective over the individual. In this type of social organization women have clearly defined roles based on gender relations that place them in a subordinate position while at the same time defining them as holders of tradition and preservers of culture. Thus women's autonomy and emancipation is often perceived as something that seems to strike at the heart of the traditional structure.

² INE, IAF 2002/3, p 11–12.

³ INE, IAF 2002/3, p 12.

⁴ For detailed information about women's role in Macua culture see Maria Isabel Casas, Ana Loforte, Terezinha da Silva and Margarita Mejia et al. Gender Profile of Nampula Province, prepared for the Royal Netherlands Embassy, Maputo, 1998. The profile also describes the recent changes that are undermining the traditional Macua social organization and resulting in a more patrilineal structure in Nampula Province.

1.4. Gender development index

The concepts of 'gender' and 'gender equality' are fundamental instruments to describe and analyze inequalities between men and women. Since gender relations are shaped by cultural, social, economic and political norms they are essentially dynamic constructs. Thus they refer to relationships that are subject to change, making it possible to transform gender relations and to achieve greater equality between men and women. However, when basic indicators for human development are disaggregated by sex, it becomes clear that many women in Mozambique are clearly at a disadvantage compared to men, i.e. they are unable to fully participate in social, economic and political development.

The HDI is a composite index that comprises three variables: the longevity index measured by life expectancy at birth; the educational index measured by a combination of the adult literacy rate and the joint enrolment rate in primary, secondary and tertiary education; and the standard of living index, measured by real per capita GDP expressed in PPP (purchasing power parity) dollars. The HDI is calculated as a simple average of these three indices. The GDI uses the same variables as the HDI but adjusted in each country in relation to the differences in life expectancy, educational level and income between men and women. A low value reflects a high gender gap or discrepancy between basic indicators for men and women. The recent figures show that in recent years Mozambique's GDI remains low and that it has only slightly progressed from 0.307 (2000) to 0.31 (2002) and 0.365 (2003).⁵ This proves that while human development indicators have improved, disparities between men and women remain great and women have not benefited as much from social policies and economic growth as men.

Indicator	2000	2003
Women's life expectancy at birth	40.2 years	42.7 years
Men's life expectancy at birth	38.4 years	41.1 years
Female adult literacy rate (age 15 and above)	28.7%	31.4%
Male adult literacy rate (age 15 and above)	60.1%	62.3%
Female combined gross enrolment ratio (primary, secondary and tertiary)	26%	38%
Male combined gross enrolment (primary, secondary and tertiary)	NA	48%
Women's estimated earned income (PPP)	705 USD	910 USD
Men's estimated earned income (PPP)	1007 US	1341 USD

Source: UNDP, Human Development Report, www.undp.org

⁵ UNDP, Human Development Reports. The report released in 2005 uses data from 2003.

2. National Policies and Inputs for the Promotion of Gender Equality

2.1. Institutional mechanisms and policies to promote gender equality

The government institution that is currently mandated to promote gender equality is the Ministry for Women and Social Action (MMAS). Historically, the function of promoting gender equality has been attributed to various institutions, starting with a national Secretariat for Social Action located within the Ministry of Health. In 1995 this function was attributed to the newly created Ministry for Coordination of Social Action (MCAS), in particular to the Department for Women located in the National Directorate for Social Action. In 2000 the Ministry was changed into the Ministry for Women and Coordination of Social Action (MMCAS), which resulted in the creation of a separate National Directorate for Women. In 2005 the Ministry was transformed into the Ministry for Women and Social Action (MMAS) and the National Directorate for Women continues to exist within MMAS.

The National Directorate for Women (DNM) is responsible for the definition and promotion of diverse programmes designed to provide material support as well as to empower women. While DNM may implement some activities, its primary function is to liaise with CSOs and other partners active in this field and to coordinate gender-responsive interventions. This role of DNM is replicated at the provincial level through the Ministry's Provincial Directorates.⁶

DNM is composed of two departments, namely the Department for Women and Family and the Department for Gender and Development. Since 1999 DNM has been largely financed through the Capacity Building Programme for Gender spearheaded by UNFPA and UNIFEM. This programme provides support for some operational aspects of DNM, long-term technical assistance and various trainings. The programme is executed both at central level and in one province, Zambesia. The programme is implemented by both MMAS (i.e. through DNM) and civil society (i.e. through Forum Mulher).

⁶ The Ministry is currently in the process of a Functional Analysis as required by the on-going Public Sector Reform process. The functional analysis is expected to result in a detailed restructuring plan by the end of 2006. Special attention will be given to DNM to determine whether there is any duplication of functions between the two departments, as well as the extent to which the provincial directorates and district directorates – currently severely under-resourced – can be enabled to better implement the diverse functions exercised by the two departments.

The Department for Women and Family is tasked to:

- (1) design and promote implementation of social assistance programmes targeting vulnerable women and families (especially female headed households);
- (2) providing technical assistance on the gender dimensions of the Ministry's sectoral plan for the combat of HIV/AIDS
- (3) conceptualizing civic education programmes to disseminate information on women's rights and the prevention of domestic violence.

The Department for Gender and Development is responsible for:

- (1) monitoring the extent to which gender concerns are adequately integrated (mainstreamed) into the government's sectoral plans;
- (2) promoting the implementation of the National Post-Beijing Plan of Action (PNAM);
- (3) coordination and implementation of advocacy campaigns on women's rights;
- (4) promoting the implementation of legislation that protects women's rights.

In 2004 the Council of Ministers created the National Council for the Advancement of women (*Conselho Nacional para o Avanço da Mulher: CNAM*).⁷ CNAM members include several Ministers and Vice- Ministers, two Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) working for gender equality, one representative of religious organizations, one representative of the trade unions and one representative of the private sector. Although CNAM is presided over by the Minister for Women and Social Action, it is not a part of MMAS/DNM or subordinate to MMAS. Rather, it functions as an autonomous institutional mechanism and consultation body that enables MMAS/DNM to coordinate gender concerns with the various stakeholders in public life.

CNAM has an Executive Secretariat that is responsible for technical management. To assist the Executive Secretariat a Technical Council was formed which is composed of sectoral Gender Focal Points and representatives of public institutions. In the light of efforts to decentralize decision-making and enable local authorities to become more proactive in promoting local development, each province is required to create its own Executive Secretariat and Technical Council.

CNAM's core function is to promote and monitor the implementation of the government's gender policies in all the government's plans and programmes, with particular reference to the National Plan for the Advancement of Women 2002–2006 (*Plano Nacional para o Avanço da Mulher: PNAM*) and national gender strategy (*Política de Género e Estratégia de Implementação: PGEI*). Immediately after the Beijing Conference, the government elaborated a national plan of action (PNAM) but this was elaborated without a policy framework. The absence of a national gender policy was a critical shortcoming, since

⁷ After the Beijing Conference, the government created an Operative Group for the Advancement of Women (GOAM). This body was intended as a multi-sectoral coordination platform, composed of two Gender Focal Points of each Ministry, Forum Mulher, some gender CSOs and academic bodies, and presided by the Minister for Women and Social Action. The main purpose of the GOAM was to promote and guarantee gender mainstreaming in all of the government's sectoral plans – however, the GOAM remained largely ineffectual due to the junior status of many of its members and the inability of GFPs to influence decision-making. In 2004 the GOAM was extinguished and superseded by the National Council for the Advancement of Women (CNAM).

some sectors remained unconvinced of the necessity to appoint GFPs and mount GUs without a formal legal basis.⁸

That legal basis is now provided by a national gender policy and strategy (PGEI) which was approved by the Council of Ministers on 14 March 2006. The PGEI focuses on the same areas of critical concern as the PNAM. These include the creation of institutional mechanisms to ensure gender mainstreaming in sectoral plans, economic empowerment, food security, education, reduction of maternal mortality, elimination of violence against women, participation of women in public life and decision-making processes, and the protection of the rights of girl children. The PGEI will still have to be approved by Parliament.

2.2. Civil society, women's organizations and the women's movement

Since the transition to a multi-party system and pluralist society in the early 1990s, Mozambique has a young but dynamic civil society. Freedom of association and free speech are legally protected and the press law is often praised as one of the most open in Southern Africa. Most CSOs are affiliated to LINK, an umbrella organization of CSOs active in Mozambique.⁹ Although many organizations/associations in fact target women and revindicate women's rights LINK itself does not function as a platform for the promotion of gender equality. This role is played by Forum Mulher, a national umbrella organization created in 1992 to facilitate coordination among CSOs dedicated to women's rights, women's economic and political empowerment nationwide.¹⁰

In addition, Forum Mulher has assumed the role of service provider for its members, providing technical training and support in gender analysis, mainstreaming and advocacy. Forum Mulher currently has approximately 40 member organizations nationwide. However, at the forefront of the struggle for gender equality are the women's organizations that are specifically dedicated to helping women fight poverty and discrimination (collectively known as the women's movement).

The women's movement in Mozambique has long been associated with OMM,¹¹ the women's wing of FRELIMO, which has been in power since independence was gained from Portugal in 1975. Indeed, in FRELIMO's socialist ideology women were guaranteed freedom from discrimination and many women joined the anti-colonial liberation struggle, often rising to high rank. During the civil war that broke out after independence, FRELIMO's ideological views were mainly articulated and implemented by OMM. Despite much good work on the ground and a genuine attempt by OMM to represent women nationwide, patriarchal power structures remained unchanged.¹²

In the early 1990s, political pluralism and the subsequent peace agreement of 1992 resulted in the rapid growth of civil society. Many CSOs were established to address a wide range of women's problems and

⁸ Since 1995, several ministries have begun to elaborate their own internal gender policies and gender strategic plans. Most have also appointed Gender Focal Points (GFP) both at central and provincial level and have instituted Gender Units (GU) at central level. However, this process has been patchy, with some sectors adopting progressive gender policies and formulating strategic gender plans ahead of others (e.g. Education, Health, Agriculture, Planning and Finance started the process early on).

⁹ LINK has currently 155 members (90 national CSOs, 55 international CSOs and 10 observers). More information: www.linkong.org.mz.

¹⁰ More information on Forum Mulher is available on: www.forummulher.org.mz.

¹¹ Organização da Mulher Moçambicana, Organization of Mozambican Women.

¹² An interesting account of OMM and its role is given in Urdang, S. *And Still They Dance: Women, War and the Struggle for Change in Mozambique* (London, 1989). The book discusses OMM in the period 1975–1988 but the analysis of OMM's policy and views on women's role in society remain valid.

these quickly evolved into a viable alternative for OMM, which in 1992 briefly attempted to establish itself as an autonomous CSO but which quickly reverted back to FRELIMO.¹³ Although OMM has outreach in every village and representatives are democratically elected, it is weakened by its political affiliation, limited resources and welfarist orientation.¹⁴

Immediately after the Beijing Conference many CSOs targeting women gained a lot of impetus, particularly as they began to steadily build up credibility and legitimacy and gained capacity for administrative and financial management. Gender analysis gradually obtained recognition as a specific skill and CSOs concentrated on building up their internal capacity to address gender inequality. At the same time, many women's associations/organizations also professionalized, with many affiliating to Forum Mulher. In effect, since it was founded in 1992, Forum Mulher has always been the point of reference for civil society working on behalf of women or gender equality.

Although some CSOs are dedicated specifically to promoting gender equality and/or protecting women's rights, many others do not target women specifically but include them as beneficiaries and make special efforts to deliver appropriate services to poor women. It is positive to note that research institutes such as Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (UEM), private universities, and Centros de Estudos Africanos (CEA) increasingly offer special courses and produce research on gender issues. However, in practice initiatives to promote gender equality are led by women. Men are able to join any group that seeks to encourage gender equality. Associations are not allowed to bar individuals because of their sex.

However, civil society at large does not always succeed in formulating a clear and coherent vision of women's place in the "ideal society" and a clear feminist vision outlining strategies on how to transform society and achieve gender equality is notably absent. For example, Agenda 2025 is a vision and strategy statement drawn up in 2003 by a group of "wise men" drawn from different groups of civil society. Through extensive and countrywide consultation, Agenda 2025 identifies several scenarios and a long term strategic vision for the country's future development (2003–2025) based on the principles of sovereignty, democracy, rule of law, fight against absolute poverty and non-exclusion. Although the vision specifically includes "a country where men and women enjoy the same rights and opportunities" gender equality is not systematically raised as a concern throughout the document.¹⁵ Indeed, the prevalent approach of Agenda 2025 seems to be that of helping women become better wives and mothers rather than promotion of women's rights as the exercise of their full citizenship rights and women's empowerment.

Forum Mulher thus faces the challenge to mobilize a broad-based support for gender equality through directed and long-term advocacy campaigns. As an example one cites Forum Mulher's annual "re-runs" of the Women's March and campaign that finally culminated in the approval of the Family Law (2004). Forum Mulher's latest campaign is designed to carry forward the proposed Bill on Domestic Violence. Women's organizations are often based in cities and need to increase outreach in districts so that the women's movement can respond to

¹³ OMM reverted back to FRELIMO largely because it was unable to raise resources to guarantee its existence and activities.

¹⁴ Historically, OMM's approach has been to give priority to women's practical gender needs over women's strategic gender needs. Today, OMM's approach continues to be characterized by "welfarist" concerns for women as wives and mothers rather than as agents of societal change.

¹⁵ Agenda 2025: Visão e Estratégia da Nação (Comité de Conselheiros, Maputo 2003) item 5.2, p 89.

realities everywhere, including those in rural and remote areas. Although it is often recognized that expansion is necessary, CSOs often lack the necessary human, financial and resources to make the expansion a reality. Forum Mulher helped to set up provincial networks grouping gender CSOs (e.g. NAFEZA in Zambézia) but these mostly function as loose informal cooperation mechanisms, partly because many are still in the process of institutionalization and partly because in many provinces these networks/forums lack sufficient funding. A specific challenge lies in formalizing and operationalizing synergies so that these can be integrated into the work plans of different partners.

In spite of the fact that women's organizations are very clear about the fact that they belong to an independent civil society, many also see themselves as potential partners for the implementation of government strategies. Thus there is a consensus that the women's movement should be defined in a broad sense, so that it can include the government because it has a large impact on quality of life for citizens. For example, Forum Mulher has made the strategic decision to engage in the high-level PRSP processes. As such, it critiqued the first PRSP for the period 2001–2005 (PARPA I) and participated in discussions around the elaboration of the successive PRSP for the period 2006–2009 (PARPA II).

2.3. The role of donor agencies

In 1998 the Gender Donor Group (GDG) was formed at the joint initiative of the UN agencies and some bilateral donors, most notably the Netherlands. The objective was to create a mechanism for coordination and exchange of information about the respective donors' activities to support gender equality. Over time, the GDG evolved into the current Gender Coordination Group (GCG) which still regroups most of the multilateral and bilateral donors, but has expanded its membership to include civil society (i.e. Forum Mulher) and government (DNM and the Executive Secretary of CNAM).

At present, the GCG is in the process of reviewing its Terms of Reference to examine the possibility to place greater emphasis on coordination and promotion of synergies rather than mere exchange of information. At the moment, the GCG also functions as the place of report-back when its members have participated in international and national events (conferences, training seminars etc.). The GCG has a rotating chair.

While not all donors have developed and adopted internal gender policies or gender guidelines, all have appointed gender focal points (GFP) or gender officials. Nonetheless, most GFP are officials whose prime and foremost responsibility is not gender but following up on their institution's support to various sectors. At present only Canadian CIDA has recruited a full-time gender adviser.¹⁶

Donors continue to make project funding available to CSOs working to promote women's rights and gender equality (e.g. Muleide, WLSA, Forum Mulher etc.). Donors on the whole are supportive of government's efforts to mainstream gender equality in sectoral plans, as is exemplified by the continued advocacy for gender mainstreaming in the sector-wide approach (SWAP) negotiations in health, education, agriculture (PROA-GRI II), roads, water etc. as well as in the recent Joint Review process.¹⁷

¹⁶ In the past, the Embassies of the Netherlands and Ireland also had full-time gender specialists and Danida employed a part-time consultant to advise on gender issues and follow-up gender projects.

¹⁷ The Joint Review is a review of the extent to which the government has implemented its annual social and economic plan (PES) and achieved the agreed indicators towards poverty reduction. Although government leads this process, it is carried out jointly by government and donors.

2.4. Summary of key points and strategic areas

The government of Mozambique has developed several institutional mechanisms to promote gender equality. Central is the National Directorate for Women (DNM), located inside the Ministry for Women and Social Action. The National Directorate has two departments that are assigned to “Women and Family” and “Gender and Development” respectively. MMAS/DNM is the government entity that is directly mandated to deal with gender issues, and as such it has developed the gender policy and its strategy for implementation (PGEI), national post-Beijing plan of action (PNAM), as well as actively participated in various other areas such as the review of discriminatory legislation, campaigns to end domestic violence and initiatives to promote women’s economic and political empowerment.

However, DNM and MMAS still require institutional support and capacity building, especially at provincial level, but it is hoped that this will be addressed in the ongoing functional analysis and restructuring exercise that is conducted as part of the government’s Public Sector Reform Strategy. Another issue is the need to define the role of MMAS/DNM in relation to other ministries since there is some unclarity about the exact competencies of MMAS/DNM and the competencies of CNAM. Since the word “coordination” has been omitted from the official designation of the Ministry, it appears that more emphasis is placed on MMAS/DNM’s role as facilitator of implementation and service provider to women beneficiaries and many other stakeholders are not entirely clear about the ways this works in practice.

The existence of the national gender policy and strategy has created a legal basis for the replication of institutional mechanisms in other sectors (e.g. nomination of gender focal points, creation of gender units) as well as for the implementation of the PGEI. It is hoped that the PGEI will accelerate the promotion of gender equality by all stakeholders and gender mainstreaming in all sectors. Considering that the PGEI will have to be implemented by the different sectors whilst being monitored by the CNAM, much will hinge on the extent to which CNAM and its structures will be able to function properly.

Ultimately, this translates into a triple challenge to ensure the following:

- committed political leadership by CNAM at central and provincial level
- articulation of the function and role of CNAM vis-à-vis local government
- capacity building for CNAM staff and members at central and provincial level
- salaries and operational funds for CNAM at central and provincial level.

Civil society has also made some important progress in acknowledging gender equality as a matter of social justice and human rights; clearly many women’s organizations in Mozambique have made enormous progress since its beginning in the early 1990s. Their participation in the Beijing Conference and other international events has opened up new horizons, created opportunities for capacity building and funding. Nonetheless, the women’s movement continues to face important challenges including the following:¹⁸

- Technical capacity: the women’s movement has been very active in various high-level processes such as the elaboration of PRSP, laws, policies; but lobbying around these issues is technical work which results in reliance on external consultants and constant follow-up; newly established CSOs still require additional capacity for gender analysis and gender mainstreaming skills, particularly in the provinces;

¹⁸ Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, ‘The Loss of Vibrancy in the Women’s Movement in SADC countries’ – quote taken from Country Profile Mozambique, p 2.

- Province-Maputo linkages/synergies: there is a need to find a way to utilize all the work being done by different stakeholders in different thematic and geographical areas;
- Regional integration/synergies: although Mozambique joined the Commonwealth in 1995, contacts with other women's CSOs is largely constrained by the language barrier, so that affinities with lusophone countries are more readily explored than Commonwealth or SADC linkages.

While the above refer to a need for continued institutional and technical support, gender CSOs and civil society in general are facing a new type of challenge, namely how to develop a coherent and consensual vision for gender equality in Mozambique. Civil society often sees itself as a partner for the implementation of the government's policies and while this is certainly very strategic, it is also important that civil society should develop an ability to propose its own vision and strategy on how to transform society into a society based on gender equality, non-discrimination and unconditional respect of human rights regardless of gender.

For many years, donors have been very supportive of projects for women's empowerment and gender mainstreaming. The Gender Coordination Group started out as a donor coordination mechanism, which was then expanded to include national partners from government and civil society. A challenge lies in deciding whether the primary function of the GCG is to act as a think-tank identifying emerging gender issues and stimulating national debates on appropriate strategies – or whether the GCG can act as a mechanism for joint aid delivery (i.e. coordination, joint implementation, formalizing strategic linkages and synergies etc).

