

## **Post-conflict Mozambique: Women's special situation, Population Issues and Gender Perspectives: to be integrated into skills training and employment promotion**

**Report of a consultancy for the Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship in countries emerging from armed conflict  
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## PREFACE

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## ACRONYMS

AA	Assembly Area (for demobilising soldiers)
Activa	Associação das Mulheres Empresárias e Executivas (Association of Business and Executive Women)
ALE	Animadores locais de emprego (local employment monitors)
AMDU	Associação Moçambicana para o Desenvolvimento Urbano (Mozambican Association for Urban Development)
AMMCJ	Associação das Mulheres de Carreira Jurídica (Mozambican Association of Women in Legal Careers)
AMME	Associação Moçambicana das Mulheres para o Educação (Mozambican Association of Women in Education)
AMODEG	Associação Moçambicana dos Desmobilizados de Guerra (Mozambican Association of War Demobilised)
AMR	Associação das Mulheres Rurais (Association of Rural Women - Nampula)
AMRU	Associação Moçambicana para o Desenvolvimento da Mulher Rural (Mozambican Association for Rural Women's Development)
AWEPA	Association of West European Parliamentarians
BCM	Banco Commercial de Moçambique (Commercial Bank of Mozambique)
BPD	Banco Popular de Desenvolvimento (People's Development Bank)
CARE	Concerned Americans for the Reconstruction of Europe
CEA	Centro de Estudos Africanos (African Studies Centre, UEM)
CEFE	Competence-based Economics by Formation of Entrepreneurs
CEP	Centro de Estudos da População (Population Studies Centre, UEM)
CERPIJ	Centro de Reabilitação Psicosocial Infantil e Juvenil (Psychosocial Rehabilitation Centre for Children and Youths)
CNE	Comissão Nacional das Eleições (National Elections Committee)
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DEMEG	Departamento de Estudos da Mulher e Género (Women and Gender Studies Department, UEM)
DGIS	Netherlands Development Cooperation Agency
DHO/OSD	Desenvolvimento Habilidades Ocupacionais (Occupational Skills Development [ILO])
DNE	Direcção Nacional de Estatística (National Statistics Directorate)
DNEP	Direcção Nacional de Estradas e Pontes (National Directorate of Roads and Bridges)
DPCCN	Departamento para a Prevenção e Combate às Calamidades Naturais (Government Relief Agency)
EC	European Commission (of the European Union)

EDM	Electricite de Moçambique (Mozambique Electricity Company)
EIU	Economist Intelligence Unit
EP1	Ensino Primário 1: First level primary education (grade 1-5)
EP2	Ensino Primário 2: Second level primary education (grade 6-7)
ERP/PRE	Programa de Reabilitação Económica (Economic Rehabilitation Programme)
ESG1	Ensino Secundário Geral 1: General secondary education stage 1 (grade 8-10)
ESG2	Ensino Secundário Geral 2: General secondary education stage 2 (grade 11-12)
ESRP/PRES	Programa de Reabilitação Económica e Social (Economic and Social Rehabilitation Programme)
FADM	Forças Armadas de Moçambique (Mozambican Army)
FUNDAS	Social Action Development Fund
FRELIMO (Frelimo)	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
GAPI	Gabinete para Apoio a Pequenos Projectos de Investimento (Office to support small investment projects)
GAPVU	Gabinete de Apoio à População Vulnerável (Office to help vulnerable people)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross enrolment ratio
GPE	Gabinete de Promoção de Emprego (Cabinet for the Promotion of Employment)
GSP	Gross Social Product
GTZ	Deutsche Gessellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Development Agency)
HIV/AIDS	Human-immunodeficiency virus/Acquired immuno-deficiency syndrome
IDIL	Instituto Nacional de Desenvolvimento da Indústria Local (National Institute for the Development of Local Industry)
IDN	Inquérito Demográfico Nacional (National demographic survey)
IEC	Information, Education and Communication (family planning awareness methodology)
ILO	International Labour Office
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate
INAS	Instituto Nacional de Accion Social (National Institute for Social Action)
INDER	Instituto Nacional de Desenvoltimento Rurais (National Institute for Rural Development)
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (National Institute of Statistics)
INEFP	Instituto Nacional do Emprego e Formação Profissional (National Institute of Employment and Professional Training)
IOM/OIM	International Organisation of Migration
IRS	Information Referral Services (IOM)

ISCOS	Instituto Sindical Italiano de Cooperação Ao Desenvoltimento (Italian Trade Union Organisation for Development Cooperation)
MBEU	Associação para Promoção do Desenvolvimento Económico e Socio-Cultural da Mulher (Association for the promotion of the economic and socio-cultural development of women - NGO)
MICAS	Ministerio de Coordinação de Accion Social (Ministry for the Coordination of Social Action)
MINAG	Ministerio do Agricultura (Ministry of Agriculture)
MINED	Ministerio do Educação (Ministry of Education)
MISAU	Ministerio do Saudé (Ministry of Health)
MMR	Maternal mortality rate
MOPF (Plano)	Ministerio do Plano e Finanças (Ministry of Planning and Finance)
MT	<i>Metical/meticais</i>
MULEIDE	Mulher, Lei e Desenvolvimento (Women, Law and Development - NGO)
NAR	Government organisation for assistance to returnees
NGO	non-government organisation
NOVIB	Netherlands Organisation for International Development Cooperation
ODA	overseas development assistance
ODA (UK)	Overseas Development Administration (UK) (now Department for International Development)
OMM	Organização da Mulher Moçambicana (Women's wing of Frelimo)
ORAM	Organização Rural de Ajuda Mutua (Organisation for rural mutual aid - NGO)
ORF	Open Reintegration Fund (GTZ)
OTM	Organização da Trabalhadoras Moçambicana (Mozambican Workers' Organisation - trade union)
PF	Provincial Fund (IOM)
PPA	Participatory Poverty Assessment
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRN/NRP	Programa de Reconstrução Nacionais (National Reconstruction Programme)
PROFEM	Programa de Promoção Activa da Formação e do Emprego
Renamo (MNR)	Resistencia Nacionais Moçambicana - National Mozambican Resistance
RSS	Reintegration Support Scheme (UN)
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SCF (UK)	Save the Children (UK)
SDA	Social Dimensions of Adjustment
SDC	Swiss Development Cooperation
Sida (Asdi)	Swedish International Development Agency
TA	Technical Adviser
TBA	Traditional birth attendant
TFR	Total Fertility Rate

UAP	Unidade de Alívio à Pobreza (Poverty alleviation unit -Ministry of Planning)
UEM	Universidade Eduardo Mondlane - Eduardo Mondlane University
UGC	União Geral das Cooperativas Agro-Pecuárias de Maputo (Maputo union of farm and cattle cooperatives)
UN	United Nations
UNAIDS	United Nations Organisation for HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOHAC	United Nations Organisation for Humanitarian
UNOMOZ/ONUMOZ	United Nations Operations in Mozambique
UPP/PPU	Unidade de Planificação do População (Population Planning Unit - National Planning Commission)
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WFP	World Food Programme
WRS	World Relief Services (NGO)
ZIMFEP	Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production

## GLOSSARY

<i>aldeamentos</i>	villages introduced under Portuguese rule to control the rural population
<i>aldeias comunais</i>	communal villages introduced under Frelimo from 1975 onwards to promote rural development. People were moved from dispersed settlements into these villages, sometimes unwillingly. Creation of new <i>aldeais</i> ceased by the early 1980s.
<i>assimilados</i>	small minority of the African population who were given rights as Portuguese citizens, by virtue of their education. At Independence, <i>assimilados</i> amounted to less than one percent of the African population.
<i>bairro</i>	suburb/ residential area
<i>barracas</i>	vending stall
<i>candonga</i>	illegal economy
<i>caniço</i>	reed (building material extensively used for house building in peri-urban and rural areas)
<i>canjo</i>	small fruit (amarula) used to brew beer for household consumption
<i>capulana</i>	local cloth wrapper worn by women
<i>chibalo</i>	forced labour system introduced under Portuguese colonialism
<i>circulo</i>	unit of local administration (under <i>localidade</i> )
<i>cooperante</i>	expatriate worker employed under contract to government
<i>cuandeiro (curandeiro)</i>	local healers, generally thought to have powers of healing and of divination through consultation with ancestors.
<i>deslocados</i>	displaced people
<i>dumba nengue</i>	literally - 'run for your life' - term referring to informal traders indicating the harassment they received from authorities before the 1987 liberalisation. Now used more widely to refer to informal economy
<i>ganho-ganho</i>	agricultural labour
<i>lobolo</i>	bridewealth, practised throughout Mozambique, especially in the South
<i>localidade</i>	unit of local administration (under District)
<i>machamba</i>	literally field, or 'family' agriculture
<i>mambo</i>	name for chief in Renamo areas
<i>Naparama</i>	Neo-traditional movement of 20,000 or so warriors which formed in Zambezia during the war under the leadership of Manuel Antonio and which successfully liberated large areas of the province in 1990-1.
<i>ntoma</i>	small fruit sometimes eaten in hungry season
<i>Operação Produção</i>	A campaign whereby young men, allegedly the unemployed, or criminals (as well as women deemed to be prostitutes) were transplanted from Maputo to rural areas in the North to work in agriculture.
<i>regulos</i>	village chiefs, co-opted by Portuguese under colonial administration.
<i>sede</i>	centre of district administration

<i>xitique</i>	system whereby two or more individuals pay a fixed amount in cash or kind into a fund to be withdrawn at intervals.
<i>xitique géral</i>	savings schemes with a 'mobile banker' who collects daily (or regular) deposits from members, for a fixed fee and which pays out a lump sum to members in turn.
<i>xitoco</i>	agricultural labour
<i>Zonas Verdas</i>	Green Zones: co-operative agricultural projects set up in peri-urban areas of Maputo and Beira

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study provides a gender perspective on employment, income generation and skills training in post-conflict Mozambique, based on a literature review and field research, including an assessment of existing policies and programmes. It is intended to feed into the process of developing an overall policy framework and guidelines for future interventions in war-affected countries, as part of ILO's 'Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Training in Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict,' launched in 1996. In addition, the study identifies priorities for technical assistance, and provides an institutional and bibliographic database.

This recent conflict in Mozambique was fought primarily between the government forces of FRELIMO and opposition forces of Renamo (with considerable external backing) between the late 1970s and October 1992, when the General Peace Accord (GPA) was signed. The war was fought mainly in rural areas and impacted in different areas of the country with varying intensity, reaching its peak in the late 1980s. A combination of external and internal factors, relating to regional politics and to the policies of the FRELIMO government, are thought to have fuelled the conflict.

The war was marked by the death of up to one million persons, extreme brutality against civilians, widespread sexual violence against women, and the displacement of at least six million people, including over 1.5 million across international borders. In addition, the conflict led to the destruction of thousands of schools, health posts, economic units and roads and bridges. Homes were destroyed and looted, cattle stolen and killed, forest burned and roads, villages and fields mined. Drought in the early 1990s added to the already huge human cost of war and was a major factor in propelling forward the negotiation process, led by the Catholic church, with considerable grassroots pressure, including from women's organisations. The end of the Cold War, the negotiated transition in South Africa, further undermined remaining support for the war. By the end of the war, Mozambique was one of the poorest, most aid dependent and indebted countries in the world, and had some of the worst indicators in health and education internationally. The economic, social and psychological impact of war will be felt for many years to come.

The Peace Accord provided for a demobilisation of the armed forces, among whom women officially constituted less than two percent, and their reintegration into a new army and laid down the framework for transition to democratic elections in October 1994, under UN supervision. There were no provisions to address questions of human rights abuses, nor specifically the abuse of women's human rights. The new Constitution in 1990 reiterated earlier commitment to gender equality, although this is weakened by the provisions of the civil code and customary norms which remain *de facto* in force.

Four and a half years after the end of the war, Mozambique is between rehabilitation and development, although emergency responses and a safety net for those vulnerable to extreme poverty continue to be needed. Demobilisation, returnee and reintegration programmes have all drawn to a close. While the reconstruction of roads, schools and health units continues, making slow progress, a range of agencies, many with little prior experience, are introducing

credit and training components into their activities, There is a danger that these are seen as panaceas for post war development.

Rural livelihoods were disrupted for at least some part of the war in most areas. A variety of responses to the conflict and livelihood strategies were adopted, including migration and displacement to refugee or displaced camps or settlements and urban areas, dependence on relief aid, hunting and gathering, agricultural labour and informal sector activity. Many women attempted to keep farming for as long as possible, often working at night to produce for their families. Some were kidnapped and coerced into being soldiers, or being 'wives' for Renamo troops. Since the end of the war, many formerly displaced persons and refugees have returned to rural communities and re-established their farms, but remain vulnerable due to lack of assets and reserves, such as tools, seeds and cattle, lost during the war, and to poor rains especially in the South. Disputes over land have intensified, and a new land law is being introduced which will strengthen individual ownership rights, with a danger that the rights of small farmers and particularly women, are weakened in the face of commercial pressures. Few women have title deeds and in both matrilineal and patrilineal areas are dependent on husbands or male relatives for access to land.

Displaced and refugee populations are thought to have had a higher proportion of women than men, although this may reflect women's greater visibility, while men travelled further afield to seek work. In urban areas, households grew larger as many accommodated relatives from rural areas and the rate of urbanisation increased to an estimated 30 percent. High levels of female headship were noted in displaced groups. Displacement and long-term separation also resulted in dual marriages, creating tensions on return. Thousands of children lost or were permanently separated from their parents and some were taken in by substitute families. The diversity of household forms and composition in post-war Mozambique suggests a weakening of traditional patriarchal structures, echoed by changes in divisions of labour and intra-household decision-making processes and greater visibility for women. It also indicates complex patterns of vulnerability which cannot be identified using crude categories, but require context-specific research and consultation.

Gender-based violence occurred on a large scale in the war in Mozambique, and yet, in the post-conflict period, has not received much public attention. There are few services or initiatives to support either victims or perpetrators. Implicit in the Peace Accord was an acceptance that there would be no human rights investigations and this limits the scope to discuss violence against women as a human rights issue. Community based reintegration processes have addressed questions of rape and other gender-based violence and further research is required on this to increase understanding of these processes.

During the war period, the influx of people into urban areas, wartime survival strategies, processes of economic liberalisation and rising unemployment fuelled a rapid growth of the informal economy, based mainly on commerce, now estimated at around 30-40 percent of GDP. Pressure on household incomes and the incidence of female headship has led to increased visibility of women and children in the informal sector, including in begging and sex work. Within the informal economy, women tend to be concentrated in petty food trading, in highly competitive segments of the market, while men are more likely to trade in higher value manufactured goods. Incomes are variable and while a few are getting high returns (particularly as intermediaries bringing produce in from other countries) a large proportion are eking out an existence, barely able to retain enough from one days' sales to

buy basic necessities and supplies. Complex systems of regulations, licences, fees and fines discourage many from registering their activities. Markets are sprawling, crowded, disorganised and unhygienic and lack transport or other basic infrastructure and facilities. The informal sector is poorly served by formal credit institutions, although many in this sector, particularly women, are active in informal savings schemes (*xitique*).

Despite considerable progress in extending education provision and literacy between 1975 and 1980, the legacy of lack of investment in education and skills for Africans since the colonial era was further exacerbated by the disruption of education and training during the war. Following the war, the destruction of facilities means that rebuilding the sector is a slow process, many schools operate multiple shifts and lack qualified personnel. Quality of provision is low, the curriculum outdated and drop out and repetition rates high. Girls and women have historically been disadvantaged in access to education and are under-represented nationally at secondary, technical and higher education levels, as well as in some provinces, particularly in the Northern region, at primary level. There remains a wide gender gap in literacy. A range of demand and supply side factors limit female access to education and programmes have been launched to tackle some of these problems. Continued gender gaps in education limit women's scope for economic activity by restricting access to most formal sector jobs to men, and because of the educational requirements of credit and training programmes. Improved access to education opportunities for literacy, academic and technical training, are a vital complement to vocational training schemes, particularly for those who missed opportunities because of the war.

During the war, the structures of power at local level were a site of much conflict and following the war, a multiplicity of local institutions exists, often in parallel, including traditional leaders, religious leaders and secular administration. Traditional authorities have regained some influence in the post-war era, and are exercising functions such as land allocation and the interpretation of customary norms, with major implications for women's lives. Ongoing research is investigating the interpretation and implementation of laws on succession and maintenance at local level and their gender implications, as well as changing patterns of land tenure.

There are considerable opportunities in the post-war situation to build on changes in gender relations which have occurred, in order to promote opportunities for women and gender equality. Women are, in many areas, more visible in economic activity and vocal in decision-making. Some are organising self-help groups to set up enterprises and collective activities of various kinds, especially in urban areas. Forthcoming municipal elections offer the possibility for increased women's influence in local-level power structures. Support is required for these processes to ensure that gains are consolidated.

To date, there is no consistent overall planning framework for post-conflict rehabilitation and development in Mozambique and international agency as well as government efforts have been poorly co-ordinated. Moreover, a gender analysis is not yet well integrated into government policy and planning, although institutional mechanisms are in place to support this. This partly reflects the earlier dominance of emergency programmes, based on relief handouts, so that social policy concerns are driven by a focus on 'vulnerable' or 'war-affected' groups, among whom 'women', or 'female-headed households', are usually singled out as categories. Prioritising interventions on the basis of these broad categories may not be appropriate, in that they are potentially divisive within communities, are not reliable

indicators of vulnerability and are of diminishing relevance in the aftermath of war. Consultations with communities, including women within these communities, on context-specific vulnerabilities may be a more useful approach. The forthcoming Census, as well as a growing body of socio-economic data provides the basis for a more nuanced assessment of poverty and vulnerability, including its gender dimensions, and, more generally, for improving the use of gender disaggregated data in the planning process.

Emergency and rehabilitation and reintegration programmes have tended to reinforce a 'male breadwinner' model, flying in the face of the post-war reality. The demobilisation and reintegration programmes in Mozambique were driven by security and political concerns and focused on individual training or grants for mainly male ex-combatants. No specific consideration was given to the needs of female ex-combatants, nor were gender issues incorporated into their design. Priority has been given to physical and economic aspects of rehabilitation (e.g. reconstruction, employment and training), with less attention to social, institutional and psycho-social aspects. A broader approach to reintegration would involve looking at the institutional context, of families, communities, and markets, and considering changes in gender relations as one aspect of the process.

In training and employment programmes, participation of women has been low, skills offered have been gender-segregated and little encouragement has been given to women's take up of 'non-traditional' skills. Training has been variable in quality, not well integrated with market demand, or not providing sufficient skill to support a viable livelihood. There has been insufficient follow up in terms of credit, business skills, marketing and other support. While some of these weaknesses are being rectified, more rethinking is required, and support to the development of training capacity. A broader range of skills needs to be developed in, for example, agriculture and agricultural processing and marketing, arts and crafts production, tourism, administration and management, in line with current and future market demand, and with women's aspirations. Future programmes need to adopt more pro-active measures to encourage female participation and institutionalise a capacity to monitor their impact by gender through qualitative as well as quantitative assessments.

With some exceptions, credit programmes have a poor record, with slow and bureaucratic disbursement and low repayment rates. The transition from emergency relief and grants to market based credit requires a rethinking of institutional structures and processes. A few schemes have been relatively successful in reaching women with loans, where measures have been taken to reduce transactions costs and increase flexibility and where commercial activity has been a focus of support, but the impact of this on intra-household welfare and decision making is not clear. A review of credit and savings schemes to identify the lessons learned from a gender perspective in the Mozambican context would be timely to inform the development of financial institutions and sector reforms.

In spite of a general perception that co-operative and group-based activities have been discredited, there are numerous examples of group mobilisation for both economic, political and social purposes in post-war Mozambique. The introduction of assets or resources into communities can be viewed as part of a process of rebuilding trust, co-operation and collective activity and institutions, disrupted by the war. A significant NGO community has mobilised in the last six to seven years, and while still weak in managerial and participatory development skills, is beginning to develop its own agendas and to lobby for changes in policy. There is considerable scope for supporting research and lobbying in areas of

economic policy reform which directly impact on women's lives, such as privatisation, financial sector reform and informal sector regulation. Unless broader economic policy takes account of gender equality issues and the current constraints to women's economic opportunities, piecemeal programmes will have limited impact.

Government capacity is weak, as a result of the weak educational and skills infrastructure, bureaucratic procedures and poor incentives in the public sector. There is a particular gap at middle management level, and also in front-line personnel (e.g. health and education workers) at local level, many of whom have little training or support and no resources. The proliferation of international agencies during the war and its immediate aftermath also undermined government institutional structures. Current processes of public sector reform and decentralisation aiming to improve service delivery must ensure that women, especially at community and district levels, are given opportunities to upgrade their skills.

Dependence on external aid means that government has tended to be driven by donor agendas and is reliant on donor funding to develop new programmes. In this context, introducing gender concerns runs the danger of being seen as a top down process, with little consideration to local sensitivities. It is crucial that local expertise in gender research, training and policy analysis is utilised in attempts to promote debate on gender equality issues and that priority is given to institutionalising capacity for gender analysis, alongside programmes of capacity building in government more generally.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Gender and conflict in development debates

In the 1990s, concern with issues of conflict has come to the fore in development policy debates, because of the rise of ‘complex political emergencies’ affecting civilian populations, through large-scale population displacement and disruption to economic, social and cultural life, as well as high levels of mortality and morbidity. Warfare is perceived to have taken on a different character in the post-cold war era. Agencies involved in development work have responded partly by shifting their attention to relief operations and also, in some cases, by rethinking their approaches to development work, in insecure, conflict and post-conflict situations. This has led to emphasis on the need to ‘link relief and development’ (Maxwell and Buchanan-Smith, 1994; UNDP-DHA, 1997).

Alongside this focus on conflict, relief and development issues, concern has been growing about the effects of war on women, and specifically, about the increased burdens placed on women in post-conflict situations, as well as the observed tendency for women’s interests to be marginalised in the political processes of peace negotiations. Some commentators see women as the primary ‘victims’ of war, at the same time as having little responsibility for initiating conflict.<sup>1</sup> It is also argued that women have a major role to play in preventing conflict and in creating the conditions for sustainable peace (Date-Bah, 1996).

A gender analysis, while acknowledging the specific impacts of war on women, as well as men, does not necessarily see women primarily as ‘victims’ or ‘peacemakers’. Rather, it attempts to illuminate how, because of prevailing gender relations and ideology, men’s and women’s experiences of war are different, how their coping strategies vary in conflict situations, and, in consequence, how gender relations may be reconfigured during periods of crisis (Byrne, 1996). An understanding of these issues is vital to inform interventions to support gender equality following periods of conflict. A gender analysis is also critical to understanding the **processes** involved in recovery from conflict and particularly in the rebuilding of social institutions, including family, community, political and legal systems and markets.

Until relatively recently, government, non-government and international agency responses to conflict situations and their aftermath (as manifested in the terms of peace settlements, demobilisation and reintegration programmes, and relief, rehabilitation and development interventions), have tended to either render women invisible, or to reinforce gender-based stereotypes and power relations, often flying in the face of post-war realities. For example, the interests of women ex-combatants are rarely prioritised in post-war situations, while male ex-combatants are often made the focus of post war re-integration, with other members of their households treated as dependants, thus reinforcing a ‘male breadwinner’ model (Date-Bah, 1996).

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<sup>1</sup> Recent discussions in Ethiopia highlighted that while women often suffer a disproportionate share of human rights abuses during wartime, men’s higher mortality rate in war should not be forgotten. A distinction can be made between women as ‘living’ and men as ‘dead’ victims of war (Date-Bah, personal communication).

Whilst these issues have long been the concern of feminists and advocates of gender equality, for the last three to four years, a debate has been underway in development organisations about how to integrate gender into emergency and humanitarian responses and in responses to conflict situations (see Byrne with Baden 1995 and Byrne 1996, for a summary of these debates). At the same time, new approaches in the field which do attempt to address the specific needs and aspirations of women, although still the exception rather than the rule, are providing a basis for more gender-aware interventions. Research, both academic and action-oriented, is currently underway, which examines gender aspects of conflict and responses to conflict, which will be of immense value in informing future policy development in this area.<sup>2</sup>

## 1.2 Background to the consultancy and terms of reference

The International Labour Office is active in promoting the adoption and enforcement international labour standards, including those focusing on gender equality in the workplace, and in researching and promoting improved employment opportunities for women, as well as men, through skills training, employment promotion programmes and the development of cooperative and small-scale enterprise, *inter alia*. A number of ILO supported or executed programmes, in recent years, have taken place countries affected by, or recovering from conflict (Date-Bah, 1996).

In 1996, an Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Promotion in countries emerging from armed conflict was established by ILO, to develop a coordinated policy framework for its interventions in war-affected countries, and specifically to develop a set of outputs (training materials and guidelines for national capacity building) to be widely disseminated, as a contribution to improved policy and practice in this area. Given ILO's commitment to gender equality and women's empowerment, there is a strong concern that women's special situation and gender perspectives should be incorporated in the formulation of policy and outputs within the Action Programme. This study is one of a number of country case studies designed to inform policy development and contribute to specific outputs (in particular, guidelines on gender issues in post-conflict skills training and employment promotion) under the Action Programme. The terms of reference for the study are attached in Appendix 1.

The terms of reference are broadly defined to cover the varied contexts of a number of countries while allowing for differing emphases in each case study. Given the breadth and complexity of issues involved, the current report cannot comprehensively cover all the areas listed and some, in any case, are of lesser relevance in the Mozambican context. Here, particular emphasis is given to the following areas, which have strategic importance for gender equality in post-conflict Mozambique:

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<sup>2</sup> For example, PANOS Institute (London) has produced a volume of oral history on women's experiences of conflict (Bennett *et al.*, 1996) and is planning in future to produce a similar volume looking at men's experiences. In the Mozambican context, Alcinda Honwana (University of Cape Town) is researching gender aspects of post-conflict reintegration (Rachel Waterhouse, personal communication). Ximena Andrade, of the Centre of African Studies at UEM, is working with female ex-combatants, collecting oral histories (Jacinta Jorge, personal communication).

- demographic shifts, household disintegration and reformation, related to the conflict and its aftermath, with the creation of new household forms, changes in intra-household relations and patterns of vulnerability;
- extreme forms of physical and sexual abuse, particularly the widespread rape of women during the conflict and its consequences, physical and psychological, for both survivors and perpetrators;
- infrastructure and asset depletion or destruction as a result of conflict and the current process of rebuilding and restocking. Linked to this is the process of formulation of a new land law as well as the real struggle over land resources at local level;
- the intensification of informal sector activity in post-conflict Mozambique, related to (although not necessarily **caused by**) war-induced displacement, survival strategies and changes in household relations, as well as to processes of liberalisation and privatisation, in the late 1980s and early 1990s;
- the impact of conflict on human resource development in general, and specifically on educational and skills development for women, due to the loss of opportunity for schooling of large sections of the young and young adult population and the destruction of an already weak educational and vocational training infrastructure;
- the post-conflict reassertion of ‘traditional’ values and forms of organisation especially through local-level institutions and governance (including systems of customary law relating to marriage, maintenance and land rights) as well as challenges to these.

### 1.3 Methodology and limitations of the study

Given the breadth and complexity of the issues involved and the limitations of time and resources available to conduct the study, this study constitutes a partial and preliminary analysis of the issues set out in the Terms of Reference (see Appendix 1). The data and analysis here are drawn from both secondary and primary sources, principally:

- a reading of selected academic, journalistic and agency literature;
- interviews with personnel in relevant government ministries, international agencies; women’s and non-government organisations and research institutions (see Appendix II for a full list of persons interviewed);
- discussions with groups of women project beneficiaries at three sites in Maputo city and Maputo province, as well as with project managers and implementors;
- individual interviews with market and street traders in sites around Maputo city.

Interviewees were selected according to availability and accessibility and, to some extent, indications that they had been personally affected by the recent war (i.e. living in war affected areas; displaced during the conflict; ex-combatants, or family members involved in combat) rather than any attempt at ‘representativeness’. Interviews were informal and semi-structured to allow women themselves to raise issues of concern.<sup>3</sup>

It was not possible to travel to the Centre and North of the country, or extensively in rural areas, for reasons of lack of time as well as other constraints, during the period of fieldwork (26 January-17 February 1997), where the aftermath of conflict would be more readily visible

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<sup>3</sup> Time limitations as well as logistical and personal constraints limited the scope of these interviews.

and the longer and more intense experience of war would present a different picture.<sup>4</sup> Insights gained from individual interviews and personal observation only reflect the situation of Maputo city and province, clearly a limited picture in such a vast and varied country. However, these insights are supplemented with findings from other published and unpublished post-conflict field research which, although not focusing on gender aspects, does have some coverage of relevant issues (e.g. Chingono's 1992 field research in Manica province, Wilson's work in Zambezia province in 1991-2 and Whiteside's work in Zambezia in 1994). Thus, the perceptions and conclusions presented here are necessarily limited and partial. A more thorough (and truly gendered) analysis of conflict and social relations in Mozambique requires long-term field research and analysis ideally designed by Mozambicans themselves. The concluding section of this report suggests some possible areas for future research.<sup>5</sup>

Other biases and gaps in this study relate to in part to the limitations of the existing literature (see section 2, and Chingono 1996: 1-7, for a more detailed view of this). There are considerable gaps in the data available, although this situation is improving. The data which does exist is not systematically disaggregated by gender.

Attempting to draw up a balance sheet of the 'impact of conflict' in general, and its specific impact on particular social groups, is methodologically complex. Firstly, it is difficult to delineate precisely the beginning and end of conflict in Mozambique, since the beginnings of the recent war closely followed the earlier liberation war (1964-74).<sup>6</sup> Secondly, there is no 'counterfactual': i.e. what would have been Mozambique's trajectory of development in the absence of war? Thirdly, other crises, shocks and developments at national, regional and international level, are closely intertwined with the Mozambican conflict, in particular drought (in the early 1980s and early 1990s, the latter undoubtedly contributing to the collapse of any remaining support for the war); structural adjustment, undertaken in part to assuage international backers of the opposition forces; and the shift in regional and global political alliances in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which undermined external support for both sides in the conflict (Hanlon, 1996; Abrahamsson and Nilson, 1995).

Assessing the 'impact' of conflict also carries the danger that the Mozambican people are cast as passive victims, rather than as active agents in shaping, supporting and responding to both the conflict and the subsequent peace. Few of those interviewed for this study spontaneously identified the war as a major factor in their lives, and when directly questioned about it, many interviewees surprisingly claimed that war had made 'no difference' to their lives, even where they had obviously lost relatives, been displaced etc. This suggests that people do not necessarily perceive themselves as being 'affected by war' especially where war has formed a backdrop to their whole lives. Rather their life choices and decisions take place in a context

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<sup>4</sup> Some of the worst massacres of the war, however, took place in the Southern provinces, in areas which were seen as FRELIMO strongholds and where Renamo violence against civilians was unleashed with particular brutality.

<sup>5</sup> Some detailed studies focused on different aspects of the conflict have been, or are now being carried out, e.g. Chingono (1996), and work by Coelho and Honwana on post-conflict reintegration.

<sup>6</sup> Shortly after Mozambican Independence, the MNR (later renamed Renamo) was formed in then Rhodesia, with the support of Ian Smith's regime, to destabilise Mozambique because of its earlier support to the Zimbabwe liberation movements. This was largely manifested in 'bandit' activity in border areas. When Zimbabwe gained independence (in 1980), support to Renamo was taken over by the South Africans and following this, the war intensified.

of war, influenced by many factors. Chingono (1996) reports a similar perception emerging from his fieldwork among women in Manica in 1992, an area with perhaps the longest exposure to conditions of war in the country:

‘The most surprising thing to emerge from most of the life history narratives by women, especially young women, was that virtually none made a direct reference to the impact of war on their lives. They only mentioned the war in passing or when specifically asked. .... This perhaps reflects the fact that for many young women, war is all they have ever known and as such they take it for granted as a daily fact of life ...’ (Chingono, 1996: 228)

## 2. THE CONFLICT IN MOZAMBIQUE

### 2.1 Brief history of the conflict

This study focuses on the recent conflict in Mozambique and its aftermath, i.e. the war fought primarily between the government forces of Frelimo and opposition forces of Renamo,<sup>7</sup> between the late 1970s<sup>8</sup> and October 1992, when the General Peace Accord (GPA) was signed and a ceasefire came into force. The war was fought mainly in rural areas and impacted in different areas of the country with varying intensity at different times,<sup>9</sup> with the Centre and some areas of the North feeling the effects earlier than the South. The conflict reached its peak in the late 1980s and was marked by extreme brutality against civilians, committed by both sides<sup>10</sup>, large-scale displacement and refugee movements, and destruction of the physical, economic and social infrastructure.

The underlying causes of this conflict have been the subject of much controversy and, with some exceptions (e.g. Wilson 1992) have tended, crudely, to polarise around two opposing ideological positions. The first is that the war in Mozambique was an externally sponsored project of destabilisation against the Frelimo government in the context of the South African Apartheid regime's 'total strategy' for the region and conservative Western (particularly US) concern about a communist-inspired government providing an alternative model for other African states. In this view, Renamo are seen as a puppet force, set up and sustained by external support, with no real political programme or intent to govern and no domestic power base (Hanlon, 1984, 1989).

The opposing view is that the causes of the war were mainly internal, a product of Frelimo's own failed socialist experiment and particularly their alienation of the rural peasantry, traditional leaders and *cuandeiros*, through the imposition of state farms and cooperatives, communal villages and a new power structure which undermined the traditional social order (e.g. Hoile, Geffray, cited in Chingono, 1996). Ethnicity, class and regional bias is held by some to have played a major part in the conflict, given the dominance of particular groups in the respective leaderships, with Renamo associated with the *Ndau* of Central Mozambique and the leadership of Frelimo dominated by southern-based intellectuals.

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<sup>7</sup> Other military forces were also involved in training and supporting the conflict from outside Mozambique (and occasionally, it is alleged, within); in addition, indigenous forces, particularly the *Naparama* in Zambezia, were involved in fighting inside the country (see glossary).

<sup>8</sup> The starting point of the recent war is usually linked to the formation of MNR (later Renamo), in 1976, in then Rhodesia, and the ensuing outbreaks of 'banditry,' beginning in Manica province.