3. Macro Economic Policy and Economic Development

3.1. Macro-economic policy and economic performance

After independence from Portugal in 1975, the state socialist government led by FRELIMO nationalized the country's productive resources and instituted a centralized economy based on five yearly planning cycles. In 1986 structural reform was initiated and in ensuing years the economy was progressively liberalized. Although agricultural land remains property of the state¹⁹, numerous productive assets such as factories and industries were privatized and trade barriers were reduced. This has resulted in a period of rapid growth over the 1990s and early 21st century, with annual growth rates exceeding 10% in 1997–1999.²⁰ Per capita GDP increased from 217 USD in 1997 to 259 USD in 2003 and 360 in 2006.²¹

In recent years economic performance has remained high and stable, although there has been a decline with growth reaching 8% of real GDP in 2005.²² Continued growth was mainly driven by good performance in transport, communications, construction and hydro-energy sectors. Although Mozambique has vast reserves of natural gas in Inhambane Province and several oil companies have started exploration, no oil fields have yet been discovered and the country thus has to import all of the oil required. The country has been subject to the interrelated problems of rising world oil prices, unstable exchange rates of the national currency Metical and inflation.²³

Traditional sectors of the economy such as commercial agriculture performed less well in 2005 than in previous years, and may have had a negative impact on the welfare of the rural population, despite efforts to mitigate the impacts of the recent drought. This suggests that the overall growth may not be as broad-based as in the past. Imports remain almost

¹⁹ Land use rights are established in the 1997 Land Law which foresees in the recognition of land use rights by individuals and communities (direito de uso e aproveitamento da terra – DUAT) as well as short term concessions (licenças) and long term leases for 99 years (concessions).

²⁰ Average growth rate from 1993 to 1997 was 6.7%; from 1997 to 1999 it averaged more than 10% per year. The floods of 2000 slowed GDP growth to 2%, but recovery was achieved in 2001 with 13%. Figures cited from Republic of Mozambique, Report on the Millennium Development Goals 2005, p 7.

²¹ Republic of Mozambique, Report on the Millennium Development Goals 2005, p 7.

²² Joint Review of performance in 2005, cited from Aide Mémoire (Maputo, 2006).

²³ Tight control of spending and money supply successfully reduced inflation from 70% in 1994 to less than 5% in 1998–99. The floods caused economic disruption that caused inflation to jump to 12.7% in 2000 and 13% in 2003. Inflation is slowly decreasing again. On 1 July 2006 the old metical (Mzm) ceased to exist and was replaced by the Metical da Nova Família (MnF): 1000 old Mzm = 1 MnF.

40% greater than exports; balance-of-payments shortfalls have been largely compensated by donor support programmes and private financing of foreign direct investment mega-projects and their associated raw materials (e.g. aluminum smelter, gas project).

Although mega-projects have greatly expanded the nation's trade volume it is clear that sustainable future growth will also depend on continued economic reform, the revival of agriculture and industry, transportation and infrastructure development. In that sense, Mozambique will continue to face some important challenges: industrial production and private entrepreneurship are constrained by the lack of access to capital,²⁴ degraded infrastructure and embryonic local markets; lack of a sufficiently qualified local labour pool and onerous labour legislation. Although still modest, tourism and the hospitality industry appear set to become an area of growth capable of attracting foreign investments.²⁵

Most of the economically active population continues to rely on subsistence agriculture, with largely women growing food for household consumption and men responsible for commercial cash crops.²⁶ Wealth creation is unevenly spread geographically, with most of economic growth concentrated in the capital Maputo and major urban centers. Beira, the capital of the central region, is affected by the decline of the Zimbabwean economy which has paralyzed trade along the Beira-Harare corridor. Although it remains the second city of the country it may well soon be overtaken by Nampula, the capital of the northern region, which is growing fast due to increased trade, the development of the harbour of Nacala, increase in commercial agriculture and improved infrastructure.

Mozambique also faces growing challenges to position itself in the global economy. In the late 1990s, the abolition of trade barriers resulted in the near collapse of the local cashew sector, formerly a significant source of export revenue. Although Mozambique is a producer of cotton, textile factories such as Textafrika in Chimoio (Manica Province) also closed down as they were unable to compete with cheaper imports. The slump in the cashew and textile sectors affected large numbers of women as many were employed in the shelling of cashews and garment industry.

The crisis in the mining sector in South Africa – which traditionally drew large amounts of labour from the Mozambican provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane, has resulted in redundancies. It is estimated that over 70,000 Mozambican mine workers may be affected, with many unable to renew their contracts.²⁷ This not only affects the local economies in southern Mozambique that traditionally relied heavily on male migrant labour, but also results in increasing strain on household coping mechanisms as many returnees are infected by HIV/AIDS. As migrant workers return, gender relations have to be renegotiated and new economic strategies have to be developed by families. In addition many migrant workers return with AIDS, causing further disruption of social fabric and putting pressure on traditional coping mechanisms.²⁸

²⁴ In 2005 the Central Bank issued a regulation that for each loan granted in foreign currency, the bank must deposit an equivalent amount of foreign currency in the Central Bank. In effect this makes it almost impossible to access loans in foreign currency; loans in Mnf are risky due to excessive interest rates.

²⁵ Full utilization of the country's unspoiled natural resources through tourism development is one of the priorities of the government – cfr. Strategic Plan for Tourism (Plano Estratégico para o Desenvolvimento do Turismo em Moçambique 2004–2013) approved by Council of Ministers in October 2004.

²⁶ 80% of the economically active population depends on subsistence agriculture. INE, IAF 2002/3, p 26.

²⁷ See Mozambique News Agency – AIM report, 21 July 2005.

²⁸ For details on the incidence and effects of labour migration in Inhambane province, see Minzo, H., Orlowski, D., & Guivala, E. Pobreza em Inhambane: Factores, Distribuição e Estratégias: estudo de suporte para a elaboração duma Estratégia de Desenvolvimento da Provincia de Inhambane (draft, 2000).

3.2. Framework for poverty reduction

In spite of economic progress, the country remains one of the poorest in the world with low socio-economic indicators. Mozambique ranks 168 out of 177 in UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI), the lowest in SADC. Furthermore, the country ranks 133 out of 140 countries in the Gender Development Index (GDI).²⁹ With a high foreign debt and a good track record on economic reform, Mozambique was the first African country to receive debt relief under the initial HIPC (Heavily Indebted Poor Countries) initiative.³⁰

In order to comply with debt relief requirements, Mozambique elaborated a Poverty Reduction Strategy which outlines the ways in which debt-relief is applied to increase public social spending. This document is known as the Plan of Action for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty 2001–2005 (*PARPA – Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta*). Continuity was achieved through the elaboration of PARPA II, which spans the period 2006–2009. Economic policy in the PARPA continues to focus on the liberalization of the economy in order to promote pro-poor growth.

The elaboration process of PARPA I was critiqued by donors and the national women's movement for not being sufficiently gender-responsive.³¹ Subsequently, PARPA II was elaborated in a more participatory manner, with active participation of civil society (through the so-called G-20) in general and Forum Mulher in particular as representative of women's organizations.³² As a result of concerted advocacy, gender equality has been specifically recognized in the PARPA II document as a cross-cutting issue.

PARPA is based on the government's Five Year Plan (*Plano Quinquenal*) and is the basis for the annual social and economic plan (*Plano Económico e Social – PES*). The Joint Review is an assessment of the extent to which the government has succeeded in implementing and achieving the targets laid out in the PES using Direct Budget Support funds.³³ Thus it constitutes a review of public expenditure, showing that in 2005 expenditures in the priority sectors achieved 67% of total expenditure, of which 55% went to the education and health sectors (preliminary data).³⁴

The Joint Review also found that public finance management has improved in recent years, with the elaboration of several innovative measures to rationalize procedures (e.g. salary reviews, a new procurement regulation, and a significant increase in revenue collection although revenue remains low.³⁵ Future challenges are to develop a coherent Medium Term Fiscal Framework (MTFF),³⁶ implementing SISTAFE,³⁷ improving human resource management, getting funds on-budget, and improving governance mechanisms in general.

As part of the Joint Review process, several sectoral working groups

²⁹ UNDP, National Human Development Report 2000 (Maputo), pp 11–12.

³⁰ In April 2000, Mozambique qualified for the Enhanced HIPC programme as well and attained its completion point in September 2001. This led to the Paris Club members agreeing in November 2001 to substantially reduce the remaining bilateral debt. This in turn led to the complete forgiveness of a considerable volume of bilateral debt.

³¹ Mejia, M. "An Approach for the Analysis of Poverty Reduction Plan (PARPA)" in *Outras Vozes* (WLSA, Special issue, July 2003) pp 35–38.

³² The G-20 comprises a group of 20 CSOs that participated in the elaboration of successive PRSP (PARPA I and PARPA II).

³³ This process takes place annually in March–May. It is followed later in the year by the Mid Year Review, which is a similar evaluation process, but which offers an opportunity to renegotiate priority areas, targets, and indicators.

³⁴ Aide Mémoire for JR of 2005. These preliminary numbers for 2005 were better than 2004 (respectively 63% and 50%).

³⁵ Revenue collection amounted to 14% of GDP in 2005. Aide Mémoire for JR of 2005.

³⁶ The MTFF is a budgeting instrument used to allocate funds for the implementation of the programmes outlined in the PARPA.

³⁷ SISTAFE: Sistema para Administração Financeira Estatal refers to new administrative systems for state finances.

are formed composed of representatives from government and donor agencies. In 2005, the GCG lobbied to include report-back on gender concerns in the working groups' reports and Aide Mémoire. Subsequently, each working group is now required to complete a paragraph on gender issues as a cross-cutting issue. While this ensures gender mainstreaming in the sectoral reports, past experience has shown that the sectoral reports need to be complimented by a separate report that outlines macro gender issues. For this reason, in the Joint Review conducted in March–April 2006, the GCG formed a separate Gender Working Group to draft a report outlining macro issues.³⁸

As a result of the GCG's efforts, the Aide Mémoire for JR of 2005 makes specific reference to gender mainstreaming, acknowledging that greater conceptual and methodological clarity has been achieved with regard to mainstreaming gender as a cross-cutting issue, but emphasizing that instruments need to be defined to ensure their operationalization. It also highlights that the mandate of bodies responsible for cross-cutting issues should be strengthened through political leadership and increased resource allocation.

With regards to allocation of resources for gender, public expenditure is described using very broad categories (functional classifiers) that do not allow sufficient level of analysis (i.e. tracking how exactly funds were applied). In particular, the current functional classifiers do not allow one to track which funds might have been used towards initiatives for gender equality. The Aide Mémoire text has recommended that the review of classifiers be integrated in SISTAFE. This will not only be a tool to analyze budget execution from a gender perspective, but also serve as a tool to demonstrate the gender impact of expenditures in external audits.

Since 2000, UNIFEM, UNDP and other donors have supported some initiatives to introduce the basics of Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) methodologies (e.g. training of Forum Mulher members, training of government gender focal points, training of CNAM Executive Secretary) and develop a Gender Budget Statement.³⁹ In addition, UNCDF through its support to the government's Decentralized Planning and District Finance programme is contemplating the possibility of developing a pilot experience to apply the GRB methodology to district planning and budgets in Nampula and Cabo Delgado provinces.

Mozambique's policies have reduced the number of people living in absolute poverty from 69.4% in 1996–7 to 54.1% in 2002–3, but in order to accelerate development the government adopted the Millennium Declaration in September 2000.⁴⁰ One of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) refers to “promoting gender equality and empowering women”. The corresponding target is defined as “Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015”.⁴¹ Corresponding indicators

³⁸ A consultant was hired to identify relevant gender issues on which the different working groups should ideally report back in their own reports. A detailed report is available from the GDG Chair and CIDA-PSU.

³⁹ Extensive information is available from the Executive Secretary of CNAM and GFP of Ministry of Planning and Development. Theoretical information, tools and reports of activities are available from UNIFEM's website www.unifem.org.

⁴⁰ The MDGs refer to the following: (1) eradication of absolute poverty and hunger, (2) achieving universal basic education, (3) promoting equality among the sexes and autonomy of women, (4) reducing infant mortality, (5) improving maternal health, (6) fighting HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, (7) ensuring sustainable management of the environment and (8) establishing a world partnership for development. Republic of Mozambique, Report on the Millennium Development Goals 2005, p 12.

⁴¹ The Report on the Millennium Development Goals 2005 suggests that the focus on education stems from the fact that the Education Sector is one of the most advanced in terms of gender mainstreaming, with special emphasis in the Education Strategic Plan on girls' education.

relate to education (e.g. ratio of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education; ratio of literate women to men of 15–24 years old) but other indicators appear designed to track gender equality in a wider sense (e.g. share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector; proportion of seats held by women in national parliament). The national report on progress towards the MDG for gender equality states that it is unlikely that the target will be reached, and suggests this is largely due to the state of the supportive environment, which it describes as “weak but improving”.⁴²

3.3. Economic development through private sector development

The overall majority of the economically active population depends on subsistence agriculture and/or fisheries and the other sectors are hardly developed. All sectors – except for agriculture – employ more men than women.⁴³ The fact that 80.5% of the economically active population derives a livelihood from agriculture or fishing means that the majority of the adult population is not remunerated but is self-employed or working without salary in a family business including household farming. Only 11.5% receive remuneration in money or kind. Of those earning money or receiving payment in kind, the majority is men; in contrast, the majority of unremunerated workers in a family business are women and this no doubt reflects the fact that women’s productive labour is often not counted as “economic” work.⁴⁴

In June 2005 the government granted a 14% increase in the statutory minimum wage for all salaried workers (1 300 000 Mzm for workers in industry and service sectors and 935 000 Mzm for agricultural workers). Despite the increase, which was above the inflation rate reported for 2004, neither minimum wage provides workers and their families with a decent living standard. Strategies include looking for a second job, maintaining own gardens, and reliance on the income of other family members. Family support systems come under increasing strain as those relatives who do have an income are expected to contribute to those who have none, resulting in sources of latent conflict.

According to annual household surveys, male headed households spend as much as 13% than female headed households per month. A breakdown of expenditure shows that male headed households spend as much as female headed households on food but spend much more on alcoholic beverages, clothing, leisure, furniture and transport.⁴⁵ By contrast, they spend less on housing than female headed households. The higher expenditure of male headed households may be a reflection of both the dual income (most female headed households are headed by single women) and the fact that women typically earn less than men.

Donors are supporting Mozambique to develop and sustain a policy, legal and regulatory environment that will promote private investment and trade, particularly in sectors in which investments creates numerous jobs and thereby reduces poverty. A study found that the Labour Law of July 1998 is fraught with ambiguities and policy-driven requirements

⁴² Republic of Mozambique, Report on the Millennium Development Goals 2005, p 21–23.

⁴³ Percentage of men and women (economically active) per sector: agriculture/fisheries – men: 69.3%, women: 89.9%; commerce and trade – men: 9.2%, women: 5.2%; services – men: 7.3%, women 3.1%; public sector (education, health, administration) – men: 5.2%, women 1.4%; construction – men 4.5%, women 0.1%; manufacture – 1.5 men%, women 0.1%; mining – 1 men%, women 0.1%. INE, IAF 2002/3, p 26.

⁴⁴ INE, IAF 2002/3, p 27.

⁴⁵ INE, IAF 2002/3, p 35.

that impose significant costs on employers and thus make Mozambique less competitive than neighbouring countries.⁴⁶ The Labour Law is currently under review.

Forum Mulher has mobilized its members with special technical knowledge to prepare comments and suggestions to make the law more gender-responsive, i.e. to ensure that the law reflects women's concerns both as workers and as mothers. The current legislation protects female workers as mothers by allowing maternity leave of 60 days, a reduction of work hours for breastfeeding, as well as a substantial amount of leave related to funerals and sickness of children.

Women are legally protected against certain occupational hazards, but since few women are fully aware of their rights under the law it is not often used to protect women workers against discrimination or as a means for women to demand more sanitary work conditions. A specific challenge is the definition of appropriate measures to prevent and punish sexual harassment in the work place. The proposed law envisages a reduction in retrenchment costs, but the question is whether this will render women more vulnerable to dismissal and whether the proposed law will abolish lower pay for women in the same job as men.

As in many countries, the labour market is segregated both vertically and horizontally. Women are concentrated in lower skilled jobs with lower salaries. Pay differentials can be understood in terms of gender: since wage levels reflect productivity, women's lower education levels are reflected in their lower productivity, which is taken to justify lower wages. Underlying this, however, is the assumption that men are the primary producers and thus need income earning opportunities the most. This in turn is rooted in the traditional division of labour, which places central emphasis on women's reproductive labour and their role as subsistence producers.

The Provincial Directorates of Labour report that "the fight against discrimination at work is neither a priority nor carried out".⁴⁷ In addition, these directorates have very little linkages with trade unions and little control over the application of the law in private companies. Like trade unions, labour tribunals pay little attention to discriminatory practices based on sex, sackings without just cause such as pregnancy, and sexual harassment.⁴⁸

The government has introduced some important measures to promote investment such as the reduction of bureaucratic red tape, new fiscal legislation and review of the Commercial Code. Nonetheless, private sector development remains limited. Although there are some successful women entrepreneurs, many women struggle to establish and operate their own businesses and these gender barriers are not sufficiently highlighted and addressed.⁴⁹ In the main, women's businesses in Mozambique are predominantly micro-enterprises maximizing opportunities in the informal sector, characterized by low levels of capitalization, self-employment, reliance on local resources and raw materials, informal transactions and easy entry into the sector.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Assessment of Mozambican Labor Law (background study for USAID/Mozambique Country Strategic Plan), prepared by SAL Lda, Maputo 20002.

⁴⁷ Artur, M.:J: et al. Inequality Politics: Rudiments for an Evaluation of Government and CSO gender policies and programmes Post-Beijing, 1995–1999 (Forum Mulher, Maputo 2000), p 36.

⁴⁸ Artur, M.:J: et al. Inequality Politics: Rudiments for an Evaluation of Government and CSO gender policies and programmes Post-Beijing, 1995–1999 (Forum Mulher, Maputo 2000), p 36.

⁴⁹ For example, very little – if any – visibility is given to female entrepreneurship and specific issues women may face in the annual private sector conferences.

⁵⁰ OECD Gender Tipsheets: Micro-Credit and Micro-Entreprise Development, available from www.oecd.org.

The lack of credit facilities in rural areas means that women's businesses are mostly urban-based. However, even in cities and towns women face specific constraints such as difficulties in accessing loans and credit due to conditions imposed by lending institutions and the need to obtain authorization from the husband. Other difficulties are the high levels of illiteracy and limited schooling which limits women's access to new technologies; lack of business skills, market information about consumer preference and product development (everyone sells the same thing). The new Commercial Code that came into force in 2006 simplifies the legal and administrative procedures to acquire productive assets and to register a business in a woman's own name, but few women are aware of the possibilities the new law offers.⁵¹

Other factors that encourage economic development include the rehabilitation and modernization of transport infrastructure as well as the provision of productive inputs such as energy and development of financial institutions. Some financial institutions, such as *Novo Banco*, have begun to address women's specific needs for capital and constraints to the local capital market, thereby stimulating women's enterprises in both the formal and informal sector – with good results.

A particular challenge is to ensure that capital is available under appropriate terms and conditions to rural women. In Gaza Province, for instance, an CSO found strong indications that women are increasingly dropping out of micro-credit schemes in the town of Xai-Xai (Southern Mozambique) as women fear being unable to comply with credit repayment as they fall ill with AIDS-related disease or have to spend less time on productive activities when they are caring for sick family members.⁵²

3.4. Roads and transport infrastructure development

Transport infrastructure is still weakly developed. In rural areas, 34.5% of households must walk for one hour or more to reach the nearest market and around 40% must walk for one hour or more to reach the nearest point of public transport. Labour-based methods for road construction and rehabilitation have been implemented in Mozambique since 1981 with support from various bilateral donors. Between 1992 and 2002 over 7900 km of feeder roads were opened, contributing to resettlement of people who had been displaced by the war, the revival of large areas of previously abandoned land and improved opportunities for short-term employment for local communities. More than 40,000 rural persons have been employed in the Feeder Roads Programme (FRP) through mechanisms such as Food for Work schemes and women's participation in the FRP has steadily increased over the years. Whereas in 1992 only 2% of jobs went to women, by 2002 women's participation was 19%.⁵³

In 1996 a Gender Unit was established inside the FRP. In 1999 the National Roads Administration (ANE)⁵⁴ was established; in 2000 a Social Issues Unit (incorporating the Gender Unit) was set up in ANE with a view to help increase the number of women employed on the road works. Although the participation of women is an important aspect of the labour standards promoted in FRP, recruiting large numbers of women and keeping them on the job has proved very difficult. Recruitment of

⁵¹ Based on field work carried out in Inhambane City for GTZ Mozambique in the context of GTZ's private sector development support project, Van den Bergh Collier, E. Gender Analysis, Maputo 2000 and "My Very Own: Training Manual for Micro-Enterprise Development and Gender" available from FAO, Rome.

⁵² More information is available from Save the Children US through its micro-credit facility in Xai-Xai and Matola.

⁵³ Donors lobbied for the adoption of a national target of 25% in 1999, but this was later scaled down as it was not considered realistic.

⁵⁴ ANE: Administração Nacional das Estradas.

women is heavily dependent on the level of awareness of individual contractors, prevailing customs in the district, and the influence of local leaders in disseminating information to women and ensuring that they are recruited. Other factors relate to inadequate conditions in the living quarters/camps, women's responsibilities for food production, and delays in wage payments.⁵⁵ Road maintenance is an important source of income and employment for women, but like road construction, specific measures are required to bring women into road maintenance while improving work conditions.

The Roads and Coastal Shipping (ROCS) programme was largely funded by the World Bank. ROCS I and ROCS II are the precursors of the current Integrated Road System Programme (PRISE) which is scheduled to start in 2007 and run through to 2011 at an estimated cost of 200 million USD.⁵⁶ Although the ROCS programmes did not emphasize gender equality as much as the FRP, there is a real concern with mainstreaming gender equality in future initiatives such as PRISE.

However, gender equality in infrastructure programmes should not be limited to the participation of women in employment opportunities created by road works; another important aspect is the extent to which men and women are able to avail themselves of infrastructure and transport. This is particularly relevant considering the rising cost of semi-collective transport, which forces many women to walk to their jobs, markets or schools. Anecdotal evidence suggests that some girls are discontinuing secondary education due to the rising cost of public transport which reduces household disposable income.⁵⁷

An important challenge lies in assessing the travel demands and constraints of urban and rural women, assessing how the legal, regulatory and transport policy environment impacts on women's and men's travel preferences, and reviewing the potential for expansion of services and promotion of women's use of such services. The most recent annual household survey found that male headed households spend more than twice the amount of money on transport as female headed households.⁵⁸ This increase in expenditure is due to rising transport prices, but it also shows that female headed households are to a large degree unable to satisfy all their transport requirements.

It is also necessary to analyze the social impact of large infrastructure projects, such as bridge construction, on local communities. While the presence of a large number of men without their wives and with money to spend may inject cash into the local economy and stimulate economic development, it can also cause negative effects, especially for women and children. Potential risks include children dropping out of school to look for employment on or around the construction site, potential exploitation of children through child labour or prostitution, escalation of sexually transmitted diseases etc.⁵⁹

3.5. Energy infrastructure development

The Mozambican population experiences significant energy poverty, i.e. the absence of sufficient choice in accessing adequate, affordable, reli-

⁵⁵ Single female heads of households are defined as a priority target group for recruitment and unmarried women have shown much interest in road work. However, many withdraw from employment due to the late payment of wages – these households are asset-poor and thus unable to endure problems, particularly late payment of wages. ANE, Final Report of the Social Impact Study – ANE/DFID Feeder Road Project Zambezia Province (Scott Wilson, 2001), pp 17–22.

⁵⁶ PRISE: Programme Integrado do Sistema das Estradas.

⁵⁷ Personal communication to author, SC employee in Quelimane, August 2006.

⁵⁸ INE, IAF 2002/3, p 35.

⁵⁹ Save the Children UK, A Bridge over the Zambezi: what needs to be done for children? (Maputo, 2006).

able, high quality, safe and environmentally benign energy services to support economic and human development. Through its Energy Policy and Energy Strategy, Mozambique has placed an emphasis on rural electrification and improving choices to reduce reliance on biomass fuels.⁶⁰ Various diagnostic studies have been carried out showing that women are particularly affected by energy poverty and that these two issues have important gender dimensions.⁶¹

Women have low access to modern energy such as electricity, since this is a relatively expensive form of energy and monthly billing systems do not suit many women's cash flows.⁶² Women rely mostly on biomass fuels such as firewood and charcoal for cooking and bathing and in view of the gradual depletion of these fuels throughout the country women are obliged to walk increasingly longer distances to obtain these fuels or pay higher prices. With the exception of Maputo City, the most frequently used source of energy for lighting is paraffin, in both urban and rural areas.⁶³ Even in cities cooking is mostly done using firewood or charcoal. Women suffer adverse health effects caused by traditional biomass fuels for domestic use such as respiratory disorders caused by smoke when cooking on charcoal braziers or conventional three-stone wood stoves.

Alternative technologies are often beyond women's reach due to investment costs, maintenance which requires a degree of technological know-how, lack of available spare parts, and lack of information dissemination as well as sufficient technical support. Women's limited access to energy not only increases women's work load by having to collect fuel but also in so far as women continue to rely on their own labour for pounding grains etc. In the rural areas there is a high demand for mills and this is often one of the main objectives of local associations. Furthermore, women's lack of access to energy reduces their income generating potential as they are unable to expand their businesses.

To address gender implications in the energy sector, the sector has identified three fundamental concerns:⁶⁴

- how to provide women, particularly poor women, with more options and better choices of energy for household use and income generation
- how to increase awareness of professionals in the energy sector of benefits of gender equality so that gender equality becomes an integrated part of planning and project approval decisions
- how to increase the participation of women and improve their relative status to men in the energy sector at all levels, and in particular support and encourage the professional development of women in this area.

To this end, Gender Focal Points have been appointed and a Gender Unit was created in MIREME in 2004.⁶⁵ The Gender Unit is currently developing a Gender Policy and Gender Strategic Plan.

⁶⁰ The Energy Policy and Energy Strategy were approved in 1998 and 2000 respectively.

⁶¹ KPMG, *Sofala Energy Survey* (Maputo, 2003) – see chapter on gender. See also Abreu, A. *Relatório do Diagnóstico e Análise Situacional de Género no Sector da Energia* – prepared for *Projecto Mulher e Energia* (104 MOZ 802). The project was implemented by FUNAE/MIREME with Danida support during 2001–2003.

⁶² Less than 10% of households use electricity, Maputo Province and Maputo City excepted. In Maputo Province 18.1% of households use electricity, compared to 45.9% in Maputo City. INE, IAF 2002/3, p 61.

⁶³ INE, IAF 2002/3, p 61.

⁶⁴ See *Projecto Mulher e Energia* (104 MOZ 802).

⁶⁵ In 2005 the Ministry for Energy and Mineral Resources (MIREME) was extinguished and substituted by the Ministry for Energy and the Ministry for Mineral Resources. Gender Units function in each ministry at central level, but trained gender focal points have now mostly been "inherited" by Ministry for Mineral Resources so that at provincial level expertise is shared between the two institutions.

3.6. Summary of key points and strategic areas

Since the end of the civil war in 1992, Mozambique has experienced significant economic growth and stability. The policy framework prioritizes poverty reduction and gender is increasingly recognized as a fundamental aspect of human development and strategy for equitable poverty reduction. PARPA II, PES and the Joint Review all integrate gender as a cross-cutting issue and one of the Millennium Development Goals explicitly focuses on promoting gender equality and empowering women.

While poverty reduction strategies have reduced the percentage of population living in absolute poverty from 70% in 1997 to 54% in 2003, the gender development index shows that men and women have not benefited equally. A priority area is to define appropriate indicators that can help measure progress towards gender equality goals defined in PARPA II. Related to this is the need to define functional classifiers that allow one to track whether and to what extent public expenditures benefit men and women, i. e. the ongoing gender responsive budgeting initiatives should be strengthened and supported through advocacy and strategic integration in ongoing policy processes such as the Joint Review, Annual Mid Term Review, budget cycle, launch of SISTAF etc.

The MDG initiative may be critiqued in that its vision of gender equality and women's empowerment focuses only on education rates, adult literacy rates, numbers of women in off-farm paid employment, and proportion of seats held in parliament by women. In any case, the government recognizes that it is unlikely that the target will be reached, since it characterizes the supportive environment as weak but improving.⁶⁶ A particular challenge and priority is the national capacity for monitoring and analysis of progress towards achievement of this MDG.

Despite good macro-economic performance important challenges remain, such as the fact that growth is in part due to large, capital-intensive foreign investment projects, the economy remains vulnerable to external shocks (rising oil prices) and natural disasters (floods and droughts), and the existence of a very limited industrial base resulting in an over-reliance on natural resources (e.g. prawns, fish, forestry products, wood etc.). An emerging priority is to better analyze the impact of globalization on women in Mozambique, since women are often the first to be affected when production systems change (move to other locations) or are rationalized (retrenchments).

In spite of initiatives to promote economic growth through private sector, private sector continues to be hampered by lack of credit and capital, labour issues and limited infrastructure. Specific areas of concern and potential areas for intervention include the dissemination of the new Commercial Code so that women may be fully aware of the opportunities provided by the new legislation to set up and register businesses. However, the impact of the Commercial Code as a contribution towards women's economic empowerment will be severely limited if it is not coupled to the provision of credit and access to capital as this is the foremost constraint to entrepreneurship in Mozambique. Another area that merits support is the effort by civil society to include gender considerations in the proposed new labour legislation. This should focus on advocacy seeking to protect women's interests both as mothers (maternity entitlements) and workers (protection against sexual harassment, protection against unfair dismissal, and prohibition of pay differentials based on sex).

⁶⁶ Republic of Mozambique, Report on the Millennium Development Goals 2005, p 21.

4. Land as Source of Sustainable Livelihood

4.1. Gender issues in the agricultural sector

It is estimated that as many as 90% of all economically active women are involved in agriculture, compared to 66% of economically active men, and that the majority of women are engaged in subsistence farming.⁶⁷ It is also widely known that although land in Mozambique is plentiful and fertile, agricultural production does not reach its full potential on account of various factors such as inadequate labour, poor road and rail networks, insufficient credit and rural financing, lack of storage facilities, high transport costs etc. These result in a limited capacity to produce, store and sell produce.

Small-holder farming by households is only viable because it does not remunerate labour,⁶⁸ especially women's labour. It is estimated that rural women spend an average of 14 hours per day working on agriculture related activities, water fetching, small livestock management, and domestic chores, compared to men who spend an average of 6–8 hours on agricultural work.⁶⁹ This restricts women's participation in other programmes such as adult literacy, civic education, entrepreneurship development etc.

Overall in the last five years, Mozambique has experienced a substantial increase of volume of agricultural produce. This is reflected in the rise of the number of agricultural workers employed by commercial farmers engaged in large-scale commercial farming of sugar cane, tobacco, cashew, cotton, cut flowers, vegetables, sunflower and paprika; but there has also been an increase in the number of small farmers producing cash crops under out-grower schemes.⁷⁰

With regard to the promotion and diversification of crop production two issues are of particular relevance to women: (1) marketing and (2) creating economies of scale through grouping women around the sale of crops under their control. Women in rural areas typically produce commodities that are highly perishable and the volume of marketable

⁶⁷ Population Census 1997.

⁶⁸ Cardoso T. Muendane "Sustentabilidade da Agricultura em Moçambique no Contexto da Regionalização – caso dos cereais" typescript/powerpoint presented at 7th Annual Private Sector Conference (Maputo 2003).

⁶⁹ IAF 2004.

⁷⁰ Danida, In-Depth Assessment of ADIPSA (Maputo, 2004). Recent press reports, however, question the success of commercial agriculture with reports that "the Manica Miracle is over" due to rigorous loan conditions, management difficulties and lack of adequate technical support (news reports and clippings nr 96, 97, 98 Joseph Hanlon, June 2006). More detailed information: www.open.ac.uk/technology/mozambique.

surpluses is also typically small. They sell within a short radius and do not attain larger, more lucrative markets. Furthermore, given the low volume of their surpluses, the dispersion of their plots and the high costs of transportation, it is necessary to link women into the main marketing channels and to contain collection and transport costs through intermediary women's marketing associations or local private traders. Organizations such as the National Union of Farmers' Cooperatives (UNAC) helps local groups of farmers to form associations and acquire marketing know-how, enabling farmers to offer their produce in the volume and quantities required by buyers. Women are still underrepresented in these associations.⁷¹ Most areas are rain-fed and depend on water springs and brooks from the mountains. This implies a risk that as commercial cropping increases, women's subsistence farming may gradually be displaced from prime areas close to water and moved to more marginal areas with fragile or degraded soils.

Commercial banks operate almost solely in urban centres. Agricultural credit is severely lacking in Mozambique, as financial institutions consider that the low productivity and vulnerability to drought and other calamities, together with problems to commercialize produce render this too risky. For that reason, agricultural credit is really only available through agricultural companies such as DIMON in Manica Province that provide out-growers with loans to purchase inputs.⁷² The only other source of agricultural credit is CSOs.

The ADB found in a recent visit to Mozambique that many financial institutions such as the Micro Financing Facility face additional problems in reaching women clients. These problems include very low levels of female literacy in rural areas, lack of access to independent assets that can serve as collateral, lack of time due to women's multiple roles and lack of access to information and business experience. All of these make credit ever scarcer for women and women often lack any information on financial products available (whether commercially or through CSOs) as well as knowledge of their property rights, which could enable them to put up collateral and thus increase their chances of qualifying for loans.⁷³

Only about a quarter of extension workers are women. There is a consensus that it is necessary to recruit and train more female extension workers, since research indicates that the sex of the extension worker is an important factor in targeting women.⁷⁴ Extension workers have been trained, but still need follow-up training and materials to introduce a gender approach into their work, particularly where they intervene directly at the community level. The role of extension workers in promoting intensive or more productive farming techniques is becoming ever more important in view of the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS. The pandem-

⁷¹ Although women are not officially barred from membership or representation on the association's board, there are several reasons why only few women participate in the association. Firstly, men as heads of households not only control what types of crops the household will cultivate, but also make all decisions outside of the household. As such, it is they who negotiate out-growing schemes with buyers, and represent the household in the meetings of the association. In many cases, this also ensures that extension work and new farming technologies reach men rather than women. However, when women's access to membership and leadership positions in these organizations is restricted, their access to resources and ability to make their views known to policy makers and planners is also restricted. The obvious result is the inability of women farmers to carry out their roles in agriculture and food security to optimum potential.

⁷² According to recent press reports, DIMON may pull out of Mozambique due to a dispute over a tobacco concession in Tete province, sparking a debate about agricultural development policy (news reports and clippings nr 96, 97, 98 Joseph Hanlon, June 2006). See also: www.open.ac.uk/technology/mozambique

⁷³ African Development Bank, Multi-Sector Country Gender Profile (May 2004), pp 10–11.

⁷⁴ If a meeting is called by a male extension worker, the meeting will attract mostly men; conversely, if the meeting is called by a female extension worker, women frequently attend in greater numbers than men. Meetings are often held at times or in places that are inappropriate for women; the contents of the meeting tend to focus on cash crops methods and techniques instead of focusing on subsistence crops women grow.

ic locks households in a downward spiral of increasing dependency ratios, poorer nutrition and health, increasing expenditure of resources (time and money) on health problems, more food shortages, decreasing household viability, and increasing reliance on support from extended family and the wider community. Traditional coping mechanisms are being over-stretched as the burden of home-based care falls disproportionately on women and girls, so that it becomes important to teach women farming techniques that are less labour intensive.⁷⁵

4.2. Policy and institutional mechanisms for gender equality in agriculture

The Agrarian Policy and Strategy for Implementation (PAEI) recognizes the principle of social equity and in the last decade the Ministry for Agriculture has made significant progress with gender mainstreaming. Capacity for gender sensitive research, analysis and planning is gradually increasing thanks to various trainings and initiatives of the Gender Unit, housed in the Directorate of Economy.⁷⁶ In 2001 the Gender Unit described its mandate as follows: “to raise awareness and facilitate the acquisition of knowledge and skills so that all MADER⁷⁷ directorates and institutions may consider and incorporate gender issues in all their actions and activities”. To do this, its main functions are to provide gender training, generate information on gender issues as well as gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation systems.

With the support of donors, the Gender Unit has reviewed the draft programme for agriculture, PROAGRI II, which was approved in 2004. In 2002, it undertook a comprehensive diagnostic study to identify critical gender issues related to agriculture and rural development; this document served as the basis for the Gender Strategy for Agriculture which was elaborated by the Gender Unit in 2005. The said Gender Strategy in turn provides the basis for a Plan of Action for Gender in the Agriculture Sector which was developed in 2005.

The objective of the Gender Strategy is to ensure that gender equality is systematically considered in all aspects of MINAG/PROAGRI II. One of the specific objectives of the Gender Strategy is to establish and strengthen linkages between MINAG, family sector, farmers’ associations, civil society and the private sector in partnerships for gender equality. Other strategic interventions envisaged include:

- Provision of micro-credit for farmers, so that they can acquire inputs
- Disseminate technologies that improve soil quality, promote intensive agriculture and reduce environmental degradation of soils
- Develop and disseminate techniques for production, sustainable use, crop diversification and storage etc. to increase food security
- Conduct technological demonstrations to target rural women to promote labour-saving methods and encourage women’s participation in livestock programmes

⁷⁵ In 2002, CNCS launched a programme known as Vida Positiva, which incorporates farming techniques designed to improve the nutritional status of HIV/AIDS affected households using more diverse crops (e.g. garlic, carrots, cabbage) that require less water and labour. The techniques are being propagated by the Mozambican Red Cross in several pilot districts.

⁷⁶ The Gender Unit was created in 1998 inside the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. The Gender Unit continued to function in the Ministry for Agriculture and Rural Development and continues its functions in the present Ministry of Agriculture.

⁷⁷ MADER – Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, recently reorganized into the Ministry of Agriculture (MINAG) and the Ministry of Planning which now includes Rural Extension.

- Develop appropriate technologies for women in packages that are easy to use, harmonizing traditional technologies with modern technologies
- Dissemination of the Land Law and women's rights to access and control land, gradually reducing the discriminatory effects of customary norms

4.3. Land Law and women's land tenure rights

Mozambique is often said to have one of the most progressive and gender-sensitive land laws of the Southern African region. Indeed, the 1997 Land Law seeks to protect the land use rights of small-scale farmers, who account for perhaps as much as 90% of all farmers and who are the mainstay of the economy. While land continues to belong to the state, the Land Law of 1997 and its accompanying Regulations (1998) have introduced legal measures to help communities and all individuals – men and women – gain legal rights to land without requiring written proof of de facto use.⁷⁸ The law thus gives women as citizens in full possession of their rights some control over land as a resource.

In reality, however, the majority of the rural population does not yet benefit from this comparative advantage, partly due to lack of information and knowledge about their rights (particularly for women), and partly because the administrative and judicial practices are still far from incorporating the norms and dynamics that the Land Law seeks to encourage.

By providing both formal procedures to obtain land title as well as reinforcing informal traditional land allocation mechanisms the legislation creates a tension which may affect women and gender relations. In other words, the new legislation recognizes women's equal land rights to men and to this extent is based on the assumption of gender equality. However, it also formally recognizes what are widely held to be patriarchal, customary systems of land tenure wherein rights and duties are allocated differently, according to gender and, therefore, based on gender difference. This tension creates uncertainty about the correct interpretation and application of the formal law, which in turn may result in insecure tenure for women.