<sup>9</sup> The impact of the recent conflict varied considerably by area and period, depending on the pre-war history and other factors. For example, the central areas were worst affected in 1988, while in 1992, the situation had become much more serious in the south, with the onset of drought in 1990-1 and Renamo's attempts to strengthen its hand prior to the final peace agreement (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 37-8). Localised periodisations and variations in perceptions of the war have also been noted, for example, in Wilson's (1992: 6-8) account of the socio-economic impact of war and flight in Morrumbula District of Zambezia.

<sup>10</sup> Renamo's record is particularly gruesome, including widespread, perhaps systematic, use of rape and brutality against women (Langa, 1994). Around 2000 children were captured and used as child soldiers, often initiated by being forced to kill others. Frelimo was also responsible for acts of extreme cruelty, particularly against populations suspected of being Renamo supporters and for incidents of violence against women, although these tended to be isolated cases rather than a systematic policy.

Recent events, particularly the 1994 election, in which Renamo won a surprisingly high proportion of the vote, given their record of brutality, it has become hard to sustain the argument that internal factors were not important in fuelling the conflict. Most commentators now accept that both internal and external factors were involved, although they differ on the degree of emphasis given to each (Abrahamsson and Nilson, 1995). These differences notwithstanding, the recent war cannot be understood without some reference to the preceding history. Indeed, it closely followed the ten year (1964-74) liberation war against Portuguese colonialism, led by FRELIMO,<sup>11</sup> so that the country has barely known peace in the last 33 years.

### **Precolonial societies**

Present day Mozambique was not defined until the late 19th century, following the carving up of Africa by colonial powers at the 1885 Berlin Conference, with current borders formalised in 1891. Prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, in the late 15th century, the Muenemetapa empire, based on agriculture, the gold trade and mining using forced labour, ruled over much of southern Africa. It reached its height in the 16th century, extending East into contemporary Mozambique, while the Maravi kingdoms, practising trade in ivory, straddled today's Malawi and Northern Mozambique. In the South, the Tonga peoples were governed by chiefly dynasties. Arab traders had settled in coastal areas of Mozambique, particularly in the North, since the ninth century (Waterhouse, 1996).

In pre-colonial societies, women were responsible for major agricultural as well as domestic tasks and childcare and were valued for their contribution to the production process, underscored by systems of bridewealth and polygyny. In the Northern matrilineal societies of the *Makua* and *Lomwe*, wealth was passed through the female line and residence was matrilineal, but property was ultimately controlled by male relatives who also exerted much influence in decision making. In Central Western Mozambique, practices of forced marriage and initiation rites were widespread and son preference was prevalent. Nevertheless, women acquired status with age and older women often had considerable influence, particularly those who had recognised powers as spirit mediums, or who owned property (Chingono, 1996).

### **The colonial period**

Between the 16th and 19th centuries, the Portuguese vied with Arab and Swahili-speaking traders for control of the gold, ivory and finally slave trades. By the late 19th century, the Portuguese had established a degree of control over the coastal settlements and inland areas in the Zambezi valley, where Portuguese settlers had established large estates. Pressures from colonial rivals forced Portugal to extend more effective control over the territory, and a series of campaigns at the turn of the century eventually crushed African resistance. From the early 20th century, control of much of Mozambique was given in concessions to commercial trading companies, who engaged in plantation agriculture using systems of forced labour (*chibalo*). In the South, the economy became closely intertwined with South Africa, particularly through arrangements to export (male) Mozambican labour to South African mines. Male labour was also exported to Rhodesia or used on commercial plantations, with women and families remaining in villages. When the dictator Salazar came to power in

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<sup>11</sup> The convention is that the liberation movement, FRELIMO, is written in capitals and the post-independence vanguard party, Frelimo, dating from 1977, in lower case (Chingono, 1996: 20).

Portugal in 1926, measures were taken to increase Portuguese administrative control, and in 1951, Mozambique was declared an overseas province of Portugal. In the 1950s and 1960s, there was a rapid increase in the numbers of Portuguese settlers, many uneducated and of peasant or working class origin. They were given land or skilled and semi-skilled employment, thus excluding Africans, except a tiny minority of *assimilados*, from all except the most menial jobs (EIU, 1996: 3; Waterhouse, 1996: 4-7).

Under the colonial regime, no social provision was made for Africans, except for a few Catholic missions schools, and health facilities were concentrated in urban areas, while 95 percent of Africans were based in rural areas. Africans were subjected to punitive taxation and forced labour, as late as 1961, enforced through Portuguese appointed *regulos* (chiefs).<sup>12</sup> The overall effect of colonialism on gender relations was to enforce a migrant labour system, entrench patriarchal values and marginalise women in rural areas, with increased workloads (Waterhouse, 1996; Chingono, 1996).

### **Opposition to colonialism and the liberation war**

Prior to the mid-1960s, opposition to colonial rule was sporadic and brutally suppressed although opposition groups had formed among Mozambican workers in surrounding countries. The Mueda massacre of 1960s is said to have galvanised the nationalist movement, and in 1962, FRELIMO (the Liberation Front of Mozambique) was formed in Tanzania, headed by Eduardo Mondlane, from three nationalist groups. A guerrilla war was launched in 1964, and FRELIMO rapidly gained control of territory in the North, setting up liberated zones, where new political and social structures (schools, health posts, shops etc.) were established (Waterhouse, 1996). Some elements within FRELIMO favoured a class-based social revolution (particularly the Southern based intellectuals, including Mondlane and his successor, Samora Machel) while others (particularly Northerners) were more motivated by the immediate nationalist goal of ousting the Portuguese.

Women were heavily involved in the Independence struggle and during this period, travelled long distances, often staying away from home, outside the context of familial authority. In 1973, a women's wing of FRELIMO, the *Organizaçao de la Mulher Moçambicana* (OMM), was established, as the vehicle for women's emancipation (Urdang, 1989; Chingono, 1996).

Continued military success for FRELIMO, combined with the Portuguese revolution in the same year, led to sudden victory and a negotiated transition to Independence in June 1975, when FRELIMO became the ruling and only political party. With FRELIMO poised to take power, the majority of the 200,000 Portuguese settlers fled, removing or destroying property and infrastructure in their wake and leaving the country virtually devoid of educated and skilled labour (Waterhouse, 1996; EIU, 1996).

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<sup>12</sup> These were sometimes traditional chiefs who were co-opted and paid by the colonial authorities; in other cases, the Portuguese replaced traditional leaders with their own choice. (Waterhouse, 1996)

## **Independence and after: 1975-1981**

In the immediate aftermath of Independence (1975), FRELIMO was faced with post-war economic chaos, the withdrawal of most of the country's skilled labour, limited external support and an enormous developmental task to fulfil. To achieve its ambitious programme of social and economic reforms, in 1977, Frelimo transformed itself into a vanguard party and adopted Marxism Leninism as its official doctrine, central planning and a modernising development strategy. The government nationalised land, health care and education, appropriated many buildings and stepped in to run abandoned shops, businesses and farms (EIU, 1996; Waterhouse, 1996). In order to develop the rural areas, state farms, co-operatives and communal villages (*aldeias comunais*) were established (Hanlon, 1984). By the early 1980s, drought and widespread hunger had unravelled these rural resettlement policies, which were both unpopular and economically unsuccessful (Urdang, 1989).

Nevertheless, the period up to 1980 had seen considerable social gains. In the first six years after Independence, primary school enrolment doubled, and secondary school enrolment increased six-fold. Barefoot health workers reached up to 90 percent of the population and infant mortality fell by 20 percent (Waterhouse, 1996). The women's organisation, OMM, was instrumental in promoting some of these services - in particular, the literacy campaign targeting women - through its extensive network of local activists in rural areas. Frelimo also introduced new laws and policies opposing such practices as initiation rites, *lobolo* (bridewealth), forced marriage and polygyny, to protect the rights of women, although the impact of these was variable and in practice polygyny was tolerated.

However, while women were expected and encouraged to work outside the home, for example on state farms, there were no countervailing efforts to encourage men to share in domestic labour. Indeed, OMM provided training for women in how to be good wives, sew and cook, and women activists were often called on to do the preparation, entertainment and cleaning up for party meetings and rallies (Chingono, 1996). The tendency of OMM to focus on women's reproductive role and move away from radical transformative project strengthened in the mid-1980s, when women were being exhorted to 'produce and feed fighters' (cited in Chingono, 1996: 215; Urdang, 1989).

## **The war intensifies: 1983-1989**

By the early 1980s, the effects of the war, as well as drought were forcing Frelimo to adapt and modify its programme of socialist transformation and approach the West for aid. In order to offset the economic disruption caused by the war, negotiations were held with South Africa and a mutual non-aggression pact (the *Nkomati* accords) was signed in an attempt by government to weaken Renamo. Although Renamo subsequently transferred its headquarters into Central Mozambique, which became its power base, South Africa continued covert support and as did other backers (including Portuguese and American political and religious groups). At the same time, Mozambique joined the IMF and World Bank and agreed that international NGOs could work inside the country distributing relief aid (Hanlon, 1996).

Following the still unsolved death of Machel in 1986<sup>13</sup>, Joaquim Chissano took over the leadership of Frelimo. With the war-torn economy in disarray, in 1987 Mozambique entered a three-year structural adjustment agreement with the World Bank (PRE - Programa de Reabilitação Económica) entailing a series of measures towards the liberalisation of markets and privatisation of state controlled enterprises, in exchange for substantial increases in aid disbursements.<sup>14</sup> By 1989, the party had begun to take steps towards political liberalisation and dropped its Marxist-Leninist doctrine in favour of a social democratic identity in 1989. In 1990, a new Constitution was introduced paving the way for multi-partyism, and bringing in a commitment to human rights, increased freedom of the press and of association (Waterhouse, 1996; Hanlon, 1996; Jacobson, 1995). By this time, the external environment had changed considerably,<sup>15</sup> weakening the outside forces sustaining the conflict in Mozambique.

### **Towards peace: 1990-present day**

In mid-1990, peace negotiations began between Frelimo and Renamo, brokered by Italian catholic groups, leading to the signing of the General Peace Accord (GPA) and subsequent ceasefire in October 1992.<sup>16</sup>

A huge UN operation, UNOMOZ (or ONUMOZ as it was known locally) was mobilised to oversee the implementation of the GPA and the UN Organisation for the Humanitarian Assistance Coordination (UNOHAC) oversaw the provision of relief aid and rehabilitation assistance and the return of refugees and displaced persons, which took place over 1992-1994. In March 1994, demobilisation began and in August 1994, the abolition of the old armies and formation of a much reduced national army (FADM)<sup>17</sup> took place. This paved the way for elections in October 1994, in which Frelimo won a majority in the Presidential elections and the largest number of seats in the new parliament<sup>18</sup> (Waterhouse, 1996; EIU, 1996; Hanlon, 1996).

By late 1994, the elections were over and the majority of the displaced and refugees had returned home. The country had stabilised and apart from some violent outbreaks linked to the demobilisation programme and to the effects of structural adjustment (see section 8) there was no resumption of fighting. In 1997, democratisation and decentralisation will be further extended with local elections scheduled for November.

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<sup>13</sup> Machel was shot down in his plane travelling over South Africa on 19 October 1986. Many believe he was murdered by South African agents; others suggest that he was the victim of divisions within Frelimo (Waterhouse, 1996).

<sup>14</sup> In reality, many of the economic reforms were stalled due to war and lack of administrative capacity. Some measures, such as financial liberalisation and privatisation of large-scale state enterprises, did not get underway until the early 1990s (see section 4 for more details) (EIU, 1996).

<sup>15</sup> I.e. the collapse of Eastern bloc communism in 1989, the end of Botha's regime in South Africa, and the emergence of a more conciliatory regime under de Klerk, and increasing discomfort in the US political establishment about the nature of the rebel force Renamo. The report of Robert Gersony, 1988, 'Summary of Mozambican refugee accounts of principally conflict-related experience in Mozambique,' Report to Ambassador J. Moore and Dr. C. A. Crocker, Bureau for Refugee Programs, Department of State, USA, was influential in changing views of Renamo.

<sup>16</sup> A limited ceasefire was already in operation in 1990 along the Beira corridor.

<sup>17</sup> A national army of 30,000 had been provided for in the GPA but the dearth of volunteers led to this figure being revised downwards by nearly half (EIU, 1996).

<sup>18</sup> See section 9 for more details on the elections, including the representation of women MPs.

However, the combined effects of war, structural adjustment and drought have left millions in absolute poverty and, while the peace was almost universally welcomed, the difficulties of survival in the post-war environment mean that for many the benefits of peace are ambiguous. Although peace and liberalisation have led to a revival of economic activity, burgeoning markets and signs of increasing wealth, price rises and unemployment have hit the urban poor particularly hard. In 1993 and 1995, there were riots in Maputo in response to appalling living conditions and price rises, and in rural areas many remain food insecure. The post-war government faces an enormous task to maintain economic stability under the conditions set by external donors while addressing the huge developmental needs of the country.

## 2.2 Impact of the war

The war in Mozambique had and continues to have an enormous human, social and economic impact, in terms of death, disability, displacement, and trauma suffered by the population. In addition, the war destroyed the social and economic infrastructure, including health posts, trading posts, schools, factories, roads, bridges, railways and energy facilities. With the end of the war, landmines continue to be a problem, in some areas, causing ongoing casualties and disability, and preventing the use of some water points and agricultural land.

An estimated one million lost their lives during the recent war and over half the population were forced out of production. One and a half to two million became international refugees, two million were internally displaced in camps or resettlement schemes. A further two million were displaced but outside official schemes (and therefore highly vulnerable). A further one million or so hovered around home areas barely scratching out a living in highly insecure conditions, often cultivating clandestinely by day and hiding by night (Green and Mavie, 1994). In addition, around 100,000 were mobilised in the armed forces and thousands of men, women and children were recruited or forced into portering, production, or the provision of sexual or other services for soldiers.

An estimated 58 percent of the existing 5886 primary schools in Mozambique were destroyed or forced to close during the war, with Zambezia having only 12 percent of its schools open at the end of the war. Of the 1,195 health posts in 1985, 500<sup>19</sup> were closed or destroyed. Three thousand rural shops were destroyed or closed (Hanlon, 1996: 15). Many livestock were lost or stolen, food stores and houses burned, looted or destroyed and other household items such as clothing stolen (Whiteside, 1995).

The cumulative loss of output in the period 1982-92 is estimated at between US\$15 and 20 billion (Waterhouse, 1996: 14; Green and Mavie, 1994; Hanlon, 1996: 15).<sup>20</sup> By 1994, over two million Mozambicans were still dependent on food aid and up to two thirds of the population were estimated to be living in absolute poverty. Mozambique was the world's most indebted, most aid dependent and, possibly, poorest country. GDP per capita in 1994 was estimated at \$88 (EIU, 1996: 51; Waterhouse, 1996: 14).

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<sup>19</sup> EIU (1996: 10) gives figures of 1178 for the number of health posts in 1985 and a figure of 978 (46 percent) destroyed or closed, using Ministry of Health 1990 data. UN (1997: 7-8) states that 1,100 rural health centres were destroyed.

<sup>20</sup> Saferworld give a lower estimate of US \$4.5 billion (cited in Chingono, 1996: 7-8 ).

### 2.3 Current phase of the post-conflict situation

Relief, rehabilitation and development are often described as though they are discrete activities or phases but in reality, they are often overlapping, or simultaneous (Date-Bah, 1996; Antony Nedley, personal communication). Nor is it necessarily desirable to separate them: current thinking emphasises the need to ‘link relief and development’ (Maxwell and Buchanan-Smith, 1994; Whiteside, 1996; UNDP-DHA, 1997).

Emergency relief in Mozambique began in the mid-1980s, during the war, with programmes run by international NGOs in conjunction with the government emergency relief organisation, DPCCN (Whiteside, 1996: 121). The emphasis was on preserving life in wartime. Nevertheless, there was some ‘developmental’ activity during this time, particularly in areas less affected by war, including attempts to stimulate local production, although these were rarely sustained once agencies withdrew (*ibid.*).

After the Peace Accord, the UN and other agencies, alongside the government, worked to support the resettlement of refugees and returnees. However, the government failed to have a programme in place in the 1992-4 period when most (five to five and a half million) of the seven million refugees and internally displaced returned to their homes (Green and Mavie, 1994) and in practice the majority resettled themselves, walking back to their home areas and clearing and replanting fields.<sup>21</sup> Demobilisation began in March 1994 and several programmes for the reintegration of demobilised ex-combatants started later that year, most of which were completed by late 1996 or early 1997 (Bryant, 1996 - see section 8 for further details).

The current phase of the post-conflict situation in Mozambique might be described as between rehabilitation and development. Even though many people had returned to their villages by the end of November 1994 and many households were quick to resume production, lack of reserves (livestock and other assets) and the fragility of rural livelihoods (due to war, drought and the lack of investment in small-scale agriculture) meant that they did not have enough to tide them over until the first harvest, a situation likely to continue even well after the first harvest. There remains a need for ongoing relief provision for the vulnerable and food insecure, and longer-term safety nets for those who do not have the capacity to work (elderly, disabled etc.)<sup>22</sup>. Moreover, in the southern region particularly, which is vulnerable to drought, the likelihood of future shocks means there is a need to put in place emergency preparedness plans.

Rehabilitation needs are still not met in terms of restocking, tools and seed distribution, or the rebuilding of infrastructure. In 1994, participatory research in Massingir district of Gaza province found that tools distributed a couple of years earlier had begun to wear out

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<sup>21</sup> This was often a process in several stages, with small reconnaissance groups (usually of men) being sent out first to assess the security and general situation in the village, who would then return to camps of displaced or refugee groups, to be followed by a larger group of (mainly men) to begin land clearing. Only later would the remainder of community members begin to return. This explains why, after the Peace Accord, large numbers of refugees were reported seen crossing back over the border from Mozambique to Malawi. The staged nature of this process was necessary for communities to continue to gain access to the resources provided in camps, while developing home-based production, in line with the agricultural cycle (Reg Green, personal communication).

<sup>22</sup> Whiteside (1996) argues against the rapid withdrawal of relief programmes and argues that beneficiaries have a ‘right to know’ when relief supplies are going to be phased out.

(Whiteside, 1995). Similarly, some roads rehabilitated in earlier periods now require urgent maintenance if they are not to fall into disrepair. The long-term impacts of war, on health and education provision, for example, will take time to restore to pre-war (1980) levels, especially given current budgetary constraints. Labour-intensive employment schemes and public works continue to be a useful mechanism to provide employment, stimulate local economies (through demand generated by wage payments) and to rapidly ensure reconstruction of vital facilities (Whiteside, 1996).<sup>23</sup>

Currently, there is a great deal of interest and considerable donor pressure, in Mozambique, to promote credit, training and related activities, seen as representing the shift to developmental activity. However, many organisations, with a history of relief and rehabilitation work, lack the institutional capacity for designing and implementing such programmes. Agencies have tended to assume that they can move directly from relief and rehabilitation work to development work but this has been shown to be problematic, as the poor record of credit programmes in Mozambique demonstrates (see section 4). Communities need longer preparation for a change in the terms of their relationships with outside organisations. Some communities have acquired a handout mentality, whereby they tend to sit and wait for assistance to arrive, rather than working out solutions. In order to combat this problem, some organisations have withdrawn for periods before re-entering to begin development work.<sup>24</sup>

There does not appear to be a well-conceived policy or planning framework (either at the level of international agencies or government) for the transition from relief and rehabilitation to development. There is a lack of institutional co-ordination (both within government and between agencies), compounded by the overlapping agendas and competition for funding and territory of international agencies. Some agencies (e.g. UNCHR) have, with hindsight, judged that they perhaps pulled out too early, without making sufficient links to developmental programmes (UNHCR, 1996). Others, such as WFP, who mainly focus on food aid provision, have extended their programmes, and are attempting to find mechanisms for converting traditionally relief-oriented aid into more developmental support. A positive move to counter this situation is the recent production of a Common Country Assessment (UN, 1997) for Mozambique by UN agencies, which sets out a framework of analysis, a common database, and a series of recommendations for co-ordinated action.

Government is weak in its capacity to co-ordinate, supervise and regulate the activities of external agencies and the nascent NGO sector. Contrary to widespread opinion, this is not because the bureaucracy is bloated, although it does have too many unskilled workers in low grade positions.<sup>25</sup> The weakness springs in part from lack of skilled and trained personnel, particularly at middle management level,<sup>26</sup> a legacy of lack of investment in the development

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<sup>23</sup> From a gender perspective, however, such schemes often have a low representation of women in the target group (in part because women are unable to leave children, or have other labour constraints), pay lower wages to women while expecting them (including pregnant women) to do demanding physical work. Lack of childcare provision and long distances to travel to work are other constraints for women (BRIDGE, 1995). See section 8 and Appendix III for a further discussion of women's participation in the Feeder Roads Programme in Mozambique.

<sup>24</sup> Anthony Nedley, personal communication.

<sup>25</sup> Only 0.6 percent of the population are employed in the public service, compared to an average of 1.9 percent for Sub-Saharan Africa and 8.2 percent for OECD countries (UN, 1997: 40-41).

<sup>26</sup> Only two percent of civil servants have a degree (*ibid.*).

of human resources. It is also a result of poor public sector pay<sup>27</sup>, such that employees are forced to supplement their incomes by moonlighting, or for those whose skills are in demand, to move into the higher-paid private or NGO sectors. Particularly during the immediate aftermath of the war, the expansion of high-paid employment and consultancy opportunities in UN or international non-government organisations, led to a 'brain drain' from government. Paradoxically, the donor community now faces the problem of attempting to rebuild precisely the institutional capacity weakened by its own presence. Dependence of government departments on external funding to support their projects and programmes also reduces their capacity to set priorities over which there is genuine ownership. While some sections of the donor/international NGO community are committed to working through government structures, especially at local level, others remain sceptical of government capacity and favour support to the NGO sector.<sup>28</sup>

The capacity of government departments varies considerably between sectors and some newer ministries are still struggling to establish themselves. A major constraint is the lack of support to local-level government representatives, such as extension workers, or community health workers, who are charged with huge responsibilities but command limited resources, training or back-up. Public sector reform aims to decentralise the government machinery to provincial and lower levels. For this reason, increasing management and administrative capacity at provincial and district levels is an urgent priority (UN, 1997).

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<sup>27</sup> Public sector wages are declining in real terms and range between US \$20 and \$200. Two thirds of civil servants earn less than the \$75 needed to keep an average household out of poverty (*ibid.*).

<sup>28</sup> See section 9.4 for more details on NGOs.

### 3. POPULATION AND HEALTH CHANGES

#### 3.1 Overall population growth and distribution<sup>29</sup>

In 1995, the population of Mozambique was estimated at 17.4 million (DNE, 1995). This total is very unevenly distributed, with 40 percent concentrated in Nampula and Zambezia provinces and the majority of Mozambicans living close to coastal areas (EIU, 1996). The current rate of natural population growth is estimated at 2.6 percent annually (UN, 1997: 13).<sup>30</sup>

Population growth slowed in the period 1980-90<sup>31</sup>, with rising outmigration, refugee flows and war-related mortality. This followed increases in the growth rate in the 1975-80 period, because of falls in mortality in the immediate post-independence era, as health services were extended to the African population. Population figures actually fell in the period 1980-91, in Manica and Tete, the most war-affected border provinces, with large scale movements of refugees into Zimbabwe and particularly Malawi. In the same period, the area around Maputo city experienced a rapid growth in population, as a result of internal displacement (DNE, 1995: 14-16). Population growth surged in 1992-4<sup>32</sup>, peaking at 6.6 percent in 1994, as refugees returned to the country. At the current growth rate, the total population is projected to reach around 35 million in 2025 (UN, 1997: 13).

In 1980, around 13 percent of the Mozambican population lived in urban areas. By 1991, the proportion was estimated at 20.6 percent<sup>33</sup>, implying an annual increase of 5.9 percent in the period 1980-91<sup>34</sup>, caused by war, drought and rural development problems<sup>35</sup>. There is considerable variation in the degree of urbanisation, averaging about 20 percent overall in 1991, between the ten provinces, ranging from less than six percent in Inhambane (with a very high rate of outmigration to South Africa) to nearly 40 percent in Maputo province (DNE, 1995: 24). Post-war urbanisation rates will not necessarily decrease (1995 urban population is estimated at 30 percent), since many of the displaced will remain in urban areas, and some refugees (and other groups such as ex-combatants) returned direct to urban areas, where post-war opportunities are perceived as greater (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 38). By the year 2000, the urban population is likely to be around one third of the total, with Maputo's population at 1.8 to 2 million.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> The last population census in Mozambique was conducted in 1980. A new census is planned for August 1997 which will generate a wide range of socio-economic data and provide the first accurate picture of the population for nearly two decades. A demographic survey was conducted in 1991 (DNE, 1991), but was not representative of the country as a whole, since some rural areas were insecure at that time (only 80 out of 128 districts were covered, with large tracts of the Centre and North in particular not being surveyed). Nevertheless, this is used as the basis for current official statistics and will be referred to here, although its inherent bias must be kept in mind. The data presented here will need to be reviewed in the light of the census results, as they become available.

<sup>30</sup> This does not include migratory flows (UN, 1997: 13).

<sup>31</sup> Annual population growth was estimated at 1.6 percent during this period (*ibid.*).

<sup>32</sup> Average annual population growth was 4.2 percent in 1990-3 (*ibid.*)

<sup>33</sup> UN (1997: 15) gives 26.8 percent for 1991.

<sup>34</sup> UNICEF gives 1980-90 figures of 4.3 percent growth for Maputo and 7.35 for all urban areas; its projections for post-war rates are 5.0 for Maputo and 6.0 for all urban.

<sup>35</sup> The increase may also be due to changes in how 'urban' is defined.

<sup>36</sup> UNICEF (1994: 38) gives 1.8 million as a projection for the year 2000 while EIU (1996: 10) cites unofficial estimates for 1995-6 at 2 million.

## 3.2 Changes in the structure of the population

### **Mortality and life expectancy**

Most sources give the number of dead resulting from the recent war in Mozambique at around one million. No disaggregated data have been found which give an age or gender breakdown for this figure and it is not clear on what sources this estimate is based.<sup>37</sup> Overall mortality rates are lower for women than for men, and have fallen slightly for both sexes since 1980. In 1980, crude mortality for men was 22.1 per thousand population, compared to 19.2 for women. Comparative figures for 1991 are 21.8 and 18.7 percent respectively. Life expectancy fell slightly between 1980 and 1991, a result of war and drought related mortality. Life expectancy for women was 44.8 years on average in 1991, compared to 42.05 years for men in the same year (DNE, 1995: 83, Table 53). The current national average for life expectancy is 44.4 years with below average figures for Zambezia (37) and Nampula (42) (UN, 1997: 13).

Infant and child mortality rates for Mozambique are also very high relative to surrounding countries. Current UN estimates (based on government sources) suggest an infant mortality rate (IMR) of 134.4 deaths per 1000 live births, ranging from 82.6 in Maputo to 169.3 in Zambezia province (UN, 1997: 14). Rates of 170 or more were also reported in *deslocado* camps in 1992 (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 9).<sup>38</sup> Even during the war period, the IMR has continued to fall, due to the impact of earlier vaccination campaigns, although probably more slowly than would otherwise have been the case.

The official under five mortality rate for 1993 was 273 (per thousand live births). UNICEF estimates that 30 percent of this figure is related to war-famine, with wide variations between regions and between rural and urban areas. This reflects both the varied impact of war and the unevenness of health service coverage which is strongly biased towards urban areas and the Southern region (*ibid*).

### **Sex ratio**

In 1995, women were estimated to form 51.5 percent of the overall population in Mozambique. This imbalance in the sex ratio is concentrated mainly in the age groups 20-39, where the numbers of women significantly outnumber those of men, the gap being most marked in the 25-29 age group (DNE, 1995: 15, Table 2.1.1).<sup>39</sup> Since 1980, the overall sex ratio has become slightly more imbalanced, with 51.6 percent of the population being female in 1991, compared to 51.3 percent in 1980 and a fall in the index of masculinity<sup>40</sup> from 95.0 to 93.7.

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<sup>37</sup> UNICEF (1994) cites Gersony (1988) as estimating around 200,000 deaths (in 1987) directly related to the war.

<sup>38</sup> The IDN gives an overall IMR of 139.4 in 1991, with a figure of 150.7 for boys and 127.8 for girls (DNE, 1995: 92, Table 68). Rates were lowest in Maputo city, at 88, and highest in Zambezia, at 175.

<sup>39</sup> It is not clear how these sex ratio data have been calculated; presumably they are based on projections from the last census and from the 1991 demographic survey, with some adjustment on the basis of assumptions about war-related deaths.

<sup>40</sup> Under 'normal' conditions, the index of masculinity should be equal to one. Variations in this reflect sex-specific migration and mortality patterns (DNE, 1995).

Evidently this ratio is also subject to localised variations, being more marked in some areas than others. Data on the sex ratio by province, from the 1991 Demographic Survey, shows the lowest 'indices of masculinity' in Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo provinces. While the index had fallen in the three southern provinces and Sofala, and Maputo, since 1980, suggesting an influx of women into the major cities and/or continued growth of male outmigration in the Southern region, a slight rise in the index of masculinity had occurred most other provinces (DNE, 1995: 84, Table 54).

For example, in the Quinchanga locality of Pebane district, Zambezia where participatory research was conducted in 1994 (Whiteside, 1995), nearly half the *bairros* had at least 50 percent more adult women than men and in all but one *bairro*, women were in the majority. Project sites visited during the field work (in Campoane and Morvane, Maputo province) also appeared to have high ratios of adult females to males. The causes of this imbalance are probably a combination of deaths related to war and outmigration. The consequences of this imbalance in the sex ratio, concentrated in age groups where women would be expected to be married and producing children, are not known, but an increase in female headship and a rise in polygynous unions seem likely (see below).<sup>41</sup>

### **Age structure**

The age structure of the population in Mozambique is typical of countries with high fertility and mortality. In 1991, 46 percent of the population in Mozambique was under 15, 52 percent in the 15-54 age group and 2.4 percent, 65 or over (DNE, 1995: 18). The average age of the population is progressively declining, from 17.8 in 1980, to 16.9 in 1991.

In the war period, it is likely that mortality was concentrated among young children (in the 0-5 age group) and the elderly who are particularly vulnerable to malnutrition and infectious diseases and less able to withstand the demands of displacement. The specific effect of war on the age structure is difficult to determine and to separate out from longer-term trends in fertility and mortality.

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<sup>41</sup> This is not an entirely new phenomenon and may not be a direct consequence of the recent war, but rather a product of a long history of outmigration and war. In the early 1980s, Rodriguez, a member of the OMM secretariat, pointed out that 'in some areas we find 1750 women and 300 men. How can we combat polygamy (sic.) in this situation?' (quoted in Davies, 1983, cited in Chingono, 1996: 221)

### 3.3 Migration, displacement and refugee flows<sup>42</sup>

The war led to more than 1.5 million refugees fleeing to neighbouring countries (as at 1992), in particular Malawi (1.1 million), South Africa (200,000) and Zimbabwe (150,000), as well as smaller numbers in Tanzania, Swaziland and Zambia. Four to five million were internally displaced (as at 1992), of whom only around half (2.5 million) were in one of the 500 official displaced centres. Another million or so were living in highly insecure conditions in war affected areas (EIU, 1996: 9; Green and Mavie, 1994; UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 34). Broadly, those living in border provinces tended to become refugees, while those located inland tended to be displaced into urban or coastal areas. Together this makes up around eight million, or about half the population and three quarters of the rural population, who were displaced during the war.

No source was identified to establish overall sex ratios for the refugee and displaced population although most accounts state (often without substantiation) that women (or women and children) were the majority in the refugee and displaced populations. A study by Ager *et al* (1995), among Mozambican refugees in Malawi in 1990, found that women represented 54 percent of the adult refugee population and that over 55 percent of refugees were under ten years old. In various settings in Malawi visited by Apeadu (1992) in 1989, the numbers of refugee women outweighed those of men considerably. This may in part reflect a pattern of women tending to remain in camps, while men seek work elsewhere, outside the camps.

Official statistics collected on the displaced population in 20 districts in 1993-4 report a high proportion of female-headed households among the displaced, due to male deaths, migration, and high levels of divorce and separation (Population Planning Unit, cited in Republic of Mozambique, 1995b).<sup>43</sup> Among displaced households in urban areas, 33 percent were found to be headed by women (higher than the 20-25 percent average for female headship). Again, this may reflect diversified survival strategies, where men do not show up in statistics as displaced.

Negrão (1991) disaggregates Mozambican rural women into four categories: displaced, affected, returnee and 'captive' (i.e. those formerly living in areas held by Renamo), arguing that their experiences, needs and aspirations are different and that 'captive' women particularly were given little attention. Whilst giving a more nuanced and detailed view of different 'war affected' groups of women at the time of the survey (1991), it is not clear how relevant these categories are, six years on.

By 1993-4, the terms adopted to categorise the different groups of war-affected people were beginning to lose their operational relevance as the internally displaced and refugees began to return and relief and assistance programmes were wound down. Arguably, continued reference to these distinctions is no longer useful and potentially divisive (see also section 8):

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<sup>42</sup> Forced migration and displacement is not a new phenomenon in Mozambique. Forced labour and labour migration were established under the Portuguese colonial regime and *aldeamentos* ('villages') were used as a means to control the rural population. By 1974, one million Mozambicans had been resettled in such villages. Frelimo also developed communal villages (*aldeias comunais*) as a means to rural development. *Operação Produção* (Operation Production) in 1983 involved the relocation of up to 50,000 unemployed urban youth to rural areas of Northern provinces to provide agricultural labour (da Silva, 1993).

<sup>43</sup> The source does not give a full reference or comprehensive data.

The distinctions between the groups are in any case artificial and reflect a variety of administrative, political and fund-raising needs, rather than the needs of the population. The lines separating refugees or internally displaced from local people ... are often unclear and in reality all three groups share similar hardships and have had to resolve their problems by developing networks and linkages with each other. (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 34)

## **Return patterns**

By 1995, the majority, though not all, refugees and *deslocados*, were thought to have returned to their home areas (EIU, 1996: 9).<sup>44</sup> Returnee programmes have now closed. Clearly, a small proportion of refugees<sup>45</sup> and of the displaced, have chosen or have not been able, to return to their areas of origin. The reasons for this are various, including access to employment and livelihoods, access to social provision, changes in marital status, lack of funds to return to areas of origin, the disintegration of family and other ties and uncertainty about access to land and other resources in home areas. These issues may particularly discourage women from returning.