Research in Marracuene (Maputo Province) has shown that this tension can go either way: it can be argued that customary norms are being used to dispossess women of their land, but there are also documented instances whereby women and men have drawn on the customary rights to defend women's land claims.⁷⁹ This ability to strategically use either system depends largely on the individual's status in the community and ability to articulate his/her point of view. It also appears to vary according to prevalent social values, social and/or marital status. The research concludes that, while the formal justice system remains inaccessible to most Mozambican women, both the positive and negative effects of customary land tenure systems should be considered. It is likely that this holds true in the whole of Mozambique.

⁷⁸ Before the 1997 Land Law, written evidence of use rights was required in case of land dispute. Most rural farmers – and particularly women farmers – did not have written contracts and were thus unable to uphold their tenure rights with formal legal instruments. The 1997 Land Law recognizes the full legal value of written documents while also recognizing the customary tenure systems and rights of people who had occupied land for at least ten years in good faith. This means that if an individual has occupied the land for ten years or more, while believing that nobody else had a legitimate claim to it, s/he can legally cultivate the land and register it in his/her name. This enables communities and individuals to secure land for their own use and to protect it against claims made by outsiders (typically people who apply for long-term concessions or annual licenses that allow them to exploit land and its natural resources).

⁷⁹ Waterhouse, R. "Gender Difference in the Resolution of Conflicts over, or involving, Land: A case study from Marracuene District, Southern Mozambique" working paper for Action Aid/Campanha Terra (Maputo, 1999).

From the perspective of gender equality, it is therefore probably accurate to say that the law is a significant step towards safeguarding women's land rights, but that paradoxically it entails a significant risk – depending on individual circumstances – that it may place women's land rights in a subordinate position to the land rights of men, thereby perpetuating land insecurity for many rural women.

When the Land Campaign came to an end late 1999, the CSOs that composed it decided to continue their work in the field of civic education and advocacy.⁸⁰ A forum of CSOs called Forum Terra was established to deal with the problems of land and rural development in Mozambique. Forum Terra has singled out women's rights to land as an area of concern and has thus developed some materials to promote better knowledge of land rights among rural women (e.g. video material on gender and land rights and a brochure on gender awareness in the practice of civic education).

However, some members of Forum Terra such as ORAM feel there is a need for increased capacity building for their gender activists and practical materials to use in the field.⁸¹ Apart from training and didactic materials, there is also a need for research that can serve as a basis for advocacy on gender equality in relation to land issues. Forum Terra is also involved in a regional research programme led by the International Land Coalition and the Platform on Women's Land and Water Rights in Southern Africa. Research is being carried out in four pilot countries, namely Lesotho, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique on the current status of women's land and water rights. The research will raise awareness and improve institutional capacity of policy and decision-makers to address linkages between gender equality, land and water rights and food security and poverty reduction.

DINAGECA (MINAG) is currently piloting the digitization of cadastral systems. The establishment and maintenance of a cadastral system includes functions that seem largely technical and administrative (e.g. surveys to describe the land boundaries, preparation of land titles or registration documents, and the design of an information system that contains the relevant data and allows for updating as ownership changes hands). Decisions about ownership may be made in this process and a number of factors can influence the likelihood that decisions are equitable for both men and women.

These factors include (1) women's status and authority as disputes and (2) lack of knowledge about the law on women's rights in marital property and biases towards male ownership. Both factors are relevant to Mozambique as women are generally attributed lower socio-economic status and few rural women are named on title deeds. Organizations that specialize in providing legal assistance to women report that although such women may still have rights in the property, much effort and expense may be required to protect this right in case of divorce, separation or death of a spouse or unilateral use by a spouse.

⁸⁰ The Land Campaign was a broad and nationwide coalition of civil society (CSOs, CBOs, religious groups, academics and individuals) established in 1996 to advocate around a number of key points that were eventually incorporated in the Land Law. First the Land Campaign focused on providing inputs to the draft law and once the law was approved, it launched a nationwide campaign to disseminate the contents of the law. It translated the legal text into local languages and made the provisions of the act accessible to all social groups in the country.

⁸¹ The Mutual Help Rural Organization (ORAM) is a Mozambican CSO that specializes in the dissemination of land rights and through a network of community-based activists it assists communities to register communal lands. It also promotes community management of natural resources under the Law on Forestry and Wildlife.

4.4. Resettlement

The development of the tourism sector is a priority for Mozambique. In this context, large tracts of land are being set aside as wildlife conservancies, nature reserves or national parks such as the Limpopo Transfrontier Park (LTP) in Gaza Province. This implies that sizeable communities have to be resettled to areas beyond the LTP. The Government of Mozambique has prepared a Resettlement Policy Framework in 2003.⁸² While this Resettlement Policy Framework does not explicitly mention concerns about women's land rights, it does propose that Resettlement Working Groups be established, which should ensure that genuine consultation and negotiations about resettlement entitlements (allocation of new land, financial compensation, user rights within the LTP etc) take place. Women's participation in Resettlement Working Groups is critical to ensure that women's land issues are adequately articulated in the negotiations and addressed.

4.5. Food security

Large tracts of Mozambique are food insecure due to natural disasters and/or undercapitalization of the household farming sector. Chronic malnutrition is widespread, especially in the rural areas and in Cabo Delgado, Niassa, Zambezia and Tete.⁸³ Malnutrition among children is still high and continues to be the leading underlying cause of mortality in children in the country.⁸⁴ There are no significant gender gaps in nutritional status; girls and boys appear to be similarly affected and there are no significant gender differences in key indicators such as low birth weight, under-fives suffering from moderate or severe malnutrition. However, there is a significant correlation between the mother's education level and her child's nutritional status: children whose mothers are uneducated are three times more likely to be born with low birth weight than children whose mothers attended secondary school.⁸⁵

In 1998 the government elaborated the National Strategy for Food Security and Nutrition and created the Technical Secretariat for Food Security and Nutrition (SETSAN) as body responsible for coordinating the implementation of the strategy.⁸⁶ SETSAN consists of various bodies, including the Vulnerability Assessment Committee (VAC) that carries out regular assessments of food supply in food-insecure areas and posts warnings through the Famine Early Warning System (FEWS). Although eradication of hunger is one of the Millennium Development Goals, it was insufficiently integrated in PARPA I.

An assessment carried out in 2005 on the implementation of the food security and nutrition strategy indicates the need for a multi-sectoral response and for the allocation of funds from the State Budget. For this reason, food security and nutrition have been included in PARPA II as a cross-cutting issue. The Joint Review of performance in 2005 found that food security and nutrition should be paid greater importance in the allocation of human and financial resources, particularly in the area of

⁸² Limpopo National Park Resettlement Policy Framework, prepared by Huggins, Barendse & Fischer (June 2003), available from the Ministry of Tourism.

⁸³ SETSAN, Food and Nutritional Security (FNS): Progress and Challenges in Mozambique (Maputo, 2005), p 9.

⁸⁴ Relatório sobre os Objectivos de Desenvolvimento do Milénio (Maputo, 2005) p 15, fn 12.

⁸⁵ The national under-five mortality rate among children of mothers with no education is 200 per 1000 (compared to 87 per 1000 for children of mothers with secondary education); national infant mortality rate among children of mothers with no education is 142 per 1000 (compared to 65 per 1000 for children of mothers with secondary education). INE, A Statistical Profile of Disparities in Mozambique: an overview of the situation of children and women based on findings from the 2003 Demographic and Health Survey (Maputo, 2005), pp 11–12

⁸⁶ In addition to this strategy, the Ministry of Health has elaborated the national Nutrition Strategy in 2003 which is implemented by the Nutrition Unit inside the Ministry of Health.

nutrition. However, the Joint Review did not make specific recommendations with regard to gender equality and food security and nutrition, merely recommending that the PAF should include a series of food security and nutrition monitoring indicators (e.g. low weight for age, low weight for height, low height for age and low birth weight). It is important that these should be disaggregated by sex as well as geographical area, by socio-economic groups.

4.6. Environment

Both men and women are consumers, exploiters and managers of natural resources. Although still considered plentiful in Mozambique, degradation of forests, watersheds, foreshores and agricultural land have a severe impact on women as they have a high degree of dependency on the natural environment as they are largely responsible for household subsistence farming, water collection, fuel collection etc. In Mozambique environmental degradation is increasingly becoming of concern.

In order to effectively monitor environmental degradation as well as efficient use of natural resources, it is necessary to generate detailed information on the country's environmental status. The environmental sector and the National Institute for Statistics have developed an Environmental Statistics Compendium that should be published in 2006 and there are plans to establish an Information System for Environmental Management. At present, few statistics are sex-disaggregated and thus it is important that these data sources should include data on women's use of natural resources and document how they are affected by environmental degradation. The Ministry for Environmental Coordination (MICOA) has appointed Gender Focal Points at central and provincial level; sex-disaggregated data should be made available to them for analysis.

In 2005, in order to tackle the worrying unsustainable exploitation of natural resources and to promote sustainable economic growth, MICOA proposed to integrate its environmental agenda into PARPA II as the Environmental Strategy towards Sustainable Development. The Environmental Strategy towards Sustainable Development has yet to be approved. The Planning and Land Use Law and Policy have been approved by the Council of Ministers but still await approval by Parliament. MICOA also advocates a multi-sectoral approach, whereby rural development strategies can be coupled to other initiatives such as the promulgation of efficient stoves by the energy sector. An inter-sectoral group was established involving ministries (including MMAS), donors, the private sector and CSOs working to eliminate harmful practices. Despite acknowledgement of the need to involve both men and women in this inter-sectoral group, women remain largely absent in policy formulation and decision-making in natural resource and environmental management, conservation and rehabilitation programmes.

At community level, women are rarely trained as more efficient natural resource managers. In this respect, it is interesting that MICOA plans to integrate environmental concerns into district planning processes through trainings for community leaders and another for decision-makers at district and municipal level – including female representatives of the community.

4.7. Disaster preparedness

Mozambique is prone to recurring natural disasters such as floods, drought and cyclones. These affect the poorest most, since they have

little or no reserves to counter external 'shocks', particularly rural female headed households that are asset-poor and rely almost exclusively on subsistence farming. In order to ensure a prompt response in case of emergency the government has developed a Contingency Plan, which in 2005 was budgeted at USD 24 million. Central to this plan are measures to ensure an adequate food supply and supply of safe water to needy populations.

Disaster preparedness is treated by the government as a cross-cutting issue that mobilizes several government sectors, cooperation partners and civil society.⁸⁷ The Provincial and District Directorates for Women and Social Action participates in these joint efforts to identify how many women and vulnerable families may be affected and to direct appropriate assistance to these groups.

However, the Joint Review found that in many cases the large number of institutions and stakeholders involved results in a fragile information management system that lacks clear hierarchically defined decision-making centers. A specific challenge is to ensure that gender concerns are clearly articulated and gender strategies are agreed upon by all actors. This in turn points to the critical role that MMAS can play in this process through its National Directorate for Women (the Department for Women and Family in particular) together with the gender focal point of INCG.

4.8. Summary of key points and strategic areas

More than 80% of the total population relies on land or fisheries for a living; as many as 90% of all adult women are involved in farming and most households rely on their own production for food security. Although land is fertile, Mozambique does not attain its full agricultural potential due to several constraints such as lack of improved farming methods, lack of inputs, dependency on rainfall, vulnerability to natural disasters and environmental degradation and the lack of commercial networks in rural areas. In addition, small-holder farming is only viable because it does not remunerate women's labour.

Many urgent gender issues are recognized in PROAGRI II and addressed in the gender strategy; priority areas for intervention include strengthening MINAG's capacity to oversee, implement and monitor planned activities at the community level. Another area requiring support is the definition of ways in which a greater gender focus can be brought to extension programmes, such as the recruitment and training of more female extension workers that would be instrumental in bringing cost-efficient methods and cash crop methods to greater numbers of female farmers. Another challenge may lie in defining ways in which women can be encouraged to effectively participate in farmers' associations, not only as members but also as decision-makers and provision of access to rural credit.

Land is still plentiful but the increase in commercial farming, area under protection as nature reserves or national parks and environmental degradation such as erosion and soil depletion may well in future result in land pressures and land conflicts in some parts of the country. Thus the dissemination of the Land Law at village level, targeting women, remains important, and this can be usefully linked to the planned modernization of cadastral systems. An emerging issue is the question of resettlement around natural areas destined for tourism and a specific challenge lies in ensuring that women can participate in the Resettlement Working Groups and ensuring that gender can be mainstreamed into the Resettlement Policy Framework.

⁸⁷ For example, during the recent drought that affected large parts of the centre and south regions multi-sectoral teams were deployed in several districts of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane provinces to develop baselines, prevention and mitigation plans.

Although there is no discrimination between boys and girls when families have insufficient food, there are high levels of chronic malnutrition and there is a need for a broad multi-sectoral intervention focusing on availability, access and use of food. PARPA II thus recognizes food security as a cross-cutting issue that can best be achieved through strategic partnerships, particularly at decentralized level. A specific area of priority is the disaggregation by age and sex of key vulnerability indicators in PARPA II and PAF. Specific attention should also go to measures that link nutritional information to women's education, since experience shows that the mother's level of education has a direct positive effect on the child's nutritional status. The correlation that exists between HIV/AIDS and food insecurity makes food security another priority, especially focusing on initiatives that can reduce the amount of time women need to expend in order to continue food production.

5. Human Capital

5.1. Education

Education is a basic human right, recognized by the Constitution, and fair provision of education to girls as much as to boys is a major political responsibility that is duly integrated into PARPA II. The benefits of girls' and women's education are strikingly obvious, such as greater earning power for families, increased use of family planning services, reduced malnutrition, reduced infant and maternal mortality and better public health, which in turn can change existing gender relations.

Since independence adult literacy has increased for both men and women, but Mozambique still has one of the lowest adult literacy rates in the SADC region: the national literacy rate for women is 37.5% compared to 67% for men. Literacy rates correlate with residence (location) and wealth. Literacy among urban women is more than three times as high as among rural women (65% versus 21.6%) – although less marked, there is also a significant gap between male urban and male rural literacy rates (84% versus 55%).⁸⁸ Women from the wealthiest households are almost eight times as likely to be literate than women from the poorest households.⁸⁹

Universal education has been a primary goal since independence. Although some early successes were achieved the subsequent civil war destroyed a large part of the school infrastructure, particularly in the rural areas. Problems faced by the education sector also include low enrolment rates, stagnation of literacy programmes and a general decline in the quality of education. Many teachers are infected with HIV and it is thought that the sector will lose huge numbers of teachers – it is often said that teachers are dying faster than that the sector can train new teachers. The pupil/class and pupil/teacher ratios are among the highest in SADC: in primary school, grade 1–5, (EP 1), there are on average 48 pupils in a class and there is one teacher for 68 pupils.⁹⁰ In many cases the teachers themselves have had little chance to pursue advanced education or professional qualifications. Three quarters of teachers have only attained 6th or 7th grade complemented by one or three years of teacher training.⁹¹

⁸⁸ INE/UNICEF, *A Statistical Profile of Disparities in Mozambique* (Maputo, 2005), p 36–37.

⁸⁹ INE/UNICEF, *ibidem*, p 38.

⁹⁰ MINEC, *Education Statistics: Annual School Survey 2004*, July 2004, p 17.

⁹¹ MINEC, *Education Statistics: Annual School Survey 2004*, July 2004, p 19.

The Strategic Plan for the Education Sector (1999–2005) focused on expansion of access, improving quality and relevance of education, and strengthening capacity to manage and deliver appropriate educational services. The Strategic Plan for the Education and Culture Sector (2006–2010) maintains these priorities but also places greater emphasis on improving quality of education and measures to encourage pupils and students to continue their education beyond primary school. The Annual School Survey of 2004 found that most children who are in the education system are in EP 1 (83,7%); school attendance declines steeply after completion of grade 5 (EP 1). Primary school, grade 6–7 (EP 2) only accounts for 11,1% of all children in the education system, compared to 4,6% in secondary school, grade 8–10 (ESG 1) and 0,6% in secondary school, grade 11–12 (ESG 2).⁹² About 1 in 5 children repeats at least one year in EP 1.

Both strategic plans paid specific attention is paid to the four As: access (getting into school), attainment (staying in), achievement (actually learning something) and accomplishment (deriving some benefit from education/putting education to use). Regarding access, data from 2003 indicates that 60% of all children aged 6–12 years are currently attending primary school (EP1 and EP2). Data from 2005 shows that 3,4 million children were in EP 1 (of whom 46,4% are girls), and that only 470 000 children attend EP 2 (of whom 41% are girls).⁹³ It is estimated that in 2005 as many as 660 000 children aged 6–10 were not in school.⁹⁴

As with adult literacy, net primary school attendance rate correlates with residence, wealth and sex. Urban areas have a higher net primary school attendance rate than rural areas (76% versus 53% – 2003 data) and boys are more likely to attend school than girls (63% versus 57%).⁹⁵ Girls in urban areas are much more likely to attend primary school than girls in rural areas (75% versus 48% – 2003 data).⁹⁶ Girls from the richest households are more than twice as likely to attend primary school.⁹⁷ The correlation based on location, sex and wealth is even more pronounced for secondary education. Data from 2003 suggests that net secondary school attendance among children aged 13–17 is only 7.6% (15.6% for urban areas compared to only 1.9%); 8.4% among boys compared to 6.7% among girls; only 0.7% of boys and girls from the poorest households attend secondary school compared to 21.6% from the wealthiest households.⁹⁸ The Annual School Survey for 2004 found that there are more boys than girls in EP 2, except in Maputo City, Maputo Province, Gaza and Inhambane – which also have a higher proportion of girls than boys in EP 1.⁹⁹

Constraints to girls' education have been identified by the sector's Gender Unit located in the Ministry of Education and Culture. Constraints include the lower value of girls' education compared to boys' education on account of the fact that girls are not expected to get jobs (parents may thus feel that the investment in or opportunity cost for girls' education may not worth it); girls' domestic work load and seasonal labour; poverty; lack of female teachers who may be seen as role models and to supervise girls; violence and sexual abuse of female pupils at

⁹² MINEC, Education Statistics: Annual School Survey 2004, July 2004, p 7.

⁹³ Republic of Mozambique, Plano Estratégico de Educação e Cultura 2006–2010, June 2006.

⁹⁴ Republic of Mozambique, Plano Estratégico de Educação e Cultura 2006–2010, June 2006.

⁹⁵ INE/UNICEF, *ibidem*, p 31.

⁹⁶ INE/UNICEF, *ibidem*, p 32.

⁹⁷ INE/UNICEF, *ibidem*, p 34.

⁹⁸ INE/UNICEF, *ibidem*, p 5.

⁹⁹ MINEC, Education Statistics: Annual School Survey 2004, July 2004, p 13 and 21.

school; distance between home and schools and fewer residential facilities for girls (*lares*) for those who live the furthest away. This is especially important for older girls who attend EP2 and secondary education, since most secondary schools are located in towns. Mixed schools are the norm, but boarding schools lack facilities for girls.

In the rural areas of the northern provinces there is a conflict between tradition and formal education. Practices such as early marriage and early childbearing often imply that parents value alternative instruction such as initiation rites and koranic/islamic schools over formal education. In order to counter these, school boards have been established in which both parents and school personnel participate. This has enabled some communities to schedule initiation rites during school holidays; in others parents have taken an active role in the definition of a part of the curriculum (communities are allowed to define 10% of the curriculum with a view to make formal education relevant to pupils). These initiatives are expected to help improve “achievement”.

As the official language, Portuguese is the main medium of instruction. For the majority of the rural population, however, it is the second language and this can lead to learning difficulties, isolation and limited reading materials. This in turn can lead to a fallback to illiteracy after formal training. Regarding accomplishment, only 1% of students enter higher education. The sub-sector is small and underdeveloped. In technical and professional education girls constitute less than a quarter of students in basic and medium level technical education. The dearth of women in higher education is related to women’s reproductive role which is often deemed incompatible with higher study and, to some extent, gender stereotyping and perhaps in some cases also women’s lack of confidence.

Gender stereotypes are also reflected in the choice of study fields. Commercial Institutes offering secretarial, administrative and accounting courses registered 60% female students, whereas industrial and agricultural training institutes have significantly lower numbers of female students. In 2000 the Ministry for Higher Education and Sciences was created and led by a female Minister but this ministry was extinguished in January 2005.

5.2. Health

The right to a healthy life is recognized in article 94 of the Constitution as well as in various world summits in which Mozambique participated. Despite improved life expectancy at birth (estimated at 42.7 years for women, compared to 40.2 in 2000),¹⁰⁰ the high level of maternal mortality, high incidence of infant and child mortality and low life expectancy for both men and women show that the widespread poverty limits the attainment of this right by all.

In past years, emphasis was placed on the rehabilitation of existing infrastructure and construction of new health facilities in order to ensure reasonable access to health services. A specific concern was to expand coverage and to ensure equity, namely how to address geographical imbalances. There was a great need to improve coverage in remote rural areas, since in rural areas around 80% of the population has to walk up to half an hour or more to reach a health facility, compared to 32% in urban areas.¹⁰¹ Indeed, 40% of rural households need to walk up to two

¹⁰⁰ Ibraimo, M. “A Situação da Mulher e Criança em Moçambique”, in INE, *População e Saúde Reprodutiva em Moçambique* (Maputo, 2005), p 47.

¹⁰¹ There are also significant regional differences: Maputo City, Maputo Province and Gaza Province have best access to health facilities. Niassa is among the provinces with least coverage. INE, IAF 2002/3, p 75.

hours or more to reach a facility.¹⁰² Improving access was an important strategy to reduce women's burden since they are usually responsible for taking children or sick relatives to the health facility.

In recent years, however, there has been a growing concern with the quality of service delivery and user satisfaction. In order to study this, it is important to identify what types of health services are used most. Considering the distances rural households have to cover to get to a facility, traditional healers are more frequently consulted there than in urban areas. The traditional healer is the third most consulted health agent (after staff at *Posto/Centro de Saúde*) and is particularly popular among women, particularly with lower education levels.¹⁰³ The most frequent causes of complaints by users of modern facilities are: long waiting time (51.7%), lack of medicines (32.6%), ineffective treatment (25%), cost (17.8%), lack of staff (12.7%), corruption (4.4%) and lack of hygiene (3.2%). Ineffective treatment at the health facility is cited as the main reason why people consult traditional healers, thus illustrating the conflict between both belief systems.¹⁰⁴

There is a persistent "maternal bias", i.e. a tendency to equate gender concerns with measures to reduce maternal mortality and increase sexual and reproductive health services. For the rest, gender concerns are not systematically included in other health programmes. The maternal bias is further entrenched by the fact that maternal mortality and child/infant mortality have been declared as Millennium Development Goals. Although women are of course not excluded from other health-related initiatives such as the campaigns to roll back malaria, tuberculosis and other infectious diseases there is little focus on what can be done specifically to respond better to women's specific health needs and requirements in these areas.

Wider health needs include malnutrition, long hours of work, violence, respiratory disorders resulting from cooking with charcoal and firewood, the fact that women carry heavy loads on their heads, unsafe water, urinary tract infections resulting from insufficient sanitary conditions etc. An issue that is recently receiving some attention is abortion. In 2004 the Ministry of Health convened a national conference on unsafe abortion in Mozambique.¹⁰⁵ The conference found that it is predominantly young, poor women with low levels of schooling that most frequently resort to unsafe abortions – resulting in illegal abortion being the third cause of maternal mortality in Mozambique.¹⁰⁶

In the early 1990s, Mozambique was estimated to have one of the highest maternal mortality rates in the world. There is a general consensus that progress has been achieved in reducing maternal mortality, but maternal mortality statistics are contentious. The government estimates that there has been a reduction in maternal mortality from approximately 1,000 per 100,000 live births in 1997 to approx. 408 per 100,000 live births in 2003. This is ascribed to

¹⁰² INE, IAF 2002/3, p 77.

¹⁰³ INE, IAF 2002/3, p 78.

¹⁰⁴ INE, IAF 2002/3, p 79.

¹⁰⁵ The Conference reflects an evolution in the government's approach to abortion. Until 1985 all forms of abortion were prohibited by law, penalizing both the woman and the abortion practitioner. In 1994 the International Conference on Development and Population resulted in awareness to respond to the problem of unsafe abortion. As a result, any pregnancy up to 12 weeks can now be terminated by the Central Hospital and some other health units, upon a written request made by the woman or the couple. The consent of an adult relative is necessary for adolescents of 18 years and younger. However, the conference for the first time since independence provoked a public debate about an issue that is still largely perceived as a taboo.

¹⁰⁶ *Outras Vozes*, Suplemento do Boletim 8, August 2004, p 14–18.

improved access, better obstetric care and a series of measures implemented under the National Strategy for Reduction of Maternal Mortality launched in 2000 which focuses on the “three delays”.¹⁰⁷ In addition, the proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel has increased from 44% in 1997 to 48% in 2003. Rural women, however, still predominantly give birth at home attended by female relatives or traditional birth attendants.¹⁰⁸

At the same time, who estimates that the risk for a Mozambican woman to die due to sexual reproductive ill-health is one in sixteen (1/16). This figure is among the highest in the world.

Girls start sexual relations at an early age and teenage pregnancies are not uncommon, particularly in rural areas where girls may be forced into early marriage when they complete initiation rites at the onset of adolescence. Condoms and the contraceptive pill are the most popular method of contraception, but preference does not necessarily correlate with increased use since these are not widely available in remote and rural areas, where reproductive health services are sparsely available. This results in a sustained high fertility rate and significant number of unplanned children.¹⁰⁹

In 2003 only 1.1% of women in a relationship reported using a condom, reflecting the fact that women are unable to negotiate for safe sex with their partners as this often raises suspicions of infidelity. In spite of numerous family planning and HIV prevention campaigns that specifically target youth, only 29% of women and 33% of men aged 15–24 years reported using a condom during the last high-risk sexual encounter. Condom use during high-risk sex varies according to age, residence, province, education and poverty levels. For example, only 4% of the poorest women in the 15–24 age group reported using a condom, compared to 41% among the better-off women.¹¹⁰

The health sector is severely understaffed due to the shortage in qualified personnel. The sector’s human resources development plan has acknowledged this, and highlighted the need for both more female health professionals and more women in administrative and management positions, considering that less than 40% occupy leadership positions at central level and around 25% occupy leadership positions at provincial level. Gender has also been included in staff development courses. In many parts of the country women are attended by male doctors and nurses, which is often not appropriate.

5.3. HIV/AIDS

During the civil war, Mozambique had low HIV/AIDS infection rates compared to other countries in the region. However, with the return of refugees from neighbouring countries and the resettlement of internally displaced populations in the early 1990s and re-opening of transport corridors linking coastal cities in Mozambique to Harare, Johannesburg, Malawi and Zambia the pandemic spread rapidly. While in the mid-nineties prevalence stood at 8%, by 2005

¹⁰⁷ The first delay involves the time necessary to decide to take the woman who is about to give birth to a health facility. This decision is typically taken by the husband and involves weighing up transport options and expenses; often the decision to use money is taken only after symptoms of complications arise. The second delay is the time spent traveling to the health facility and the third delay refers to how long it takes before the patient is attended by a skilled professional.

¹⁰⁸ Only 34% of rural women deliver their child in a health facility, compared to 80% in urban areas. Report on the Millennium Development Goals 2005, p 8. Full discussion on the goal to reduce maternal mortality: *ibidem*, pp 29–31.

¹⁰⁹ Ibraimo, M. “A Situação da Mulher e Criança em Moçambique”, in INE, *População e Saúde Reprodutiva em Moçambique* (Maputo, 2005), p 47.

¹¹⁰ Report on the Millennium Development Goals 2005, p 34.

prevalence among adults aged 15–49 was estimated at 16.2%, with a daily infection rate of 500 for adults and 90 for children.¹¹¹

Mozambique currently has the tenth highest infection rate in the world. In the Central region (Sofala, Tete, Manica and Zambezia) – a region criss-crossed by various international highways – the situation is particularly alarming, as it has the highest prevalence rate in the country (16,7%). Halting the spread of the disease is a Millennium Development Goal; in 2002 the National Aids Council was created to lead and coordinate the national response to the pandemic.

The prevalence rates show that women – especially young women – are most affected. In the age group 15–24 women are three times as likely as men to contract the disease,¹¹² reflecting the younger age at which young girls initiate sexual intercourse and perhaps also the fact that young women use sexual relations as a survival strategy, particularly with older partners who are more economically established.¹¹³ Overall, 28% of women are estimated to have had sex before 15 years of age, compared to 26.4% of men. This is consistent with early marriage for women: 22% of women marry before 15 years of age and 38% of women aged 15–19 are currently married or in a union.¹¹⁴

In Mozambique women are still viewed as subordinate and they are expected to serve and to please boyfriends and husbands, which makes it difficult for a woman to refuse unsafe sex and reinforces the widespread view that men have the power to make decisions about the sexual behaviour of their wives and of women in general. This is somewhat borne out by the fact that condom use at first sex is practically the same for men and women (men: 7.8%, women: 8%) but condom use during the last higher risk sex is higher among men (33%) than among women (29%).¹¹⁵

Attitudes towards virginity are also important: in the Muslim communities, for instance, women are expected to be virgin brides whereas men are encouraged to be sexually experienced. Tolerance of traditional practices, such as polygamy, male infidelity and levirate also exposes women to a greater risk. In some cases women themselves may not want to use condoms because children are desirable and men may feel pressured to take a second wife or partner if she does not produce a child.

Many prevention programmes have focused on creating awareness and disseminating information, encouraging voluntary testing, condom use and/or abstinence. Considering the high prevalence rates among youth, several programmes have targeted youth and adolescents (e.g. Geração Biz). For example, 39% of young men aged 15–24 had sex with 2 or more partners in the past 12 months, compared to only 8% of women in the same age group.¹¹⁶ However, many initiatives do not sufficiently address the underlying gender relations whereby women remain powerless to negotiate for condom use or to make informed decisions about their reproductive and sexual health.

Ten years of civic education and awareness campaigns have still not produced the desired behaviour changes; in spite of large-scale social

¹¹¹ INE et al., *Impacto Demográfico do HIV/SIDA em Moçambique* (Maputo, 2004), p 13. Data based on Epidemiological Vigilance Round of 2002.

¹¹² INE et al., *Impacto Demográfico do HIV/SIDA em Moçambique* (Maputo, 2004), p 20.

¹¹³ A study found that in Mozambique, 56% of 16 year old girls and 49% of 16 year old boys have already had sex and less than one in ten used a condom during first sexual experience and more than one in every 10 young person who is sexually active has had some history of an STD (INE, INJAD study).

¹¹⁴ UNICEF, *A Statistical Profile of Disparities in Mozambique: an overview of the situation of children and women based on the findings from the 2003 Demographic and Health Survey* (November 2005).

¹¹⁵ UNICEF, *ibidem*.

¹¹⁶ UNICEF, *A Statistical Profile of Disparities in Mozambique: an overview of the situation of children and women based on the findings from the 2003 Demographic and Health Survey* (November 2005).

campaigns (“massification”) and some innovative communication strategies (e.g. dramatized series on radio). The relative “failure” of prevention campaigns is borne out by the fact that the Health and Demographic Survey of 2003 found that 83.7% of men had had high risk sex in the past year, compared to 37% women.¹¹⁷ Perhaps this is in part due to the fact that uniform messages were developed and communicated to all groups, regardless of the specific characteristics of each group (e.g. in spite of the fact that people have different behaviour, the same message was used for young and old, men and women, urban and rural). Although there is consensus that “gender discrimination, low education of girls, gender-based violence and unequal access to information can often lead to higher prevalence rates among women and lower access to care and treatment”,¹¹⁸ few prevention campaigns really propose specific measures to improve women’s status in society, thereby reducing women’s vulnerability to infection.

On the whole, the Demographic and Health Survey of 2003 seems to indicate that Information and Civic Education (IEC) campaigns have been better at targeting men than women. For instance, men appear to be better and more informed about HIV prevention than women (61% of men have knowledge of at least two prevention methods compared to only 45% of women); 39% of men have no incorrect beliefs about AIDS compared to 23% of women. Thus accepting attitudes towards PLWHA is more common among men (16%) than women (7.8%). Men even appear to be better informed about mother-to-child transmission (31.9% of men know about mother-to-child transmission and its prevention compared to 26.1% of women). However, the number of men and women receiving an HIV test and receiving the results is roughly the same (men: 2.7% versus 2.4% for women); as can be expected, this indicator correlates with geographical location (more men and women present for an HIV test and receive results in urban areas than rural areas).¹¹⁹

There is a need to upscale treatment, and to continue with integrated approaches for prevention of mother to child transmission (Prevention of Vertical Transmission – PVT). On the grounds that it is a highly burdened country (approximately 200,000 PLWHA require treatment), Mozambique requested WHO and UNAIDS support for 3x5 on 24 November 2003.¹²⁰ However, the treatment target defined in the 2004–2008 *Plano Estratégico Nacional de Combate ao HIV/SIDA* is only 20,800 by end of 2005. The 100,000 mark will be reached in 2008 (target for 2008: 132,000). These conservative targets are based on the fact that effective public antiretroviral (ARV) therapy programmes were only initiated in 2004 and the existing health infrastructure is very weak. Although critical, criteria and support measures have not yet been developed to ensure equitable access to treatment among men and women and to date, access to treatment depends entirely on the presence of health infrastructure and clinical criteria (viral load or CD4 count).

Although the number of women benefiting from PVT programmes is increasing, it is striking that most women benefit from medication and

¹¹⁷ UNICEF, *ibidem*.

¹¹⁸ Report on the Millennium Development Goals 2005 (Maputo, 2005), p 34.

¹¹⁹ UNICEF, A Statistical Profile of Disparities in Mozambique: an overview of the situation of children and women based on the findings from the 2003 Demographic and Health Survey (November 2005).

¹²⁰ To address the growing numbers of people succumbing to AIDS, WHO and UNAIDS have launched a global challenge known as the “3 x 5” initiative. The aim is to treat 3 million people by the end of 2005; this global target is based on the estimate that of the 40 million people infected with HIV worldwide, 6 million need treatment. The “3 x 5” initiative represents a massive resource-mobilization campaign to accelerate treatment and provide at least half of that number with appropriate treatment before 31 December 2005. Strictly speaking, the 3 x 5 initiative implies that 100,000 PLWAH in Mozambique should have been on treatment by the end of 2005.

prophylaxis only until the birth of the child. Infected women are not automatically enrolled in ARV programmes after the birth of the child. This implies that women are seen primarily as “carriers” of children and that the main focus is on safeguarding the children’s health. In addition, many people in the community consider HIV to be a disease of promiscuous women, along with all sexually transmitted diseases. Since HIV screening is done through antenatal services, women are often the first to be diagnosed with HIV and may thus be accused of being the source of it in the family. Studies in infants rarely indicate whether fathers are also infected. Women often learn they have HIV during or after pregnancy. Thus, men and their families, previously unaware of the man’s own infection, often blame the woman for infecting her partner and child.

The National Aids Council has developed a National Strategic Plan to Combat HIV/AIDS (PEN 2005–2009), approved by the Council of Ministers in 2004. A multi-sectoral plan, it includes several interventions to be implemented by the Ministry for Women and Social Action with a view to addressing relevant gender issues. In this respect, it is important to note that women and orphans are considered as key target groups. NAC also channels funds to civil society organizations that implement initiatives at community level. Activities usually include public talks and debates to reduce stigma and discrimination, prevention and information campaigns, and distribution of food and school materials to alleviate the impact of the disease on households. Many CSOs establish networks of community-based activists. Very often women are recruited as unremunerated volunteers, whereas remunerated activists are often men.¹²¹

5.4. Access to clean water

It is estimated that 35.7% of the population has access to safe water, but there are significant differences between urban, peri-urban and rural areas (data correlating access to water and sanitation and sex of the head of household is not available). It is thought that 57.7% of the urban and peri-urban households have access to safe water, compared to only 26.4% of the rural population.¹²² In rural areas, the majority of women have to walk up to half an hour to reach the nearest water source, but this data does not consider the fact that many rivers and water systems dry up seasonally and that some districts are particularly drought-prone.¹²³

Although in the last decade access to water has improved due to the expansion of water supply systems,¹²⁴ the problem is steadily getting worse due to uncontrolled urbanization, particularly around Maputo. This also carries a higher risk of regular outbreaks of diarrhea and other water-borne diseases such as cholera. Water-borne diseases are a constant threat on account of limited sanitation installations: more than half of all households declared that in the absence of a WC or latrine they use the bush.¹²⁵

The government’s policy recognizes the need to include community participation in the management, storage, use and disposal of water. This community-based approach recognizes that women are traditionally responsible for fetching water, disposing of waste and caring for the

¹²¹ Albers, R. et al. Women, Girls and HIV/AIDS: Situational Analysis (Maputo, 2004) – available from UNFPA.

¹²² INE, IAF 2002/3, p 60.

¹²³ INE, IAF 2002/3, p 64. For a poignant testimony to water shortages in Chicomo district (Inhambane Province) and local survival strategies, see Cabral, J. *The Water War* (SDC/Maputo, 1998).

¹²⁴ In the urban areas piped water is the most prevalent water source, whereas in rural areas half of all households rely on wells, particularly unprotected wells. Since 1997 the number of households using piped water has increased from 8.6% to 15.8% (2003). INE, IAF 2002/3, p 59.

¹²⁵ INE, IAF 2002/3, p 62.

sick. For these reasons it encourages women to participate in local water and sanitation committees entrusted with the management of water and waste disposal as well as personal hygiene education programmes. While much emphasis has been placed in involving women in Water Committees (management) and Sanitation and Hygiene Committees less success has been achieved in involving women in technical responsibilities. Thus initiatives should seek to promote women's participation in training programmes for pump maintenance and should encourage men to actively share their responsibility for household water and hygiene.

5.5. Summary of key points and strategic areas

Although education levels have improved in recent years, the gender gap is closing at EP 1 level but not at higher levels. The probability that an individual can gain access to education depends very strongly on whether the individual is male or female, location (residence in urban or rural areas) and whether s/he is from a poor or wealthy household. Issues that continue to limit girls' education levels are the low value ascribed to girls' education, tensions between traditional and formal forms of education, lack of safety at school (particularly the lack of adequate protection against physical abuse and rape) and the limited participation of women and girls in technical, vocational training. Strategic areas include supporting the sector action plan for gender equality, curriculum reform, increase of community and parental involvement in school management, increase in number of female teachers, more vocational training for girls and young women and measures to reduce sexual harassment and abuse in schools.

Although the precise level of maternal mortality is uncertain, there is a general consensus that maternal mortality has been reduced significantly over the past ten years as a result of the National Strategy for the Reduction of Maternal Mortality that was launched in 2000. Nonetheless, important challenges remain such as cutting down on the triple delays, increasing the number of qualified female health workers and raising the number of deliveries attended by skilled health professionals.

HIV/AIDS continues to threaten all the gains made in improving the level of human development in Mozambique. Issues of specific concern include the disproportionate vulnerability of women, particularly young women, to HIV and AIDS; enduring patriarchal attitudes towards virginity and female sexuality; traditional practices that foster high-risk behaviour (e.g. polygamy, levirate, purification, pressure to bear children).

In spite of sustained Information and Civic Education (IEC) campaigns over the past ten years, very low numbers of men and women avail themselves of HIV testing and counseling. Few prevention campaigns focus on improving women's status. Furthermore, IEC campaigns use undifferentiated awareness campaigns, targeting men and women, young and old, rich and poor, illiterate and educated in very similar ways. Statistics thus suggest that men are more and more appropriately informed of HIV/AIDS transmission than women, even concerning the transmission of mother-to-child.