A finding of the 1993-4 PPU study was that only 17 percent of the female-headed households in the displaced urban population had decided to return to their home districts, compared to 46 percent of the male-headed households. This disparity was attributed to the absence of a male adult to restart life (in terms of housing or production). A number of households surveyed expressed a wish to remain in the urban areas, for a variety of reasons, both social and economic, although these were not disaggregated by gender (cited in Republic of Mozambique, 1995b: 46).

Similarly, women from female-headed households interviewed during the field research in Campoane, 20 km from Maputo, when asked if they would return to their 'home' areas, said they had no reason to, because they only went there for reasons of marriage and no longer had a reason to go back.<sup>46</sup>

The definition of 'home' area or place of origin is a complex issue which in part relates to gendered identity. It is not clear in some instances whether area of origin was defined as the last place a person lived in, or birth place. (In some cases, refugees and displaced groups had moved a number of times.) Moreover, where villagisation had occurred, it is unclear whether the place of origin means the 'traditional' village where people were moved from, or the communal village in which they were settled. In patrilineal areas, women's area of origin could be that of her husband, or of her father, which may be different. In matrilineal areas, where the husband settles in the wife's home area, the definition is clearer (Negrão, 1991). In a 1991 study of displaced women, women from patrilineal areas all stated a desire to return to

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<sup>44</sup> UN (1997: 15) states that 'peace brought the resettlement of 3.3 million Mozambicans to their areas of origin,' suggesting that a large number did not return.

<sup>45</sup> The discussion here mainly focuses on the displaced population. No data was found which gave details of the proportion of the refugee population who had not returned, or its gender breakdown. Whiteside's (1995) research in southern Mozambique in 1994 reports returnees in Massingir district commenting that a number of family members had stayed behind to work in South Africa (Gazankulu).

<sup>46</sup> Interview notes.

the area they lived in after marriage, or, in the case of women from matrilineal areas, where they were born. None wanted to return to communal villages to which they had been moved after 1975 (*ibid*).

Interviews in 1992-3 indicated that those displaced who had settled in camps were likely to return to areas of origin, whilst those who had moved on their own to urban and peri-urban areas were much less likely to do so. This was particularly the case for younger households, since they have lived in urban areas for many years and made considerable investments in new lives. The latter category often relied on family members in order to get themselves established in the first instance (reported in UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 38). Risk-minimising strategies where ‘some members go back to the farm, while others stay behind, both to retain their foothold in the urban world and, more importantly, keep open their access to food distribution and other services’ (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 38). Having an urban foothold to ensure access to markets is another rationale for this strategy.<sup>47</sup>

Many displaced persons are also reluctant to return to their former communities because of lack of facilities (schools and health posts) and of work opportunities. The possibility of making a livelihood through informal sector work keeps people in cities. Moreover, young people, many of whom were born in urban areas, or came when they were very young during the war, have no sense of links to rural areas. The crowding of displaced persons into urban areas is perceived by many to have led to an intensification of poverty and crime, in Beira, Nampula and Quelimane as well as Maputo.<sup>48</sup>

Interviews in Maputo also reflected the reluctance of women displaced during the war to return to their areas of origin, or else constraints to this. Several had joined husbands already in the city. For women from patrilineal areas, access to land and other resources was dependent on the husband’s family and where marital relations had broken down, this option was no longer available. For others, the transport costs of return to their ‘home’ areas was prohibitive. The lack of male support to access land, clear land, or build a house were also given as reasons preventing return. Shame may be another factor, where people feel they have not established themselves socially or economically. Some women had married or remarried since arriving in Maputo. External factors, such as poor weather or ecological conditions, were also given as reasons for not returning to certain areas.<sup>49</sup>

There is considerable sensitivity around the issue of displacement, deriving from a perception that long-term urban residents resent the newer arrivals and that government policy, historically and currently, favours the return of war displaced to rural areas. For these reasons, people may be reluctant to identify themselves as having been displaced.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Maria dos Anjos Rosario, personal communication.

<sup>48</sup> Josefa Langa, personal communication.

<sup>49</sup>In Campoane, 20 km west of Maputo, women had moved from Mbelusi in Boane district in 1984 because of persistent drought in that area (interview notes).

<sup>50</sup>Date of arrival in Maputo, area of origin and location of settlement are all potential indicators of displacement. For example, one area of *Polana Caniço B* is mainly populated with displaced people from Gaza and Inhambane. *Bairro Magude* (on the road towards the airport) is another area of settlement of the war displaced.

### 3.4 Changes in household size, formation and composition

A major legacy of mortality, displacement and survival strategies adopted during the war period is change in household composition, with implications for intra-household relations, including gender relations. Household arrangements were in any case diverse and complex, featuring polygyny, fostering and extended family arrangements. In Southern areas particularly, long-term migration led to a high proportion of *de facto* female-headed households. In general, Chingono (1996: 84) finds that:

as a direct and indirect consequence of war, the traditional family household was rapidly disintegrating and being replaced by multiple forms of cohabitation among people who find themselves thrown into similar predicaments by the experiences of war.

As a result of displacement, kidnapping, and recruitment into the armed forces, spouses were separated for long periods, and many (both men and women) took up new partners, either believing their original partner to be dead, or as a survival strategy under harsh conditions. The result is that some women and many men formed unions with more than one partner (sometimes on both sides of the conflict) and may have children from more than one partner. While for men, polygyny is tolerated, such arrangements are not generally acceptable in 'normal' times for women, so that in the post-war situation women are forced to choose between old and new partners, risking possible rejection. Whiteside (1995: 174), in a participatory study in Xai-xai district of Gaza province found that 'The difficulties of survival during the war has forced some wives to become dependent on town men, and when the time came to return they had had to make a choice between their village husbands and their new relationships in the towns'. These 'war' marriages, and subsequent reformation of households, may lead to rejection of children not born within the first union, or to first wives (or husbands) being expected to care for or support children from other unions, or to accept new partners (Barron, 1996: 46).

Another war-related phenomenon is the increase in the number of orphans whose parents either died during the conflict, or children who, because of displacement, have permanently lost touch with their original homes, thought to number around 200,000 in total (Republic of Mozambique, 1995a).<sup>51</sup> There are institutional care arrangements for orphans under the auspices of MICAS, in eight of the provinces, but this is clearly insufficient to cater for the majority. It is common for relatives or neighbours to act as 'substitute families' for war orphans (Whiteside, 1995). A number of those interviewed were caring for children of relatives who had died during the war or else whose own parents simply could not afford to look after them. However, such arrangements may be fragile where livelihoods are under pressure and may create additional work or stresses for women in the home. Some children who were adopted in exile, may not be welcome once families return to their original

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<sup>51</sup> DNE (1995) gives a figure of seven percent of the population aged under 15 (in 1991) who are orphaned or do not know where their mother is. The situation is worse in rural than urban areas, principally because of the impact of the war. While a tracing programme run through Social Action (see section 9) has helped 15-16,000 orphans trace their original families (Alcinda Abreu, personal communication), this is clearly only a small proportion of the estimated total. UN (1997: 37) gives 250,000 children displaced from homes, 15,000 separated from their communities and 2,000-3,000 child soldiers.

communities.<sup>52</sup> An unknown number of ‘child-headed households’ also exist and the phenomenon of street children has been increasing since the mid-1980s.<sup>53</sup>

### **Household size and composition**

One consequence of the war is that overall household size appears to have increased and that the size of urban households has grown relative to rural households. 1991 data shows that average household size is 4.8 persons nationally (compared to 4.3 in 1980), with urban households on average larger (5.7 persons) than rural (4.4), and more likely to include grandchildren or other relatives from the extended family. Nearly a quarter of urban households had eight or more members, compared to 12.5 percent of rural households, with around half of households in each case having 4-7 members.

The Maputo urban household survey (1991) found an average household size of 7.5 in the poorest sections of the urban population, compared to five per household in rural areas for which data is available. Understanding of household composition in rural areas is limited, particularly in the context of post-war disruption of communities and families (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 36). The larger size of urban households is not linked to higher fertility but to the integration of relatives of two or three generations, partly as a result of war. This recent tendency has counteracted longer-term trends towards the nuclearisation of urban households (DNE, 1995: 39-40).

### **Female headship**

According to official data, in 1991, 22.8 percent of households in Mozambique were female-headed, higher in rural areas at 24.6 percent than in urban, at 16.9 percent, with Inhambane and Niassa provinces having the highest rates.<sup>54</sup> This compares to an overall female headship rate of 23.5 percent in 1980, showing a marginal decrease during the recent war period (DNE, 1995). Anecdotally, many people highlight an increase in female headship as being one of the major impacts of the recent war, pointing to a gap between popular perception and official data. High rates of female headship are also associated with refugee and displaced populations (see above).

Localised studies and anecdotal accounts find rates of *de facto* female headship much higher than those reported in official data (which focus on *de jure* female headship), particularly in areas of male outmigration, in southern provinces, where 30-60 percent of households are thought to be female headed. There is a key distinction, however, between those female partners of migrant workers who receive remittances and those who do not, in terms of their vulnerability and poverty (Whiteside, 1995; de Vletter, 1996a). Many wives (and mothers) of migrant workers in South Africa claim not to receive remittances, or any communication from their partners or sons and this is clearly a source of some distress, bitterness and

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<sup>52</sup> Leontina Dos Muchangos, personal communication.

<sup>53</sup> Carlos Matsinhe, personal communication.

<sup>54</sup> The reasons for high rates of female headship in Inhambane and Niassa are possibly that Inhambane has a history of male outmigration while Niassa province suffered heavy casualties during the previous war and so has a higher than average proportion of widows.

hardship.<sup>55</sup> Female-headed households tend to have a higher dependency ratio and smaller labour pool than male-headed households (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 37).

A high proportion of those interviewed during the field work were female heads of household, among whom a majority reported that they were the sole income earners, supporting several children. While some expressed a wish to remarry or find another partner, this was not viewed as realistic, particularly for older women with several children. ‘Who wants to look after all my children?’ was a view expressed by a displaced woman from Beira, whose husband had died during the war, and who was living in Maputo with her four children.<sup>56</sup> She was also expecting another baby, and it was unclear whether the father would have any part in supporting this child. Some women expressed ambivalent feelings about their former male partners due to experiences of violence or lack of support.<sup>57</sup>

### 3.5 Health problems related to war

Health problems are multifaceted cannot easily be attributed solely to conflict. However, the disruption of health services and destruction of infrastructure, as well as the violence, poor diet and deteriorating housing and environmental conditions associated with war, poverty, famine and flight, have all had a major and lasting impact on health in Mozambique. War-related disability and mental health problems are direct consequences of the conflict.

#### **Malnutrition and communicable diseases**

High rates of infant and child mortality (see section 3.2) in rural Mozambique are attributable to malnutrition<sup>58</sup>, malaria and acute respiratory infections. Communicable diseases linked to poor environmental conditions, such as diarrhoea and measles, may be a more important cause of death than malnutrition, particularly in overcrowded settlements of displaced persons or refugees.<sup>59</sup> There have been epidemics of major communicable diseases (measles, cholera, dysentery and more recently meningitis) in the late 1980s and early 1990s, linked to uneven vaccination coverage, population movements and overcrowding in areas of displacement. The first cases in the cholera epidemic were reported in accommodation camps in Tete province in 1989. Increasing incidence of measles, diarrhoea and malaria are all reported in the late 1980s. All are linked in some way to the disruption of infrastructure, population movements and overcrowding in camps or peri-urban areas associated with the war (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 77-84). The heavy rains in 1995-6 led to major outbreaks of malaria (UN, 1997: 17). Peri-urban water and sanitation problems are thought to be responsible for increases in infectious diseases. Coverage of peri-urban water supplies fell

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<sup>55</sup> Interview notes.

<sup>56</sup> Interview notes.

<sup>57</sup> Interview notes.

<sup>58</sup> In relation to malnutrition, the issue was not necessarily one of restricted food supplies arising from war or drought. (Supplies were available in Maputo and provincial capitals, and to a lesser extent in rural district towns, and even, by airlift, in some more remote areas). In these cases, malnutrition was mainly a result of poverty and public health factors. In other areas, particularly those under Renamo occupation, or concentrated into government secure zones, lack of freedom of movement and flexibility of response to drought conditions were the main causes of hunger and starvation (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 16-17).

<sup>59</sup> Clearly causes of death may be linked, in that malnutrition may predispose children to death from infectious diseases.

from 48 percent to 35 percent during the war period, because of population increases (UN, 1997: 23).

Deaths from malnutrition among urban children increased ten-fold in the period 1980-1990, with a marked increase after 1987, sometimes attributed to poverty linked to unemployment and economic adjustment, although this link has also been challenged (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 11). Around a third of urban and half of rural children under five were suffering from stunting in the period 1989-92 (*ibid*). By contrast, de Vletter's (1996b) survey of the informal sector finds that most people, even those in apparently precarious livelihoods, had good standards of nutrition, judged on their consumption patterns. The end of the drought and resumption of agriculture post-war has probably led to a marked improvement in rural diets and nutrition. No gender disaggregated data were found to assess differences in feeding and nutrition patterns, during the war or since.<sup>60</sup>

Among adults, TB and malaria (29 percent and 12 percent respectively) are major causes of deaths in rural areas, as well as accidents, as cervical cancer in women (UN, 1997: 17) Other major health problems particularly affecting women are anaemia, found to affect 50 percent of women and 75 percent of children in Zambezia in 1990, and iodine deficiency, affecting more than half of children in Niassa province and particularly female children, and also prevalent in Tete and some districts of Cabo Delgado, Sofala, Gaza and Zambezia. Both conditions have serious consequences for maternal health (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 88). There is a lack of information on adult female nutrition in general. One study in Zambezia (Quelimane) found that more than ten percent of women were seriously underweight and that on average adult women in Quelimane were much leaner than their counterparts in other countries (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 13).

## **Landmines**

Landmines have lead to death and injury in the recent war and its aftermath but were also a feature of the earlier liberation war against the Portuguese. An estimated 10,000 persons have been the victims of antipersonnel mines in the period 1961-92 (Vines, 1994, cited in da Silva, 1997).

Gender-disaggregated data on mine accidents is not available at national or regional level, but it is thought that the majority of mine victims are men. A recent study in Chibuto district of Gaza province (da Silva, 1997) looks at the impact of anti-personnel mines from a gender perspective. The majority of reported mine victims in this area were men (10 out of a total of 11).<sup>61</sup> Men were thought more likely to be involved in mine accidents because of their role in herding cattle. Men and women were also affected differently by land mine accidents. Given women's major role in agricultural production, their economic activity is impaired by

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<sup>60</sup> It may be that the Ministry of Health is now collecting gender-disaggregated nutrition data, as part of district level nutrition monitoring systems, although this could not be ascertained during the fieldwork.

<sup>61</sup> Data from the 1991 Demographic survey reported that 420 out of every 100,000 population (or around 0.4 percent of the total) in Mozambique are disabled, mentally (15 percent) or physically (85 percent). The rate is higher for men (502) than for women (346), particularly in the productive age groups. Around 50 percent of disabilities affect the motor organs and of these a high proportion are thought to be war related injuries, from either the liberation war or the more recent war. Disability rates vary considerably by province, with highest rates in Zambezia, Tete and Niassa, all badly affected by war (DNE, 1995: 33-38). Elena Medi, consultant to ILO, has prepared a separate report on disablement and post conflict training and employment issues.

disability caused by landmine accidents. A male land mine victim in the district surveyed married a second wife who was able to provide additional domestic and agricultural labour. By contrast, a twenty nine year old woman victim was abandoned by her husband after returning home from a long stay in hospital. The husband left the house and married another woman. Nevertheless, she received support from her extended family to begin trading activities and continue her education. Distance from orthopaedic centres in Maputo meant that she was not able to get her prosthetic device repaired (da Silva, 1997).

Oxfam (UK/I) are supporting an outreach programme from the MINSAU prosthetics centre in Quelimane, to increase coverage of disabled people through new forms of communication, travel grants. Outreach to disabled women has proved difficult, since they are often busy working in the fields and do not tend to listen to radios, for example (while men tend to listen to radios on bicycles). Fifteen percent of registered amputees in the centre in Quelimane are women. The reasons may be that much of the land clearance work done by returning communities was done by men and that water collection, done by women, was less risky in that water points were known to have been mined and were thus not used. It is also possible that there are higher proportion of disabled women who are not presenting at prosthetics clinics.<sup>62</sup>

### **Mental health**

Most of the discussion and studies of mental health consequences of war in Mozambique have focused on children and particularly on child soldiers or kidnap victims (see e.g. McCallin, 1995; McCallin and Fozzard, 1990). Similarly, specific programmes aimed at addressing these issues have been focused on children. In the early stages of these programmes, their gender awareness was limited. A high proportion of children reporting to projects or services for traumatised children were boys. Girls were often kidnapped and subjected to sexual violence and forced marriage at an early age and many have remained with their 'partners,' particularly former Renamo soldiers. In a few cases of extreme physical and sexual abuse, girls have come forward.<sup>63</sup>

In general, communities have been left to address the long-term psychological, psycho-social and spiritual consequences of the extreme human suffering and brutality of the war period through traditional methods. Haerberlin-Lanz's (1996) study (see section 9) suggests that those who have been able to undergo traditional ceremonies of purification and reunification are likely to respond positively and experience less mental health problems. Conversely, those who are not able to do so may experience increased stress. Traditional practitioners and healers have played an important role in purification ceremonies, addressing both perpetrators and victims of violence. Some of these are specifically oriented to women or girls who have suffered sexual violence, often conducted by *cuandeiros* or older women with some status in the community. Others are addressed to young boys who are known to have been involved in killings.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Nick Roseveare, personal communication.

<sup>63</sup> Josefa Langa, personal communication.

<sup>64</sup> Josefa Langa, personal communication. Alcinda Honwana at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, is conducting research related to gender aspects of community reintegration (Rachel Waterhouse, personal communication).

### 3.6 Reproductive health

#### **Fertility and reproductive choice**

During the war period (1980-91), the total fertility rate (TFR) fell from 6.4 to 6.2<sup>65</sup>, with a corresponding fall in the crude birth rate from 47.1 to 44.9 per 1000 population (DNE, 1995: 106). This decline in fertility may be related to poor female health and nutrition and to disrupted familial relations linked to the war. Specifically, there was a sharp fall in births to women between the ages of 25 and 30, thought to be the age group most affected by war in terms of separation from spouses (DNE, 1995: 107, Figure 27). Predictions are that fertility may rise again in the post war period although there are no data to confirm this as yet (UNICEF/GOM, 1994). Possible reasons for this prediction are a rise in the birth rate as previously separated spouses resume sexual relations, reduced stress and improved nutrition, and attempts by households to compensate for loss of children during the war.

A 1987 study found that the demand for children among both women and men is high in both urban and rural areas, although slightly higher in rural areas, and somewhat higher among men than women. Thirty eight percent of urban women wanted seven or more children; 29 percent wanted ten or more. The corresponding figures for rural areas were 58 percent and 47 percent. Thirty four percent of men in urban and 57 percent in rural areas wanted ten or more children. While knowledge of contraceptive methods was quite high according to this survey<sup>66</sup>, use rates were low (cited in Republic of Mozambique, 1995b: 39). 1993-4 estimates give a contraceptive prevalence rate of less than ten percent nationally (UN, 1997: 14). Contraceptive supplies are not freely available and cost makes them inaccessible to many women. 'Traditional' family planning methods are widespread in rural areas but little is known about these and the war may have disrupted these practices. To date, family planning services have been targeted at women within a traditional MCH framework (UNICEF/GOM, 1994; Negrão, 1991). The recent expansion of condom distribution in Mozambique as part of HIV/AIDS prevention (see below) may have altered this approach (UN, 1997: 15).

#### **Maternal mortality**

Reliable maternal mortality data for Mozambique are not available, as is true for many other developing countries due to the low levels (28 percent on average in 1995) of births taking place in health units (UN, 1997: 14). The IDN found rates of 1062 deaths per 100,000 live births nationwide, ranging from a low of 692 in Maputo city to a high of 1751 in Zambezia (DNE, 1995: 114). UN (1997) reports these figures but also gives a higher estimate of 1500. These rates are extremely high by regional and international standards. Causes of maternal mortality are not well understood<sup>67</sup> but risk factors are thought to include early marriage and childbirth, poor nutritional status and heavy workload and, possibly, traditional socio-cultural practices (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 79-80). An estimated 15 percent of births are to women

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<sup>65</sup> UN (1997: 14) gives a TFR of 6.3 for 1990-5 and a crude birth rate of 45.4.

<sup>66</sup> Mozambique has promoted family planning since 1977, using the network of mass organisations, including OMM.

<sup>67</sup> 1989-90 data from Maputo Central Hospital records 71 percent of maternal deaths from direct obstetric causes (UN, 1997: 17).

under 20 and only 50 percent of 15-19 year olds have knowledge of contraceptives (UN, 1997: 14).

There are no accurate data to substantiate any impact of the war on maternal mortality, although lack of access to health facilities (for those not in displaced or refugee settlements), poor nutrition, sanitation and insecurity, as well as violence against women, are likely to have contributed to increased deaths.

### **Sexually transmitted diseases**

Militarisation, forced sexual relations and rape during the war, prostitution, and large scale population movements, where many men (and some women) have had more than one partner, all increase the risk of spread of HIV infection.

From the beginning of the HIV/AIDS epidemic to the end of 1996, an estimated 985,000 people aged 15-49 were HIV positive in Mozambique and there were 137,000 new infections in 1996. In 1996, 41,000 AIDS cases were reported and 37,000 adults died of AIDS.<sup>68</sup> Three quarters of HIV/AIDS are in the 20-49 age group and a rising proportion are women.<sup>69</sup> Seroprevalence rates are highest around transport routes and borders, at up to 25-30 percent, and the worst affected provinces are Manica, Tete, Sofala and Zambezia.<sup>70</sup> (UN, 1997). These areas have been bases for large concentrations of troops and displaced persons (UNICEF/GOM, 1994). STD infection and, in some cases, HIV/AIDS specifically, are mentioned as health problems in all the displaced centres and refugee camps visited by the Women's Refugee Commission in 1993 (Women's Refugee Commission, 1993).

Risks of STD and HIV infection continue in the post-war period and may be exacerbated with the resumption of disrupted family and sexual relations. Barron (1996) records concern about the spread of HIV by demobilised soldiers, given the high levels of STDs reported in Assembly Areas and the fact that many soldiers, while waiting for demobilisation, took temporary 'wives'. Problems also occurred with increased prostitution and sexual harassment when UN forces arrived in Mozambique (see 4.3 below). High levels of female headship and poverty lead to many women turning to providing sexual services as a survival strategy (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 79). Although a national HIV/AIDS control programme is in place since 1988, its resources are limited and it does not have the capacity to cope with new needs arising from massive population shifts and demobilisation (Poston, 1994). Moreover, few other organisations have been involved in HIV/AIDS work. In April 1996, UNAIDS began international agency support to HIV/AIDS prevention and control in Mozambique (UN, 1997).

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<sup>68</sup> Other sources paint a less dramatic picture, but based on hospital cases only. Between 1986 and 1993, 826 cases of AIDS, 364 women and 462 men, were diagnosed in the country's hospitals (Republic of Mozambique, 1995b: 39).

<sup>69</sup> UNICEF/GOM (1994: 86) reports women as 44 percent of AIDS cases diagnosed in 1986-92

<sup>70</sup> Other sources report Maputo city and Nampula as badly affected (Poston, 1994; UNICEF/GOM, 1994).

## Violence against women<sup>71</sup>

According to Langa (1995), there are no overall statistics on the numbers of women or young girls who experienced rape during the recent war in Mozambique. A few small-scale studies which have touched on the trauma experienced during war have gathered data on the numbers of women raped, but these are thought to under-report the situation, given the sensitivity of the subject. For example, McCallin and Fozzard (1990) report that just under three percent of refugee women in a camp Zambia had been raped, whilst 22 percent said they knew someone who had been raped. Similarly, the study of Haberlin-Lanz (1996) (see section 8) reports that five percent of women ex-combatants claimed they had been raped, while 75 percent of male combatants claimed to have witnessed or heard of a rape.

Other accounts based on interviews with refugees or in war affected areas give an impression of widespread rape of civilian women in areas held by Renamo. Women were kidnapped in order to provide sexual services for Renamo soldiers, as well as performing agricultural and domestic labour. In some cases, women were held as virtual 'sex slaves,' experiencing repeated rape on a daily basis. On other occasions, women were raped in front of husbands and/ or children as a form of humiliation, or forced to have incestuous sexual relations. Young girls as young as eight were raped by Renamo soldiers. Rape occurred in fields, in homes and particularly along transport routes. Women were also sent to combatant bases and those that resisted were severely beaten. Government soldiers were also implicated in violent incidents, including rape, but these tended to be isolated incidents (Langa, 1995).<sup>72</sup>

Other forms of violence against civilians, particularly committed by Renamo soldiers, were widely reported during the conflict. These include ritual mutilation (by cutting off of ears, nose, lips, breasts and hands, for example) to serve as a warning to potential government sympathisers, as well as cutting open pregnant women, and forcing women to kill or maim their own children, including to cook and eat them (Langa, 1995).

In the latter stages of the war, attitudes to reporting rape changed, with a recognition that all women were vulnerable to rape by Renamo soldiers and that venereal diseases were being spread through rape, leading to deaths. Whilst previously, women would have tended to keep rape a secret to avoid marital strife and rejection by their husbands, as the war developed, women began to tell their mother-in-law or even husband directly, and go through a quarantine period including checks or treatment by diviners. 'Unfortunately, infected Renamo soldiers believe that their survival is dependent on immediately raping another woman and therefore passing the disease onto her and out from their own bodies' (Wilson, 1992a: 10).

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<sup>71</sup> The issue of violence against women is covered here under health, given its implications for both physical (particularly reproductive) and mental health. However, this is in essence a human rights issue although the debate in Mozambique does not yet fully reflect this.

<sup>72</sup> Abortion has not been seen as a rights or legal issue in Mozambique, but as a health concern. Abortion, although technically illegal, since 1991 is permitted under certain conditions in hospitals. In practice, this means it is accessible to better off women and urban women, while younger, unmarried, less educated lower income and rural women are more likely to undergo clandestine abortions, which remain a major cause of maternal death (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1995: 40; Pehrsson, 1993: 21). Abortion is not considered justifiable on grounds of rape, assault, incest or personal wish, which has specific implications for the large numbers of women raped and impregnated during wartime (Forum Mulher, 1994: 28; Barron, 1996).

Rape and violence against women (including domestic violence) are not confined to the immediately conflict affected areas, or the sole preserve of soldiers during wartime. In refugee camps, and displaced accommodation centres, cases of rape and sexual harassment were reported by women, as well as beatings, particularly from husbands (McCallin and Fozzard, 1990; Langa, 1995).

In the post-conflict period, violence against women continues to be a problem in Mozambican society, although the scale of the problem is not clear due to taboos on public discussion of the issue, or a failure even to recognise that it is a problem. Children are also affected, with 12 percent of street children reporting having suffered sexual violence (UN, 1997: 38). The connections of extreme violence and brutality experienced and perpetrated during war, and the more diffused and generalised forms of societal violence, against women and children, particularly, during 'peacetime' are not well researched or understood. Frustrations of men in refugee camps, or having returned to civilian life with no means of livelihood, are thought to be a contributory factor in high levels of domestic violence in conflict and post-conflict situations.

There are ambiguities here between 'tradition' and what constitutes abuse and violence of women (or children). The boundaries are blurred between the extremes of violence experienced by women during wartime and everyday experiences of physical and sexual violence, particularly where sexual survival strategies are a major means of livelihood for young women (and some young men) (Poston, 1994). These ambiguities, and the fact that violence against women has only recently been taken up as a human rights issue (while children's rights were enshrined in international law in 1989) perhaps explain why there has, until recently, been a marked silence regarding violence against women in Mozambique, beyond the sensationalist reporting of the Western press.

In 1996, a coalition of women's organisations launched a national media and awareness campaign on domestic violence, opening up public discussion of the issue for the first time. This coalition is planning to build on this initiative to tackle broader issues of violence against women, including, possibly, conflict-related violence (see Appendix 9).

### 3.7 Access to health services

Health service facilities and personnel were a direct target of Renamo attacks during the war. Information on the impact of this varies. UN (1997: 18) finds that:

During the war, more than 1,100 rural health centres were destroyed, consequently health service coverage deteriorated from 9700 people per health unit in 1981 to 12,300 in 1990. Health services cover less than 40 percent of the population.<sup>73</sup>

Coverage of maternal and child health facilities is limited. In 1995, there were 1.86 maternity beds per 1000 women of childbearing age in Maputo city, compared to 0.50 in Zambezia, with an average of 0.93 and 28 percent of deliveries took place in health units (64 percent in Maputo compared to 16 percent in Zambezia) with a further 12 percent attended by trained

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<sup>73</sup> UNICEF/GOM (1994: 91) reports that a third of 1373 health centres operational in 1982 were not functioning by 1987.

TBAs (UN, 1997: 14). Vaccination programmes begun in the 1970s managed a modest, if uneven, increase in coverage even during the war years, although vaccination rates remain particularly low in northern provinces (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 91-3).

Poor quality services, due to lack of training or supplies and poor referral systems deter people from going to health facilities. In many cases, people have to pay for services which are nominally free. Travel costs are also a deterrent as is cultural preference for traditional systems. In 1987, user fees for health services were introduced for the first time, leading to a reported 30 percent drop in attendance at health facilities (Pehrsson, 1993).

While health provision in accommodation centres and urban areas was relatively good during the war and in its immediate aftermath, for returnee women, there were often very limited health facilities. In addition, health problems have been experienced by returnee populations, due to their villages having been abandoned for some time. Most displaced and returnee women cannot afford to pay for traditional medicine with cash, although they may be able to pay in kind or in labour. In many cases, they are not able to access this health care. Consultations with witch doctors (*cuandeiros*) are on the decline in part due to the proliferation of new religions (Negrão, 1991). For women who are traditional health providers, lack of ability to pay for their services among the general population may have undermined their livelihood. The destruction of health facilities during the war is likely to have increased the demands on women as informal carers.

Although improvements in health are a priority for the government in Mozambique, spending on health has been declining in the post war period, from 1.7 percent of GDP in 1991, to 1.4 percent in 1996 (UN, 1997: 17). Post-war reconstruction and rehabilitation of the health services is focused on modest expansion and rehabilitation of the PHC network with most resources going to strengthening middle-level facilities, such as rural hospitals and the replacement of poorly qualified staff with more skilled personnel (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 94). The upgrading of skills in the health service risks introducing gender biases, if actions are not taken to ensure that women health workers are given opportunities to advance. This, in turn, may affect the quality and perception of services for women.

The 'reproductive health' approach appears not to be in widespread use in health care provision in Mozambique. It is not clear what proportion of resources are being allocated to women's specific health needs, through, for example, MCH programmes, or whether any elements in such programmes address issues of particular relevance in the post-conflict situation, for example, STD prevention and treatment, or issues of violence against women<sup>74</sup>. Programmes to train traditional birth attendants have been supported, with mixed results.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> There is a programme at Maputo Central Hospital which deals with medical aspects of violence against women, called KULAYA.

<sup>75</sup> Interview notes. Women interviewed in Campoane who had participated in such a training programme complained that they were expected to provide services for free which are paid for in the hospitals and stated that they were no longer willing to do this.

## 4. ECONOMY AND LABOUR MARKET CONDITIONS

### 4.1 Pre conflict economy, employment and livelihoods

The economy inherited by Frelimo at Independence (in 1975) was in crisis after ten years of liberation war, and particularly as a result of the flight of human, physical and financial capital as the Portuguese withdrew. Economic development under colonial rule was based on labour export, transport and related services, and agriculture and fisheries, with cash crops grown on Portuguese or other foreign-owned plantations. Mineral wealth and limited manufacturing capacity (e.g. in cashew and other food processing, textiles) were additional features of the economy.

While the economy saw some growth and increased capital investment in the period 1977-81, prior to the intensification of the war, a combination of internal<sup>76</sup> and external factors<sup>77</sup> meant that by the early 1980s, the economy was in crisis again. This led to a change of direction at the Fourth Congress of FRELIMO in 1983, with increased emphasis on small-scale agricultural production and a reduction in state intervention. However, the policy shift was not effectively implemented and the intensification of war as well as drought accelerated the crisis in rural areas by the mid-1980s.

Economic options for the majority of women in Mozambique pre-Independence were mainly concentrated in subsistence agriculture. With a well established system of forced labour (*chibalo*) and labour migration of men to plantations (in the North) and South Africa (in the South), women's agricultural workload intensified as they struggled to maintain family plots alone, during men's long absences. Women supplemented declining subsistence production<sup>78</sup> by working as casual hired labour, through making and selling beer, small-scale trading or by prostitution. Some women were forced to forge independent existences and raise children alone, due to lack of support from absent partners. Lack of education and biases in employment and commercial activity against both Africans in general and women specifically meant that few African women had access to formal employment. A small minority of women had gained employment in factories and domestic service<sup>79</sup> since the 1950s (particularly textiles and food processing, including cashew). Between 1960 and 1970, women's share of employment in industry and commerce, respectively, increased from three percent to seven percent and from six percent to 11 percent (Casimiro *et al*, 1991).<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Internal factors included a lack of incentives to rural producers (not just low prices but more importantly lack of consumer goods to purchase), failure of poorly managed state farms to increase agricultural production, weak distribution systems, and subsidies and investment benefiting mainly the urban southern elites undermined longer-term economic development. A thriving parallel market (*candonga*) economy developed, and disaffection with the new policies grew, particularly among the peasantry.

<sup>77</sup> External factors included South Africa's unilateral change of policy on migrant labour, leading to decreased remittances, shift of trade-related traffic away from Mozambique, reducing revenues, external shocks including unfavourable shifts in terms of trade and interest rate rises.

<sup>78</sup> The appropriation of good land for commercial agriculture also meant that the land available for peasant agriculture was increasingly restricted. Poorer land quality and lack of labour for clearing meant more intensive use of less productive soils, leading to reduced outputs.

<sup>79</sup> Women only began to be employed in domestic work in significant numbers in the 1950s. Before then, it was mainly men who were involved in domestic work and they remain the majority of employees in this sector (Casimiro *et al*, 1991 33).

<sup>80</sup> The source is somewhat ambiguous as to whether the data reflect women's share of activity in particular sectors or the percent of total recorded female economic activity in that sector.