Access to clean water is an important aspect of human development and continues to be a typically female responsibility. Although water coverage has increased, it has become apparent that the involvement of women in all committees (water committee, maintenance committee and hygiene and sanitation committee) is important to ensure sustainable and equitable management of the water point.

6. Political Situation

6.1. Elections

Under the 1990 Constitution, Mozambique is a multi-party democracy. The executive branch comprises a President, Prime Minister, and Council of Ministers. There is a National Assembly (created in 1994) and municipal assemblies (created in 1998). The judiciary comprises a Supreme Court, an Administrative Tribunal, provincial, district and municipal courts.¹²⁶ Suffrage is universal at 18. Women received the right to vote and stand for public office at independence in 1975.

Since the end of the civil war in 1992, general elections have been held in 1994, 1999 and 2004.¹²⁷ In 2004 FRELIMO candidate Armando Guebuza won 64% of the popular vote; he was inaugurated as the President of Mozambique on 2 February 2005. His opponent, Afonso Dhlakama of RENAMO, received 32% of the vote. In Parliament, FRELIMO obtained 160 seats. The coalition consisting of RENAMO and various small parties took the remaining 90 seats.

Local elections were first held in 1998 to provide for local representation and some budgetary authority at the municipal level. A total of 33 municipalities were established. The second local elections, held in 2003, were conducted in orderly fashion without violent incidents, but the period immediately after the elections was marked by objections about voter and candidate registration and vote tabulation, as well as calls for greater transparency. Hence the Electoral Law – rewritten and passed by consensus in the National Assembly in December 1998 – was again modified in May 2004 based on experience of the 2003 municipal elections.

The ruling party FRELIMO has been able to consistently widen its power base while RENAMO remains characterized by a weak party structure and limited strategic vision for the country's future development.¹²⁸ There are several opposition parties but all small, fragmented

¹²⁶ The Tribunal Administrativo is tasked with monitoring legality and correct application of procedures by the Executive.

¹²⁷ All were won by FRELIMO, the party that has been in power since independence. In 1999 President Chissano won the presidency with a narrow margin of 4% points over the RENAMO-União Electoral candidate, Afonso Dhlakama. Although there is general agreement that the elections of 1999 were well organized and went smoothly, both the opposition and international observers cited flaws in the tabulation process. The opposition coalition RENAMO-UE filed a complaint to the Supreme Court; one month after voting the court dismissed the opposition's challenge and validated the election results.

¹²⁸ RENAMO is based on a highly personalized, centralized and hierarchic structure inherited from the guerilla war. However, in the first post-war RENAMO Congress held in 2001 there were some attempts to put in place a structure for better internal organization and more broadly based decision-making. See Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, issue 27, December 2001, p 3 (AWEPA, ed. J. Hanlon).

and inexperienced in operating in multi-party democracy and to some extent they are also excluded from mainstream politics by the ruling party. Although Mozambique no longer experiences open conflict, the transition to democracy is still fragile and fraught with tension,¹²⁹ as was evidenced in various periods of localized unrest.¹³⁰ According to a recent study, the young democracy is still characterized by regional imbalances in economic development, concentration of power in the hand of a political elite, corruption in public service delivery and a growing indifference of the electorate (voter turn out dropped from 88% in 1994 to 40% in 2004) and this may carry the risk of future conflict.¹³¹

None of the existing political parties are led by women. Indeed, a study found that the political parties are still highly patriarchal and that the parties' female wings (FRELIMO's OMM and RENAMO's Women's League) are marginalized in decision-making processes.¹³² The study also found that as in 1994 and 1999, in the most recent legislative elections none of the political parties made any systematic effort to garner the votes of the female electorate through specific promises to promote gender equality or address women's issues. While women politicians were active in election campaigns, their relation to the party they represent was given more visibility than their feminine identity. Less than a quarter of the rallies and marches held during the election campaign were led by women, but "it was noted that women by far outnumbered men in the marches and door-to-door canvassing [...] this difference in women's participation in the day-to-day campaign activities is largely due to use of women's capacity to mobilize and their willingness to take on the less visible work".¹³³ Thus, in most large public meetings "the role of women is limited to singing and to urging people to vote for their leader and their party".¹³⁴

6.2. Women in political office

Nonetheless, Mozambique is often praised for having steadily increased the number of women in public office. The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) reveals whether women are taking an active part in the economic and political life of a country; it is calculated on the basis of the number of seats held by women in parliament, number of female administrators and managers, number of women engaged in the professions and technical workers, and estimated female earnings (PPP).¹³⁵ Mozambique has a high GEM due to the increasing numbers of female parliamentarians and women holding high public office.

The number of women in senior government positions has increased substantially over the past decade: currently there are 6 female Ministers, 4 Vice-Ministers and 6 Permanent Secretaries compared to only one Minister and 3 Vice Ministers in 1997. The Prime Minister is a woman,

¹²⁹ Independent observers have claimed that Mozambique is "still a simple electoral democracy but not yet a mature and complex consolidated democracy, on the grounds that RENAMO has been constrained by its lack of political imagination that conceive of little other than its well-known boycott strategy while the governing party has not yet shown a sufficient commitment to democracy to accept a possible loss of political power". Ostheimer, A. Cited in Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, issue 27, December 2001, p 2 (AWEPA, ed. J. Hanlon).

¹³⁰ Examples include: Montepuez (Cabo Delgado Province): approx. 80 RENAMO supporters are rounded up by the police during riots and suffocate due to overcrowded prison conditions; in September 2005 by-elections are contested in Mocimboa da Praia (Cabo Delgado Province) leading to riots which are repressed by police using excessive force/brutality that results in several deaths and a "witch hunt" against opposition supporters.

¹³¹ See Tony Vaux et al, cited in Savana, 1 Sept. 2006 "Mozambique controlado por uma oligarquia", p 4.

¹³² Osorio, C. et al The case of the 2004 legislative elections in Mozambique: a gender analysis (WLSA Maputo, 2005)

¹³³ Osorio, C. et al *ibidem*, p 5.

¹³⁴ Osorio, C. et al *ibidem*, p 5.

¹³⁵ UNDP, National Human Development Report: Gender, women and human development (Maputo, 2001), p 12.

who was formerly Minister of Planning and Finance. The public administration comprises 2 female Provincial Governors, 6 Provincial Secretary General and 33 Provincial Directors (against only 12 Provincial Directors in 1997). It is often observed that these gains are due to political appointments although in 1995 the *Núcleo de Promoção da Mulher na Função Pública* was created to promote women's entry into the public sector. Efforts continue to include the promotion of gender equality in the on-going Public Sector Reform (e.g. focus on gender units in the Functional Analysis) but much more still remains to be done (e.g. consideration of gender disparities in the salary reform, measures to target women in staff development/training programmes etc). Technical support on how to integrate gender dimensions in ongoing public sector reform is available both through MAE's Gender Focal Points and donor projects.¹³⁶

The government acknowledges the district as a focal point of development and is thus committed to see through the decentralization process that was started roughly ten years ago. While this raises opportunities for women to participate and shape the political and public life of the community, in practice few women readily avail themselves of these possibilities. Overall, fewer women than men participate in the community councils and local authorities and it appears that special measures are required to encourage women to participate.¹³⁷ At village level, women face several constraints that limit their participation, including transport costs, inability to leave their children and dependents behind while traveling to community council meetings as well as the fact that men are perceived as spokespersons of the community.

At higher levels, there also exist numerous factors that singly or together limit women's active participation in politics, such as:¹³⁸

- Too much work and difficulty to reconcile family obligations with public office
- Lack of previous experience in public office and lack of self-confidence
- Lack of financial resources to fund an election campaign
- Lack of access to the media
- Abuse and harassment of aspiring candidates – often being labeled feminists which is equated with un-femininity and disregard for cultural values
- A persistent perception among the general public that public office is a male preserve, while a woman's place is in the domestic sphere.

Participation per se does not mean that women will be effective as agents of change, i.e. able to articulate gender interests. Often, women's voices are not heard because of factors such as:¹³⁹

- The relatively small number of women and marginalization
- Male resistance and silencing
- Side-lining of women into social sectors
- A recent tendency in some institutions to equate the women's movement with an 'OMM style' campaign for welfare concerns.

¹³⁶ Unidade Técnica para Reforma do Sector Público: UTRESP – Ministério da Administração Estatal: MAE.

¹³⁷ See Borowzak, W. et al, Evaluation of Support to Decentralized Planning and Budgeting in Nampula and Cabo Delgado Provinces, project implemented by DNPO, (UNCDF, 2004).

¹³⁸ WILDAF, Study on Women's Political Participation, 1998.

¹³⁹ For a comprehensive discussion, see UNDP, Women's Political Participation and Good Governance: 21st century challenges (2000), pp 27–40.

6.3. Women in Parliament

In addition to the growing number of women in high political office, Mozambique has a high number of female parliamentarians (35,6%), largely thanks to the quota system of FRELIMO whereby one third of candidates must be women. Mozambique thus complies with the Commonwealth and SADC targets that call for 30% of women in political decision-making by 2005. The *Gabinete da Mulher Parlamentar* works in close collaboration with the parliamentary commission on gender, social affairs and environment mandated to promote gender equality. This notwithstanding, the “Women’s Caucus” is not always fully engaged and on many sensitive issues female parliamentarians still vote along party lines. This was clearly illustrated during the debates on the Family Law when it became clear that women would not vote as a solid block across party lines. Although women who find themselves in government or parliament are subject to enormous pressure to perform on women’s rights, political survival may dictate a pragmatic approach which results in the toning-down of the agenda for strict gender equality.

While understandable, this is perceived by many grassroots women as an abandonment of the empowerment ideal and has resulted in a growing divide between a large group of women in power and their constituencies. There is indeed a widespread perception that the grassroots women are no longer adequately represented by the elite of women they have helped to attain seats in parliament or political office. To address this, the Association of Western European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA) supported the parliamentary commission on gender, social affairs and environment and *Gabinete da Mulher Parlamentar* with capacity building in gender analysis and advocacy skills.

6.4. Women in civil service

Office	# of ♀	# of ♀	Total ♀ & ♂	Total ♀ & ♂
	1997	2006	1997	2006
Government				
Prime Minister	0	1	1	1
Minister	1	6	23	26
Vice Minister	3	4	18	15
Parliament				
Assembly of the Republic	70	89	250	250
Political parties				
FRELIMO		69		140
RENAMO UNIÃO ELEITORAL		40		110
Provincial government				
Provincial governor	0	2	10	11
Provincial Permanent Secretary	0	6	0	11
Provincial director	12	33	142	163
Deputy provincial director	3	3	14	14
Local government				
a) Elected				
President of Municipal Council	0	1	0	33
Inspector		235		790
b) Appointed				
District administrators	3	26	128	128
Head of administrative post		10		298
Civil servants				
Permanent secretary	2	6	17	17
National director	23	33	164	174
Deputy national director	12	12	71	71

Head of department	148	148	768	768
Head of repartition	157	157	556	189
Head of section		297		919
Embassadors	2	3	14	14
Judiciary				
Judges		18		
Attorney general	0	0		1
Deputy attorney general	0	1		4
Magistrates				
Military				
Officers	6	24		162

Source: DNM/MMAS, 8 March 2006

6.5. Summary of key points and strategic areas

Women attained the right to vote at independence in 1975. Mozambique was one of the first countries in the region to comply with SADC and Commonwealth targets, i.e. 30% of decision-makers in formal political processes should be female by 2005. Mozambique in fact has an impressive number of women in key public office, and the number of women has increased steadily from 1997 to 2006. In spite of this impressive participation, women's issues are not as prominent within political discourse as could be expected and several studies have found that the party political women's wings have little scope to intervene in high-level decision-making.

A priority area that merits special support is the extent to which women can participate in local community councils and succeed in voicing their concerns to local authorities and local government. Special measures will be required to increase women's participation in these decentralization processes. At central level, the current Public Sector Reform Strategy offers several opportunities to define and implement strategies to promote women's participation in civil service. Furthermore, it is strategic for gender advocates to engage parliamentarians in a dialogue on gender equality, particularly with a view to the ongoing review of legislation.

7. Legal Status

7.1. The legal framework for gender equality and non-discrimination

The Constitutions of 1975, 1990 and 2004 uphold the principle of gender equality and prohibit discrimination based on sex.¹⁴⁰ Considering that the Constitution is the highest law of the land, all other legislation should conform to the constitutional principles, thus implying that discriminatory legislation should be revised and modified. The principles of equality and non-discrimination are further entrenched by the fact that Mozambique has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) on 2 June 1993, which acquired force of law in 16 May 1997. CEDAW in effect requires all national legislation to be “domesticated”, i.e. revised and brought in line with CEDAW.

All countries that ratified CEDAW are required to submit regular reports to the United Nations on the status of implementation of CEDAW. Although the report was late, Mozambique has complied with the reporting requirements when it submitted both its initial and second report. Both will be examined by the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) of the United Nations in the Commission’s 38th session in May 2007.¹⁴¹ Mozambique has not yet acceded to the Optional Protocol, which entered into force in 2000 and whereby individual states accept that the CWS can receive complaints from individuals on the grounds that the state is not complying with CEDAW.¹⁴²

7.2. Legal reform

The CEDAW report acknowledges that the process of legal reform is slow and that the bulk of internal legislation has yet to be “domesticated” and aligned with CEDAW. In 1997 a Law Review Commission was established, functioning under the supervision of the Ministry of Justice. In 2002 a technical unit for legal reform (UTREL) was created to support the Law Review Commission. As most legislation dates from the

¹⁴⁰ Art. 6 states that all citizens are equal before the law, enjoy the same rights and are subject to the same obligations, irrespective of colour, race, sex, ethnicity, place of birth, religion, level of education, social status, marital status of parents or profession. Art. 67 says that “man and woman are equal before the law in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life.” Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique, 1990.

¹⁴¹ For more information on CEDAW and the protocol, see www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/reports.

¹⁴² Mozambique is signatory to several international conventions and international legal instruments. For a full overview and status of implementation, see the report available from the Liga Moçambicana dos Direitos Humanos.

colonial period, the commission's purpose is to harmonize and adjust the body of legislation to present socio-economic, political and cultural realities. Although gender equality is not explicitly mentioned in the commission's terms of reference, focal points and female legal experts serve on the commission, thus providing a window of opportunity to ensure that gender analysis is integrated in the proposed drafts of legislation. To date, the laws that have been reviewed and that have a significant bearing on gender relations include the Land Law (1997), Labour Law (1998), Family Law (2005) and Commercial Code (2005).

After a lengthy campaign by civil society to engender the Family Law and much controversy both among the members of the drafting committee and Parliament, the new law went into effect in February 2005.¹⁴³ On the positive side, the law defines specific rights for women and introduces numerous innovations.¹⁴⁴ During the parliamentary debates the law elicited a heated controversy over the question of polygamy, with gender advocates firmly opposed to formal recognition of polygamy. In the end, the law stipulates that marriage is monogamous union. Couples are free to choose the type of marriage (civil, religious or traditional). The age of marriage for both sexes is set at 18 years and the law requires full consent of both spouses, implying that nobody should be forced to marry.

The principle established by law is that the household is headed by both spouses; for this reason spouses are assumed to assist each other and are reciprocally obliged to provide maintenance, contribute towards household expenses and participate in the management of family life. Both partners administer the couple's property equally. Domestic violence, adultery and abandonment of the conjugal home for more than a year constitute grounds for divorce. However, a man cannot divorce his wife if she is pregnant or during the first year of the baby's life (except if the pregnancy is the result of adultery). All children have the right to be registered at birth and parental power must be exercised equally by both parents; in the case of divorce parents should decide with whom the child will live and who will provide maintenance.

Although the law thus contributes towards greater gender equality, practice appears to show that the law has not been able to resolve all problems for women. The Mozambican League for Human Rights (LDH) reports that most of its female beneficiaries seek legal assistance to resolve conjugal disputes and conflicts related to the Family Law (e.g. divorce settlements, alimony, paternity suits, child support payments, birth registration etc).¹⁴⁵ The law also introduces a new concept: the de facto union – or common law spouse.¹⁴⁶ The recognition of de facto

¹⁴³ As early as in 1998 Forum Mulher launched an extensive advocacy campaign to ensure that the proposed drafts include gender equality. In 2001, the debate on polygamy sparked various media reports. See for example, Metical, 27 July 2001 – "Opinion" by Judite Cristóvão. See also "Why Polygamy is Unacceptable in Family Law" – article by da Silva, T et al. in *Outras Vozes*, supplement, # 8 (2004) pp 25–27.

¹⁴⁴ For a detailed discussion, see "A Brief Overview of the New Family Law in Mozambique" – article by Levi, M.B. in *Outras Vozes*, supplement, # 8 (2004) pp 28–31.

¹⁴⁵ Liga Moçambicana dos Direitos Humanos (LDH), *Relatório sobre os Direitos Humanos em Moçambique 2003*, p 70. Mozambique participated in several recent UN conferences that resulted in ratified statements on human rights and women's rights, such as: UN World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, 1993); Vienna+5 (New York, 1998); Population Conference (Cairo, 1994); Cairo+5 (New York, 1999); Social Summit (Copenhagen, 1995); World Conference on Women and Development (Beijing, 1995); Beijing+5 (New York, 2000); Beijing+10 (New York, 2005); Globalization Summit (Geneva, 2000) and Convention on Civil and Political Rights.

¹⁴⁶ "The term de facto union signifies a relationship between a man and a woman who, although they are in a position to marry, have not done so; in order to be recognized by law the relationship must have lasted for at least one year. After one year, if the couple has a child, the child may be registered as the child of both parents exactly as if the parents were married. The rules applying to community of acquired property are applicable to any property acquired by the couple." See "A Brief Overview of the New Family Law in Mozambique" – article by Levi, M.B. in *Outras Vozes*, supplement, # 8 (2004) pp 28–31.

unions brings about maintenance and inheritance rights for the child, but this has to be paid out of the estate that the deceased shared with his legal wife, which creates conflict between the common law wife and formal wife. Also, men who are not married but who have several mistresses may be deemed to be in de facto unions, thereby tolerating a veiled form of polygamy. The Mozambican League for Human Rights also reports that despite public awareness campaigns many women, particularly in rural areas, remain uninformed about the law, so that important aspects of the law are not applied. An example of this is the continued problem of forced marriage and premature marriage.¹⁴⁷

Other issues that still require regulation through appropriate legislation include spousal rape, sexual harassment, acquisition of nationality and economic discrimination against women. Rape is legally prohibited but the law does not recognize rape within marriage, i.e. spousal rape, as a crime. Rape is punished with a prison sentence ranging from 2 to 12 years, depending on the age of the victim. As with domestic violence and assault of girls at school, the rape law is not effectively enforced and few cases are tried in court, since many families prefer to settle such matters privately through financial remuneration rather than through the formal justice system.¹⁴⁸ Although sexual harassment is illegal and widespread few cases are ever brought to public attention and few women press charges.

Other areas of discrimination include nationality: under the current law, citizenship is granted to the foreign-born wife of a male citizen but not to the foreign-born husband of a female citizen. Pay differentials whereby women often receive less salary than men for the same work should also be addressed in the ongoing review of the Labour Law. Another critical issue is widowhood. In many parts of the country death is associated with malign forces; it is viewed as the outcome of the wife's witchcraft. In this context, both the widow and the family require special treatment such as the purification rituals that cleanse the widow and family of negative influences.¹⁴⁹ Other regions have adopted the levirate or sororate in order to preserve the family's assets and avoid fragmentation of the deceased's estate.¹⁵⁰

Homosexuality is not publicly discussed much and art. 70 and 71 of the Penal Code criminalizes male homosexuality with a penalty of up to three years imprisonment in a re-education institution where hard labour is used to alter the prisoners "aberrant" behaviour. Female homosexuality is not mentioned in the penal code. However, a first public conference on homosexuality was organised by the Mozambican Human Rights League in October 2006. There is no public debate at all regarding bisexual and transgender issues.