The armed struggle and the advent of Independence posed challenges to existing gender relations, through women's participation in the liberation struggle. The Frelimo leadership attempted to tackle women's oppression, particularly in the liberated zones, and set up the mass organisation, Organização da Mulher Moçambicana (OMM) in 1973. In the immediate period following independence, a few women gained access to opportunities for wage labour and formal employment, on state farms and co-operatives, and in activities previously considered the exclusive preserve of men, such as tractor drivers, stevedores, transport workers. In some instances, positive discrimination was adopted, particularly favouring women supporting households alone. This was patchy, however, and mainly occurred in areas where OMM was strong and able to influence local structures (Urdang, 1989).

In general, the idea that men have exclusive or privileged access to employment, and particularly higher paying skilled employment, was and is deeply entrenched in Mozambique leading many men to threaten or divorce wives who took up outside work. The introduction of labour legislation providing equal rights and relatively generous maternity benefits to women workers has tended to act against increased female employment in the formal sector since factory owners or managers perceive women as high cost employees, in the absence of compensation from the state for the costs incurred (Urdang, 1989; Hanlon, 1984).<sup>81</sup> Thus, the proportion of women employed in factories and on state and cooperative farms remained relatively low, particularly in the North. In many instances women's participation was limited to seasonal, unskilled and lower wage labour, partly because of discrimination and also due to their existing responsibilities in 'family' agriculture and domestic work. The share of women in the industrial labour force increased by only one percent, from 7 to 8.1 percent in the period 1970-1980, although participation in commerce increased more rapidly, with women's share reaching nearly 20 percent by 1980 (Casimiro *et al*, 1991: 30-31). In more recent years, a high proportion of women have been involved in successful cooperative development in the Green Zones (*zonas verdes*) around Maputo, and also Beira (Ayisi, 1995).<sup>82</sup>

Considerable investment was made by FRELIMO in challenging existing gender divisions and extending opportunities for women, but patriarchal structures and divisions with respect to reproductive labour or subsistence agriculture were largely unchallenged, so that women were simply burdened with increased work. The shift in policy towards small-scale agriculture in the early 1980s provided an opportunity to challenge existing gender divisions

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<sup>81</sup> A new labour law is currently under negotiation through a tripartite commission of workers, employers and government. A draft was being prepared by the Ministry of Labour, but not available, at the time of writing. Workers represented in the tripartite negotiations on the labour law are pressing for 90 days (an increase from 60 days) maternity leave, and the right to use annual holiday in conjunction with maternity leave, although it is not clear how likely these provisions are to be accepted (Gilberto Botas, personal communication). In any case, the labour legislation is not directly relevant to most women who work in agriculture or the informal sector, although it is important in setting standards.

<sup>82</sup> The Green Zone agricultural co-operatives around Maputo are organised under the General Union of Cooperatives (UGC), established in 1983 and which became a company in 1990, reducing its reliance on external support. Membership reached a peak of 12000 during the war when many joined to get access to commodities in short supply. After liberalisation in 1987, membership dropped again to 5400 in 1995, of whom 95 percent are women, grouped in 182 co-operatives on the outskirts of Maputo. However, the specific conditions of these peri-urban areas and particular history of the development of the green zones in Maputo, mean that they have now reached saturation point and that the experience is not readily transferable. UNICEF are currently supporting the Green Zones project in Beira (see section 9).

in rural areas, but this was not effectively taken up and women were simply exhorted to produce more food (Urdang, 1989; Hanlon, 1984; Chingono, 1996).

#### 4.2 Impact of war on economy

Estimates of the economic cost of the war vary from around US \$4.5 billion (Saferworld, cited in Chingono, 1996) to US \$15 billion (UNICEF) in 1989. By the same year, Renamo had destroyed 44 major economic units, including sugar, tea and cashew factories as well as large-scale agricultural enterprises. In addition, more than 1000 rural trading posts and 1300 vehicles were destroyed. The impact of the war led to negative growth and a decline in rates of capital formation. Overall GDP fell by 23.4 percent in 1982-4 while agricultural production fell by 22.8 percent in 1981-3, industry by 30.9 percent and transport 26.6 percent in the same period. By 1986, GDP was at 60 percent of its 1980 level. By 1992, aid accounted for 50 percent of the government budget, 75 percent of imports and 70 percent of GDP (Chingono, 1996: 7-8).

Agriculture was disrupted by large-scale rural to urban population movements due to fighting and attacks, as well as by the disintegration of the transport system and of markets and the mining of agricultural land. In 1980-6, marketed food production had fallen by 65 percent, and export crops by 60 percent. In some areas landmines are a continuing source of concern. While the numbers of casualties due to landmines have been estimated (see section 3.5 above), the economic cost in terms of lost production due to fear of landmines is not easily quantified. Livestock were sold as a survival strategy or abandoned or stolen in the process of flight, increasing the vulnerability of rural populations by stripping them of assets and also reducing their capacity for farming, in areas where draught animals are used for ploughing, particularly in the South. In the period 1982-92, 80 percent of cattle and 60 percent of small ruminants were lost (UN, 1997: 28). Whiteside (1996:122) reports up to 90 percent of livestock lost by returning families in Massingir District, Gaza province. Rural livelihoods were also undermined by the destruction or mining of public goods and community assets such as roads, water points and irrigation systems, as well as the destruction of houses and foodstores, and the theft of household possessions (Whiteside, 1995:10).

Environmental destruction was also a feature of the war in Mozambique, both directly due to the burning of forest, particularly by Renamo forces, and indirectly, due to the overexploitation of natural resources, as a consequence both of war and drought. For example, travelling to collect water and fuelwood became increasingly dangerous, leading to overuse of more local sources. Trees and other vegetation were also in great demand as building materials for temporary accommodation for displaced persons. There was a decrease in fallowing, and increased intensity of cultivation, due to increased pressure on lands close to secure areas or accommodation centres, reducing soil quality. Fish stocks were overexploited as people moved towards safer coastal areas and rivers and because of lack of alternative sources of protein. Some people also made considerable gains from illegal smuggling of wildlife resources.

On the other hand, imbalances in the use of environmental resources means that some areas have recovered vegetation. The economic costs of this environmental destruction are difficult to estimate or calculate. It may have major implications in terms of women's time use, where they now have to travel further to collect water and fuelwood, for example. In some areas, there may be reduced availability of common property resources on which women are

dependent for either consumption or sale in the hungry season. Pests have been a major problem facing returnee populations in some rural areas (Whiteside, 1995).

#### 4.3 Livelihood strategies during the war

Chingono (1996) stresses the need to see the war not just in terms of a negative impact on the economy, but also as a process whereby new forms of economic activity and new markets are established, relatively autonomous from state control:

Violence appears to have been the midwife for the emergence of a specific kind of capitalism, a hybrid arrangement, which has taken root in trade rather than production ..[and] released the masses' entrepreneurial potential' (*ibid*: 119).

The collapse of state control and the willingness to take risks allowed some economic actors to make major gains, through exploiting the labour of others (including child labour), or through violent extraction or illegal activities. The emergence of the 'grassroots war economy' (Chingono, 1996) was underscored by existing social differentiation and itself led to intensified processes of dispossession and differentiation. It was also fuelled by the presence of large number of international aid agencies and foreign troops who brought in material goods and new market demands. This section examines some of the livelihood strategies adopted during the war, from a gender perspective.

Responses to the economic and security crisis varied considerably over time and space, depending on the local context and the nature and intensity of the conflict at any given moment. So, it is difficult to generalise without more detailed context-specific research among affected populations (Whiteside, 1995). Existing studies however, give some indications of the range of strategies adopted. Both the evidence here and analysis based on other 'crisis' situations, suggest that survival strategies are conditioned by gender relations and, at the same time, that the imperative to survive leads to adaptation of gender norms and roles (Byrne with Baden, 1995).

#### **Migration and displacement**

Whilst the migration and displacement related to war in Mozambique was different in scale and motivation from most earlier migrations (see sections 2 and 3.2), existing networks of kin and opportunities in other places were heavily drawn on during the war.

Pre-existing trading and employment relationships across the borders with South Africa, Zimbabwe and Malawi facilitated much of the movement occurring during war time. Women went to live with husbands, parents or other relatives in urban areas, where possible. Displaced women interviewed during the field research in Maputo city all had relatives or husbands in the city, although before the war they had been based in rural areas. Almost all of the longer-term Maputo residents interviewed also reported taking in relatives (particularly elderly relatives or children) from rural areas during the war, many of whom were still living with them.

Initially, displacement tended to take place on a local level, with people attempting to remain near fields so that they could continue to cultivate. It is likely that women were less inclined to move long distances, at least in the early stages of war, in order to keep on cultivating their

fields and also because of responsibilities to care for children and the elderly, who found it difficult to move rapidly.

As political differences became entrenched, people were forced to choose sides, often doing so for pragmatic rather than political reasons, so that communities became increasingly polarised. In some areas, people moved so as to be seen to be fleeing from Renamo, to avoid government reprisals (Whiteside, 1995: 109; Wilson, 1992).

As the security situation worsened, during the daytime as well as at night, people moved into local towns, towards transport corridors, or if they had relatives there, into more distant provincial or national capitals, which seemed safer (Chingono, 1996; Wilson, 1992). Those in border provinces moved across to Malawi, Zimbabwe, or South Africa. Some of these movements were voluntary and self-organised; others were forced, either by government, or Renamo troops and in Zambezia by *Naparama* forces. Those selected to travel with Renamo troops were mainly young men and women. People made considerable preparations for long distance movement, often attempting to maintain familial and social networks in the process (Wilson, 1992).

### **Survival in displaced refugee settlements**

While refugee and displaced populations were to some extent reliant on food and other forms of emergency aid, in practice a large proportion of the displaced created their own means of survival in the absence of reliable relief supplies, or to supplement inadequate rations. Only about half of the displaced population were officially recognised and accommodated in government centres and in some areas, government attempted to actively discourage movement into urban areas (Chingono, 1996). Similarly, refugees did not all settle in organised camps; the majority were integrated into local communities. Men in particular tended not to stay in camps as they went elsewhere looking for wage labour, so that a high proportion of women or female-headed households appeared as refugees in camps (Ager *et al*, 1995).

Surveys among displaced women in 1989, 1991 and 1993-4 revealed a range of activities, mainly in agriculture and the informal sector (Negrão, 1991; Republic of Mozambique, 1995b). Those who had secured access to land, sometimes in exchange for wage labour, were farming their own plots. However, difficulties were experienced by many displaced women in accessing land, and conflicts with 'owners' tended to work against displaced women who lacked formal land rights. For those with access to land, there were problems with water shortages, and lack of hoes and seeds. Other displaced women and some men relied on agricultural wage labour (referred to as *xitoco* in Maputo or *ganho-ganho* in Zambezia). The distance to owners' farms often meant women staying away from home and taking children with them, or leaving them in the care of neighbours. Informal trade was another major activity of displaced households, especially women and boys, including petty trading, additional drinks (beer) production, basket and net making, ceramics, tapestry and fishing.

### **Box 1: Displacement and survival in war-torn Mozambique**

In the *Quichanga locality of Pebane district, in Zambezia*, most people escaped Renamo control by fleeing to islands or into the bush. However, many went hungry or starved due to lack of opportunity to farm and or being forced into foodless areas by government troops. Others survived on emergency rations or ate wild foods.

In *Massingir district of Gaza province in Southern Mozambique*, by 1988/9, most people had fled to South Africa, often walking across the Kruger Park, or to the district town, which became cut off from the rest of the province. Some were killed in attacks and captured by Renamo. In the refugee camps in Gazankulu, people received limited relief assistance and were able to cultivate around their huts. Both women and men found work on local farms and in construction. Those in the district town survived by selling produce such as charcoal and fish and with relief aid.

*Source: Whiteside, 1995.*

Gender differences in opportunities and survival strategies were identified among refugees in Zimbabwe and in Malawi (Apeadu, 1992; Ager *et al*, 1995). Since it was relatively easy for men to find work on farms in Zimbabwe, on plantations and in urban areas, they often left the camps, sometimes venturing as far as South Africa. In Malawi ‘men leave the camp for two to three weeks at a time to work on tea plantations, others leave to find work as domestic servants for more extended periods and in some instances the migrating men never return’ (Apeadu, 1992: 183). Where ration cards are issued to male heads of household, men may appear to be present since they return at intervals to collect food rations. While women spent more time working than men, men’s activity tended to be directly productive, income generating activities (such as labouring, gardening, trade, craftwork) whilst women’s was concentrated in domestic work, so that men had significant cash incomes while women’s incomes were negligible. Integrated settlements, rather than camps, provided better opportunities for productive work for both women and men.

### **Survival and resistance in Renamo occupied areas**

In areas where Renamo had a strong presence (particularly Zambezia), people were vulnerable to kidnapping and looting, or worse. Here, earlier strategies of hiding in camouflaged pits (*camblinha*) used during the liberation war were revived. Families had several such pits in densely vegetated areas and would take separate routes to their hiding places, using various means to avoid detection. Fields were farmed by moonlight, and people lived off fruits from abandoned orchards, fishing and hunting. People lived in this way for several years, retaining many features of normal social life (Wilson, 1992: 8-9).

In the earlier stages of the war, the impact of Renamo on the majority of the population was limited. Government officials, traditional leaders and wealthier peasants and traders were under pressure to join Renamo, or under attack, sometimes with the tacit or active approval of less privileged groups. Even during the period of full occupation of Renamo, food supply was plentiful: the main problem was shortages of consumer goods such as soap, salt and clothes and lack of health services. There was resentment of Renamo forced labour and taxation (implemented through local chiefs) but until the late 1980s this was relatively mild. People who were locally displaced became subjects of local ‘big men’ and often did piece

work for a living. In the later period of the war, however, heavy taxation and looting of available food, and destruction of the remaining commercial network, led to widespread hunger. Increasingly, those left in Renamo areas were those least able to escape, although some chose not to escape in order to support more vulnerable relatives (Wilson, 1992: 9).

For example, in Narramoi district in Zambezia, some localities were under Renamo control for much of the war. People survived in the bush, entirely on wild fruits, foods and tubers, with no emergency aid and no opportunity to farm, hunt or fish. In other areas, people were able to continue some farming, although with increased reliance on wild fruits. Damage to tea estates in this area also meant loss of employment opportunities during the war (Whiteside, 1995).

In Renamo held areas, land was appropriated and women were used as unpaid labour to produce for Renamo soldiers.<sup>83</sup> In some cases, women worked clandestinely at night to produce food for themselves and their families. Or they stole or withheld food in order to survive, ate banana tree rolls or went hungry. Women had to find ways of hiding food stocks from soldiers, for example, by hiding chickens in cubbyholes (Barron, 1996: 43-4). Many women were forced into becoming 'slave wives' or prostitutes for Renamo soldiers, and were infected with STDs as a result (Wilson, 1992). People arriving in accommodation centres from Renamo held areas were often dressed in bark clothes, indicating the lack of availability of consumer goods (Negrão, 1991: 31).

### **Legal and illegal trading**

The collapse of the rural economy and of employment opportunities in state enterprises affected by war, as well as large scale displacement, led to former agricultural producers being transformed into either wage labourers or 'barefoot entrepreneurs' in urban areas (Chingono, 1996: 85). This led to the mushrooming of informal markets and a proliferation of street traders, with more and more people competing to sell goods in already saturated markets. Traders and drivers risked their lives travelling between different war zones to exploit price differentials, using dilapidated vehicles owned by urban elites and businessmen. Second hand clothes donated by Western aid agencies (known as *calamidades*) became a major source of income for mainly male market traders. Both men and women were involved in selling manufactured consumer goods and foodstuffs at established market stalls. New arrivals in urban areas tended to trade in much more precarious locations and products, concentrating on basic foodstuffs, such as wild fruits, sugar cane and cassava. The more recently resettled concentrated their energies on building houses and establishing themselves.

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<sup>83</sup> Government forces sometimes appropriated food produced by peasant women, but did not seize control of the land (Negrão, 1991: 32).

### **Box 2: Urban survival strategies in Chimoio**

About 44 percent of the petty traders interviewed in mid-1992 in one of the main markets in Chimoio, Manica province were women, mostly in the 13-18 age group. Women between 19 and 24 were thought more likely to be engaged in sex work. 'While most of the females were selling agricultural produce, the majority of men were selling manufactured goods, which in relative terms tended to fetch more money' (Chingono, 1996: 90). Shops were mainly owned by older men, with young men and women sometimes working in them. Cooked food and home made beer as well as a range of other services, were sold from homes, by the roadside and in markets, with a proliferation of fast food shacks, or *barracas*, often using child labour. Beer brewing has long been a strategy whereby women secure cash income from men and the lack of availability or high cost of imported or manufactured beer during the war meant that this was an important source of income for many. Theft of oranges from a nearby plantation was also a survival strategy used by many women, undermining the livelihoods of those working for wages on the plantation or selling legally-acquired fruits.

The incomes earned by women and children became increasingly important for household survival, with children as young as seven engaged in a variety of activities, including begging, selling cigarettes, making craft items from discarded materials such as coke cans, or carrying bags for travellers. Chingono suggests that this led to a strengthening of the mother-child bond, whilst the traditional patriarchal family was weakened.

*Source: Chingono (1996: 89-100)*

In addition to the range of informal sector activities outlined above, other illegal and often violent activities proliferated under conditions of war, linking currency dealers, hunters, smugglers, and those trading in goods such as precious stones and minerals, ivory, drugs and arms. Such activities were fraught with danger, due to susceptibility to arrest, attack or piracy. These activities were linked into a regional and even international informal economy, with some suspicions that international NGOs were also involved in racketeering. At the same time, smuggled goods were vital to the survival of people in Mozambique and border police often turned a blind eye to illegal activities, or released suspects in exchange for small bribes (Chingono, 1996: 101-8).

### **Street children**

The phenomenon of street children is partly, although by no means exclusively, linked to war-related displacement. Many of the children are from displaced (sometimes female-headed) families. The pressures of poverty mean that women are forced to go out early in the morning to trade. Children are either sent out to earn money, or sent off to school, with little or no supervision, and often no food to eat. Children may be forced on to the streets by hunger. However, urban poverty and the related problems of street children are not restricted to displaced persons: structural adjustment and other factors have increased pressures on poor urban households.

Initiatives aimed at street children focused initially on boys because they were most visible among street children, who became a noticeable phenomenon in the mid-1980s.<sup>84</sup> There are a

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<sup>84</sup> The Anglican church of St Stephen and St Lawrence in central Maputo runs a child rehabilitation centre, one of a dozen or so projects in the city targeting street children (Anglican Church Child Rehabilitation Centre,

number of possible reasons for this. Girls are less likely to rebel and leave home, partly because their labour is more valuable in the home and therefore they are more appreciated; and partly because they are more likely to accept difficult home circumstances rather than leave. Secondly, girls tend to link up with boyfriends at a relatively young age and pass from one home to another, although they are highly vulnerable to both sexual and economic exploitation in this context. They are often not allowed to continue schooling and are expected to go out selling. Many become single mothers. In recent years, girls on the street have become more visible and some facilities have been opened to address their needs.<sup>85</sup> Boys in the street are mainly engaged in begging, drugs dealing and stealing while girls are in prostitution and trading. Boys may also be engaged in prostitution.<sup>86</sup>

### **Sex work as a survival strategy**

Sexual violence and exploitation of civilian women by the armed forces was widespread during the war (see section on violence against women in 3.5). But in addition, prostitution and sexual survival strategies of various kinds proliferated, extending already well established means for women to gain support or income for themselves and children from men, in the absence of contributions from husbands or stable partners. In wartime, these pressures increased as social norms and family ties were under considerable strain. Lack of formal employment opportunities, absence of capital to start businesses and the need to secure housing and income in overcrowded conditions, led to many women, especially younger women, adopting sex work as a strategy. Women's experience of rape and sexual violence, or sometimes simply of divorce and separation, made them less 'desirable' as marriage partners, leaving them with few survival options. The presence of international peace-keeping forces also led to increased demand for prostitution (see Box 3).

A pilot study on child prostitution conducted by MULEIDE and UNICEF in 1993-4, based on interviews with 50 girls in Maputo and Beira, found that 19 percent of the clients of girl prostitutes were UN soldiers. Social instability and desperate socio-economic conditions in the aftermath of war were identified as the underlying causes of child prostitution. Often girls were major contributors to household income, spending their money on food and clothing, and were selling their services with at least the tacit support, if not active encouragement, of parents. In other cases they were earning money to pay for their own schooling. Although one third of those interviewed had already contracted STDs, both soldiers and the prostitutes servicing them were found to be ignorant about HIV/AIDS and contraception, and many prostitutes claimed that soldiers (and other foreigners) were prepared to pay more for sex without condoms (reported in Poston, 1994).

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1996). There are an estimated 2-3000 street children in total, mainly concentrated in Maputo, Beira and Nampula, with about half catered for by programmes. According to a recent survey by Medecins du Monde, 89.7 percent of street children are boys with an average age of 14. Most leave home because of violence, or problems with step-parents (cited in UN, 1997: 37).

<sup>85</sup> For example, the Church of St. Stephen and St. Lawrence has opened a facility for girl street children in Matola on the outskirts of Maputo.

<sup>86</sup> Carlos Matsinhe, personal communication. As reported above, 12 percent of street children claim to have been victims of sexual violence (UN, 1997: 38).

### **Box 3: Peacekeeping and prostitution**

The arrival of 6000 UNOMOZ ‘peacekeeping’ troops in Mozambique in January 1993, led to an increase in prostitution including among minors:

in the provincial capital of Inhambane, it was common knowledge that instead of leaving school at six o’clock in the evening, many secondary schoolgirls would leave at four, in order to sell their services to the Uruguayan troops on their way home (Poston, 1994: 34).

In December 1993, representatives of Save the Children sent a report to the UN accusing their soldiers of sexually exploiting children, particularly the Italian forces stationed in Chimoio and Beira. Both UN officials and government seemed to turn a blind eye to this activity, although it was common knowledge. Pressure from local residents and the NGO community, who went to the international press, eventually led to an investigation by UNOMOZ and subsequently to a separate government inquiry. Some UN personnel were disciplined and sent home as a result and intentions were stated about improving education and preparation among peace-keeping forces in future, although the extent to which these have translated into actual change is not known.

*Source: Poston, 1994*

### **Changes in gender divisions of labour**

The experience of being displaced or living in a different country broadened people’s experiences and in some instances led to changes in existing gender divisions of labour. For example, women’s experience of working for wages in South Africa, had an impact on communities in Massingir district in Gaza. Similarly, in Morrumbula, a woman was trying to start a self-help group in her community, similar to one she had experienced as a refugee in Malawi (see section 9) (Whiteside, 1995: 10). Box 4 describes the experiences of war and post-war problems faced by women in one area of Magude district.

#### **Box 4: The war and after for women in Magude District**

A group of women from a village near Morvane, Magude district, described their experiences during the war and the problems facing them now. This is an area of high male outmigration and female headship and traditionally an important cattle area. Most of the cattle were lost during the war. Maize, cassava, sweet potatoes and beans are the main crops. Goats are being reintroduced to the area (see Box 14, Appendix 9).

During the war, the women were all displaced to Magude *sede*, although at different times. To begin with, when the bandits came, they used to go and sleep 'in the river'. This was when the bandits only came at night. Then they started to come during the day. So the women ran to the town. There, they received rations: oil, sugar and grain, but there was not enough food to last them till the end of the month. They 'felt like they were in jail'. Now they are free, but they face many difficulties. They have no cattle for ploughing so can only farm small areas of land, since it takes much longer to prepare. If they want help, they have to hire male labour and pay either in food, beer, or cash. Until this year, there has not been enough rain and they couldn't produce a lot, so they had no surplus to sell. Some people haven't returned from the town because they don't have the means to build a new house, after their houses were destroyed.

Many men in this area are working away from home, in town, or in South Africa. They use whatever money husbands give them for food and school fees and try to keep some money in case of sickness; but if they don't have money, they cannot go to the clinic. Not all the women have husbands to give them money. The women make traditional beer from a small fruit called *canjo* (amarula). Adults and children both drink this and get drunk, sometimes instead of eating. Before they started making this beer, they used to eat a small fruit called *ntoma*, but several people died after eating this.

The women interviewed had different priorities about what they feel they need in the village: some favour a school, some a well, some a hospital. (A hospital was being built nearby but construction has stopped because of lack of materials.) However, all felt cattle were a priority. Jokingly, one woman commented that the best 'project' to set up in their village would be one to supply men!

*Source: Based on interview with women in Magude district.*

More generally, according to Chingono (1996: 111), one 'positive' aspect of the war is that

for subordinate social groups such as women and children, the collapse of the economic basis for rural patriarchy and gerontocracy afforded them more freedom in terms of the economic activities they could engage in and the surpluses accruing therefrom.

Others are less optimistic about how lasting such shifts are. Barron (1996: 44) finds that while 'women often acquired new roles during the war [such as land clearance and marketing]... some were forced to return to traditional roles once their husbands returned'. Others lost access to land or other assets because their husbands divorced them on their return to home areas, having married other wives (*ibid.*).

An NGO field worker based in Zambezia reported that in the post-war scenario, women are less resigned to traditional roles, are more vociferous in public meetings and are taking a more active role in decision making, partly out of necessity but also because women are

determined to take advantage of new opportunities. On the other hand, there remain major constraints to women gaining access to independent resources. Cash cropping which is now occurring outside commercial ventures, tends to lead to income being controlled by men. Men tend to retain the proceeds even of surplus from food crop production, but at least women have control over foods produced. A key problem is how to ensure that women have access to money themselves. There is a danger of women becoming worse off than before.<sup>87</sup>

#### 4.4 Post-war economy, labour market conditions and livelihoods

##### **Overall economic situation**

Assessment of the economic situation in Mozambique is extremely difficult due to lack of data and the unreliability of the data which does exist. Given the predominance of agriculture and the informal sector in the economy, a large percentage of economic activity is not recorded. Under-reporting of activity to evade taxation is also rife. Current attempts are underway to strengthen the statistical database and some attention has been paid to gender aspects of data collection.

Economic growth in Mozambique, after some recovery during 1977-81, declined massively during the war period, until 1986. Following the introduction of structural adjustment in 1987, which entailed some liberalisation of prices and increased credits to rehabilitate the manufacturing sector, there was modest growth in 1987-9 but this was not sustained due to continued war, drought and the negative effects of adjustment policies themselves. The end of the war and return of refugees and displaced persons, as well as good rains, led to a boost in output in 1993 (agriculture grew by 20 percent) but this has since fallen back due to erratic rains and other structural constraints (EIU, 1996: 14-15).

In part because of disruption during the war, the relative importance of the agricultural sector in terms of gross output has declined, from 30 to 25 percent in the period 1991-4 (EIU, 1996: 16). Nevertheless, agriculture remains key as a source of employment and of major exports, particularly cotton, cashew, tea, sugar and sisal. Industry's share of gross output also fell in this period, from 19 to 14 percent, reinforcing earlier trends of decline in industry, while the share of transport and construction remained roughly constant (at 12-13 percent) and that of commerce rose by 10 percent, from 27 to 37 percent of gross output (*ibid*).

With the introduction of economic stabilisation and adjustment in the late 1980s, the *metical* underwent progressive depreciation, which created inflationary pressures, added to by the influx of aid and grants, and the presence of a large international aid community being paid in dollars.<sup>88</sup> By 1994, however, the currency had stabilised. Interest rates have been liberalised and in 1991 were positive for the first time. Current bank rates are around 40-45 percent, while inflation has fluctuated at around 50 percent annually since the end of the war (EIU, 1996: 34-5).

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<sup>87</sup> Jane Gibreel, personal communication.

<sup>88</sup> The exchange rate of the *metical* against the US dollar was approximately 11,700 mt:US\$1 in February, 1997.

## Gender divisions in the labour market

As with broader economic indicators, employment and labour force data in Mozambique are patchy and unreliable, particularly in view of the large-scale demographic movements associated with war and the predominance of informal sector and unremunerated labour in the economy. The conditions of war make collection of accurate data impossible, while the 'war economy' is by its nature (see above) largely unrecorded. More generally, the significance of formal employment in the context of Mozambique (both pre- and post- war) is limited, with only 16 percent of the population in salaried employment, falling to five percent for women and where the value of formal sector salaries have in many cases been eroded by high inflation (DNE, 1995: 70-1). Livelihoods, comprising a mix of diverse strategies (which may include formal employment), is a more useful concept but the diversity, flexibility and multiplicity of activities involved in livelihood strategies make quantification difficult.

Ministry of Labour data (1995) estimates the current labour force at 8.5 million, of whom 52.4 percent are women. This breaks down into an estimated 78 percent in agriculture, 6.5 percent in industry and 15.5 percent in services. Annual growth rate of the labour force is 2.9 percent. Salaried employment accounts for only 16.4 percent of the total labour force and an estimated 60 percent of the labour force are under- or unemployed (cited in Hofmeijer, 1996).

**Table 1: Labour force participation rates by gender, 1980 and 1991<sup>89</sup>**

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>
1980	48.6	47.6	49.5
1991	45.9	46.6	45.3

*Source: DNE, 1995: 65: Table 38*

Official employment data based on labour force surveys (see Table 1) are available most recently for 1991 (from the limited demographic survey of the same year). Overall participation rates show a decline since 1980. The higher decline in the participation rate of women possibly reflects their higher level of participation in agriculture, the most directly affected sector during the war. Overall, the decline in rates reflects increased unemployment, underemployment and inactivity, particularly among the young, in the war period. Recorded female participation rates are higher than male in rural areas ( 54.2 compared to 50.4) while the opposite is true for urban areas (23.8 compared to 38.0).

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<sup>89</sup> UN (1997: 78) gives an overall participation rate of 48.6 for 1995, with women forming 52.5 percent of the labour force.

**Table 2: Sectoral distribution of economic activity by sex, 1980, 1991**

Sector of Activity	1980			1991		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, forestry & fishing	85.3	71.9	97.2	77.6	63.0	91.8
Mining	1.4	2.9	0.0	1.9	3.7	0.2
Manufacturing	4.8	9.4	0.8	3.1	5.6	0.6
Energy	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.0
Construction	0.8	1.6	0.0	1.2	2.3	0.1
Transport & Communications	1.4	2.9	0.1	1.9	3.6	0.2
Commerce & Recreation	2.0	3.5	0.7	3.3	4.5	2.2
Financial services *	2.2	3.9	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Public & Admin. Services	2.0	3.5	0.6	10.7	16.7	4.9

Source: DNE, 1995: 65: Table 38.

\* For 1980 includes other services apart from financial sector; in 1991, considered as the financial sector

In terms of sectoral distribution of activity by sex (see Table 2), the predominance of women in agriculture (especially family sector) persists, with 92 percent of the female labour force in agriculture in 1991 (compared to 63 percent of men). Both female and male participation in agriculture declined in the 1980s, although more so for men. Prior to the war, women's participation did not reach one percent of the female labour force for any other sector, and combined non-agricultural activity was less than five percent. This proportion has increased, with significant increases in recorded female participation in commerce and recreation and in public service. There have been increases in male employment in these areas too, as well as in construction and public transport, while for both sexes, employment in manufacturing has declined, to almost half its former level for men (from 9.4 to 5.6 percent) (DNE, 1995: 73: Table 46).

Official statistics show that unemployment is slightly higher among men while underemployment is higher among women, particularly in rural areas. In urban areas, 39 percent of women are underemployed, compared to only 17 percent of men, while the unemployment figures are similar (14-15 percent) for both sexes (1991 data). Comparative figures for rural areas are: 5.6 percent of men unemployed compared to 3.9 percent of women; 52.1 percent of men underemployed, compared to 62.6 percent of women (DNE, 1995: 76).

Gender discrimination in the labour force in Mozambique (as elsewhere) has two major dimensions, that is, gender differentials in wages, salaries or returns for the same or similar work, and also sex typing of activities, so that some jobs are seen as typically female while others are stereotyped as male.

Women are less likely than men to be paid for their work, with almost two thirds doing unpaid family work, mainly in agriculture, or other enterprises. Where women are paid, their average earnings are often less than those of men (see e.g. van der Eecken, 1994: 27). However, information is contradictory here: in some sectors women's average earnings appear higher than men's and field interviews also suggested that women informal sector

traders are often able to command considerably higher incomes than male partners in low paid formal sector employment.

In industry, women are typically concentrated in narrow sub-sectors, such as clothing manufacture, food processing, cashew processing (see below) and shoe manufacture. (Casimiro *et al*, 1991: 30). In services, women are concentrated in domestic work, informal trade and services, and public sector education and health (*ibid*). Even in these areas, women are in a numerical minority, however.<sup>90</sup> In agriculture, women are overwhelmingly concentrated in the so-called 'family sector', producing largely for consumption, whereas men are more likely to be engaged in cash crop production either on private plots or on large-scale commercial farms.

### **Labour market trends and opportunities**

The growth of the labour force in Mozambique outstrips the limited possibilities for formal sector employment. In the post-conflict situation, new service sector (tourism, retail sector, domestic work) and construction jobs, particularly, may be being created but this has been offset by the impact of privatisation, which hit hard in the early 1990s, leading to large-scale job losses in manufacturing industries and banking. Most new labour force entrants are thus reliant on either agriculture or the informal sector for their livelihoods (see below).

Resumption of large-scale agricultural commercial production (e.g. sugar, copra, tea) since the end of the war may be creating new opportunities in agricultural wage labour and processing, although no data are available to confirm this. Small-scale rural brick works were observed operating in Maputo province, as well as numerous roadside markets in building materials, including reeds, timber, and cement blocks, in both urban and rural areas. Road building programmes (see section 8) and other food or cash for work schemes are still operating in some areas, providing temporary employment.

In the public sector, poor pay and low differentials mean that there is a brain drain into the private and NGO sector, as well as problems of moonlighting and corruption. There is a skills gap at middle management level, and at junior professional level, for example in teaching. On the other hand, there is excess capacity, or a lack of appropriate skills in many government departments. Some jobs have been generated by donor-funded activities, in relief and distribution of supplies and in post-war reconstruction, as field workers, project managers or office support staff, but many of these positions are temporary, and may be decreasing as donors start to move into long-term development work, or, in some cases, pull out. Some jobs were created since early 1990s, in the national NGO sector, but often these are reliant on donor funding for specific projects.

Agricultural activity has resumed following the return of displaced persons and refugees to home areas.<sup>91</sup> Trade in agricultural produce and consumer goods (including increased imports from surrounding countries, particularly South Africa), as well as informal sector

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<sup>90</sup> Fourteen percent of public sector employees are women, and 18 percent of public service employees (UN, 1997: 40-41).

<sup>91</sup> In 1991-2, there was a fall in food production, but since then there has been a steady increase. Maize production increased 29 percent in 1996 over the previous year, cassava, by 13 percent, groundnuts by 15 percent and cashew production doubled (UN, 1997: 78).

services (prepared food and drinks, mending and repairs, hairdressing etc.) are the major activities to have expanded in the post-war period. Trade in second hand clothes has expanded rapidly in recent years.

### **Structural Adjustment**

Since the advent of structural adjustment in 1987, the Mozambican government has committed itself to a market-oriented economy with reduced intervention. Liberalisation of prices, trade and investment controls, the financial sector, reduction in subsidies, the introduction of charges for some services (including health care) and privatisation of state-owned enterprises have all been major features of recent economic policy. Some aspects of adjustment have been slow to get off the ground, with many large companies only undergoing privatisation in 1994-5. Reduction in government deficits is also a target of adjustment, but so far, deficits have mainly been kept down by grants, and by some improvements in tax collection. Expenditure cuts are targeted towards the defence sector (which reached a massive 39 percent of public spending in 1994), with protection to health and education sectors, but this has been hard to implement in practice (EIU, 1996: 12-14,33).

The Ministry of Labour are currently engaged in a study on the impact of privatisation on employment, reviewing how many jobs have been lost and whether new investment is leading to new job creation. Two areas where women have traditionally been employed in large numbers, textiles and cashew, have already shed considerable labour. Arrangements for redundancy pay or other benefits vary. In the railway company, where unions have traditionally been very strong, there has been pressure for 'conversion' of employment and many former employees have been given refrigerated trolleys to assist in setting up in self employment, as well as credit.<sup>92</sup>

### **Agriculture**

Agriculture accounts for 33 percent<sup>93</sup> of GDP and 80 percent of total employment and over half the agricultural labour force is female. Most agricultural production is done by small holders, practising shifting cultivation, and producing both for subsistence and for the market (around half of households produce for the market as well as own consumption) with low use of inputs. Most agriculture is manual, relying on hoes and axes; a few households (particularly in the South) use animal traction, almost none tractors (World Bank, 1996).

Within small-scale agriculture, a number of sources point to gender divisions by task or activity, as well as by sector and crop. Women have the predominant role in most agricultural tasks, especially in the South, except tasks such as clearing, and transport of produce. In the North, men tend to be rather more involved in e.g. sowing (maize and sorghum, cassava), weeding and harvesting particularly of maize, sorghum, cassava and groundnuts. Women are traditionally responsible for the selection and storage of seeds. Cattle tend to be male controlled while smallstock such as chicken and goats are looked after by women. However, these divisions are often theoretical and women may perform what are considered 'male' tasks (Whiteside, 1995; Casimiro, 1991: 17-18; Pehrsson, 1993: 15).

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<sup>92</sup> Gilberto Botas, personal communication.

<sup>93</sup> Different sources give varying figures: World Bank (1996), 50 percent of GDP; EIU (1996), 25 percent, for example.

Gender-disaggregated data is available from annual agricultural surveys since 1993, allowing for an evaluation of post-war trends, but not an assessment of the gendered impact of conflict in the agricultural sector. Most of the data is collected by sex of head of household. In general, these data show that female-headed households have less land, less access to labour, have to travel further to their fields, use less inputs and hired labour, grow less diverse crops and sell less produce on the market<sup>94</sup>, than male-headed households. In male-headed households, women also control less land (20 percent) than in female-headed households (90 percent) and this tendency is particularly pronounced in the North. Female-headed households are also more likely than male-headed households to be food insecure for long periods (six months or more) particularly in the South (Ministry of Agriculture, various years).

Women heads of household are more likely to gain access to land through traditional or state allocation methods, or through borrowing, than men, who are more likely to inherit, occupy or purchase land. The higher likelihood of men gaining access to land through the market have implications for the likely impact of increased commercialisation on gender imbalances in access to land.

**Box 5: Rural women's working day in the Southern region**

Women interviewed in a rural area of Magude district described their working day. Around 4.30 am, they get up and wash. Then they work in the fields between 5 and 11 a.m. From 12 onwards, they clean the house, make tea or lunch and pound maize to make the flour for the next days' porridge. From 3 p.m., they return to the fields, when it is very hot, and work for couple more hours, after which they return to the house, to prepare food for dinner and collect water (which takes 1-1.5 hours). They boil water, wash and feed children and go to bed, sometimes without eating. Most husbands are away working. If they are nearby, they come home for lunch, or if further away, they return at weekends, but are usually tired and want to rest. Some women get help from husbands and from children, although children also have to attend school.

*Source: based on interviews with women in Magude district.*

Approximately one million families received seeds and tools in post-war resettlement programmes, but these programmes have now been phased out<sup>95</sup>. However, localised studies in 1994-5 showed that tools distributed in the early 1990s were already wearing out and need replacing and that there is ongoing need for seeds in some areas. The fact that female-headed households were more reliant than male-headed households on seeds from donations is a particular cause for concern as seed distribution is phased out (World Bank, 1996; Whiteside, 1995).

*Land*

Women's access to land is generally through men, whether in the South, through husbands, or in the North, through maternal uncles. In the south, particularly, women's land rights are weak (Waterhouse, 1997). In practice there is much local variation.<sup>96</sup> According to the

<sup>94</sup> Over half of female-headed households do not produce for the market.

<sup>95</sup> This implies that at least six million or so who were 'war affected' did not receive these inputs.

<sup>96</sup> Reg Green, personal communication.

current Civil Code, spouses are fourth in line for inheritance, following children, parents, brothers and their descendants, which means that women's claim on land is very weak when they have only indirect access (Waterhouse, 1997).

During the war, the average size of landholdings declined, due in part to the loss of livestock for traction. Average holdings are 0.4 hectares per capita, varying between 0.3 ha in the Centre and 0.45 in the South, where land quality is poorer and agriculture tends to be more extensive. Farms headed by men are larger than those headed by women, on average by 50-60 percent and this is particularly pronounced in the North. Landlessness is more common among female-headed households than male-headed households in the Central and Southern regions (Ministry of Agriculture, various).

Since the end of the war, there has been a major debate over land law as well as a struggle for control over land. Under pre-existing law (based on the 1975 Constitution), land is national property<sup>97</sup> but this legislation did not provide clear mechanisms for land allocation or for settling disputes. In 1987, following liberalisation, provisions were introduced for land titling, so that peasant farmers had an automatic right to a title deed on the plot they habitually farm, while commercial concessions could only be granted for 'empty' farms. In practice, however, the 'empty' provision could be circumvented and displacement has provided one opportunity for this. In practice, few peasants actually made use of the title deed provision, either because they did not recognise its potential importance or because they lacked the resources to pay for land demarcation, a pre-requisite of titling. By 1995, of 2-5 million properties, 10,000 or less had a title certificate. It is not known, of these, how many titles are held by women (Waterhouse, 1997). A recent study (Dominguez, 1996) reports that even where women do hold titles in their own names, they often see the land as belonging to their husbands.

In reality, since before the end of the war, a land market has been developing, with competition between a number of different actors, both national and external. In the period of post-war resettlement, traditional chiefs were effectively reallocating land in local communities. Conflicts arose in some areas over land which had been left by displaced persons and occupied by others (Waterhouse, 1997).

In 1995, a new national policy on land was produced. The draft land law, first made public in January 1996, was the subject of a six month debate culminating in a National Land Conference in June 1996. Recommendations from this conference were sent to the Council of Ministers and a new draft went to parliament for debate in early 1997.<sup>98</sup> The debate around the land law featured a range of conflicting interest groups and perspectives, with some (e.g. USAID) pushing for privatisation and fully fledged land markets, others pushing for a recognition of traditional authorities and others seeking mainly to protect peasant, including women's, land rights.

Since, in both patrilineal and matrilineal areas, women have no direct land rights, there is considerable concern about the impact of changes in land law and practice for women, possibly leading to a weakening of their access to land and other resources. Women's

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<sup>97</sup> This was introduced under Frelimo in order to ensure state control of the land and to undermine the power of traditional chiefs (*regulos*) appointed by the Portuguese to administer land and local taxes etc.

<sup>98</sup> The parliamentary debate on the land law was about to take place at the end of the field visit in February.

organisations have been pushing for formal recognition of land rights, not just of female household heads, but of women in general. Women's organisations (and others) argued successfully against a simplistic recognition of traditional authorities and customary law in the new legislation, but the failure to include explicit recognition of the *de facto* 'traditional' system is felt to be a drawback. One demand of women's organisations was that men and women should be explicitly referred to separately, not as gender neutral 'citizens'. A few organisations, particularly ORAM (who organised seminars to discuss the land law in many districts), AMRU, Forum Mulher, and Action Aid, are looking at gender implications of changes in the land law and land tenure reform (Waterhouse, 1997 and personal communication).

The provisions of the land law will be supplemented by *regulamentos* which will lay out the detail of implementation. Problems in access to legal systems for poor peasants are anticipated, which may affect women particularly. A constraint to enforcing women's land rights is that women themselves may not be used to having land titles and so grassroots work to raise awareness of the importance of titles to women is crucial. One approach to this which may have some success is focusing on the issue of children's rights to land in the future, especially in areas where women do not have a developed sense of their own individual property rights.<sup>99</sup>

Changes in land tenure and the development of informal land markets are already occurring (particularly since liberalisation in 1987) at local level, irrespective of the new legislation, which may have profound implications for women. Research conducted in Marracuene, where Action Aid are involved in community development work, is examining the gender implications of these processes.<sup>100</sup>

### **Informal sector**

Most accounts associate the now burgeoning informal (or *dumba nengue*) economy<sup>101</sup> in Mozambique with the onset of structural adjustment in 1987. There are clearly links to the pre-war parallel (*candongga*) economy and to survival strategies developed by displaced persons in the 'war economy'. There are no accurate data on the size of the informal sector, although current estimates are in the range of 30-40 percent of GDP (de Vletter, 1996b). While other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have also experienced rapid growth of the informal sector (as formal sector employment declines and in response to economic crisis and liberalisation), in Mozambique, the sector is characterised by its particularly rapid growth and the predominance of commerce and other service activities. However, owing to lack of systematic data, comparisons of the informal sector before, during and following the war are

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<sup>99</sup> Rachel Waterhouse, Julieta Langa, personal communication.

<sup>100</sup> In the South, a decline in demand for mine labour in South Africa and the decreasing security attached to migrant labourers' contracts has led to a reduction in the interchange between migrants and their home based partners and families in terms of both money and contact. Mine workers are staying away in the hope of keeping their jobs. Privatisation and demobilisation have also depressed the labour market. These factors are leading to changes in relationships in agriculture and in patterns of land use (Rachel Waterhouse, personal communication).

<sup>101</sup> While informal sector activity is usually taken to imply unregistered activity, in Mozambique there is considerable blurring, because most small-scale activity is regulated in some way, usually through municipal or other local councils and also because much 'formal' sector activity is under reported to evade taxes. The previously illegal nature of much informal sector activity and the high proportion of stolen goods in circulation in informal sector markets also blurs the boundaries (de Vletter, 1996b).

not possible. Some general indications are given here about the nature and characteristics of the sector, the background and motivations of participants, gender and other divisions and the incomes, working conditions and prospects for development in the informal sector.

Much informal sector trade takes place in marketplaces in urban areas, of which there are many both official and unofficial (or informal). Many markets are extremely poorly serviced and maintained, difficult to access, overcrowded, and unhygienic. At the same time, the markets are incredibly dynamic and bustling. In some informal markets, traders themselves have formed associations to handle these issues, in the absence of external support, and local residents have also organised to negotiate with traders around noise and other problems (de Vletter, 1996b). Outside organised markets, large numbers of petty vendors and other service providers operate from pavements in front of their houses, on roadsides and street corners, selling from *barracas* (vending stalls), small tables, or simply from sacks on the ground. Most informal sector operators are subject to controls and taxation of some kind, with a complex system of license fees, rental for space and fines operating, administered by different authorities. Many enterprises are unregistered and risk the fines because the benefits of registering (and often paying higher taxes) are not evident.

While the informal sector (especially trade) is often identified as a female phenomenon and certainly large numbers of women are visible both in market places and as street vendors, this is a misleading characterisation of the informal sector. The reality is that there is gender segmentation in activities and also that gender representation is changing over time. According to de Vletter (1996b), most informal sector operators (particularly in commerce) are young (under 35) in contrast to formal sector workers. Women tend to be concentrated in perishable commodities (particularly fruit and vegetables) whereas young men are more likely to sell manufactured goods. Many women (and young girls) were observed selling cold drinks, charcoal, foodstuffs (including fruit and vegetables), cashews, rice and other grains (in small bags), sugar, tea etc. While a few women are involved in intermediary or even wholesale trade (often travelling to South Africa or Swaziland), the majority are petty traders servicing urban and peri-urban consumer markets. Gender divisions are sometimes quite stark: only young men were observed trading in cigarettes, alcohol, newspapers and cut flowers, or school exercise books, windscreen wipers (often stolen) for example, while only women sold fish in consumer markets. On the other hand, fruit, vegetables and foodstuffs are not the exclusive preserve of women and the proportion of men in these markets appears to be increasing. Women also earn incomes from other service activities, such as traditional medicine, birth attendance and in some forms of religious activities, as well as, particularly for younger women, sex work. Young men are the majority of beggars, and car guards.

In informal sector manufacturing, there are few skilled trades where women are well established. Sewing (although tailoring is traditionally a male activity), embroidery and knitting, batik and traditional beer making are major exceptions, the latter being particularly important in rural areas. Men dominate artisanal activities such as wood carving, basket making, and pottery, with young male traders omnipresent on the streets of Maputo selling these wares, often making them on the spot. Similarly, repairs of mechanical and electrical goods (bicycles, cars, watches, shoes) is a mainly male activity, although some attempts have been made to train women in these areas (bicycle repair, panel beating) in recent years. One woman interviewee had previously worked for a small-scale shoe manufacturer.

While some traders have been operating for many years in formal markets (mainly selling fruit and vegetables - other food products were controlled and manufactured goods were only traded through formal retail outlets), most have started up in business since the late 1980s or early 1990s, in part because of liberalisation consequent on structural adjustment and in part because of the difficulties of assuring supplies of agricultural and other produce during the insecure war period.

There is little reliable data on informal sector incomes. Existing surveys give some indications which suggest that incomes are highly varied, ranging between \$8 and \$300 a month, with most in the region of \$30-50 (de Vletter, 1996b - data for 1995). During the fieldwork, interviewees found it difficult or were not willing to estimate net incomes as opposed to gross takings, because they are not used to accounting in this way (few kept written records), and costs or household expenditure are taken from income sporadically, because income is fluctuating, or because they are unwilling to admit their level of income. Some were scraping a living: each days' earnings had to be spent on food and other household expenses, so that it was hard even to retain sufficient to purchase new stock, let alone to save. Payments had to be met for travelling to work, rental of space, for storage and use of toilets (to local householders). Those with little working capital are forced to buy in small quantities and/or on credit, reducing margins considerably.

Others were making a reasonable income, well above the minimum wage, and certainly more than they could earn in low skill, salaried employment, even if it were available. Many informal sector workers participate in *xitique geral* systems of saving where mobile bankers collect a fixed sum daily then return a lump some at the end of a fixed period, for the equivalent of one day's takings.<sup>102</sup> *Xitique geral* is used by many women traders as a means to accumulate working capital.

Younger relatives, often from rural areas, are used as family labour in informal sector enterprises, or as employees for very low wages, or payment in kind (food and lodging). Working hours are long (up to ten hours a day) and there is rarely time off for holidays or weekends (de Vletter, 1996b). Informal markets operate all day from early in the morning until early evening, including on Saturdays and for at least part of the day on Sundays.

The development of the informal sector in Mozambique is hindered by lack of financial services which address the needs of informal sector enterprises (whether for savings or credit) and by government policies, controls, and taxes which penalise small-scale operators. Markets in some commodities are highly competitive, reducing margins. Insecurity and vulnerability to theft are major issues in informal markets especially, where traders are competing for space and there are limited secure storage facilities. Poor infrastructure and services to supporting marketing, including lack of stall space, storage facilities, poor roads and transport facilities, are other constraints to market development.

Women's location within the informal sector and constraints on their time, mobility and behaviour pose specific problems. Lack of access to cash and capital (both physical and human) means that women are mainly confined to those activities which have low entry costs and low skill requirements, which tend to be the most competitive and least profitable.

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<sup>102</sup> This is different to *xitique*, whereby a small group (sometimes only two) of people put in money and take it in turns to withdraw.

Women's margins are further reduced by their small-scale of trading, or lack of funds to buy in cash. For many women, it is only acceptable for them to trade informally close to their home, either because of childcare and domestic responsibilities or because husbands will not allow them to work elsewhere. Limits on women's mobility restricts their access to more profitable markets. For the same reasons, registering as a formal business may be unattractive to women, where husbands do not wish them to work outside the home. Income generated by women's trading activities is often used up in daily household expenditures, with women 'helping' low salaried men. It may prove difficult for women to retain enough even to buy new stock, let alone for investment or expansion (hence the widespread use of *xitique*). In some cases, men control the cash earned by women in the informal sector.

#### *Credit and other support to the informal sector*

There are few formal credit programmes servicing the small and micro-enterprise sector, and particularly vending activities in the service sector. This was reflected in the fact that almost none of the traders interviewed had accessed a loan of any kind. Most have started up businesses with small amounts of capital borrowed or given by family members or friends, and often with help and advice from family and friends with some experience. For most, applying for a formal sector loan was not something they had seriously considered since it was too remote a possibility, requiring connections which they did not have, or criteria they could not meet.

Until recently, the formal banking system has largely disregarded the micro-enterprise sector, and development finance institutions (such as IDIL, BPD, etc) have tended to target 'productive' activities, with loans too large to be absorbed by most microentrepreneurs and particularly women. This reflects a historical bias in government policy and in existing finance institutions against informal sector commerce which is partly explained by the high transactions costs in lending to microentrepreneurs and by the lack of collateral to secure these loans.

Some training programmes and organisations (see sections 8 and 9) have acted as intermediaries to assist potential entrepreneurs in applying for loans, or else themselves provided small grants or capital equipment to graduates of training courses. However, delays in proposals being considered or accepted by finance institutions has led to much frustration. Often criteria are set such that women become ineligible, in spite of women being specifically singled out as a target group, for example restricting loans to certain types of activity, or to persons with at least standard 6 education. Small grants and capital equipment given to graduates of training courses have proved insufficient in themselves to promote enterprise development and led to disappointment and resentment on the part of former trainees. Those programmes which have targeted petty commerce, reduced formal selection criteria, improved outreach and streamlined the processing of applications (e.g. World Relief Services, GPE/GTZ) have a high proportion of women beneficiaries (see Box 6).

### **Box 6: Community banking in Chokwe**

*World Relief Services* have established a community banking project in Chokwé district of Gaza province, in southern Mozambique. This is reputed to be one of the most successful credit programmes in Mozambique, in terms of its potential for sustainability, as well as outreach to poorer members of the community, including a high percentage of women beneficiaries (80.8 percent as at June 1996). It has been suggested that the project could form the basis for a national strategy for development finance.

Between the inception of the loan programme in September 1994 and a mid-term evaluation in June 1996, 3568 individuals had benefited from loans and 2127 were currently receiving loans. There were 81 banks as at June 1996, with an average of 26 members each. Loans start at \$25 with the highest loans at around \$250. Interest rates are 24 percent per cycle (three per year) making an annual rate of over 90 percent, more than twice the current bank rate.

Over half the loans are used to support petty trading (55.3 percent) with food preparation and sales (38.8 percent) also forming a major portion of activities supported. Other activities supported were mainly agriculture related. In other words, more than 90 percent of loans went to support service activities, areas in which women have a strong presence. Advantages of the community banking system are that it allows for a broad coverage of beneficiaries, with relatively small transactions costs, effectively operating as a large solidarity group. It is particularly suited to densely populated rural and peri-urban areas. Beneficiaries included the both poor and better off (those earning more than \$50 a week) although it is not clear in what proportions. Weekly repayments are strictly enforced with promoters making regular visits to their banks. Currently there is no training programme in business skills although weekly meetings are used for health promotion.

Apart from the gender breakdown of beneficiaries, at the time of writing, no more detailed information on gender aspects of the programme were available (e.g. breakdown of activities by gender; loan size and use by gender; repayment rates by gender; bank composition by gender; promoters by gender). It is not clear whether the high proportion of women involved simply reflects the high proportion (estimated two thirds) of effectively female-headed households in this area of outmigration to South Africa, or whether specific factors in the design and management of the programme made it more attractive to women beneficiaries. Current proposals to further scale-up the activities, increase sustainability and possibly to increase average loan sizes may lead to a reduction in the proportion of loans going to women who tend to have smaller-scale activities. This requires careful monitoring.

*Source: de Vletter, 1996a*

Existing examples of good practice, along with pressure from donor agencies and some quarters in government and civil society (e.g. *Activa*, a women's business association) are leading to a shift in attitude towards the micro-enterprise sector and increased recognition of its importance in the economy. One view is that the micro-enterprise sector should be formalised, although without considerable simplification of procedures and changes in institutions dealing with the sector, it is hard to see what incentives exist for this. Another approach is to promote development of the sector through improved financing and other assistance. As the environment has become more receptive, agencies are now rushing to promote particular models of development of sustainable banking. These require critical evaluation not only in terms of sustainability and outreach (de Vletter, 1996a), but also their capacity to respond to gendered differences in the sector and the specific transactions costs and institutional barriers facing women traders.

The limited access by female and male microentrepreneurs to micro-finance is a consequence of the centralised market economy and year-long conflict. Both had detrimental effects on informal finance and formal financial institutions. With economic growth, the liberalisation of the economy and the privatisation of banks, the conditions are more favourable for micro-finance than for many years. Intensive discussions and experience-sharing among government staff, micro-finance practitioners and donor representatives on how to improve financial intermediation has already led to increased understanding of what works and what does not work in the Mozambique context.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Haje Schütte, personal communication.

## 5. EDUCATION AND SKILLS

### 5.1 Pre-war education and skills levels and provision

Historically, Mozambique has suffered from extremely low education and technical skill levels, as a result of its colonial history. At the end of Portuguese rule in 1975, more than 93 percent of the population was illiterate and less than a third of the half a million or so enrolled in primary schools were girls. Skilled manual and white collar jobs were reserved for the Portuguese and *assimilados*, so few Mozambicans had experience of this kind. Until Independence, education provision outside urban areas was limited and mainly operated through Church missions (Pehrsson, 1993; Woodward *et al.*, 1994). While much artisanal work (e.g. weaving, carving, basket making, blacksmithing, housebuilding) was traditionally male activity, women possess a range of skills and knowledge, particularly in agriculture, traditional medicine and midwifery, and beer making.

Education was a major developmental priority at Independence and in the period 1975-80 considerable gains were made, narrowing the gender gap that existed as well as raising overall standards. Between 1976 and 1984, educational expenditure increased threefold, to about 12 percent of the total budget by 1986, primary enrolment decreased between 1974/5 and 1977 and secondary school enrolment increased by 250 percent by 1979. In 1985, gross primary enrolment stood at 86 percent and secondary, seven percent. Literacy programmes were also launched for adults under the auspices of OMM and many women attended these classes. Overall literacy rates increased from seven percent in 1975 to 28 percent in 1980, while female literacy rose from a negligible level to around 13 percent (Pehrsson, 1993; Woodward *et al.*, 1994; UNICEF/GOM, 1994).

### 5.2 Impact of war on education and skills

The progress made in increasing literacy and raising education levels after independence (1975-80) was reversed during the war. The destruction of schools and interruption of schooling due to displacement, kidnapping or the need for survival led to a decline in enrolment, and in educational standards. Schools provision for those displaced in accommodation centres and in some refugee camps was thought to be quite good, whilst access to schooling for those outside accommodation centres, particularly in Renamo held areas, was reported to be minimal.

Between 1983 and 1991, more than 1.25 million pupils and 20,000 teachers were affected by the war and out of a total of 5886 schools operating in 1983, 58 percent had been destroyed. Zambezia and Tete were the worst affected provinces with 90-95 percent of schools closed; in Niassa, Maputo and Sofala the figure was 50-60 percent and in Inhambane, Nampula and Manica, 40-50 percent (Woodward *et al.*, 1994: 12-13). Gross enrolment ratios at lower primary level fell from about 75 percent in 1981 to under 50 percent by the end of the war (1992).<sup>104</sup> The relative effect of this on girls and boys is not clear. Moreover, these figures mask considerable regional disparities. In 1992, the GER at primary level was 87.6 for Maputo province compared to 32.9 for Nampula and 34.8 for Sofala (*ibid.*).

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<sup>104</sup> These figures are lower than those cited by UN (1997), and given in the Table below. The reason for the disparity is not clear.

In the early 1990s, enrolment ratios continued to fall due to the combined effects of the weakened school network and the influx of returnees, rising again after 1994. Table 3 gives gross and net enrolment ratios at EP1 level, for the period 1991-5.

**Table 3: Gross and net enrolment ratios, EP1 level, 1990-5**

Year	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
GER	63	60	56	54	54	57
NER	44	41	39	31	32	33

Source: UN, 1997: 28

The net enrolment ratio for girls was 28 percent in 1994, compared to 35 percent for boys. Moreover, enrolment ratios varied considerably between regions, with the Southern region having considerably higher levels than the Central or Northern regions. Lower levels of enrolment overall in the North particularly also reflect a wider gender gap: in 1994, 49 percent of those in EP1 were girls in Maputo, compared to under 40 percent in Zambezia, Niassa and Cabo Delgado (42 percent of EP1 students overall were girls). There is also disparity in repetition rates: overall rates were 33 percent in 1994, but 36 percent for girls, compared to 31 percent for boys.

The education programme for refugees in Malawi was reported to be quite successful, reaching 45 percent of those eligible, and followed the Mozambican curriculum with teaching in Portuguese. Elsewhere (e.g. in Swaziland and South Africa) education was in English or no formal provision was made, so that access to basic education was only available via local schools, in English. Expectations of the refugees returning from Malawi were high in respect of education provision but data from Tete in 1993 showed that only 30 percent of the eligible population had access to schooling (*ibid*).

The erosion of the already limited skills base also occurred during war time as a result of people being unable to practise their profession or normal economic activity during wartime. Skills training and income-generation programmes were available in some refugee camps although these varied in effectiveness and, with a few notable exceptions, tend to be gender biased in their approaches (Ager *et al*, 1995; Dzimbiri, 1995).

### 5.3 Access to education and training by gender

Enrolment ratios show a narrowing of the gender disparities in education in Mozambique since Independence. The share of girls in primary education rose from 34 percent in 1975 to 44 percent in 1988, falling slightly to 42 percent in 1992 (EP1 level). In 1988, girls were 38 percent of enrolment at EP2 level and between 1975 and 1986, they constituted about a third of secondary enrolments. By 1992, girls made up 37 percent of secondary enrolments (UNICEF/GOM, 1994; Woodward *et al.*, 1994).<sup>105</sup> Female enrolment is particularly low in

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<sup>105</sup> In 1994, girls were 39 percent of students at ESG1 level and 35 percent at ESG2 level (UN, 1997: 26).

technical and higher education, where women constitute 21<sup>106</sup> and 25 percent of pupils respectively (Van der Eecken, 1994: 12).

**Table 4: Literacy rate by gender (%)**

	1986	1990	1995
Male	41	45	58
Female	15	21	30

Source: Forum Mulher, 1994b; UN, 1997: 28.<sup>107</sup>

Nevertheless, literacy indicators (see Table 4) reveal continued wide disparities in educational outcomes, which suggest that female attendance rates are low or erratic. This does not show up in significant disparities in drop-out rates, but rather in repetition and promotion rates, where boys outperform girls especially in rural areas. While some sources suggest that the literacy gap between men and women is closing (DNE, 1995: 13), others raise doubts about this (UNICEF/GOM, 1994: 111).

Gender inequalities in education vary with a rural-urban and income-based inequalities. For example, in high-income districts in Maputo, boys have higher drop-out rates than girls, while in rural Nampula, data suggest a drop-out rate for girls of 87 percent, compared to 60 percent for boys.

The reasons for high drop-out rates include:

- limited relevance of schooling to adult life;
- pressures of domestic and productive work;
- population movements partly connected with war;
- erosion of school culture due to the war;
- high costs of education;
- early marriage and pregnancy (mainly affecting girls in rural areas);
- slow educational progress, due to poor quality of education;
- limited post-primary opportunities.

Most of these factors are likely to have a greater effect on female than male enrolment (Woodward *et al.*, 1994, citing Palme, 1992).

#### 5.4 Current education and vocational training policy and provision

Education is a priority for the post-war government and there has been an increase in spending in the sector from 10 percent of recurrent government expenditure to 16 percent in

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<sup>106</sup> Girls are 29 percent of basic technical enrolments and only 15 percent of secondary technical enrolments (UN, 1997: 26).

<sup>107</sup> Since the data for 1986, 1990 are from a different source to that for 1995, it may be that there are differences in the approach to measurement.

1994-5. In spite of policy emphasis on basic education, 49 percent of this is allocated to basic education, compared to 23 percent for higher education.<sup>108</sup>

Since the end of the war, schools are being rebuilt in rural areas, although progress is comparatively slow, by a whole range of government and non-government organisations. In 1995, 4167 primary schools were reported to be open, increased from 3,384 in 1993 (UN, 1997: 25). Shortage of school places means that most schools operate on a shift system, with two or three shifts per day. It is not clear whether the plans for the reconstruction or rehabilitation of schools address specific constraints to female enrolment, such as location and distance, availability of toilet facilities, employment of female teachers, or gender biases in curriculum.

Current policy emphasises basic education and is attempting to reallocate resources to this away from higher level provision. However, secondary and higher level provision will also need to be increased in order meet the demand from the increased numbers graduating from primary schools, as coverage is extended and to address the massive skills gap in administration and management and at junior professional levels. The legacy of war is that a large number of young people missed out on some or all of their education, or had it interrupted, requiring additional non-formal and adult education provision. It is not clear whether girls are more likely than boys to have missed out on education.

Current education policy recognises gender biases in education and special initiatives have been taken to address these, particularly in Northern provinces, where disparities are widest. It is mainly at upper primary and secondary levels where constraints to female education become marked, relating to distance to travel to higher level schools (usually in district towns or provincial capitals) and the expectation that pupils will stay away from home. Girls are not expected to seek or obtain jobs in the formal sector and therefore formal qualifications are seen as less relevant than for young men. They are also expected to perform domestic tasks in the household and marry relatively young, so that they cannot travel far from either the paternal home or, once married, the marital home, to access school. A high proportion of the women interviewed during the fieldwork had stopped their education on marriage.

In rural areas particularly, the initiation ceremonies which both girls and boys undergo in their early teens have an impact on enrolment. For girls, these ceremonies mark their transition to womanhood and the absence from school entailed, as well as feelings of shame, embarrassment or impropriety subsequently experienced in mixed sex situations, tend to act as a disincentive to girls' returning to school. There is reported to be a resurgence of activity of this kind in the post-conflict period.<sup>109</sup>

Supply side factors also influence gender biases in enrolment. School fees and payments for other materials (both formal and informal) are a major household expense, mentioned by most interviewees and may lead to boys' education being prioritised.<sup>110</sup> One or two women interviewed, who were sole income earners, said they could not afford to send their daughters to school. Poverty may also mean that children are expected to contribute to household

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<sup>108</sup> Forty three percent of external support to education goes to the higher education sector, compared to 22 percent to EP1 level (UN, 1997: 27).

<sup>109</sup> Filipa Baltazar, personal communication.

<sup>110</sup>In recognition of this, fees have been reduced or removed for girls in some schools.

income, through begging, petty trading, or even prostitution, leaving little time for schooling. Poor quality of education, with unqualified or inexperienced teachers, large classes and few materials are also a deterrent to enrolment and attendance.

Another issue is the relevance of the curriculum and gender biases in the curriculum, both in terms of subject specialisation and in the content of teaching materials and role models set out for young men and women. At the technical secondary level, girls are mainly concentrated in commercial schools (training to be secretaries), while few attend agricultural or industrial schools.

The technical education system is out of date and bears limited relevance to the current labour market situation. Tracer studies of graduates from lower and secondary technical schools confirmed that they provided ‘training for unemployment.’ There is a need to reform the system and to ensure that gender biases are addressed; for example, formal training in agriculture is mainly provided to men, whilst women are the major producers, so that extensionists have limited access to women farmers.<sup>111</sup>

### 5.5 Skills training provision and needs

In the early 1990s, The National Institute for Employment and Vocational Training (INEFP) was set up in the Ministry of Labour in recognition of the failure of vocational training to address labour market demand and the need for a more integrated approach.<sup>112</sup> INEFP operates through a network of 22 Employment Centres across the country as well as six vocational training centres, in Maputo, Machava, Beira, Nampula and Inhambane.

In government training centres, courses are sometimes provided specially for women, for example in cooking, or hairdressing. These are not always aimed at promoting economic activity: some are geared towards improving women’s domestic skills. Participants are usually required to have a minimum of six years schooling. Widows, women ex-combatants and the unemployed in general are priority target groups for training.<sup>113</sup> Some women had participated in training overseas, in particular widows of miners, to produce overalls for export to South Africa. A group of women ex-combatants had also been sent to South Africa for a training of trainers course. In the Active Employment Promotion Centre in Inhambane, a number of women are being trained in panel beating, plumbing and other non-traditional skills. This is because of the high proportion of female-headed households in the area and because women participants themselves have spread the word about courses among their women, rather than a result of active attempts to recruit more women.<sup>114</sup> The Ministry of Labour also uses artisans at community level as trainers, after giving them training in how to teach.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Mieke Oldenburgh personal communication.

<sup>112</sup> Previously, vocational training was organised under the State Secretariat for Technical Education (SETEP) in the Ministry of Education and was heavily influenced by an East European model (Mario dos Anjos Rosario, personal communication).

<sup>113</sup> Gilberto Botas, personal communication. Although requested, no comprehensive breakdown of the percentage of trainees by gender in government centres and courses attended was made available by the Ministry of Labour.

<sup>114</sup> Jose Pinotes, personal communication.

<sup>115</sup> It was not clear what percentage of these are women: one woman tailor was mentioned, suggesting that women are the exception rather than the rule (Gilberto Botas, personal communication).