7.3. Gender-based violence

The women's movement has long been concerned to eliminate gender-based violence. Gender-based violence is any violence against women that is inspired by or legitimized by mechanisms that subordi-

¹⁴⁷ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, Country Report on Human Rights Practices 2005, (8 March, 2006). Family Law establishes the minimum age for civil marriage at 18 years, but persons between 16 and 18 may marry with parental consent. However, premature and forced marriage persists, particularly in the Northern provinces and Muslim and South Asian communities.

¹⁴⁸ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, Country Report on Human Rights Practices 2005, (8 March, 2006).

¹⁴⁹ In the South purification rituals are known as kubassisa – in the North it is referred to as namurapi. Both involve sexual intercourse between the widow and a "cleanser" (usually a family member). See also Tembe, E. "The Significance of Widowhood for Women" in *Outras Vozes*, supplement, # 8 (2004) pp 36–38.

¹⁵⁰ Levirate is the practice whereby a widow marries the deceased's brother; under sororate systems a widower is entitled to take his deceased wife's sister for his wife.

nate women. Thus, gender violence is an expression of unequal power relations and uneven gender roles between men and women. It is very difficult to obtain a clear sense of the numbers of women who are subject to gender-based violence since many cases are not reported. However, it is estimated that around one in four women in Mozambique experiences violence at least once in her life time.

This high incidence is consistent with the high proportion of women who have an accepting attitude towards domestic violence. Indeed, countrywide 54% of women aged 15–49 said that it is justified to be beaten by their husbands/partners for reasons such as stealing food, arguing, leaving the house without informing him, refusing sex and not looking after children. Rural women are more accepting of domestic violence than urban women, with 57.5% of rural women accepting it compared to 48% of urban women. Interestingly, the same source states that men are less accepting of domestic violence, with only 41.5% of men aged 15 years and older saying that it is justified to beat one's spouse for the reasons given above. The source also finds this discrepancy with regard to sex refusal as a justifiable ground for domestic violence: according to the demographic and health survey of 2003 34% of women agreed that it is justified to be beaten if they refuse to have sex with their partner, compared to 17.5% of men.¹⁵¹

Since the Beijing Conference in 1995, the women's movement in Mozambique has since long been concerned to eliminate gender-based violence. It adopted a multi-faceted approach: on the one hand, it has mounted an extensive advocacy campaign for a gender-sensitive Family Law. Such a law is essential to eliminate gender-based violence, since it defines relations between spouses and within the family as the basic unit in society in which individuals are socialized and learn gender roles. On the other hand, it also undertook several in-depth studies of domestic violence to deepen the understanding of this phenomenon, to identify its various forms, to understand its root causes and the interaction between victim and perpetrator.¹⁵² Thanks to these studies, advocacy was research-driven and realistic inputs to the law were made.

In addition, several CSOs formed the *Todos Contra Violência* initiative that established special units in some health facilities that provide specialized counseling services for victims of violence. Special units in police stations were created that offer various counseling services to victims of domestic violence and abuse.¹⁵³ These units in police stations have very positive results, implying that it will be necessary to expand geographic coverage. Additional resources are required to maximize results: it will be important to improve material conditions in the units, expand opening hours, and continue to invest in training for police officers.¹⁵⁴ Various trainings have been organized for police officers and justice officials on

¹⁵¹ INE, DHS 2003, indicators 53–54. Cited in UNICEF, *A Statistical Profile of Disparities in Mozambique* (Maputo, 2005).

¹⁵² WLSA has carried out extensive research on the causes of and measures to address domestic violence. In particular, see Mejia, M., Osório, C. and Artur, M.J. *Não sofrer caladas! Violência Contra Mulheres e Crianças: denúncia e gestão de conflitos* (Maputo, 2004).

¹⁵³ These units are referred to as *Gabinetes de Atendimento e Aconselhamento para as Vítimas da Violência Doméstico e Abuso Sexual*. They are integrated in police stations, managed and financed by the Ministry of Interior. Wherever possible, they are manned by female police officers who offer various types of services including psychosocial counseling, mediation, legal counseling for women who wish to press charges for assault or rape, and referral to medical services. Approx. 20 have been established country-wide.

¹⁵⁴ Training affects the way a complaint is received and processed. All too often, the prevailing practice is still to persuade the victim to accept mediation and reconciliation, even when violence is ongoing and systematic. It is estimated that only 10% of the cases of violence against women are referred to the criminal police for further investigation and eventually trial in court, while 60% of complaints made by men against women are referred to higher authorities. Osório, C. "Some Reflections on the working of the Assistance Centres for Victims of Domestic Violence, 2000–2003" – article in *Outras Vozes*, supplement, # 8 (2004) pp 1–7.

human rights and women's human rights, both by civil society and government. Forum Mulher is currently spearheading a campaign to lobby for a bill of law that will qualify domestic violence and gender-based violence as a crime.

7.4. Access to justice

Efforts to ensure that laws are reviewed and amended to protect women's rights are only useful in so far that legislation is applied in practice. Women's rights and human rights in general, should not be seen solely in terms of formally instituted rights, but also in terms of law enforcement, access to justice and legal literacy. Several initiatives exist to make the justice sector more accessible and effective, including *Pro Justiça*,¹⁵⁵ an EU/UNDP programme to support citizens' access to justice; and a future World Bank project focusing on the training of judges. In the main, gender is treated as a cross-cutting issue.

There are several initiatives to strengthen the defense of human rights, including the creation of a Department for Promotion and Development of Human Rights within the Ministry of Justice in 2004; the preparation of legislation to create a future National Human Rights Commission and more recently, in April 2006, the promulgation of a law that foresees the creation of an Ombudsman (*Provedor de Justiça*). However, some uncertainties about their adequacy and proper functioning persist. It would be important that mechanisms are set up to ensure that due emphasis is placed on gender equality and women's human rights.

7.5. Summary of key points and strategic areas

The Constitution of 1990 upholds the principle of non-discrimination, as does CEDAW which entered into force in Mozambique in 1997. All legislation should be harmonized with the Constitution and domesticated to align with CEDAW; although the legal review process is slow some key laws have been reviewed such as the Land Law, Labour Law, Commercial Code and Family Law. The Family Law introduces some important new aspects that regulate gender dimensions, but its impact is still limited by insufficient awareness of the rights and duties enshrined in the new law and many women remain unaware about the precise ramifications of the law.

Other issues that should be urgently addressed are spousal rape, sexual harassment, lower pay for women than men in the same job, acquisition of nationality (not granted to the foreign-born husband of a national) and widowhood. As a result of a sustained campaign by civil society, domestic violence has increasingly become recognized as a priority. After the creation of counseling facilities in the police station by the Ministry of Interior, civil society is now lobbying for the urgent recognition of domestic violence as a crime. The first step is that the Family Law recognizes domestic violence as a justifiable ground for divorce. Another priority area is the integration of gender mainstreaming in the newly created National Human Rights Commission and Ombudsfunction.

¹⁵⁵ Much of the justice sector support is financed by Scandinavian donors such as Pro Justiça (Danida), i.e. a programme with components in strengthening strategic planning and law reform, strengthening the judiciary and prosecution, promoting and defense of human rights, and improving access to justice through formal courts as well as informal/local conflict resolution mechanisms. Sweden supports the creation of the Ombudsman and National Human Rights Commission.

8. Information & Communication Technology and Media

The poverty of Mozambique is inevitably reflected in the limited penetration of information and communication technologies. Use of ICT is still limited and concentrated mainly in conurbations. However, in the context of the African Information Society Initiative (AISI), the government of Mozambique recognizes the importance of ICT and participated in the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) held in Geneva in December 2003. WSIS brought together the multiple stakeholders involved in ICT to address the challenges and possibilities posed by ICT. Gender specialists at WSIS have demonstrated the ways in which ICT can be used as tools to promote gender equality. These include integration of gender perspectives in national ICT policies and strategies, providing content relevant to women, promoting women's economic participation in the information economy, and regulating violence against women and children connected to pornography on the Internet etc.¹⁵⁶

As in all countries, the ICT sector in Mozambique has undergone rapid growth in the last decade, particularly in cellular telephony. A key organization is the *Centro de Informatica* at the University of Eduardo Mondlane (CIUEM), which has benefited from support of various donors including World Bank, Netherlands and British Council. Support included staffing, funds for training, technical and scientific assistance for distance education, training and supporting technologies. In 2005 the Ministry of Sciences and Technology was created to respond to the challenges of the rapidly growing telecommunications and ICT sector. Being a new ministry significant focus is placed on building up institutional capacity and strengthening its human resources, but important policy and regulatory work is underway such as the review of the Telecommunications Policy and elaboration of a Universal Access Policy.

8.1. Women's access to ICT

In Mozambique 80% of all women live in rural areas where the number of computers and telephone lines is virtually negligible. Rural schools do

¹⁵⁶ Examples of specific initiatives using ICT to promote gender equality are: E-commerce initiatives that link women artisans and producers directly to global markets through the Internet and support their activities with market and product information; E-governance programmes to make government services more accessible to citizens by providing them electronically, in some cases with an explicit strategy to ensure these services reach women and others who face barriers to access; information sharing and dialogues through email, online newsletters and List Serves between women in different countries enable collaboration and a convergence of effort on a regional scale to push the agenda for gender equality.

not have computers as schools outside of the administrative district capital are not linked to the national grid due to their remote locations. While it is true that the rural population as a whole is largely excluded from ICT, women clearly have even less access. This is mainly due to the high illiteracy rate among rural women, but it is also partly due to cultural values that consign technology and innovative initiatives to men's sphere of influence. To illustrate the latter, it was noted by the consultant that in rare instances where computers are available, such as in training facilities or administrative centres, these are seen as a status symbol and often hoarded for that reason in the office of the hierarchal superior, even if this person does not have the skills to use the computer. In recent years the number of fixed telephone lines has doubled and the national state-owned telephone company (*Telecomunicações de Moçambique: TDM*) has recently issued a number of phone-shop licenses to allow small shops to resell public voice calls via telephone equipped with a usage counter. There is also a very rapid growth in the number of cell phone subscribers. The fact that pre-payment is available in various amounts, including from as little as 50.000 Mts (approximately 2,5 USD) has made cellular phones accessible to large parts of the population, including women.¹⁵⁷

Telecentres are frequently heralded as primary instruments to enable poor and marginalized groups to benefit from ICTs.¹⁵⁸ Consequently, the introduction of telecentres in rural areas is considered to be a means of accelerating rural development and reducing imbalances between city and countryside. Under the Acacia Initiative two pilot telecentres were opened in two small communities, Namaacha and Manhiça, to build experience and ultimately assess the telecentre approach.¹⁵⁹ Acacia's experience shows that having female staff at telecentres does not automatically ensure greater access or use of ICT by women. An evaluation of the telecentres found that women consistently make up less than 1/3 of telecentre users even when female trainers/facilitators and women-targeted training materials are available. The evaluation indicated that ICT use is largely determined by a range of factors such as socio-cultural barriers, cost and perceived relevance of ICT access.

As in the rest of the world, experience in Mozambique has shown that there are socio-cultural factors that impede women's use of ICT, particularly in rural areas:

- Cultural attitudes discriminate against women's access to technology and technology education – this is evident from the high female illiteracy rates and the tendency for girls to drop out after basic education;
- Women are less likely to own communication assets – radio, mobile phone;

¹⁵⁷ In fact, piecemeal prepayment of small amounts suits women very well since they often run their household expenses on a daily or weekly basis, preferring to purchase basic foodstuffs and basic items on a regular basis rather than to buy in large quantities. This is often related to the fact that women do not usually control the household income, but are given a weekly allowance as a household budget.

¹⁵⁸ Telecentres are community-based centres with ICT equipment that provide access to telephone, fax, e-mail, Internet, computer use, printing and copying facilities and are frequently also used as a small resource centre/library. Usually training in elementary computer literacy is available for clients at a cost (market-based or subsidized).

¹⁵⁹ Both communities are located in the southern region, about one hour's drive from Maputo, situated close to an international border (Namaacha) and along a major transport corridor (Manhiça). In such dynamic contexts, access to information is a critical factor enabling people to grasp unfolding economic opportunities. Acacia Initiative is an international effort led by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) to empower Sub-Saharan African communities with the ability to apply ICT to their own social and economic development. This initiative is piloted in Mozambique, Senegal, South Africa and Uganda. In Mozambique it is implemented by Forum Mulher.

- Women in poor households do not have the income to use public facilities;
- Women’s domestic responsibilities limit their leisure time – centres may not be open at times that suit women;
- Information centres may be located in places that women are not comfortable visiting or that are distant from their homes;
- Many women do not use facilities in the evenings, as it is not considered proper to be outside the house after sunset and they do not want to return home in the dark.

In practical terms, these constraints may require strategies that in one place mean recruiting women as managers of telecentres, and at others may mean women-only times or women-only spaces; it may require separate training and meetings for men and women. The point is that there can be no single prescribed “remedy” and that flexible strategies are needed to suit the specific needs that exist within the community.

Cost is another influential factor determining the level of ICT use. Most telecentres charge user fees and these are relatively expensive, due to high tariffs resulting from a government monopoly of fixed lines. One view is that if telecentres succeed in attracting a variety of clients, it may be possible to calculate user charges on the basis of a mix of services and potential cost structures based on cross-subsidization. Furthermore, women from the more remote rural areas are not only facing user charges, but also transport costs.¹⁶⁰ This raises two fundamental questions: can rural women afford the services (considering that they typically have few opportunities to earn cash) and is using it on ICT the most strategic use of their money? This begs the inevitable question: is the information available through the telecentre relevant and meaningful to women?

The Acacia experience found that appropriate content that enables women to leverage better educational and economic opportunities is vital to making telecentres relevant to women. For example, in Manhiça use of ICT by women at the telecentre increased substantially when a group of women began collecting information on herbs and medicinal characteristics of plants and crops that could be transformed into a marketable product. Repackaging and simplification of information (downloading, simplifying, translating and adapting information into local languages) are similarly critical steps for enhancing relevance and therefore use of telecentres. However, this does raise the question of whether telecentre management would be sensitive to women’s information needs and willing to undertake the time-consuming task of “interpreting” information available on the Internet.¹⁶¹

By providing women with access to virtually unlimited sources of information, telecentres allow women to fulfill broad capacity building

¹⁶⁰ For example, a telecentre in Vila Manica (Manica Province) reported serious connectivity problems. The Internet dial up is frequently down and of unreliable quality. This has implications for resource-poor users, particularly rural women. For example, if a woman living in a village wishes to use the telecentre facilities, she is obliged to either walk a very long distance or to invest in transport (50 Mtn for a return trip). In such cases, it is very unlikely that she will return to the telecentre at another time in the hope that the facilities will be available later.

¹⁶¹ The Internet can also help women producers obtain access to larger markets for the distribution of their goods and services. For example, communication networks can be established among women’s Community Based Organizations (CBOs) to market their produce. CBOs could equip women with cell phones and explain how to call in to a central information centre that has market and price information; by using cell phones women can reach more lucrative urban markets even though they are distant. Websites are developed that contain information on the rearing of small livestock, information about veterinary services and other practical information. At the moment, such opportunities of economic empowerment are only available to those few individuals who possess computers and knowledge of English. In order to reach rural women in Mozambique such information would have to be translated into Portuguese and grouped, as well as packaged in simple, ready-to-use formats.

needs, not merely training for basic computer literacy. They can also provide women with accurate and detailed information about health, education, CSO programmes, government support available etc. There appears in Mozambique to exist a fairly large demand for this kind of information about women's support services. Forum Mulher and other CSOs have themed web pages listing resources available, such as links to websites run by civil society organizations that offer legal advice for women, such as MULEIDE, AMMCJ, ORAM.¹⁶² However, this kind of electronic interfacing with other institutions requires that the links must be robust. For example, if a woman finds information on the Internet about the existence of special units inside the police station where victims of domestic violence can press charges and she decides to use those services, they must really be in place and live up to the quality of service described on the Internet.

8.2. Integrating gender equality into ICT policies, strategies and programmes

Engendering ICT is not merely about greater use of ICT by women, it is also about transforming the ICT system. This involves multiple interventions by various actors, including:

- Governments building ICT policies with strong gender perspectives and engaging with civil society;
- Clear gender strategies being deployed in design, implementation and evaluation of ICT programmes and projects;
- Collecting information with sex-disaggregated statistics and gender indicators on access to, use of and content of ICT, on employment and on education;
- Consideration of gender issues in ICT/communications policy, representation in telecommunications/ICT decision-making;
- Combining ICT with alternative forms of social communication such as radio, drama etc. to maximize outreach in rural areas and respond to the high illiteracy rate;
- Production of media programmes in vernacular, with the content adjusted to reflect rural realities and poverty reduction strategies;
- Training of media personnel to portray women as active and empowered citizens and showcase appropriate role models;
- Promoting the use of the Internet and ICT by integrating required skills in the school curriculum and through the provision of computers.

Being a relatively new sector, internal/local capacity to address gender equality concerns is still limited. However, a notable exception is the Land and Agricultural Information Network (LAIN) project,¹⁶³ which included a large-scale gender analysis. Its purpose is to demonstrate the feasibility of a LAIN system through an investigation of appropriate ICT in applications which support agriculture productivity, security of land use rights and financial opportunities. It includes the development of a demonstration internet portal and applications utilizing ICT in a rural, farming context.

¹⁶² Women, Law and Development Association (MULEIDE), Mozambican Women Lawyers Association (AMMCJ), ORAM is an CSO that assists communities in registering communal land title.

¹⁶³ The project started in 2004 with funding of the Canadian International Development Agency's Industrial Cooperation Program (CIDA-INC) and carried out by the ICT Development Group of RADARSAT International (RSI) in collaboration with the National Directorate of Land (Direcção Nacional de Geografia e Cadastro: DINAGECA of the Ministry of Agriculture (MINAG).

8.3. Employment opportunities for women in ICT sector

There is an acute shortage of trained personnel in information and communication technology in Mozambique, which is even more pronounced in the provinces. There are very few companies developing new ICT tools in Mozambique, but a few years ago a company in Maputo developed packages to facilitate access to Internet by unskilled users – which may be useful for telecentres targeting rural women or adapted to suit the specific needs of different user groups. Information technology has brought employment gains for women, but international trends highlight many challenges. The International Labour Organization (ILO) Report on Work in the New Economy 2001 makes the following observations about the Information Technology (IT) sector:

- Patterns of gender segregation are being reproduced in the information economy where men hold the majority of high-skilled, high value-added jobs, whereas women are concentrated in the low-skilled, lower value-added jobs;
- As traditional manufacturing industries that previously employed women gradually disappear, the women finding jobs in the new ICT-related businesses are rarely the same ones as those who lost their jobs in the traditional sectors;
- New inequalities are therefore emerging between women with ICT-related job skills versus those without.

The patterns also seem to hold true for Mozambique: a similar glass ceiling also exists on the Mozambican labour market keeping many women employees in lower-paid, lower-valued jobs. The Internet and ICT sector are characterized by high-level skills, continuous learning and skill upgrading which presupposes access to the educational and training opportunities necessary to equip individuals for the rapidly changing skill requirements. Policy should therefore encourage girls and women to use ICT early in education, and pursue higher studies in ICT as well as technical careers – as scientists, researchers, administrators and educators.

At the moment in Mozambique there are only very few women who are professionally active in scientific and technological fields. The brief existence of the Ministry for Higher Education and Sciences over the period 2000–2004 may have improved the number of women in higher education, but this will only have effect in the long term and the abolition of the ministry in 2005 leaves many question marks. Of course some Mozambican women are able to enter into the ICT arena, claiming jobs that technology is creating as web designers, service providers, multimedia specialists or computer trouble shooter in a corporate business. These women typically have a specific profile in that they have an affluent and urban background and high education level and rarely exercise their profession outside of Maputo.