It is envisaged that in future, INEFP, through the Ministry of Labour's Active Training and Employment Promotion Programme (PROFEM), will have a role as both a promoter and facilitator of vocational training. INEFP has begun a nationwide survey of capacity in vocational training (INEFP, 1996: 6). Section 9 gives some indications of training components in various international agency and NGO programmes.

Box 7 summarises the experiences and perceptions of some women ex-combatants trained on DHO sponsored courses in sewing (see section 8 and Appendix 4 for further details of the DHO programme). The fact that little attention was paid to supporting the women in the formulation of business plans and that they were apparently not clear about the possibilities for obtaining financial support, is worrying. Also, the choice of traditionally 'female' sewing skills, in spite of the high level of market competition in this area, is difficult to justify.

### **Skills training needs**

Women interviewees, most of whom were informal sector traders, expressed a willingness to participate in training, but many did not have any specific ideas about what kind of training they would like to do, or what would benefit them in their current activity. A few mentioned sewing courses, perhaps reflecting dominant perceptions of what courses are suitable and available for women, rather than what would actually be of benefit (given the difficulties experienced by those women who actually attended sewing courses). Accounting, business and marketing skills for informal sector traders were also identified as training needs by a number of interviewees, although it was not clear how such training could be made effective for those women in marginal informal sector activities lacking access to credit or other support. One or two women interviewed had undergone such training, although they did not seem to be using the skills and knowledge acquired to any great extent. Older and illiterate women appeared to have less interest in training, because they felt they were not able to learn new skills without basic literacy. Pre-training literacy programmes may be needed for poor urban and rural women.<sup>116</sup> Quality of training was raised as an issue by women who had attended sewing courses: they were felt to be of insufficient length to provide skills which were economically viable.

Displaced women interviewed in accommodation centres in 1989 expressed the following needs for training: agricultural training (23 percent); basket making (17 percent); pottery (14 percent); sewing (14 percent), with correspondingly less emphasis on agriculture and more on other trades in Maputo province (Negrão, 1991).<sup>117</sup>

According to the women's department of AMODEG (the Association of Former Soldiers), the sorts of skills in which training would be useful for female ex-combatants are: management and administration, computing, accounting and secretarial skills. They also emphasised the need for academic training, particularly at secondary and university levels.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Mario dos Anjos Rosario, personal communication.

<sup>117</sup> The replies may have been biased by categories given in the questionnaire: it appears from the questionnaire that only agricultural or artisanal training were proposed as options.

<sup>118</sup> Jacinta Jorge, personal communication.

Other training priorities identified for women were: skills upgrading for artisans and professionals (including teachers, nurses); management training for the public and particularly voluntary sectors; training in advocacy and lobbying to increase the effectiveness of NGO and other civil society organisations; training in gender planning (rather than general gender awareness) and in participatory development for both government and NGO personnel.<sup>119</sup>

In terms of options for livelihoods or employment for 'war affected' groups and particularly women, there is a niche for training and vocational skills provision in agriculture and food processing e.g. drying, salting and preserving, which are poorly developed in Mozambique compared to neighbouring countries. Other potential markets include tourism and tourism related arts and crafts and building materials, such as fire bricks, roof tiles.<sup>120</sup>

**Box 7: Sewing training for women ex-combatants**

A group of twenty four demobilised women soldiers were trained in sewing and embroidery, at the Centro de Formação des Belas Artes in Maputo, part-time over a period of six months, under the auspices of the DHO (OSD) programme. Some were ex-Frelimo soldiers, others ex-Renamo, ranging in age from 18 to 38. Some had previous education or training through the army but few had previous experience of the job market. During the training they were given a subsidy of 70,000 MT (\$6.00) a month to cover their travel expenses. They were reliant on family support, in many cases, to be able to do the training. At least two of the women had young infants and others were expecting.

On completion of their training, each student was given a sewing machine to take away. A few of the best students were given small cash grants to assist with the purchase of materials. The micro-enterprise wing of the DHO project was assisting former trainees from these courses to apply for loans. Beyond this, there were no formal provisions for ongoing support.

An interview with three graduating trainees revealed a high level of anxiety about how they would apply their training. None of them had formulated concrete plans of the kind of job, business or activity they would like to carry out and all were anxious to receive financial support, seeing this as a pre-requisite of any future business activity. Nevertheless, they seemed unsure of how they could obtain this support. An additional anxiety related to the level of market competition, with large quantities of cheap second hand clothes in the marketplace.

One of those interviewed, Paciencia, pointed out that demobilised soldiers face specific discrimination in the labour market. In her view, they are looked down on. Moreover, some job adverts ask for five years' experience, a criteria which ex-combatants often cannot meet, having been in the army most or all of their adult life. Or job adverts specify an age range, e.g. of 30-35, which is lower than that for many demobilised (at least on the Frelimo side). While male ex-combatants can at least get jobs doing heavy manual labour, women need skills in order to gain employment.

*Source: Interviews with trainees and trainer at Centro de Formação des Belas Artes, Maputo*

<sup>119</sup> Teresinha da Silva, personal communication.

<sup>120</sup> Mieke Oldenburgh, personal communication.

## 6. COMMUNITY STRUCTURES AND GENDER RELATIONS

### 6.1 Community structures and gender relations before and during the war

During the colonial period, the Portuguese co-opted or replaced traditional leaders (*regulos*) in much of rural Mozambique, who were responsible for allocating land and collecting taxes. As the liberation war intensified, rural inhabitants were moved into *aldeamentos* (villages) as a means to control the population. On reaching power, FRELIMO replaced or sidelined the traditional structures by installing a hierarchy of closely-linked party and government administration, with sub-divisions at provincial, district, locality, *circulo*, *bairro* and zone levels, with each unit having its own secretary. Responsibility for women's affairs was delegated to the women's organisation (OMM), also organised down to grassroots level, although even before the war coverage was uneven in the country. Through these top down structures, processes of consultation with communities did occur under FRELIMO around major campaigns or changes in policy and legislation. Peasants were moved into communal villages (*aldeias comunais*) and organised into state farms and co-operatives, although by the early 1980s, these policies had begun to collapse.

FRELIMO and OMM challenged the patriarchal family structure, through campaigns against traditional practices, attempts to improve women's legal rights and equality both as citizens and within marriage and through giving women a voice and opportunities for leadership both within OMM and party structures. However, the top leadership remained exclusively male and policies were contradictory, since single women were perceived and often treated as prostitutes and in reality many were forced to survive and support children through sex work of more or less formal kinds. Government leaders often made angry statements vilifying prostitutes and many were criminalised or even rounded up and sent to the countryside (Hanlon, 1984).

FRELIMO's policies generated considerable resentment among those involved in or loyal to traditional leadership structures. In the Northern matrilineal communities, elder women with important ceremonial and ritual powers, were marginalised under FRELIMO (Jacobson, 1995: 34). There was also resentment of the communal villages policy, both because of the practical difficulties they created (e.g. distance to walk to fields) and because they removed people from ancestral sites of spiritual significance.

By the early 1980s, the rhetoric and practice in relation to gender equality had shifted, with increasing emphasis on the family as the basic unit of society, on preserving marital harmony, and on the importance of women's household work, as well as extensions of this role in the community, e.g. in street sweeping, organising community events.

While the conventional wisdom is that war has a profoundly disruptive impact on families and communities, some studies point to the importance of social networks and kin relations as cohesive forces during the conflict, including for displaced and refugee groups. Communities often moved together and in some cases displayed remarkable sense of unity and loyalty to traditional leaders (e.g. Wilson, 1992). At the same time, there have clearly been major shifts in 'normal' social relations at both household and community levels.

## 6.2 Post war community structure and intra-household relations

In the post-conflict period, there are complex and overlapping community structures, and the question of who holds power at local level remains a highly contested one. In general, government structures closely linked to the party (FRELIMO) remain in place in areas held by FRELIMO during the war, while Renamo reinstated their own 'traditional' authorities in areas that they controlled (chiefs were known as *mambos* in Renamo-held areas). Situations vary considerably depending on local histories and kinship systems. Many places have parallel authority structures. There are often multiple 'traditional' authorities including former *regulos*, heads of lineages and religious authorities, all of whom may have considerable influence as unofficial community or even local government advisors. Local secretaries are often advised by groups of elders, which may include both men and women (Whiteside, 1995). Each structure has its own clearly defined hierarchy which is difficult for outsiders (even Mozambican outsiders) to penetrate. For this reason, it is often preferable for NGOs to work through informal structures.<sup>121</sup>

The post-war period has in general seen a reconciliation between government and traditional authorities. In some areas, both government and 'traditional' leaders are from the same lineage. Traditional leaders have regained influence, particularly in areas where Renamo was strong, and are playing a major role in post-war land allocation (Waterhouse, 1997).<sup>122</sup> Local elders have been active in reviving traditional ceremonies, including initiation rites (Whiteside, 1995).<sup>123</sup>

Local elections will take place in late 1997, in much but not all of the country and these may considerably alter local power structures. At the time of writing, regulations for the elections had not been issued. Women's organisations are planning to play an active role in promoting women's candidacy and participation in these elections, with some donor support.<sup>124</sup>

### **Rebuilding communities**

Since the war ended, there have been marked changes in the communities in rural Mozambique. However, opinions differ and conditions vary in terms of progress in rebuilding communities.

When the SCF programme officer first visited communities in Zambezia (Morrumbula) in mid-1995, people were still hiding in the bush. Since then, houses have been rebuilt, bicycles have appeared, people are better dressed, women are selling produce by the side of the road and markets have reappeared. Over 90 percent of people have returned to their communities and social relations have begun to be rebuilt.<sup>125</sup> Several communities involved in participatory research in 1994-5 (Whiteside, 1995) had mechanisms for distributing food and seeds to those who lacked these resources, and some for lending or redistributing cattle.

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<sup>121</sup> Jane Gibreel, personal communication.

<sup>122</sup> Provisions and implementation of the new land law will be important in determining the future role of traditional leaders and other authorities in this area.

<sup>123</sup> Whiteside (1995: 56) reports elders reviving a three-month initiation for women in Mavodze village of Massingir district, Gaza province.

<sup>124</sup> Julieta Langa, personal communication.

<sup>125</sup> Jane Gibreel, personal communication.

In remote parts of rural Niassa, where Oxfam are working, communities are reported to remain isolated, and shattered as a result of the war. Some people have been away from their home areas for up to 18 years. Two and a half years ago, the communities started to reconstitute themselves. Although the communities exist, the social fabric is very fragile and just beginning to re-establish itself. There is a lack of trust and preparedness to share. Reconstituting this social fabric will be a long-term process, since traditional methods of co-operation have broken down.<sup>126</sup>

Alongside physical processes of rehabilitation and regeneration of economic activity, processes of psychological and spiritual and social healing have also been carried out in communities. *Cuandeiros* have been active in healing whole villages, including child soldiers and victims of war on all sides of conflict. These address individual circumstances: there is a ceremony for every contingency, and these are not just focused on individuals but the whole community. These processes are ongoing.<sup>127</sup>

There is a widely held view that working with groups and collectives in post-war Mozambique is difficult because of the history of co-operatives and their association with FRELIMO. The word ‘association’ is generally used rather than co-operative, to draw a line between current and past organisations. Before and during the war, co-operative activity was virtually compulsory and so now there is a reluctance to engage in associative activities.<sup>128</sup>

## **Gender relations**

There are few, if any, detailed, longitudinal studies of gender relations in Mozambique which examine intra-household dynamics. For this reason, and because of variations between contexts and other changes in the external environment with major social consequences, it is unwise to generalise about the impact of war on gender relations. Section 2 gives some general indications on gender relations in pre-war Mozambique.

Studies of gender relations in Zambezia province since the end of the war have found variation in intra-household decision making and bargaining positions, as reflected in control over food or cash, depending on individual household characteristics and, on, *inter alia*, household formation (e.g. monogamous versus polygynous) and between patrilineal and matrilineal areas (Whiteside, 1996). In general, women have a responsibility for food production, but decisions over whether to sell are taken either jointly or by the man, even though the physical process of marketing food is more often done by women. Cash is more commonly controlled by men, although with some variation. In some instances, women hold cash reserves although men may still decide how it is to be spent. Sometimes, decisions are taken jointly and sometimes cash income is not pooled but held separately. Women have also developed systems for recouping men’s cash incomes, e.g. beer brewing, especially important for female-headed households (*ibid*, 1996). Women sometimes conceal food stocks from men, using methods developed during the war (Barron, 1996).

Changes in gender relations within the household during and following the conflict require more detailed research. This will be crucial to the design of interventions which aim to

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<sup>126</sup> Nick Roseveare, personal communication.

<sup>127</sup> Jane Gibreel, personal communication.

<sup>128</sup> Diana Pereira, personal communication; Helena Zefanias, personal communication.

improve women's employment and income earning prospects and to support women's empowerment.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> During a visit to Campoane, Maputo province, a field study on the impact of a credit programme run by MBEU (see section 9) on intra-household relations and women's empowerment was being carried out by a Dutch researcher.

## 7. THE PEACE PROCESS AND THE POLITICAL AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK

### 7.1 Women's interests, the Constitution and the peace process

The 1990 Constitution paved the way for peace, political liberalisation and set out the framework for multiparty elections. It is not clear to what extent the new Constitution was drawn up with popular consultation, in particular with women's groups. There is a long tradition (through FRELIMO, OMM) of commitment to issues of women's emancipation, so there is acceptance of women organising to promote their interests. A new law introduced in the late 1980s allowed for the establishment of NGOs and this has led to a proliferation of new organisations, including women's organisations (see Appendix 8 for some examples). However, there is considerable distance between younger, educated, urban women who are leading many of the new women's organisations which had sprung up since 1992-3 and the rural, uneducated women with whom they wish to work, at the levels of culture, language and experience.<sup>130</sup>

The General Peace Accord (GPA) of 1992, which formally ended the war in Mozambique, was negotiated (in the period 1990-2) through the Catholic church, with strong Italian influence. However, it has been argued that the combination of drought in the period 1990-2 and war weariness of combatants (most of whom were conscripts) and the general population was such that, by the early 1990s, people were establishing their own peace at local levels (Wilson, 1994, cited in Barron 1996). The *Naparama* forces in Zambezia, for example, which were aligned to neither side, succeeded in liberating much of the province from Renamo control in 1990-1 (Barron, 1996).

The popular Mozambican Peace Movement (MMP), was launched in 1992, alongside the formal peace negotiations, in order to pressurise the two main political forces into making an agreement and to lobby on specific issues. Church groups were heavily involved in the setting up of the movement, with members of both sexes. The MMP wrote letters to political leaders, and other governments, impressing the need to end the conflict after 30 years of war. At this stage, women were not prominent in the movement, although they were active in community level and church organisations.<sup>131</sup> Although women's organisations were not directly involved in peace negotiations, women's influence was felt indirectly in that they are the majority of church members and the churches played an important role in generating the will at local level for peace and reconciliation.<sup>132</sup>

On October 4, 1992, the General Peace Accord (GPA) was signed providing for ceasefire arrangements, which came into force on 15 October, the demobilisation of forces on both sides, and the integration of volunteers into a joint army. It also set out a landmine clearance programme and a framework for subsequent elections, including provisions and funds to transform Renamo into a political party capable of fighting the election (Waterhouse, 1996). The GPA did not contain any specific provisions addressing women's rights or interests. There were no special measures envisaged, for example, regarding female participation in the electoral process. Nor, more generally, were any provisions made to deal with human rights abuses committed during the war.

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<sup>130</sup> Julieta Langa, personal communication.

<sup>131</sup> Julieta Langa, personal communication.

<sup>132</sup> Leontina dos Munchangos, personal communication.

There were many bureaucratic and political delays in the process of implementing the GPA, and elections, originally scheduled for 1993, were delayed, leading to unnecessary suffering, including loss of life due to landmine explosions; as well as rioting and deaths in assembly centres for soldiers. Demobilisation began in March 1994 (see section 8) and in August of the same year, a much reduced national army (FADM) was formed. FRELIMO won a majority in the presidential elections in October 1994, and the largest number of seats in the new parliament (see 7.2 for further details).

In 1994, women inside the MMP decided to create a women's movement. This initiative was rooted in a feeling that the main political parties were not addressing women's interests, for example those of demobilised women. During 1994, the women's peace movement did some education and awareness raising work. However, in 1995-6, their activities were very limited: the war was over and for most people there was little understanding that the issues related to conflict had not finished with the war. They also lacked capacity in conflict resolution skills, having no training in this area. In September 1996 the women's peace movement applied for legal recognition as an NGO. They have also been successful in seeking funding for awareness-raising and training work with women in preparation for the Municipal Elections in November 1997.

## 7.2 Gender equality and the 1994 elections

Elections were held in October 1994, which were the key to the peace process in Mozambique. Up to the last minute, Renamo was stalling and negotiating for power sharing arrangements. In the event, the elections went ahead and, in the presidentials, FRELIMO's Chissano won 53.3 percent of the vote compared to 33.7 percent for Afonso Dhaklama. In the elections for the National Assembly, FRELIMO won the largest number of seats (129) but they did not gain an absolute majority and Renamo took a surprisingly high 112 seats. At the time of the election, the percentage of women in national assembly was 24.4 percent, the majority being Frelimo representatives (48 out of 129 Frelimo deputies, 12 out of 112 Renamo). There were no female presidential candidates (Jacobson, 1995).

Overall, 81 percent of the eligible population registered to vote and there was an estimated 90 percent turnout of registered voters. There is no data disaggregated by gender on the registration or turnout, although spot checks on the registration process and on election days indicated no obvious bias. If anything, women were a slight majority, reflecting their representation in the overall population. However, women were under-represented as candidates, although in comparative terms they did not fare badly, especially among FRELIMO candidates, with a one third women's quota. Women also lacked representation among national (2/21) and local representatives of the national electoral commission (CNE), and in voter registration teams, many of which had no or only one women member. This was in part due to educational requirements which implicitly introduced a bias against women, with their higher rate of illiteracy and lower rate of speaking Portuguese than men. OMM and other women's groups made separate efforts to encourage women voters and candidates but lacked the resources to mount a comprehensive campaign. While there was no formal exclusion of women from the electoral process and some aspects of the civic education campaign did address gender issues, the structural nature of women's subordination and of constraints to women's political participation were not addressed (*ibid.*).

While numerically, women have a significant presence in Parliament (now at 27 percent - one of the highest representations in the world), in some views they are not very effective or visible as a grouping. Few women MPs are vocal in Parliament and there are no cross-party women's groups. Attempts to set up such groups have quickly become associated with specific parties and so are difficult to maintain as a cross-party initiative<sup>133</sup>. Within the Mozambican Assembly, there is a Parliamentary Commission on Social and Gender issues, which reviews existing and proposed legislation and government programmes in the light of gender concerns.<sup>134</sup>

Women's representation in politics and decision-making is lower outside of Parliament, as Table 5 shows. At lower levels of government, women's representation falls. Not a single provincial governor and only one of 128 district administrators are female, showing considerable resistance to women in leadership positions. (UN, 1997: 37).

**Table 5: Women in politics and decision making**

<b>Indicators</b>	<b>percentage women</b>
Seats in Parliament (1997)	28
Women in government (1995)	13.2
Ministers	3.6
Sub-ministerial	14.9
Administrators and managers (1990).	11
Prof. and technical workers (1990)	20

Source: UN, 1997: 37

Women in the MMP are working with leaders of political parties to identify women candidates for the municipal elections<sup>135</sup> (FRELIMO already has a target of one third women candidates) and are setting up an office to promote training of women as candidates. In addition, they will provide electoral education for the municipal elections.<sup>136</sup> Both the process and outcome are crucial for women's influence over local level decision-making, which is of increasing importance in the context of decentralisation.

### 7.3 The legal framework for gender equality

Article 63 of the 1990 Constitution sets out formal equality in rights and duties for women and men and in June 1993, Mozambique ratified CEDAW. However, the principle of gender equality introduced in the 1975 Constitution and upheld by its 1990 successor, is contradicted in the application of discriminatory formal laws inherited from the Portuguese and diverse customary norms, applied according to local rules and practices. *Shariah* law, for Mozambique's Muslim community, as well as other religious codes, renders the picture even more complex (Pehrsson, 1993).

<sup>133</sup> Julieta Langa, personal communication

<sup>134</sup> Diana Pereira, personal communication

<sup>135</sup> The municipal elections will take place in 23 cities and 10 of the newly created 68 towns. The creation of municipalities in 1996 also led to the designation of 128 rural districts and 393 administrative posts (UN, 1997).

<sup>136</sup> Julieta Langa, personal communication

In practice, the definition of men as heads of household in the pre-existing Civil code, means that in matters of marriage, maintenance, custody and succession, or other aspects of 'family law,' women are discriminated against, in both patrilineal and matrilineal communities (WILSA, 1996).

Since Independence, the promulgation of the 'draft family law' has attempted to address some of these issues, but this does not yet have the full status of formal law and a number of issues remain to be resolved, to reconcile customary practice with constitutional principles. The existing draft remains discriminatory in a number of respects (*ibid.*).

To date, issues raised by 'family law' remain controversial in Mozambique and in the immediate aftermath of the conflict, have not been addressed (Pehrsson, 1993). The role of traditional authorities in overseeing customary law, supplanted in the post-Independence era by people's (now community) courts, may be growing in the post-war situation, given the vacuum in state power created by the conflict (WILSA, 1996). The community courts have been an important vehicle for women to gain access to legal redress, as well as to participate in local level decision-making, although in practice they often apply customary norms.<sup>137</sup>

The legal rights of widows and other female heads of household, as well as children, with respect to maintenance and succession, are particularly important in the aftermath of war, where many have lost husbands or parents. Assumptions that widows are reabsorbed into extended families in matrilineal areas, for example, are no longer found to hold (*ibid.*).<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Women were one third of adjudicators in people's courts, in the immediate post-Independence period (Pehrsson, 1993).

<sup>138</sup> The Women in Law in Southern Africa (WILSA) project has sponsored long-term research into these issues, which is being carried out by a multidisciplinary team of researchers and legal advisers, based at the Centre for African Studies, UEM. (See WILSA, 1992; 1996).

## 8. GENDER ISSUES IN RELIEF, REHABILITATION AND REINTEGRATION PROGRAMMES IN MOZAMBIQUE

### 8.1 Emergency relief, refugee assistance, rehabilitation and returnee programmes

Emergency relief, refugee assistance, rehabilitation and returnee programmes in Mozambique were implemented by UN agencies, (overseen by UNOHAC) in conjunction with government (principally DPCCN) and NGOs. A few studies have highlighted gender aspects of these programmes (Murungu, 1995; Ager *et al*, 1995; Forum Mulher, 1996). Appendix 3 gives a detailed gender analysis of the ILO/UNDP Feeder Roads Programme.

WFP have experienced some difficulties in getting women involved in food for work activities. Communities often push forward men. Women have major time constraints, and the type of labour (heavy) and requirements to handle technology tend to lead to men coming forward. Men are mainly involved in recruitment and so tend to select other men<sup>139</sup>. Attempts to involve women are limited by the imperative to create visible infrastructure rapidly. UNHCR (1996) also reports that good intentions on gender and community participation in their programmes for returning refugees proved difficult to implement due to lack of local knowledge.

Studies of refugee settlements and assistance programmes have suggested that gender inequalities can be reinforced by inappropriately designed interventions. In the major assistance programme for Mozambican refugees in Malawi, relief distribution systems led to nutritional disadvantage for second wives of polygamous households (who gave a portion of their rations to their husbands), and increased time burdens on women, due to lengthy distribution processes and foods requiring long preparation and cooking. Unequal access to educational, training and income-earning opportunities were further consequences of these constraints on women's time. Structures of representation in refugee camps and communities were male dominated and attempts to improve female representation half hearted and top down. (Ager *et al*, 1995.)

Attempts to promote training and income generation within refugee assistance programmes were not very successful in generating incomes, had low participation of women (typically in part-time, gender typed activities, while training offered to men was more intensive). Those women who were generating independent incomes were doing so from their own activities, rather than activities supported by training but most women had no access to cash incomes. A great deal of women's time was spent in household-based work in camps, while men, having little opportunity for formal work, tended to socialise. Rather than direct measures to support training and increase participation, efforts to increase women's time availability (through improved distribution systems, water and health provision, for example) and support existing economic activities, are suggested. (*ibid.*)

Murungu (1995) reviews emergency food aid and related assistance provided by WFP, government and NGOs in the post-conflict period, in Sofala and Manica provinces, based on fieldwork in May-June 1995, with a focus on its gender impact. The priority given to 'recent' as opposed to 'old' returnees and on returnees rather than internally displaced (or otherwise 'affected') persons, is thought to have created divisions and increased antagonism within

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<sup>139</sup> Bai Bojang, personal communication

communities and often meant that supplies went to the better off returnees. In some instances, communities refused food aid deliveries where no provisions were made for other groups, or handouts were shared, so that their impact on individual households became negligible. In general, communities participated little in the process and organisations and government relied heavily on *regulos* for information about returnees and internally displaced. Villagers complained that vulnerable women, child headed or elderly households were not given sufficient attention. Moreover, the assumption that food aid handouts would cease to be necessary after the first harvest was found to be over-optimistic. Many had traded elements of their return packages in exchange for labour to assist with clearing fields. Women alone, in particular, were disadvantaged in terms of clearing land and would have benefited from additional support.

Distribution processes and mechanisms were found to disadvantage women, since virtually no women were allocated paid employment in food aid provision, although women were sometimes used as volunteers, e.g. in childcare, or health work. The nature of relief supplies (beans, maize) added considerably to women's work burden, in food processing and cooking. This heavy workload, in turn, led to girls being kept away from school. Women who had received training in refugee settlements were given no assistance in how to use their skills and development projects (particularly Quick Impact Projects or QIPs implemented by NGOs for UNHCR) had no specific mechanisms for encouraging women's participation and employment of women was negligible (*ibid.*)

A series of measures, including education and awareness raising among women, measures to alleviate women's workload, employment of women, mechanisms for consulting women and encouraging their participation, gender training of personnel, and inclusion of provisions on gender issues in institutional agreements, are highlighted as ways to improve programmes in future (*ibid.*)

## 8.2 Demobilisation and reintegration

### **Background to demobilisation and reintegration process**

Following the GPA in 1992, Mozambique was faced with the problem of reintegrating around 93,000 soldiers from both sides of the conflict. Whilst a range of groups affected by war (returning refugees, internally displaced etc.) had pressing needs, the combatants were prioritised for reintegration support since they were seen as the primary threat to political stability (Bryant, 1996). The GPA set out the steps by which this could occur and provided for approximately 30,000 soldiers to remain in the new, integrated armed forces. Outbreaks of unrest in centres where soldiers had gathered for demobilisation added to the perception that reintegration for this group was a priority.

Risk of insecurity and political instability continued to be factors determining the priority given (on a geographical basis) by IOM in terms of support to reintegration, in 1995-6. Many of the incidents reported were not strictly political in nature but rather related to the reintegration programme itself. Unrest among ex-soldiers resulted from lateness in payments or nonpayment of pensions, or other subsidies and grants, concerns about the discontinuation of payment schemes, misinformation and rumour about available funds, and the inadequacy of training and employment opportunities (IOM, 1996).

## Gender issues in demobilisation

Women formed a small percentage of those recognised as combatants in the demobilisation process, 1,380 out of 92,881, or 1.48 percent. Table 4 gives a breakdown by province of origin (birth) and resettlement of the ex-combatants covered by the demobilisation programmes, and specific data for women ex-combatants. The data suggest movement away from provincial areas to urban centres in the resettlement. Movements were in the same direction for both sexes, in most cases. The influences on these trends are complex, relating to previous migration history, familial and marital ties, labour opportunities, and the demobilisation process itself.

**Table 6: Demobilised soldiers by province of origin and resettlement, and gender.**

Resettlement province	No. of demob. by province of origin	No of demob by province of resettlement	No of women by province of origin	No of women by province of resettlement
Cabo Delgado	8380	6772 (81)	67	49 (73)
Gaza	6143	4808 (78)	70	51 (73)
Inhambane	9418	6571 (70)	92	62 (67)
Manica	7404	9034 (122)	277	266 (96)
Maputo province	1622	3901 (240)	36	34 (94)
Nampula	12657	12053 (95)	47	66 (140)
Niassa	9065	8593 (95)	27	27 (100)
Sofala	11185	12767 (114)	348	381 (109)
Tete	6362	5479 (86)	60	51 (85)
Zambezia	18611	15444 (83)	183	168 (92)
Maputo city	1543	7399 (480)	73	222 (304)
n.i.	491	60	100	3
Total	92881	92881	1380	1380

**Source:** Based on data in UNDP/Reintegration Support Scheme, Pardoel, n.d.: Tables 1,3,18,20.

UNDP/RSS (n.d.) gives a detailed statistical profile of the ex-combatant population at the moment of demobilisation, although most indicators (age at incorporation and demobilisation, education, civil status, previous and desired profession) are not broken down by gender. Prior to demobilisation, the majority of ex-combatants were school students (37 percent) or worked in agriculture or fisheries (21 percent). In terms of desired profession, 34 percent wished to work in agriculture, eight percent in trade (compared to 2.75 percent before), ten percent in industry (compared to six percent before) and ten percent in transport (compared to 2.5 percent before). Less than ten percent expressed a willingness to remain in the unified armed forces (FADM).

AMODEG is a non-profit, non-aligned organisation, representing the interests of ex-combatants. The women's department of AMODEG was formed on December 17 1994, in response to a perception that AMODEG overall is only geared to addressing men's problems

and to projects catering for those demobilised during the peace process.<sup>140</sup> For example, only men were involved in the distribution of the 18-month resettlement allowance for ex-combatants. Payments were issued to men, and clothes were issued which fitted men; women were given only small *capulanas* (wrappers). AMODEG women's department is involved in both direct support to ex-combatants and in lobbying for equal rights for women ex-combatants with their male counterparts. There are particular groups, for example, war widows who lost all their children or unemployed or disabled widows or ex-combatants, whom AMODEG is trying to support, for example through scholarships for children.<sup>141</sup>

The prevailing sentiment among the women of AMODEG, on both sides, is that they were used for political purposes and that the conflict was not really in their interests. Promises made to them have not been fulfilled. This common feeling had created a strong bond between former Renamo and former FRELIMO fighters. For example, in Beira, demobilised women of both sides had joined forces to fight for pension rights, even though many Renamo women were not eligible for pensions.<sup>142</sup>

The academic level of women soldiers is on average higher than for the men. Many of the ex-FRELIMO women (now in the age range 35-6) have up to first level secondary school education. Ex-Renamo women tend to be younger (15 upwards). According to AMODEG women's section, the main skills on offer through DHO (e.g. carpentry) were targeted at men. The courses offered to women (sewing, secretarial skills) were too short and the machines provided at the end of the course were inadequate. Also, once trainees had completed the courses, money was not available for most of them to start businesses. Former trainees had been encouraged to work in pairs or groups to develop projects for submission to funders. This was a requirement for funding, rather than a voluntary process and there appears to be some reluctance on the part of trainees<sup>143</sup>. The frustration of women ex-combatants may in part be a result of the changes in their role in the post-conflict situation; they are expected to fit into gender-typed activities, in subordinate roles, having been through violent and traumatic experiences alongside men.

Other problems faced by women ex-combatants are the need for specialised psychological support, which demands hospital fees, particularly for those who entered the armies at a young age. Housing problems on leaving the army also pose specific difficulties for women ex-soldiers, as well as health care for children<sup>144</sup>.

Haerberlin-Lanz (1996) conducted a psychological study<sup>145</sup> of the reintegration of ex-combatants in Mozambique, which highlighted gender differences in the experience of war, and also of the demobilisation and reintegration process.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> A number of combatants, women and men, were demobilised before the start of the peace process. AMODEG women's section are currently doing research, funded by SDC and the Dutch, into the numbers of women who were demobilised before the UNOMOZ operation (Jacinta Jorge, personal communication).

<sup>141</sup> Jacinta Jorge, personal communication. AMODEG (1996).

<sup>142</sup> Pensions were only available for women who were aged 18 or over when they entered the armed forces: this excluded many Renamo women - and men - combatants who were under eighteen.

<sup>143</sup> Jacinta Jorge, Rabelina Manual, personal communication.

<sup>144</sup> Jacinta Jorge, personal communication.

<sup>145</sup> Studies of the psychological state of adult ex-combatants are relatively rare in Mozambique, while there are a number of programmes and studies focusing on former child soldiers and unaccompanied children (e.g. the reintegration programmes of UNICEF and SCF; Charnley and da Silva in ILO, 1995).

The study found that, at a superficial level (i.e. in terms of living arrangements and social contacts), reintegration into family and social life was relatively successful, with the majority of ex-combatants living with family members or other adults and maintaining friendships. In general, however, there were indications of considerable hardship, even among this relatively well educated group and in spite of their receipt of RSS subsidies, more or less up to the time of the study.

Of the men, 92 percent are living with their wives and in most cases children, while 35 percent of the women are raising children as lone parents. Over one third of women reported serious problems in family relationships, compared to only one fifth of men, such as economic stress and dependence and personal problems with partners or children. While 42 percent of the men were living in their areas of origin, this was true for only 15 percent of the women interviewed. An implication of this is that some women lack the support of the extended family which is a disadvantage in economic terms. 'The fare for transport to the family in the provinces is often exorbitant. For this reason, at least 30 percent of the women (in Maputo) had not yet celebrated the traditionally necessary purification and reintegration rites which must be done together with family members at the place of origin' (*ibid*: 13). By contrast, only 17 percent of the male interviewees had not yet undergone these ceremonies 'for economic reasons'.

Only one of the women had worked as an employee prior to entering the military, compared to 30 percent of the men, reflecting the younger age of women and gender divisions of labour. Most of the women had been working in agriculture (*machamba*) or studying prior to entering the armed forces. A few of the men had begun professional training before entering the army. In terms of expectations, most wished to secure employment or livelihood and to improve the living conditions for their family, while a few hoped to improve on their missed education. A few women expressed a desire to move to their areas of origin.

The majority of trainees expressed satisfaction with the training (although it should be borne in mind that they were still doing it). Most, men and women, wished to become self-employed and were expecting to receive funds or credit to start up businesses, although they had little concrete information or assurance about this. While about a third of the men had formulated plans about how to apply their training in the future, almost none of the women had concrete plans and only one had a job offer.

In terms of traumatic experiences, high scores were recorded for both women and men, but particularly for men, the majority of whom had direct combat experience, while only half the women had such experience. Rape or sexual abuse and kidnapping were the two traumatic experiences which women reported to a greater degree than men (see section 3). In spite of the apparently lower degree of trauma experienced by men, in terms of indicators of

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<sup>146</sup> The study aimed to assess the degree of psycho-social integration of ex-combatants in civilian society and provide of psychological profile of these ex-combatants, three years after the peace process. Interviews were conducted in October/November 1995 and February 1996 with 76 ex-combatants, all then participants in DHO training programmes, of whom 40 were women based in Maputo and 36 men based in provinces, Manica and Tete. This was not a representative sample of ex-combatants (more educated, better integrated than average profile as highlighted above); moreover, strictly speaking direct gender comparisons are not valid, because the women interviewed were all urban based whilst the men were all based in provincial areas, such that the women would tend to be better educated on average than the men.

psychological distress, the women interviewed seemed far more susceptible to moderate or severe cases of post traumatic stress disorder than the men interviewed, indicating a need for at least outpatient psychotherapy or equivalent support, particularly targeting the specific needs of women. None of the interviewees had received psychotherapeutic help.

The reasons for women's apparently higher levels of distress, speculatively, may relate to the reluctance of men to admit psychological problems, the higher degree of social isolation of women in urban areas (of whom 85 percent are living away from areas of origin and a higher percentage with no family support), the difficulties faced by urban women in enacting traditional purification ceremonies, leaving to increased feelings of marginalisation, or the fact that male roles in war are socially sanctioned, whereas female roles are not, causing a sense of alienation and lack of acceptance among women ex-combatants.

For future training programmes for ex-combatants, the study recommends raising awareness of the phenomenon of war-related mental health problems among ex-combatants, initiating group discussions on this, and assisting individuals to make plans about their future during the training period (Haberlin-Lanz, 1996).

On a broader level, the study recommends the setting up of gender-specific psychotherapy groups for demobilised soldiers, in consultation with public health professionals and AMODEG. The setting up of self-help groups is also recommended, as is more detailed research into traditional healing processes, their relative accessibility to men and women, rural and urban residents and possibilities of supporting such activities in local communities (*ibid.*)

Barron (1996) examines the demobilisation and reintegration process in Mozambique from a gender perspective, noting that demobilisation is essentially a bureaucratic procedure, while reintegration is a long-term process, with personal, psychological, spiritual, and social as well as economic aspects. She finds that the reintegration process in Mozambique essentially focused on the economic aspects (i.e. providing subsidies, training, credit and employment) with very little attention to other aspects.

Further, the reintegration of former soldiers treated these as a homogenous group, whereas in reality they are highly heterogeneous, including child soldiers, male and female adult soldiers on both sides of the conflict, disabled soldiers on both sides, (these were included in the demobilisation programme) and also *Naparama* fighters<sup>147</sup>. They also include men and especially women on both sides who were not actively engaged as soldiers but who were obliged to carry supplies, produce food for soldiers, and provide sexual services, or otherwise support the conflict, often forcibly, and who were not incorporated in the demobilisation programme. Barron (1996) argues that a failure to analyse ex-combatants beyond their identity as 'soldiers' and to address gender differences in their experiences, led to a failure to address the specific needs of men and women. In part this was because female soldiers, like child soldiers, were not perceived as a security threat and thus their needs were not given priority.

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<sup>147</sup> The *Naparama* was a neo-traditional movement of about 20,000 warriors, led by a traditional healer called Manuel Antonio, who were said to have immunity from Renamo bullets following an injection. They successfully liberated large areas of Zambezia from Renamo forces in 1990-1. The forces began to dissipate after Antonio's death in 1991 and were not included in the demobilisation programme (Barron, 1996: 24).

Not only were women soldiers not given any priority nor even recognised as a distinct group with specific needs (their relatively small numbers being often used to justify this lack of attention), but also the gender implications of the reintegration of male (and female) soldiers into households and communities, were not considered, either in the demobilisation programme or the various reintegration schemes (see Box 8).

**Box 8: Demobilisation and gender relations**

Some soldiers came home to find their wives had taken a new husband. Many families separated because men married in other provinces and when they returned home their wives could not settle in their new homes, far away from kin and other support networks.

*Julieta* thought her husband was dead and remarried. Her soldier-husband returned upon demobilisation. She now has to care for her husband's children from another marriage along with her own.

*Maria* was abducted by Renamo when she was 13, forced to fight and has been raped on several occasions. Maria was abandoned by her war-husband when he demobilised and none of the men in the community want anything to do with her as "they know what happened to Renamo's women". She is caring for three children alone.

*Source:* Barron, 1996: 44-46.

Barron (1996) points to the gender issues which have arisen in the demobilisation process, including the renegotiation of roles, responsibilities and issues surrounding access to and control of household resources. Marital relations have been under strain and some marriages have not survived. There has been an increase in domestic violence<sup>148</sup> and women have been exposed to infection by STDs and perhaps HIV/AIDS, considering the risk factor involved with the use of astringents in the vagina.<sup>149</sup> She

witnessed many women losing their independence within their homes, their livelihoods; some women becoming even more burdened with work as they were abandoned by their war husbands and even more tragically, some women became victims of violence within their own homes, long after the fighting had stopped (Barron, 1996: 3).

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<sup>148</sup> An increase in the number of women who suffered from beatings arriving at the health post in Mohuia, Alto-Molocue district was noted in Oxfam field reports in 1994 (Barron, 1996: 14).

<sup>149</sup> Barron (1996: 41) observed women in Ruace village in Zambezia preparing themselves for their husbands' return, by tattooing their bodies and collecting and preparing herbs to heighten sexual stimulation. They feared that 'if we do not satisfy him he will run away with someone else and who will help us with the costs of our families'.

## **The demobilisation programme**

The demobilisation of soldiers began in 1993, with the first 20 assembly areas (AAs) opened in November while the remaining 29 were opened by March 1994. Observations in one of the assembly areas (Mohuia in Zambezia) highlighted a range of issues from a gender perspective:

Many of the soldiers took wives whilst they were in Mohuia and unfortunately abandoned them once they were demobilised. The main health problems reported in Mohuia were malaria, old war wounds and STDs. The implications for their spouses own reproductive health when the soldiers returned home was frightening ... There was (*sic*) 20 female soldiers demobilised in Mohuia. They were either pregnant or nursing a baby, some of these pregnancies were a result of forced sexual liaisons with the soldiers before arriving in the camp. These women had a very difficult time as they were placed with the disabled soldiers who were awaiting demobilisation and who were particularly violent. There was no provision made for the female soldiers' needs, not even clothing was provided for them as it was for the male soldiers. There was no support provided to deal with the men's and women's trauma, such as counselling support (Barron, 1996: 33-34).

Little attention was paid to the needs of the dependants of demobilised soldiers. They were basically cast as appendages of the (mainly male) ex-soldiers, highlighting a lack of awareness of the importance of family relations in the reintegration process and the renegotiation of roles and relationships that would be involved.

Problems did not cease once the soldiers and their families were transported to home areas. Upon returning to the districts, outbreaks of violence continued, when former soldiers congregated in district capitals (often awaiting payments which were delayed) and threatened UN and NGO staff, demanding food or other supplies, or intimidating and stealing from private (often women) traders (Barron, 1996: 35). The fact that soldiers had to travel considerable distances to receive payments (through local banks) meant that they had an incentive to hang around in towns rather than go to the rural areas.

## **Reintegration programmes**

Four main reintegration programmes for ex-combatants were set up<sup>150</sup>. These were: two training based programmes (DHO/OSD) and the ISCOS programme; and two funds for reintegration aimed at supporting small-scale enterprise, one concentrated in the Central provinces, implemented by GTZ (the Open Reintegration Fund or ORF) and the other in the Northern and Southern provinces, implemented by IOM (the Provincial Fund or PF) IOM was also responsible for information and referral for the reintegration process overall through

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<sup>150</sup> These were co-ordinated first under CORE (the Commission for the Reintegration of Demobilised Soldiers, chaired by UNOHAC, who also provided technical assistance), until the elections in late 1994, and from 1995 through the CNRS (National Commission for Reintegration). The PCU (Programme Coordination Unit) in the Ministry of Labour had specific sectoral responsibility for the social and economic reintegration of the demobilised.

its Information and Referral Service (IRS).<sup>151</sup> In addition, the RSS (Reintegration Support Scheme) implemented by UNDP, offered the payment of subsidies to demobilised ex-combatants for 18 months following their demobilisation, ending in late 1995/early 1996, in addition to the six months' pay offered by the government (Haeblerlin-Lanz, 1996; Barron, 1996). An overall evaluation and further details of the output of these programmes is given in Bryant (1996). A more detailed account of the DHO programme, and other reintegration programmes, from a gender perspective, is given in Appendix 4 to this report.

None of reintegration programmes specifically targeted women, and no courses were provided for women until AMODEG women's department began to present demands and proposals. Even for these courses, no child care provisions were made or complementary services (e.g. health, family planning, counselling) provided.

While the mandate and stated objectives of at least some of these programmes extended beyond the demobilised to their families and to a limited extent, wider groups in the community, there is little evidence that significant efforts were made to extend beyond demobilised individuals as the main target groups for benefits. This reflects a narrow and misconceived understanding of the process of reintegration, which acts to reinforce a male breadwinner model, and is a missed opportunity for skills development of women and wives of ex-combatants (particularly, for example, in literacy training and business skills).

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<sup>151</sup> The final evaluation of IOM involvement in the reintegration process was not available at the time of writing. The information here is based on a review produced in May 1996 (IOM, 1996).

## 9. GENDER ISSUES IN CURRENT DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND PROGRAMMES

### 9.1 Government strategy and policy<sup>152</sup>

Gender issues, rather than a focus on women, have only become a consideration in government policy in the post-war phase, with the 1995 Beijing conference providing a particular impetus to this. In general, government policies have tended to focus on women and particularly female-headed households, as a 'vulnerable group,' partly in recognition of the changes in household composition highlighted in section 3.2. In practice, women-specific programmes still provide a major focus for activities, while attempts to introduce a 'gender' approach are in their early stages. The national machinery with responsibility for women's affairs is a relatively new ministry which is still struggling to establish itself. The level of understanding of and interest in gender issues across other ministries is patchy. In some, sex-disaggregated data is now being routinely collected and made available for planning purposes and there is explicit recognition of the need to tackle institutional biases (e.g. in education, agriculture). In others, e.g. transport and housing, entry points are still being sought for gender concerns.

The lack of representation of women at ministerial level<sup>153</sup> is a constraint to gender equality issues being taken up more vigorously, as is the general weakness of government in both policy development and planning (see section 2.3). A number of government personnel have been trained in gender issues. The key problem is not so much lack of gender awareness as how to follow this through in the planning process, particularly in areas such as transport and housing, which are not identified as 'female' sectors.<sup>154</sup> Another key area where gender analysis does not yet seem to have made much impact is in broad economic policy and budgetary processes.

Following the Beijing conference, a Task Force (*Grupo Operativo*) was set up incorporating representatives of 12 different ministries<sup>155</sup> as well as three NGOs, in order to take forward government commitments to gender equality. Through submissions to this group from National Directors, a Government Plan of Action was produced (REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE, 1996A), which sets out responsibilities and targets in each sector (see Appendix 6). Some ministries have set up gender units (e.g. agriculture and environment) as a means to carry through their commitments. So far, 13 government policies have been approved, presented by individual ministries and of these, five have properly integrated a gender perspective (i.e. health, education, agriculture, environment, water). The overall Economic and Social Plan (prepared every three years by the Ministry of Planning) is compiled from submissions of different ministries. An adviser is currently being sought to work directly with the Prime Minister who will review the Plan from a gender perspective.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> The Centre for African Studies, Department of Women and Gender, is currently making an assessment of how gender is addressed in government programmes, which is due to be ready in April/May 1997 (Teresinha da Silva, personal communication).

<sup>153</sup> There are no women Ministers (except the former Minister of Social Action) and five women vice Ministers.

<sup>154</sup> Alcinda Abreu, personal communication.

<sup>155</sup> Including Health, Education, Agriculture, Environment, MICAS; they are currently working to include Transport and Housing.

<sup>156</sup> Josefa Langa, personal communication; Alcinda Abreu, personal communication.

The **Ministry for Co-ordination of Social Action (MICAS)**, established in 1993, has responsibility for women's affairs.<sup>157</sup> MICAS has considerable experience of working with 'vulnerable' groups, for example children, the elderly and the disabled. In general, social policy favours community-based services rather than institutional provision.

During immediate aftermath of the war, MICAS worked with UNCHR programmes for returning refugees to identify vulnerable groups for priority assistance, including women (thought to be the majority of adult refugees), children, the elderly and the disabled. Women in the community were also trained to identify the needs of other groups. These activities were focused on border provinces where returning refugees were concentrated (i.e. Gaza, Maputo, Tete, Zambezia and Niassa). Some women returnees received tools or were involved in small-scale agriculture and poultry-rearing activities. The repatriation programme has now finished and those who have remained behind have done so 'by choice'.<sup>158</sup>

With regard to psychosocial issues in the aftermath of conflict, Social Action staff as well as teachers and health personnel (through the Ministries of education and health) were trained to identify survivors of trauma and refer them to higher level services if necessary. In addition, special projects were organised with the assistance of international NGOs, particularly focusing on traumatised children.<sup>159</sup> The Central Hospital in Maputo currently has a project (CERPIJ) offering psychological support to children. However, there are insufficient psychologists and psychiatrists to provide services in other parts of the country.

MICAS was not directly involved in the assistance programmes for refugees or the internally displaced, only in programmes for returnees.<sup>160</sup> With regard to other 'war-affected' groups, special priority is given to female-headed households who face problems, particularly widows, for example through GAPVU, which provides subsidies to poor urban households. MICAS is now starting projects for households headed by women.

MICAS is currently in the process creating a framework for policy to assist vulnerable groups. The National Institute of Social Action (INAS) is being set up to implement programmes of direct assistance to vulnerable groups, while the Ministry will provide an overall policy framework and develop new strategies. A Social Action Fund (FUNDAS) is also being established to be managed through MICAS, which will disburse funds to NGOs and community-based organisations working with women and children.

Within **the Ministry of Finance and Planning**, a Poverty Alleviation Unit (PAU) was set up three years ago (1994), whose main task is the formulation of social policy and specifically a poverty reduction strategy. The PAU also aims to monitor the implementation of existing strategies and policies, enhance co-ordination of government social institutions and to collect data and analyse poverty and social trends. Situation studies have been conducted

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<sup>157</sup> MICAS was previously a department within the Ministry of Health.

<sup>158</sup> Josefa Langa, personal communication.

<sup>159</sup> e.g. Ibis in Nampula, Redd Barna in Manica, SCF (UK) in Zambezia and SCF (USA) in Inhambane.

<sup>160</sup> During the war the government created two bodies to deal with directly war affected groups, i.e. the DPCCN and NAR. DPCCN was responsible for the internally displaced while NAR was responsible for refugees outside the country. DPCCN worked with provincial governments providing centres for displaced persons (these have all now been closed), where some services (e.g. health programmes) were delivered.

in the post-war period to guide government planning, e.g. poverty studies, but these vary in their coverage of gender concerns.<sup>161</sup>

The Poverty Reduction Strategy (Government of Mozambique, 1995) has three main components: the development of agricultural markets, the development of human capital and the provision of a safety net to protect the vulnerable.<sup>162</sup> In terms of post-conflict government planning, strong priority has been given to health and education, in both investment and current budgets and the current five year plan (1996-2000) has a strong social component. It is claimed that the social sector budget is increasing and that children's and women's health (MCH) takes a large share of the health budget, although data were not found to clearly substantiate this.<sup>163</sup> Specific projects have been developed in areas of the country (Nampula, Cabo Delgado, Zambezia) where female enrolment in schools is low to encourage female enrolment, through sensitisation, free materials and scholarships to secondary level.<sup>164</sup> As regards poverty alleviation programmes, some priority is given to women as a target group, e.g. in GAPVU, and in some recently established credit schemes (e.g. FARE, established in 1996 with funds from the privatisation programme and administered by IDIL, focused in rural and urban areas of 2-3 provinces).<sup>165</sup>

The PAU also co-ordinates (along with the Population Planning Unit)<sup>166</sup> the Social Component of the Economic and Social Plan, using submissions from Ministries of Education, Health, Labour, Environment, Culture and Youth, Social Action etc. In this process, they are trying to disaggregate information by gender to feed into the Plan. In 1994, PAU worked with different ministries to produce a compilation of gender-disaggregated data from the 1991 Demographic survey, and other sources. Progress on this has varied depending on the sector: for example, in the area of health and nutrition, gender-disaggregated data is still lacking, while in education and agriculture, progress has been much faster.

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<sup>161</sup>For example, urban poverty profiles, the current household survey, participatory poverty assessments, in conjunction with CEP, UEM and PPU. Fleming (1996) finds that the first phase of the Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA), whilst it contained considerable gender relevant data, did not present or analyse this in a systematic way.

<sup>162</sup>In an evaluation of official safety net programmes the PAU have found a lack of co-ordination between programmes and mixed results. GAPVU, an urban food subsidy scheme, has the largest coverage and transfers 35,000 MT per month to households of up to five, and is considered the most successful of existing schemes. The National Institute of Social Security (in the Ministry of Labour), covers employees of the national civil service (less than ten percent of all employees), who are not able to work, through pensions and payments to the disabled. Another scheme through the Ministry of Health - the Social Fund for Medicines - is not working well due to its lack of coverage of private pharmacies. As well as limited coverage, the small subsidies involved only have a marginal impact on the well being of poor households (Dava, personal communication).

<sup>163</sup> Sections 3 and 5 give data on health and education expenditure respectively which show that health expenditure decreased as a proportion of GDP in the period 1990-5, while education expenditure rose from 10 percent of recurrent expenditure to 16 percent in 1994-5. However, the Ministry of Finance does not yet have the capacity to monitor all expenditure to ensure that budgetary allocations are actually made according to planning priorities (Vitoria Ginja, personal communication).

<sup>164</sup> Dava, personal communication.

<sup>165</sup> Vitoria Ginja, personal communication.

<sup>166</sup> UN (1997) reports that the Population Planning Unit and Poverty Alleviation Unit are to be merged to form a Department of Social Policy and Poverty.

## Government agencies involved in training and employment promotion

A number of government agencies provide training and employment promotion activities, including Ministry of Agriculture training centres (*Centros de Formação Agrária*), GPE (Office for promoting employment- *Gabinete de Promoção de Emprego*) and IDIL (*Instituto Nacional de Desinvolvimento da Industria Local*).

Reports from recent consultants' visits indicate that **Ministry of Agriculture training centres** have a network across the country with considerable capacity, are well run and have some experience of training on gender issues (Fleming, 1996; Maslem, 1997).<sup>167</sup>

In 1992, a project funded by GTZ was started within the **GPE**, initially to provide training and also credit for returning workers from the former East Germany, using the Competence based Economics by Formation of Entrepreneurs (CEFE) methodology. In June 1993, the scope of the project was broadened to include non-returnee microentrepreneurs and in 1994-5, the project was extended to urban areas of the Northern and Central regions. The credit is supplied on a full cost recovery basis to individuals. The project implementors feel that the post-war urban environment of Mozambique does not permit group provision of credit. Analysis of individual clients is based on the income and expenditure of the whole household, since entrepreneurs do not separate out household and business expenditures. Collateral and repayment requirements are flexible, according to client capacities and experience and domestic consumer goods, for example, are accepted as collateral. Screening procedures are simple but rigorous and involve personal visits by credit officers to clients' homes. The project has granted over 3000 credits to 1200 beneficiaries to the end of 1996. Average credits are around US\$ 360 in Beira and US\$ 550 in Maputo and nearly 90 percent of all loans went to support commerce. The participation of women in the scheme has risen to 48 percent at the end of 1996 in Maputo and 38 percent in Beira (October 1996). The fact that participation of women is relatively high and rising indicates not only the importance of women in the informal commercial sector but also the attempts to reduce transactions costs in the project (GPE/GTZ, 1996).

**IDIL** is a government body established in 1988 to promote small-scale industry. In 1991, *Balcão da Mulher* (women's department) was established within the Technical and Project department of IDIL to address the lack of participation of women in IDIL's programmes. The works mainly with women in the informal sector, whereas IDIL as a whole tends to be oriented towards the formal sector. It provides support to women entrepreneurs mainly in the areas of training, supplies and information about credit availability from banks and NGOs. The *Balcão* have also carried out research in rural areas to establish what kind of support women need. Currently *Balcão da Mulher* is dependent on external funding to launch new activities.<sup>168</sup>

In 1993-6, IDIL implemented the project 'women in the informal sector' financed by the World Bank, which included management training, credit and technical assistance and follow up targeting women entrepreneurs. The objectives of this programme and the target group were not clearly defined and the major problems arose, in terms of market demand, the

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<sup>167</sup> No information was available at the time of writing on the composition of trainees by gender, the range of courses offered etc. or on any evaluations done of the impact of training, including from a gender perspective.

<sup>168</sup> personal communication, Ana Sithole, Kaja Stene.

diversion of loans due to heavy consumption needs, and gender conflict within the household (see Box 9).

**Box 9: *Balcão da Mulher* project: ‘Women in the Informal Sector’**

The ‘Women in the Informal Sector’ project was financed by the World Bank, in 1993-6, to the tune of US\$94,000, of which US\$30,000 was earmarked for loans provision. The project included management training as well as credit provision and technical assistance and follow up. The target group consisted of women with business experience who wanted to expand their activities. A minimum of four years schooling was stipulated. A total of 93 women in three provinces (Maputo, Sofala and Nampula) received training and 38 received loans of between US \$250 and 1000, at commercial interest rates. Women were recruited for training via newspaper announcements.

The main activities supported are baking, sewing, crochet, yoghurt making, cement blocks, traditional drinks, hairdressing and hawking and vending. *Balcão da Mulher* supervised activities, encouraged women to keep records and find solutions to problems, and monitored repayments. The activities which enabled women to both repay and retain some income were: bread making, yoghurt making and cement block making. Sewing was not profitable due to both poor sales and low margins.

Estimated repayment rates were 36 percent in the first phase and only 18 percent in the second phase. Lack of prior market analysis and knowledge meant that some of the activities sponsored were not viable, particularly sewing enterprises, due to competition from imported second hand clothes. Inflation was another major problem, reducing sales and the value of revenues, particularly for those involved in selling basic staples to poor consumers. Changes in the arrangements for disbursing funds also led to delays in many cases. Other difficulties included lack of access to raw materials and reluctance to use formal banking institutions.

Other reasons for non-repayment were given as: ‘machismo’ and large families (i.e. high demand on any income for consumption). Attitudes towards women working outside the home were a problem; some women who were trained or received money were beaten by their husbands. Those who were not married or had small families were more likely to repay. In many cases, husbands did not want wives to control the income and make repayments. Women had low levels of schooling, little experience of production and investment and infrastructure was weak. In the South, particularly, ease of imports from South Africa meant that there was considerable competition for local production.

The main recommendations of the final report were for economic viability studies of proposed activities; for improved management training and supervision; and for the promotion of associations among women to encourage group-based problem solving.

*Source: IDIL, n.d.; IDIL, 1996*

## 9.2 Bilateral and international agencies

International and bilateral agencies have a variable level of interest in and commitment to gender equality issues. A small group of bilateral agencies<sup>169</sup> have been heavily involved in supporting the initiatives of women's organisations, on the one hand, and promoting gender awareness, through support to gender training and gender-aware planning in government and parastatal agencies, across the range of activities, on the other. Sida (Asdi) and the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DGIS) are unique in having gender officers in the field<sup>170</sup>. Appendix 5 gives information on the activities of selected international and bilateral agencies, focusing on their approach to gender concerns.

While most agencies, in line with government, have adopted the language of gender, women-specific programmes, or targeting women, are still in evidence. In some agencies, there was a feeling that country programmes staff resented what was perceived as a 'top-down' imposition of 'gender' criteria and requirements onto their work, with insufficient consultation, or where they do not have the expertise or capacity to address gender issues. On the other hand, it was clear that some agency personnel did not value the input of 'gender experts,' especially where these were brought in on short-term consultancies, or appointed in relatively junior positions.

Efforts to improve donor co-ordination are in evidence, both through sectoral investment programmes (led by the World Bank), e.g. in education and agriculture, and through regular meetings of bilateral and other agencies, with particular agencies taking the lead on specific sectors. UN agencies have recently conducted a 'Common Country Assessment' with a view to agreeing a common dataset and to improved co-ordination in future programmes and this includes a discussion of the empowerment of women and gender-disaggregated indicators (UN 1997).<sup>171</sup> A recent consultancy for the EU noted that the Netherlands had agreed to act as lead donor for gender concerns and that gender officers in other agencies would attend co-ordination meetings on specific sectors (e.g. food security, water) (Fleming, 1996). However, this approach may be limited by the lack of on the ground gender expertise. There is also a danger of gender concerns being subsumed as aid programmes develop into larger packages, unless measures are taken to pre-empt this.

A variety of approaches to education, training and employment promotion are in evidence, in collaboration with government agencies (GPE, IDIL, see previous section) and NGOs (see 9.2 and 9.3). Small-scale credit and training programmes of various kinds, some specifically targeting women, support to general and technical education for girls, capacity building at different levels of government, and assistance to market development, are major thrusts of current donor assistance.

UNICEF are supporting ten training centres in rural and peri-urban areas, providing skills training to women and running small-scale credit schemes (see Box 10).

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<sup>169</sup> Sida, the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, NORAD, SDC, Danida.

<sup>170</sup> Although other agencies are now starting to follow suit and several have local staff with responsibility for women or gender.

<sup>171</sup> Although it highlights the main areas of female disadvantage, the assessment does not have a consistent gender perspective and the analysis of gender issues is not well integrated into each sector. It tends to present women and female headed households as a 'vulnerable group', in a blanket way.

### **Box 10: UNICEF support to training for women in Manica and Beira**

UNICEF are supporting ten training centres for women in Manica, set up in 1993-5, five in rural areas of Manica district and five in peri-urban areas of Beira. Each centre has the capacity to train 100 beneficiaries. Up to June 1996, a total of 1000 women had been involved in training in the two project areas. Small-scale credit is also provided through the centres to promote income generating activities.

In Manica district, the training offered includes: literacy, sewing, embroidery, pattern cutting, cooking and food processing, basic health care and environmental health, appropriate technologies, management and leadership, basic agricultural techniques and the development of small-scale trading. In Beira, provincial extension services are promoting improved basic agricultural techniques with peasant women, particularly in the cultivation of rice and sweet potatoes, in the Green Zones around Beira. Trainers are provided by government at district level.

The courses last between one and three years, and are informally organised and part-time. Trainees are selected by village committees (which include elected representatives as well as traditional leaders) and are expected to return to communities and pass on knowledge. The overall objectives of the training centre activities are to promote women's organisational and decision-making capacity, their skills development, to improve the income and nutritional status of the household, and to promote agricultural development and environmental protection. Centres have a management committee (of about six) whose members are women and community leaders and who receive a subsidy for their work.

A 1996 evaluation of the training activities suggested that at least some of the courses were effective in terms of transferring skills and knowledge both to individuals and via them to communities. Women have acquired new knowledge and confidence although they are constrained in their attendance because of other responsibilities and time commitments. What is less clear is whether the training results in participants being able to start up any viable economic activity, or to create tangible household or community assets. Some women who have participated in health training have built latrines. Credit was given to 20 women in 1993-4 (selection criteria were not specified) at approximately market rates for trade in foodstuffs, with repayment rates of 80-100 percent. Further credit was granted to 50 women in 1995, with repayment expected from June 1996. The evaluation suggested that training and support is required for loan recipients and that individual, rather than group based loans, are most appropriate.

A current concern is to assess whether the training activities promote women's empowerment, or whether women perceive the training and related activities as an obligation. The centres also need to find means to raise their own incomes, to address the question of sustainability since direct support from UNICEF will cease in 1998. Currently, small flows of income are obtained from grinding mills owned by the centres, operated by women, who pay small amounts to grind their produce.

Source: Bazima, 1996<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> personal communication, Diana Pereira.

### 9.3 International NGOs<sup>173</sup>

A large number of international NGOs have been engaged in relief, rehabilitation and development work in Mozambique since the mid-1980s. Like other organisations, international NGOs are now moving into more developmental activity, but they perceive this process as a gradual and somewhat experimental one. They are introducing participatory approaches to working with communities and attempting to rebuild trust and relationships in order to foster long-term relationships.

With regard to gender issues, approaches seem to be somewhat ad hoc and informal, partly because attempts to set up formal processes have met with hostility from women themselves, and because of perceptions that questions of gender involve challenging local cultural norms and thus must be treated with caution. There has been some reluctance among NGOs to target women with credit, either because of a view that women may not regard themselves as 'income earners,' and/or because men tend to have control over cash resources in the household. Goat restocking projects targeting women are quite common, in part because it is perceived that such assets may be easier for women to control, although experience suggests that these have tended to increase women's work burden without bringing obvious benefits.<sup>174</sup> Small-scale programmes, giving support to self-help activities, are preferred by many NGOs, since they are focused on promoting local initiative and capacities, rather than delivering resources.

#### **Box 11: Returnee women initiate income generating activities in Morrumbula**

Save the Children are working with a group of about 20 women, who approached them for support in the Morrumbula district of Zambezia province. These women are all returnees from a refugee camp in Malawi, who worked together producing soaps. They are keen to continue income-earning activities together and to maintain contact. So, they have built a meeting place on land provided by the local administration. They have proposed a diverse range of activities - such as soap making, small animal rearing, a bakery, sewing - and SCF are guiding them to investigate the viability of these options through support to market studies. Research has shown that, whereas in refugee camps there was a guaranteed market for soap, here soap is not an item which is in constant demand. The bakery, on the other hand, has considerable market potential. The women have also set up a market stall to sell some of their produce, including clothes and other items sewn at home.

The women plan to run courses in their centre on marketing, management and bookkeeping skills and in various craft skills, e.g. bicycle mechanics, brick making. SCF are also encouraging them to involve other women, including disabled women. The initiative is in early stages and SCF have supported it with very small injections of money and resources (e.g. bricks and a few sacks of flour for the establishment of a bakery in the *bairro*). This group has maintained its links and been able to initiate lots of activities, in part because they have a very dynamic woman leader.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>173</sup> International NGOs active in Mozambique who include a gender perspective in their work include Oxfam, Action Aid, SCF, CARE and Concern. Some NGOs (e.g. Action Aid, World Vision) are sponsoring research focusing on gender issues in rural communities. Details here cover only a few organisations: there is not scope for a comprehensive review. See Appendix 7 for details of selected NGO programmes.

<sup>174</sup> Antony Nedley, personal communication; see also Appendix 9, Box 14.

<sup>175</sup> Jane Gibreel, personal communication.

Box 11 describes an initiative of returnee women in Morrumbula district, supported by SCF (UK). Such initiatives are not uncommon in urban areas. In some rural areas, prominent women, such as teachers, can have similarly catalytic effects.<sup>176</sup>

LINK is an umbrella for both national and international NGOs working in Mozambique and produces a directory of organisations working in the country. LINK also has a number of working groups on different areas of NGO activity, including credit.

#### 9.4 Local NGOs

Mozambican NGOs (non-government organisations) emerged from 1989-90 onwards, including organisations representing women's issues (see next section). There are now some 60 national NGOs, mostly working in the social sector and mainly based in Maputo. National NGOs are still relatively young and weak in capacity and some have been quite shortlived. Only a few Mozambican NGOs have membership and influence across the country, including UNAC (the national peasant's association) and the OTM (the Mozambican Worker's Organisation), with the capacity to lobby government (UN, 1997). LINK provides a forum for exchange and dialogue between local NGOs, their international counterparts and other agencies. Recently, an umbrella for national NGOs was established, called the Foundation for Community Development, perhaps signalling growing capacity and independence of the national sector.

Many activities of national NGOs are somewhat ad hoc, perhaps responding to opportunities for donor funding, rather than emerging from their own conception of the requirements of post-conflict development. This may also relate to the weak links of NGOs with local communities given their relatively short history, and lack of experience in participatory development work. Awareness and understanding of gender issues is variable: one NGO leader interviewed was hostile to the concept of 'gender' while another felt that socio-cultural constraints on women's activities must be respected.

The following example illustrates one particular approach to post-conflict development, income-generation and training from the national NGO sector. Other local NGOs involved in training and employment related activities include *Progresso* (see Appendix 8) and *Kulima*.

**AMDU** (Associação Moçambicana para o Desenvolvimento Urbano - Mozambican Association for Urban Development) is a non-governmental, non-profit association of 30 professionals, established in 1992 to promote the development of human settlements in the post-conflict period, as a contribution to lasting peace. AMDU sees the rebuilding of post-war communities and settlements as an integrated process and stresses the importance of reference points (e.g. trees, houses, health facilities) for people's well being, of community involvement in reconstruction, not just in providing labour but also in making contributions in cash or in kind, and of links between rural and urban areas. AMDU does not work with a 'gender perspective', although many women participate in its activities and the facilities being created (schools, health posts, maternity facilities, pre-schools) are often central to supporting women's reproductive role. They have two main programmes: a rural programme in 40 villages in the south of Inhambane province (*tsima ga ku aka* - 'let's build together'), and an urban programme (*pfuka dzixile* - 'wake up its dawn') operating in 18

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<sup>176</sup> Jane Gibreel, personal communication.

*bairros* in Maputo.<sup>177</sup> Whilst to date, AMDU have not run training programmes, they are planning to in future. Indications suggest that the skills offered will be heavily focused on construction and that efforts will be needed to ensure that training does not become ‘gender-typed’ and that the training is of sufficiently high quality to provide a basis for income generation.

**Box 12: ‘Wake up it’s dawn’: women in peri-urban development**

In 1991, AMDU conducted a study in peri-urban areas of Maputo, to establish what the priorities of communities are, as well as to gather socio-economic data. A key finding was that pre-schools were considered by all members of the community to be a priority. This relates partly to the conditions of urban overcrowding and poverty prevailing towards the end of the war, with children often left unsupervised while parents went to farm or work outside the home. So, AMDU took pre-schools as a focal point for mobilising communities in urban *bairros* and involved many members of the community, as well as outside experts and local administrations, in building and organising pre-schools.

The pre-schools form a focal point in the community, and provide a centre for a range of other activities, including civic education, environmental education, health and nutrition education, and skills training for employment and self-employment or self-sufficiency. The pre-schools also provide an entry point for construction work, for social organisation, for the cultivation of fruits and vegetables, for literacy training and schooling for women, and for production and training.