8.4. ICT and conventional media as a tool for gender equality

Mozambican women's organizations are gradually beginning to use ICT to expand their access to information sources. They use ICT to collect and disseminate development related information that can be used towards sustainable human development goals and empowerment. With the support of donors, some initiatives have been taken to use the Internet as a tool for advocacy and networking (e.g. Forum Mulher has a

website and key documents and reports are distributed electronically). However, the Internet is still seen mainly as a source of information and is used neither as a forum for wider debate nor as a place where CSOs can publicize their ideas and invite critical feedback. They could still get more out of the Internet as an instrument to improve the effectiveness of their lobbying, widen the reach of their information dissemination activities and increase the extent to which they are integrated in international and regional networks and campaigns. By providing spaces for diverse, bottom-up and low-cost communication, ICT can also amplify women's voices, and help publicize women's experiences and perspectives.

Today, print media, radio and TV are still the prime means used by women's groups for information dissemination. Effectiveness and reach can also be enhanced by combining "old" technologies such as radio, television, newsprint, magazines etc. with "new" technologies such as the Internet, cellular phones etc. This in turn raises important questions about access to the conventional media in the rural areas, particularly among illiterate rural women and the production of media programmes and messages targeting illiterate rural populations.

Men have much more access to the mass media than women: 50% of adult women have no access to mass media, compared to only 22% of adult men. Lack of access is especially pronounced in the rural areas, where 63% of women do not have access to mass media compared to 30% in urban areas. In the urban areas, only 9% of men do not have access to mass media.¹⁶⁴ Overall, only a limited number of persons has access to TV: 15% of all women and 22.5% of all men. In rural areas access to TV is very low for both men and women. Only 2% of rural women have access to television (compared to 3% of rural men).¹⁶⁵

Furthermore, print and TV media operate in Portuguese; even though only a minority of the overall rural population speaks this medium (this is most likely a consequence of the fact that most media are concentrated in Maputo City with only limited coverage of the provinces). It also raises a concern with the fact that in Mozambique to date only a small number of women work as journalists or editors, whereby most stories and news items are developed by men portraying traditional gender roles and stereotypes. However, interviews with the female Prime Minister, numerous female ministers and election of female parliamentarians are gradually strengthening the public perception that women can be effective leaders and role models for women's empowerment.

More than half of the overall population has a radio, pointing to the importance of this medium. Men, however, have more access to radio than women, with 46% of adult women listening to radio at least once a week compared to 75% of adult men. The gender gap is greater in rural areas: 37% of rural women listen to radio at least once a week compared to 68% of rural men. In urban settings 63% of women listen to radio once a week compared to 85% of men. Zambezia is the province with the lowest number of women listening to radio.¹⁶⁶

The first community radio went on air in 1994; by 2004 this figure had grown to 42. In many cases, community radios use telecentre to access source material. Most community radios broadcast in local languages and thus have large female audiences. One community radio, Radio Muthiyana, is specifically targeting women. Since its inception in

¹⁶⁴ UNICEF, A Statistical Profile of Disparities in Mozambique, November 2005, indicators 80–81.

¹⁶⁵ UNICEF, A Statistical Profile of Disparities in Mozambique, November 2005, indicators 84–85.

¹⁶⁶ UNICEF, A Statistical Profile of Disparities in Mozambique, November 2005, p 50–51.

2001, it has been broadcasting programmes made by and for women in Portuguese and Shangaan from 6 am until 7 pm.¹⁶⁷

While radio and TV are by far the most utilized media, only a small portion of the population has access to newsprint (newspapers). Only 4% of adult women have access to a newspaper compared to 11.5% of men.¹⁶⁸ This is largely due to the fact that newspapers are produced in Maputo and subsequently distributed to the rest of the country. The African Women's Media Centre (based in Dakar) has since 1997 supported women journalists with trainings on journalism ethics, advocacy, leadership through ICT etc and is a partner of the Mozambican Women's Media Association. UNESCO and other agencies run the Mozambican Media Project, which aims to strengthen all aspects of the media sector, including capacity building for female media professionals. These capacity building programmes were developed to address the challenges raised in several studies on gender equality in the media.¹⁶⁹ A recent controversy illustrates that too often gender issues are still misrepresented by the media in order to book sensationalist headlines.¹⁷⁰

8.5. Summary of key points and strategic areas

ICT and conventional media remain largely the preserve of urban populations, so that a fundamental question is "how to bring ICTs and media into the rural areas". This is particularly challenging considering that a high percentage of rural women are illiterate and more fluent in local languages than Portuguese.

Recent innovations such as cheap low-value prepayment cards have made cell phones more accessible to women, as have various pilot telecentres. Experience shows that female use of telecenters is determined by socio-cultural norms, cost and perceived usefulness with a potential demand for women's support services. Thus strategies to encourage women's use of these technologies should be multifaceted, focusing on sensitization, pricing policies and simplified, repackaged content. A significant proportion of rural and urban women have access to radios and community radios have been fairly successful in targeting women with appropriate content. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that internet and ICTs are still seen primarily as a source of information rather than as a communication tool that could be used to maximize outreach and networking.

To deal with the acute shortage of skilled ICT technicians it will be necessary to include some basic computer literacy in the normal school curriculum. In particular, measures may be required to encourage girls to take up higher training in ICT engineering/skills. Similarly, there are only few female journalists and as a result the media often still portray conventional, i.e. patriarchal, gender relations. In order to achieve a wider level of awareness of gender inequalities and strategies for gender equality the results achieved under pilot media projects should be widely disseminated, not only among media practitioners as beneficiaries of the projects but among the general public.

¹⁶⁷ Radio Muthiyana was started by the Associação Moçambicana da Mulher na Comunicação Social: Mozambican Association for Women in Social Communication.

¹⁶⁸ UNICEF, A Statistical Profile of Disparities in Mozambique, November 2005, indicators 82–83.

¹⁶⁹ For example, "Who Is Out There?" (by Ana Monteiro) and "Listen To Us, Too!" (by Ruth Ayisi). Further information is available from the Media Project www.mediamoz.com.

¹⁷⁰ On 16 February 2006 the President of the Republic of Mozambique held a meeting with women's organizations to discuss HIV/AIDS. In the meeting, one organization suggested that a law be drafted to regulate women's dress code since it considers that modern dress styles provoke sexual harassment and adultery. In their coverage, the media suggested that this was the view of the women's organizations in general. Forum Mulher published an advert in the daily newspaper Notícias to protest against the comment and clarify that this does not represent the view of all women's organisations.

9. Girls and Boys

9.1. Legal and policy framework

Mozambique is signatory to several international instruments such as CEDAW (1993), which foresees in the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and girls, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), African Charter on Rights and Welfare of Children (1998). A comprehensive Children's Act has recently been developed, based on the recommendations of the initial report of the Government to the Committee on the Rights of the Child.¹⁷¹ Over the past decade, significant progress has been made in developing an enabling national policy and legislative framework to prioritize child development concerns. For example, the reduction of child mortality is a Millennium Development Goal and has been included in PARPA II and PES.

Furthermore, MMAS has developed the Plan of Action for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC) 2005–2010. In line with the Social Action Strategy for Children¹⁷² the plan encourages the integration of orphans into families and communities and thus focuses on strengthening community mechanisms and provision of direct support to the most vulnerable children. It also defines basic services (health, education, nutrition and food support, financial support, legal and psychosocial counseling) and a minimum standard of care for OVC. Services are coordinated by the Ministry but generally implemented by CSOs, and partners.

9.2. Orphans and vulnerable children

However, children nationwide continue to face daunting challenges. UNICEF estimates that 58% of children in Mozambique are living below the poverty line, as compared to 49% of adults.¹⁷³ UNICEF estimates that 4 million out of 10 million children and adolescents under the age of 15 are considered vulnerable.¹⁷⁴ Often these children find themselves in exploitative situations. The Government of Mozambique estimates that 1,6 million children are orphaned, of whom 370,000 have lost one or both parents to AIDS.¹⁷⁵ As AIDS continues to claim its toll, more and more children are losing their parents and in many cases assuming responsibilities for younger household members.

¹⁷¹ UNICEF, Draft Country Programme Document (2007–2009), March 2006, p 3.

¹⁷² Approved by Resolution 8/98.

¹⁷³ UNICEF, Draft Country Programme Document (2007–2009), March 2006, p 2.

¹⁷⁴ www.unicef.org – see country info on Mozambique.

¹⁷⁵ The Government of Mozambique defines an orphan as a minor who has lost one or both parents.

While orphans face difficulties in accessing basic social services such as health, education, food, legal and psychosocial services, they increasingly shoulder heavy responsibilities for other household members. For the numerous children who were not registered at birth, access to social services is even more complicated. For that reason, government and civil society in 2005 embarked on a large-scale nationwide campaign, encouraging families to register all children and allowing unregistered children to regularize their situation for free or with minimal costs. While this campaign was largely successful,¹⁷⁶ many children in remote areas remain unregistered due to various practical problems (e.g. perception that registration entails a costly and complex procedure and long distances to travel to administrative authorities, etc.) and due to insufficient decentralization of registration. The *Liga Moçambicana dos Direitos Humanos* (LDH) reports that roughly 5% of the all requests for legal assistance relate to registration of children and that 87% of these cases are brought by women.¹⁷⁷

Child labour is prohibited, but in 2000 the Ministry of Labour found instances of child domestic work, child prostitution and children working on commercial farms.¹⁷⁸ Although there are no exact figures available, there is sufficient anecdotal recent evidence illustrating that many young girls, particularly orphans, are forced to leave their parental homes to help relatives with domestic labour both in cities and rural areas. In many cases girls, as young as 10 years of age, are required to take up the burden of household chores such as fetching water and cooking fuel, laundry and cleaning. Children also report that orphans are particularly badly treated by stepmothers.¹⁷⁹ Many children are employed in commercial farms, but since they are mostly employed on a seasonal or temporary basis their labour is not formally registered and no official figures exist.¹⁸⁰

Among girls in particular, there is a growing tendency to rely on negative coping strategies such as early marriage, commercial sex and harmful forms of labour. These harmful practices are largely due to the fact that children, and especially households headed by orphaned girls, have limited choices of livelihood strategies and means of generating income.¹⁸¹ While boys are considered “better off” since they can more easily apply for formal work, anecdotal evidence suggests that orphaned and vulnerable boys often face serious difficulties in obtaining employment and come into contact with hazardous streetlife and petty crime.

9.3. Forms of violence against children and abuse of children

Organisations such as Rede CAME and LDH report a growing incidence of child prostitution due to children’s growing vulnerability to poverty, particularly in Maputo, Beira, Nampula, Nacala along commer-

¹⁷⁶ During the 2006 campaign 40,000 previously unregistered births were officially recorded. Country reports on Human Rights Practices – released by Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour (8 March 2006).

¹⁷⁷ Liga Moçambicana dos Direitos Humanos, Relatório sobre os Direitos Humanos em Moçambique 2003, p 70.

¹⁷⁸ www.unicef.org – see country info on Mozambique.

¹⁷⁹ Van den Bergh Collier, E. and MacAskill, J. Country Case Study Report on the INAS Food Subsidy Programme in Mozambique (2005); available from the following websites: www.savethechildren.org.uk and www.isd.ac.uk.

¹⁸⁰ In Chokwé (Gaza Province) for example children help their parents pick tomatoes for 2 Mtn per box, thus earning around 10 Mtn daily (0,40 USD). Anecdotal evidence found by the author during various field missions in Nampula (2004, 2005, 2006) and Tete (2005) suggests that similar practices occur in tobacco and cotton farming elsewhere in the country. The Chokwé example comes from field work carried out for the Country Case Study Report on the INAS Food Subsidy Programme in Mozambique (2005).

¹⁸¹ MMAS & UNICEF, A Study of Community Coping Capacity for the Care and Protection of Orphans and Vulnerable Children in the Context of HIV/AIDS, (September, 2004).

cial transport routes and sites of infrastructural development.¹⁸² While specific data is not available in Mozambique, worldwide trends indicate that common prostitution affects mostly women, while boys are mostly affected by sexual tourism. Under-aged prostitutes are often at the mercy of police officers and some cases have been reported whereby young female offenders were not separated from other prisoners.¹⁸³ Trafficking of children for child labour is a growing concern in Mozambique.¹⁸⁴ Mozambique is known to be a country of origin for traffickers but little is known about the situation and it is necessary to quantify the phenomenon and to raise awareness. While some sources cite that girls are particularly prone to trafficking as they are lured into prostitution, domestic service or forced marriage, anecdotal evidence suggests that boys are also vulnerable to trafficking since they are often keen to find employment in neighbouring countries.¹⁸⁵

Since 1999, a growing number of police stations have been fitted with a special unit where women can lodge complaints against perpetrators of domestic violence and receive psychosocial and/or legal counseling. These *Gabinetes de Atendimento* report that nationwide girls and young children are frequently victims of violence and sexual abuse within the home.¹⁸⁶ Education is seen as the best protection against violence and abuse of children. Various initiatives have been undertaken to raise awareness among children and adolescents, parents and school boards.¹⁸⁷ Sadly, abuse of girls at school by teachers and fellow-students remains widespread¹⁸⁸ and in numerous cases female victims are blamed or encouraged to accept unsatisfactory forms of mediation, which do not address the underlying gender relations that render women vulnerable to gender-based violence and make violence acceptable in society.¹⁸⁹

The lack of understanding about the unequal power relations that make women and girls vulnerable to violence and abuse is also reflected in a controversial ministerial order issued by the Minister of Education in 2003.¹⁹⁰ The order stipulates that pregnant girls must compulsorily be transferred to night classes – if there are any – since the presence of a pregnant schoolgirl is considered to be a bad example for other pupils. Thus, when pregnancy results from sexual assault by a teacher, the victim is in fact punished twice; once in the form of sexual abuse and then again by depriving her of education. While the order foresees that the same rule must be applied to the father if he is a pupil at the same school, in practice this has had little consequence.¹⁹¹

¹⁸² See article "País sob risco de se tornar em corredor de turismo sexual infantil" in *Democracia e Direitos Humanos: revista informativa mensal de especialidade*, monthly bulletin published by LDH (September 2005), p 16.

¹⁸³ Personal communication with staff of LDH (Nampula, 2006).

¹⁸⁴ It is estimated that 1000 people are trafficked annually from Mozambique to neighbouring countries. See Organization for International Migration, *Seduction, Sale and Slavery: trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation in Southern Africa* (May 2003). Trafficking is not illegal in Mozambique and for that reason civil society is lobbying for new legislation that would make trafficking of persons a crime.

¹⁸⁵ Organization for International Migration, *Seduction, Sale and Slavery: trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation in Southern Africa* (May 2003)

¹⁸⁶ WLSA has carried out extensive research on the causes of and measures to address domestic violence. See Mejía, M., Osório, C. and Artur, M.J. *Não sofrer caladas! Violência Contra Mulheres e Crianças: denúncia e gestão de conflitos* (Maputo, 2004).

¹⁸⁷ These include civic education programmes in schools, SARA initiative, Geração Biz etc.

¹⁸⁸ Detailed information is available in *Relatório do Estudo sobre o Abuso Sexual da Rapariga nas Escolas Moçambicanas*, a joint report by the Ministry of Education, FDC, Save the Children, CARE and Rede Came, 2004.

¹⁸⁹ Cfr. Mejía, M., Osório, C. and Artur, M.J. *Não sofrer caladas! Violência Contra Mulheres e Crianças: denúncia e gestão de conflitos* (Maputo, 2004).

¹⁹⁰ Despacho 39/GM/2003

¹⁹¹ Artur, J.M. and Cabral, Z. 'Those Pregnancies that embarrass schools', in *Outras Vozes*, Supplement to Nr 8, August 2004, 21–23.

Elaborate initiation rites exist for both girls and boys, especially in the matrilineal regions in the north and central provinces, involving sexual instruction and in some cases scarification of facial and body skin. However, female genital mutilation is not prevalent in Mozambique. In recent years there have been some disturbing reports about children – especially boys – who were allegedly abducted in order to obtain human organs for medical or ritual purposes.¹⁹²

9.4. Child mortality

The MDGs include the reduction of mortality among children under five by two-thirds by 2015.¹⁹³ The child and infant mortality rates in Mozambique are among the highest in the world: the Health and Demographic Survey of 2003 found that 178 children out of 1000 die before their fifth birthday and 124 out of 1000 will die before their first birthday.

Nonetheless, compared to 1997, these figures represent an improvement of 18% and 15% respectively.¹⁹⁴ This is largely due to the implementation of the Expanded Vaccination Programme. It is noted that vaccination coverage is much higher in urban areas (90.8%) than in rural ones (70.8%).¹⁹⁵

The main causes of under-five mortality are preventable and include premature birth, low weight at birth, asphyxia, infections, diarrhea, acute respiratory infections, malaria, measles, malnutrition and HIV. Although there is no significant discrepancy between mortality rates among boys and girls, mortality levels among children are strongly associated with the economic characteristics of their households and the education level of mothers. Among children in the poorest households, the under-five mortality rate is twice as high as that among children in better-off households (196 versus 108) while children of mothers with no education are 130% more likely to die before reaching five years of age than children of mothers with secondary education.¹⁹⁶ Infant and child mortality rates are significantly higher in rural areas (135 and 192 respectively) than urban areas (95 and 143 respectively).¹⁹⁷

It is estimated that every day 90 children are infected with HIV through mother-to-child transmission. While services to prevent mother-to-child transmission are improving, coverage remains very low, particularly in rural areas. Only half of all women have access to prevention of mother-to-child transmission counseling (urban women: 70% versus 44% in rural areas). Only 26% of all women know that maternal to child transmission of HIV can be prevented through anti-retroviral therapy during pregnancy and avoiding breastfeeding (urban: 35% versus 21% in rural areas).¹⁹⁸

Malnutrition is thought to be the underlying cause of about half of all deaths among children under five and affects boys and girls equally since there are no dietary taboos for children based on sex.

¹⁹² A widely publicized case involved a young boy “Samuelito” from Manica Province; personal communication with staff of the Liga Moçambicana dos Direitos Humanos in Beira (2006).

¹⁹³ The child mortality rate measures the number of children who die before their fifth birthday per 1000 live births. The infant mortality rate measures the number of children who die before their first birthday per 1000 live births.

¹⁹⁴ UNDP, Mozambique National Human Development Report 2005: Reaching for the MDG (Maputo, 2006), p 57.

¹⁹⁵ UNDP, *ibidem*, p 57.

¹⁹⁶ Relatório sobre os Objectivos de Desenvolvimento do Milénio (Maputo, 2005) p 26.

¹⁹⁷ UNICEF, A Statistical Profile of Disparities in Mozambique, November 2005, indicators 1–2.

¹⁹⁸ UNICEF, *ibidem*, indicator 61 and 77.

9.5. Summary of key points and strategic areas

Although Mozambique has a comprehensive legal and policy framework to protect children's well being and rights, children are increasingly becoming vulnerable to poverty and resorting to exploitative and negative coping mechanisms. Large numbers of children are not registered at birth and thus unable to access some basic social services. Birth registration is therefore a fundamental challenge to ensure assistance for children who are poor.

Sex-disaggregated data is not available to illustrate the extent to which boys and girls may use different coping mechanisms, but anecdotal evidence suggests that girls are more likely to resort to early marriage, commercial sex and illegal and harmful labour. Boys, on the other hand, may be more likely to become involved in street life, gangs, criminality, sexual tourism and illicit labour. Both may be lured to leave their native village or town on false pretenses of work or marriage in neighbouring countries and thus fall prone to trafficking. Other forms of violence and abuse that limit girls' empowerment must be addressed, such as eliminating sexual abuse at school by teachers and fellow students and creating conditions for pregnant girls to continue their education.

Mortality under fives remains high, particularly in rural areas. It also correlates strongly with economic status and the mother's level of education. Nutritional advice for mothers would be a critical step in reducing under-five mortality as malnutrition is an underlying cause for as many as half infant and child deaths.

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