In Maputo, women are in the majority of those involved in building work in AMDU projects. In 1996, 300 women and 78 men were employed in labour-intensive construction work of various kinds. In total, around 4100 persons have had temporary employment in the urban programme during the period 1993-6. Twelve pre-schools have been built in six *bairros*, as well as a training centre. In addition, cultural centre, two schools, and a health centre have been rehabilitated. Also, 15 pit latrines and three community bread ovens have been constructed, as well as roads. Income-generating activities for women have been initiated linked to some of the pre-schools. Other urban activities promoted by AMDU include new systems of garbage collection, latrine construction and urban road maintenance. As a result of AMDU’s activities, the municipal government has begun to take an interest in peri-urban development.

To date, all AMDU’s training activities have been ‘on the job’ training and temporary employment has been provided for hundreds of people in construction work (e.g. building pavements). AMDU is now setting up a training centre, which will cater for the young unemployed and women, offering training over several months in construction-related trades, such as carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing. The centre will also house a workshop and provide ongoing advice to trainees to assist with specific skills development. Literacy training is needed particularly for women who find it hard to take up training courses because they are not able to read or write. AMDU is also planning to move into housing development, based on poor urban dwellers’ own conception of their housing needs and priorities (e.g. big gardens and outside toilets) and would also like to run small credit programmes (offering loans of \$500 - \$1000) but recognise that this is not easy and that repayment problems have dogged many other credit programmes. AMDU has set up revolving funds attached to some of their centres, with participation from women.<sup>178</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Mario dos Anjos Rosario, personal communication.

<sup>178</sup> Maria dos Anjos Rosario, personal communication; AMDU, 1996.

## 9.5 Women's organisations

With the exception of OMM, which was set up as mass organisation by Frelimo in 1973, all women's organisations in the country are new, and thus suffer from similar constraints to other national NGOs (see previous section). Coverage is patchy and most organisations do not have national outreach. They tend to be led by urban women and based in Maputo, again with considerable social and physical distance, often from the desired beneficiaries. Processes for consultation with beneficiaries are not well developed (see Boxes 13 and 14).

Women's organisations in Mozambique engage in a range of activities, including:

- legal advice and psychological counselling (MULEIDE)
- support to income-generating and rural development activities (MBEU, AMRU),
- health, family planning and HIV/AIDS education (OMM, MULEIDE),
- civic and political education (OMM, MMP)

Box 13 opposite describes an income generating project for rural women in Maputo province. (See Appendix 9 for more details of the activities of selected women's organisations).

A number of professional associations also exist, e.g. for women in legal careers, or in education, who are active in promoting the interests of women in their spheres of interest, through campaigning, research and lobbying. The Mozambican Worker's Organisation also has a women's section.

*Forum Mulher* is a coalition of NGOs, international and government agencies with an interest in women's issues. The Forum has an information and documentation centre, produces a regular newsletter and conducts gender training (Forum Mulher, 1994a). It was instrumental in organising Mozambique's NGO input into the Beijing Conference (Forum Mulher, 1994b). In 1996, the Forum launched a campaign on violence against women, the first of its kind in Mozambique, in alliance with seven other organisations. In the future, *Forum Mulher* hopes to build its capacity in campaigning and lobbying. (See Appendix 9 for further details).

### **Box 13: Promoting income generating activities in Campoane**

In 1994, MBEU, in conjunction with the community of Campoane (20 km west of Maputo), conducted a study to identify problems, and found that lack of employment opportunities and therefore access to cash was a key issue facing women. So, they developed proposals for creating self-employment in the community and assisted women in the community to get financial support for four projects, based on existing skills and local availability of materials. The village has a high proportion of *de jure* and *de facto* female-headed households, in part because of war- and drought - related death and displacement, but also due to male outmigration. Although most of those participating were women supporting households alone, the project did not set out to target female heads of household.

Ceramics, sewing and credit programmes were initiated in 1994 and an earrings production project in 1995. Eighty nine women are participating in the credit and savings scheme, the majority using the funds to support petty trading (MBEU, n.d.). Short training courses, either on site or in Maputo, were organised for those participating the different activities. For example, in ceramics, three people were sent to Maputo for courses (of whom two are men). MBEU is involved in management, accounting and marketing for the projects. The project has a building in Campoane where activities are carried out, which was built by the women themselves. The women combine work in the project with work on their fields, doing a half day on the project.

There have been a number of problems in marketing products produced by the different projects. The dressmaking project has now been rethought, given relatively low skill level of the women, the lack of power for electric machines and the high level of market. Women are now household linen and T- shirts, painted with original brightly-coloured designs. Sales have improved via shops and they have also received orders from NGOs. The ceramics are not selling and a whole shed full of unsold pots has accumulated. The women feel there is too much competition and that their designs are too basic, but they do not have the technology, for example, to produce glazed pots. There were clearly weaknesses in the project identification phase, particularly with regard to marketing possibilities for the products. Earring production and sales, by contrast, are going well. The credit programme has ceased functioning temporarily because a number of women have not repaid their loans, and so there are insufficient funds to disburse to others. Overall, the project has just begun to generate some income from sales. Prior to this, grants from NGOs have subsidised small payments to the women, of 50,000 Mt (less than \$5) a month.

Meanwhile a number of women have left the project because of these problems and those that remain seem increasingly dissatisfied with the returns they are getting. The project is managed from Maputo and it appears that the participants have little involvement in planning or decision making and so do not know how sales are going or what is happening to any income coming in. Some women also complained that they have no time now for other activities (e.g. selling charcoal, traditional beer etc.) that they used to do.

*Source: Based on MBEU (n.d.) and interviews with project beneficiaries, programme officer and technical adviser to project.*

The Organização da Mulher Moçambicana (OMM) is the only truly national women's organisation in Mozambique, set up in 1973 as a wing of the FRELIMO ruling party. It is active at four levels: the national secretariat, provincial, district levels and the village 'nucleus,' and claims to have one million active members. OMM 'mobilises and orients the woman, aiming for her to have an active participation in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the Mozambican society'. Priority areas of activity are women's social education as 'mother, wife, teacher and worker'; ensuring that public service providers uphold constitutional principles of equality; advising on the development of policy for advancing women's status; the promotion of women's participation in sports, recreation, and cultural activities; and the promotion of associations of women (OMM, n.d.). In spite of these broad objectives, OMM tends to focus on women's reproductive activities and domestic skills.

It is not clear to what extent the organisation is actually functioning on the ground since the war, which disrupted much of their activity. There is considerable physical and social distance between the leadership and grassroots members and outreach may be limited. Grassroots members may have fallen into inactivity due to lack of support.<sup>179</sup> For example, the local OMM representative interviewed in a village in Magude district, commented that if she needs anything from the organisation, she has to go to district town. One million active members in this context may be optimistic assessment. Nevertheless, OMM does have a latent network to tap into and other women's organisations and NGOs often rely on OMM activists to initiate grassroots work.

In 1991, OMM broke away from FRELIMO to become an NGO, rather than a political organisation. This partly resulted from pressure from other women's organisations which were then establishing themselves and also enabled OMM to access external funding from a range of organisations. In 1996, the position was reversed and OMM voted to realign with FRELIMO.<sup>180</sup> This decision has led to some uncertainty in the donor community about supporting projects presented by OMM.

OMM is involved in training women in its centres around the country and plans to set up more centres (or Circles of Interest) where training will form a component of activities. In their existing training activities, content and methods seem quite traditional and 'gender-typed' (e.g. sewing classes). Training is provided in accordance with the experience and capacity of those running the centres, with little reference to market conditions.

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<sup>179</sup> Helena Zefanias, personal communication.

<sup>180</sup> The precise reasons for this decision are not clear. Having severed ties with FRELIMO, OMM lost privileged access to external funding linked to the party organisation.

## 10. MAIN FINDINGS, GUIDELINES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

### 10.1 Main findings

The conflict as well as drought in Mozambique brought about huge population movements, disruption of families and communities and high levels of mortality. This, combined with the diversification of livelihood strategies in response to economic adjustment, has fuelled an expansion of the urban population and an increase in urban poverty, linked to greater diversity of family forms. Women and children particularly are much more visible in market activity and a range of survival strategies (sex work, begging), indicating pressure on household incomes, and the increasing unreliability of male support.

There is increased diversity in household formation and composition, linked to second marriages established during the war years, the adoption of children in substitute families and an increase in female- and child-headed households. Patterns of vulnerability are therefore complex and intra-household dynamics are an important factor. The increase in numbers of dependants may lead to greater work burdens for women, or to neglect and abuse of children, for example. There is evidence of marital tension, domestic violence and breakdown during and in the immediate aftermath of the war. The dependent nature of women's civil status, property and tenure rights means that women are vulnerable to dispossession as a result of marital breakdown. This suggests a need for rethinking legal frameworks and social policy to safeguard the interests of women and children within shifting patterns of household formation, breakdown and dependency.

In urban areas particularly, household size and dependency ratios have increased. At the same time, the social networks of support, particularly for those in urban areas, are considerably weakened as a result of displacement and familial breakdown, as well as rising levels of urban poverty, suggesting increased vulnerability. Since women are often living away from their areas of origin, are less likely than men to remarry and are more likely to be raising dependants alone, they are particularly vulnerable to social isolation and poverty. For women who have either chosen, or been forced, to survive independently, there are considerable barriers to establishing themselves, and particularly to in gaining access to land and housing.

Some assessments view the breakdown of familial structures accelerated under war conditions as a shift in gendered power relations, whereby some (particularly younger and more educated) women have broken free of patriarchal structures and gender norms to lead a more independent and autonomous existence. This interpretation has also been extended to younger people in general, reflecting a breakdown of 'patriarchal authority' structures and of moral codes. On the other hand, attempts to revive traditional initiation and other ceremonies and, at the same time, the growing strength of evangelical and syncretic churches, suggest that both old and new patriarchal institutions are asserting claims to moral and cultural authority, as well as providing support structures and moral guidance for participants, and livelihoods for organisers. It is not clear what role women play in the organisation of such activities, although older women are likely to have some influence.

One consequence of war was the collapse in previous government and party authority structures and organisations in some areas, and their replacement with Renamo-backed

authorities, or other more ad-hoc arrangements. ‘Traditional’ local power structures have regained influence. There was a decline in the activities of OMM at local level and to date these have not resumed their pre-war levels. The way in which local level power structures are reconfigured is critical for women, whose property rights are decided through customary norms and institutions at local level. The upcoming municipal elections will be important for women to assert some influence at local level, so that interventions to increase women’s chances of being elected and effective in office are of great importance.

Gender-based violence was endemic during the conflict in Mozambique but remains largely taboo as a subject for open public debate. Recent campaigns aiming to raise awareness of violence against women in the home were the first of their kind in Mozambique and may in future extend to consideration of wider societal violence, and non-physical forms of abuse. The lack of attention to gender-based violence linked to the war is in part linked to the terms of the General Peace Agreement and the implicit acceptance that there would be no process of investigation, or bringing to justice of those who committed human rights abuses on either side. While this has a positive aspects, in that it enabled agreement to be reached and a genuine spirit of reconciliation prevails, it renders difficult any public discussion of the widespread abuses against women during the war period and so may isolate and stigmatise women who have suffered such abuse, particularly those who were Renamo ‘captives’. In addition, for the perpetrators of violence, the lack of opportunity to re-evaluate their actions may legitimise their behaviour and lead to ongoing forms of violence against women.

## 10.2 Overall policy conclusions and general guidelines

Understanding of the changes in social relations, including gender relations, which occur during and after periods of conflict is still in its formative stages. Rather than conflict ‘impacting’ on people’s lives, people, including women, are active agents in creating and responding to conflict. There is a need to move away from identifying women primarily as ‘victims’ or ‘peacemakers’ in conflict and post-conflict situations, and beyond the assumption that women **in general** are necessarily more negatively affected than men, during wartime.

An analysis of conflict and its aftermath, which looks at processes of political, social and institutional change, and allows for changes in gender relations in household, community, market, public administration and political arenas, should be the starting point for planning interventions.

Linked to this, the experience of Mozambique suggests that simplistic categories of population sub-groups as ‘war affected’ (e.g. displaced, refugees, war disabled, ex-combatants, or even, less obviously, female heads of household, or ‘women’), while they may in certain instances have a political or administrative utility, need to be rethought as a basis for prioritising intervention. Firstly, these categories are potentially divisive, in the post-conflict context, where promoting renewed trust and co-operation is a high priority. They are also not useful categories for targeting purposes, in that they are not reliable indicators of vulnerability or poverty, as the evidence from Mozambique suggests. Thirdly, these categories become increasingly meaningless, as the conflict recedes and people reconstitute their lives.

Rather than designating categories of 'war-affected' people as a basis for targeting, priorities for intervention could be identified through consulting communities about context-specific vulnerabilities, providing women are effectively included in such processes, or through self-targeted programmes, with appropriate outreach to locations and in media that women are able to access.

Gender analysis is not yet well integrated into development policy and planning in Mozambique. Current government social policy reflects an approach based on targeting women (and other categories) as a 'vulnerable group', within social and family programmes, reflecting a history of emergency relief work which has tended to provide handouts, rather than develop human or institutional capacities.

Social policy and legal frameworks underpinning this need to be rethought in the light of post war patterns of vulnerability and dependency, with a view to strengthening women's and children's rights, as set out in Constitutional and other legal instruments.

In general, government institutional capacity is weak, due to lack of appropriate skills and training in management and administration, bureaucratic structures, inability to carry out work during the war period, poor incentives due to low pay, lack of resources, weak co-ordination and support structures and the undermining of government institutions by external agencies (particularly during the UNOMOZ period). The non-government sector is very new (dating back to 1989-90), lacks experience in development work and is to a large extent dependent on donor agendas as well as funding. There is also a lack of experience of working with communities in participatory ways and of recognising and valuing people's own capacities, initiatives, skills ideas and resources. This is true of many NGOs and women's organisations as well as in government.

In the post-conflict period, donor agencies have been influential in training personnel and introducing 'gender' into aid and development programmes. Given heavy dependence on external resources, there is a danger of concern with gender being perceived as imposed from above, in a mechanistic and simplistic way, without consideration of the local context and sensitivities. Attempts by NGOs to introduce gender issues into their programmes in a formal way have sometimes provoked resistance, including from women, suggesting a need for creative and informal approaches. Sensitivity to questions of gender may be heightened in the post-conflict period when social relations are in flux and there are attempts to reassert 'traditional' value systems and community structures.

A small but dynamic group of female (and some male) researchers, trainers, policy-makers and activists are working to promote gender equality in Mozambique (see Appendix 2 for contacts).

Wherever possible, local expertise should be drawn on, and closely consulted in preparing future interventions in this area, and attempts made to develop institutional capacity in gender analysis in parallel with broader capacity building in government and NGOs.

The demobilisation and reintegration programme in Mozambique did not take account either the specific needs of women ex-combatants, nor, more broadly, the implications for families or communities of the demobilisation soldiers. The reintegration programmes were designed to respond to immediate political and security concerns, and tended to reinforce a 'male breadwinner' model, by focusing on individual skills training.

A broad approach to post-conflict reintegration requires an assessment of the wider institutional context (family, community, markets, social services) and of social relations, rather than a focus on war-affected individuals.

Few examples were found in Mozambique of programmes which explicitly addressed the social, psychological or institutional aspects of post-conflict reintegration, in general, or especially in gender-sensitive ways. The post-conflict focus has been primarily on rebuilding physical infrastructure, on employment and training provision and supporting livelihoods (i.e. on economic and physical aspects).

Some attention has been paid to ensuring women's participation in processes of physical reconstruction and in the redevelopment of communities, e.g. in labour-intensive public works or on water committees. Many programmes, however, have not addressed the structural constraints which limit female participation, or introduced measures to facilitate this, such as childcare. Outside a few isolated programmes specifically addressing psycho-social, mental health or human rights issues, the majority of programmes have not responded to the broader range of issues arising in the post-conflict situation, nor, more specifically, their gender dimensions (e.g. violence against women). These are sensitive issues, however, which cannot be simply tacked onto existing programmes. Moreover, there is a high priority to restoring livelihoods among communities in post-war Mozambique and it is widely held that social-psychological aspects of reintegration are best left to communities themselves to address.

Informal spaces within existing programmes or activities, for awareness raising and discussion of sensitive issues such as violence against women, trauma and mental and other health problems associated with conflict, seem the most appropriate approach to tackling these issues, combined with sensitisation of programme personnel. Awareness raising and lobbying by women's organisations and other NGOs can also sensitise the media, politicians and promote public debate on issues which are not widely discussed.

Rebuilding of health and education infrastructure has been a priority in post-war Mozambique, although progress, especially in health, has been slow partly due to budgetary constraints. Moreover, the emphasis has been, initially, on physical reconstruction, while the

human resources aspects of rebuilding social services, vital to improving the quality of services and utilisation rates, have received less attention. Studies suggest that initial enrolment in schools, for example, is not the main problem facing the education system but that drop out and repetition, partly due to poor quality of provision, greatly reduce the efficiency (and equity) of the system. Latterly, there has been more attention to improving the quality of social services, to redressing gender biases in the take up of services and to extending non-formal or community based provision, in order to widen access to services, especially to education for those who ‘missed out’ during the war years. Programmes of human resources development in the health and education sectors are underway focused on upgrading skills. Restructuring of the public administration and decentralisation may have implications for the gender distribution of skills and employment, for professional recognition and pay and for the quality of public services and their accessibility to women.

Programmes of human resource development in the health and education sectors should provide equal opportunities for women and ensure that women are not marginalised as unpaid or low grade workers without recognised skills.

### 10.3 Specific findings and recommendations on post-conflict skills training and employment promotion

Existing capacity for **skills training** in Mozambique is weak and poorly linked to labour and product market demand. Much training provision is poor in quality and does not provide a sufficient level of skill to support a viable livelihood. This is the legacy of lack of education and skills development, of earlier planned economy models and of wartime destruction. In the immediate aftermath of the conflict, with the pressure to demobilise over 90,000 soldiers, training programmes were hurriedly established. Whilst they have had some success, they have also created frustration and unfulfilled expectations on the part of some trainees, particularly women. There is also the danger that, faced with competition from a flood of newly trained ‘entrepreneurs,’ equipped with free toolkits, existing businesses will be negatively affected. Training initiatives are beginning to recognise some of these weaknesses, to provide more support and follow-up to trainees, make links to credit programmes and upgrade training skills and capacity. However, it is questionable whether models of training set up in the immediate aftermath of conflict, to respond to an essentially political need to demobilise predominantly male soldiers, are appropriate for longer-term skills development across the wider population, without considerable modification.

With regard to the specific needs of women (ex-combatants or otherwise), most training provision has been in skills conventionally recognised as male. Where training has been specifically provided for women, again, this has been in stereotyped activities. A depressing number of programmes across a range of agencies have set up sewing classes for women, in spite of the obvious limitations of this as a source of livelihood. Only a few instances of ‘non-traditional’ skills training for women were identified. **Training related to agriculture (e.g. food processing), construction (e.g. brick and building materials manufacture), administrative and managerial skills, tourism and commerce would all appear to be highly relevant to women’s current and potential position in the labour market. There**

**is a need to both broaden the range of skills offered and to encourage women's participation in areas which might not be considered 'female' skills.**

**Credit programmes** also have a poor record in Mozambique, and specifically have not targeted small-scale agriculture or the informal sector effectively. For this reason, few women (or men) have been able to access institutional financial support for their activities. The problem is not just lack of provision in these areas, but also poor design and management of those schemes which have attempted to give credit for small-scale enterprise, leading to high rates of non-repayment. At the same time, there are highly developed systems of informal savings and credit (*xitique*) in urban markets, revealing a potential for mobilising savings, including among women.

In the last 2-3 years, a change in attitude towards credit provision and informal sector activity is evident in Mozambique and government and financial institutions have begun to take on board the need to find ways of developing the sector, drawing on experience from elsewhere. There is a danger of credit being seen as a panacea and of highly visible credit institutions becoming a focus of activity, without having learned the lessons from earlier experience both in Mozambique and elsewhere.

**The transition from a regime of grants and relief handouts to market-based financial services requires a change in approach by agencies as well as different institutional structures. Encouraging savings and the investment of own resources in economic activity is a useful starting point, which requires efforts at outreach and creating more flexible services by financial institutions. Alongside provision of credit, a supporting infrastructure (of skills development, management, marketing, transport) is required. Changes are also required in the regulatory system and in the policing of informal sector activity, to rationalise and reduce formal and informal taxation of small-scale enterprise. In all of these areas, efforts are required to address gender biases.**

A major constraint to supporting women's enterprises in the informal sector or income generation is that men are often hostile to partners' independent economic activity and /or may attempt to control any cash resources coming into the household. Pressure on women's incomes from household expenses is another constraint, particularly for women who are sole income earners, supporting several dependants and women often use credit for consumption purposes. Thus, credit to women may require a longer term commitment. Lack of collateral and low levels of education are other factors which restrict women's access to credit, suggesting a need for more flexible eligibility criteria. Women's participation rates in credit schemes have been high where commerce has been a main target and where measures have been introduced to reduce transactions costs, by simplifying procedures and e.g. using mobile bankers. **These factors need to be investigated to ensure that credit delivery systems do not strengthen existing biases against women. A review of experience to date on women's participation in credit and savings schemes In Mozambique would be timely (see below).**

It is generally held that in post-war Mozambique, initiating co-operative activities is not viable because of their association with earlier, discredited co-operatives introduced under FRELIMO. In some views, this hostility towards co-operatives extends more broadly to group-based activities, and this, combined with the disruption of social structures consequent to the war, implies a lack of scope for group-based activities and a generalised distrust of

formal associations. At the same time, there are imperatives for collective activity, particularly in the informal sector, where economies of scale can be achieved e.g. by bulk buying, or in making credit applications, where donor agencies may only consider loans above a certain size, or have a preference for group activities. And there are plenty of examples of functioning collective activities. Informal savings schemes (*xitique*) operate on the basis of groups. Market associations have formed in the informal sector in Maputo. Community banks have successfully been organised in Gaza. Some women have set up self-help groups (in part a result of experiences during the war, e.g. in refugee camps) and a large number of NGOs have formed in the post-war period. **Many organisations see the introduction of resources and assets (even on a very small scale) into communities as an opportunity to initiate a process of rebuilding trust and reciprocity where these may have broken down, or been disrupted. Encouraging community associations to form and to register title to land, or other assets creating during project activities (schools etc.) is another mechanism being used to strengthen community ties. Such processes need to be built into the design of interventions, to ensure that women are represented on local management committees and that their rights to usufruct or ownership of assets are not sacrificed to wider ‘community’ interests.**

In spite of enormous suffering, the conflict in Mozambique has brought about processes of dynamic change, including in gender relations and there are positive aspects to this for at least some women. Exposure to new environments, ideas, skills and activities, albeit under circumstances of hardship, have sewn the seeds for future initiative and enterprise for women and for greater prominence in decision making at all levels. **The task of external agencies, then, is to facilitate the development of women’s initiative, through measures to build confidence (e.g. education and skills development at all levels, supporting the development of organisations), raise awareness (e.g. gender training, sponsoring public debate, supporting campaigns), promote changes to strengthen women’s independent access to resources and capacity to retain control over incomes (e.g. savings schemes, improving property rights) and above all by increasing women’s participation in the design and implementation of interventions.**

#### 10.4 Recommendations for ILO Technical Assistance

##### **Policy and planning**

The socio-economic database in Mozambique is weak but rapidly developing, with the implementation of the Census in 1997. In view of the likely availability of a greater range of accurate data to inform post-conflict planning, ILO could provide support to government agencies and research institutions in the analysis and presentation of data on trends in labour force participation, livelihood strategies, and household composition and migration (*inter alia*), including specific attention to their gender dimensions. Additionally, support to planners and policy-makers in the interpretation and use of such data would encourage greater sensitivity and responsiveness in planning.

The advent of the new labour law creates an opportunity for awareness raising and lobbying on employment rights and working conditions. ILO has a role in supporting trade union and NGO efforts to promote public discussion and awareness of employment rights, the likely impact and relevance of the new labour law from a gender perspective and to lobby for

measures which would improve conditions in sectors with a high concentration of women (particularly agriculture and the informal sector).

In conjunction with the above, it would be timely to review of mechanisms for monitoring implementation of labour laws and their provisions for protecting women workers from discrimination, as well as existing Conventions on gender equality in the workplace. This should include promotion of a discussion on the relevance of and mechanisms for implementing the provisions of the recent (1996) ILO Convention on Homeworking.

### **Programme development**

Gender analysis of the Feeder Roads Programme (FRP) programme has been useful in identifying a range of constraints to raising female participation and proposing measures to address existing biases. These lessons should be made more widely available and other programmes supported or executed by ILO would benefit from similar assessments, using the pool of local gender expertise. It is also important that the recommendations of the FRP study are implemented and their impact closely monitored. This is crucial if new programmes aiming to target a broader range of groups are to succeed in attracting women; and to enhance the credibility of ILO in terms of its commitment to promoting gender equality within its own programmes.

Post-conflict reintegration programmes (including the programme supported by ILO) lack data to make a systematic assessment of their gender impact, although preliminary analysis suggests a failure to consider women's specific needs or broader issues of gender discrimination. ILO should ensure that all future programmes of training and employment promotion consider gender issues **in their design stages** (including range of activities promoted, location of training activities, eligibility criteria, recruitment mechanisms, childcare provision, support to literacy improvement, *inter alia*). Consultation with relevant local women's organisations and advisory support from local gender experts, would assist in this process.

Existing programmes of training and employment promotion should consider as a matter of urgency mechanisms for increasing the quantity and quality of female participation. Employment of women in programme management, improved outreach using a variety of media and languages in locations and through channels accessible to women, consultation with a range of women's organisations in early design stages and also in recruitment, use of past female participants as channels to promote future participation etc. and transparent and non-discriminatory guidelines and procedures for recruitment are all useful ways forward.

Existing and future skills training and employment programmes aiming to broaden their target group must introduce from the earliest stages of programme design or implementation, systems for monitoring the gender breakdown of participants, and breaking down internal and external measures of effectiveness/impact by gender of participant. In addition, mechanisms are needed for gathering qualitative information about participation, through, for example, in-depth follow up interviews and focus group discussions, both mixed and single sex. The latter would also encourage group based identification and solving of problems.

Attempts should be made to broaden the range of skills training offered to women beyond 'typically female' activities into activities with greater market demand and higher profit

margins, using pilot programmes. This diversification should be accompanied by measures to encourage women to train in areas not ‘traditionally’ seen as female skills (including new skills acquired during the conflict period) and to assist post-training entry into employment or self-employment, taking account of possible discrimination faced by women. Agricultural production, processing and marketing, construction and building materials production, arts and crafts production, marketing, tourism, administrative and managerial skills, financial services, are all potentially areas of viable training and activity for different groups of women, requiring further investigation.

As well as obviously vocational skills, given the disruption of education systems in the war and patterns of gender discrimination in access to education, it is important that provision is made for both literacy training and academic courses, as well as secondary technical education, for both women and men who missed out on these opportunities during the war years. ILO could play an important role in supporting or facilitating the development of such provision, alongside skills training or employment promotion initiatives. Curricula and teaching methods should be reviewed to examine gender sensitivity and well as relevance to the current economic and political situation.

### **Capacity building**

In view of the commitment to broaden the target group for future training provision, ILO could assist in the assessment and development of existing training capacity (associated with the PROFEM initiative), including a gender perspective. Such assistance should identify organisations and individuals with a capacity to deliver training to women, beyond traditionally ‘female’ skills (such as sewing) and include consideration of organisational measures necessary to encourage female participation in training as both providers and beneficiaries (selection criteria, pre-training literacy, range of skills offered, provision of childcare, location of training, training of trainers courses).

Future skills training and employment promotion activities should take account of trends in labour market and product market demand in identifying viable areas of skills and activity, with a strong focus on informal sector activity. An awareness of gender divisions and segregation in labour and product markets must be incorporated into such assessments. Training in gender-sensitive assessment of market demand, particularly in informal sector markets, would be a useful input into this process.

### **Further research**

#### *Credit and savings*

Given their high level of involvement in the informal sector and in agriculture, an important contribution to the promotion of women’s livelihoods is to find viable mechanisms for the delivery of credit and/or provision of financial services (savings facilities). There is now considerable experience of a variety of programmes in Mozambique and it would be timely to comprehensively review lessons learned on women’s participation in informal credit and savings systems and of existing and past credit/ savings programmes, both general and women-specific. (Group, individual, and credit-in-kind, rural and urban based schemes should all be considered). This should include not just numerical assessments of female participation but also qualitative assessment of the gender-specific impact of savings/credit programmes in terms of promoting sustainable livelihoods, skills development, household

welfare and decision-making processes, divisions of labour, community participation and decision-making. Consideration should also be given to what complementary services are required to encourage female participation. These lessons should be made widely available.

#### *Privatisation*

There is considerable concern, including from women's organisations and trade unions, about the impact of recent and ongoing privatisation programmes on employment and livelihoods while there is a lack of readily available, systematic research on this issue. Retraining and self employment programmes for the unemployed would benefit from detailed information on groups which are affected by privatisation and on existing compensation or retraining measures. Analysis of the impact of privatisation should include assessment of the gender distribution of employment losses and of the potential for retraining or self-employment. Relevant findings could form the basis for discussion about future privatisation programmes.

#### *Community based reintegration processes*

Context-specific research into community responses to issues of violence, trauma and mental health associated with the aftermath of conflict, would improve understanding of reintegration processes, and their gender dimensions. The widely held assumption that such issues are best and adequately dealt with within communities needs to be reviewed.

#### *Property rights*

The issue of post-war redefinition of property rights and local governance systems have major gender implications. In particular, further research is required into local practice in land allocation and transfer, from a gender perspective, particularly in view of the implementation of the new land law, and into women's perceptions and views on property rights.

#### *Public administration and sector reform*

Research into the existing structures of gender bias in public sector employment, and the aspirations of women in this sector, particularly at provincial and district levels would be a useful input into ensuring that women are not disadvantaged by current process of public sector reform.

#### *Gender relations*

Changes in gender relations within the household during and following the conflict require more detailed research, which is context specific. This will be crucial to the design of interventions which aim to improve women's employment and income earning prospects and to support women's empowerment.

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## **APPENDIX 1: Terms of Reference**

### **Outline for an In-depth Study of Women's Special Situation, Gender Perspectives and Population Issues in Countries Emerging out of Conflict and How to Effectively Integrate these Concerns in Training and Employment Promotion Programmes**

#### Background

An 'Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Training for Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict' is currently being implemented by the ILO. The overall objective is increased capacity of concerned ILO member states and relevant national and other bodies to facilitate the rapid and effective reintegration of war-affected groups (and communities) into society, through training and employment promotion programmes. A recent ILO Expert Meeting (July 1995) noted the grave impact of war on women but observed that there has been inadequate planning for this population group. It, therefore, called for action in this area. A number of demographic changes also occur during war (such as alterations in sex ratios and household compositions, increases in dependency levels and in the numbers of female heads of households) which have serious implications for women's work and their reproductive and other social burdens. They, therefore, require consideration in the formulation of strategies for post-conflict related work.

As an integral part of the above-mentioned ILO Action Programme, a number of in-depth country studies (including Azerbaijan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cambodia, Guatemala, Lebanon and Mozambique) are planned which will analyse the situation, problems and special needs of women as well as the demographic profiles of the post-war society. Each will also identify strategies and propose guidelines for integrating gender and population issues in training and employment-related work in the aftermath of conflict and also in the three different phases – emergency, rehabilitation and development. An overview, based upon the available literature, has already been prepared which identifies some of the key issues to guide the country studies (see Date-Bah, 1996). In addition, a questionnaire has been formulated to gather relevant experiences of the NGOs which are currently assisting war-torn countries.

#### Objective

Each in-depth country study will provide an analysis of the situation of war-affected women, identify their special needs, and make proposals for training requirements leading to employment. It will also identify strategies and prepare guidelines for national planners and implementers, as well as international technical assistance agencies and other personnel involved in post-conflict work, to ensure adequate gender-sensitivity and integration of women and population issues in a sustainable manner at the different phases – emergency, rehabilitation and development – in the post-war reconstruction efforts. It will also examine appropriate ways of promoting women's empowerment and their equality of opportunity and treatment with men in employment and training within the war-torn context, as enshrined in international labour and other standards.

## Scope

1. Brief introduction analysing the history, duration and other features of the war.
2. Description of the specific phase of the post-war period in which the country is in (e.g. emergency, rehabilitation or development).
3. The country's current (in comparison with the pre-war situation) demographic profile, economic situation, labour market conditions and the working and living situation and other characteristics of the people, the changes in community structure, relationships and institutional capacity and their gender implications.
4. Women in the country, a comparison of their pre- and post-war activities, their special needs stemming from the war and the nature of their involvement in the war (combatants, displaced and civilian refugees, young women and girls, with some who were sexually abused, and disabled women and girls); the women's reproductive health care and planning concerns, etc.
5. The women's reproductive health care and family planning concerns, etc.
6. Demographic changes during and after the war and their impact on women, their burden and employment capacity.
7. Assessment of peace accords and on-going emergency, rehabilitation, demobilisation and development programmes in terms of extent of gender sensitivity, adequate coverage and visibility of women and population considerations and the implications.
8. Assessment of government policies and action towards assisting war-affected women, identification of the constraints and how to overcome them.
9. Examination of current assistance by NGOs, donor and development agencies – UN and bilateral – to the post-war country to identify extent of gender considerations and focus on women and their special needs; and assessment of the efficacy of their adopted approaches to promote women's empowerment and equality of opportunity and treatment with special emphasis on skills' training and employment.
10. Identification of effective modalities for tackling psycho-social war traumas of women, their reproductive health and other needs within the vocational training and employment promotion programmes.
11. Identification of relevant local institutions and how to promote relevant institutional collaboration, essential for effective coverage of gender, demographic and other population considerations.
12. Elaboration of effective ways of promoting group mobilisation within the context of the disrupted community relations and of overcoming the distrust that characterises the post-conflict society.
13. Identification and elaboration of a programme of practical technical cooperation assistance proposals to effectively assist women and to mainstream them and gender concerns in the relevant post-conflict reconstruction and other activities.

The assignment will involve: field work and consultations with the war-affected women and other relevant people and authorities in one post-conflict country for a number of weeks; preparation of a high quality country report and also guidelines on how to ensure effective integration of women's needs, gender perspectives and essential demographic/population considerations in vocational training and employment promotion programmes within the special context of countries emerging from conflict – the main expected output of the ILO Action Programme; a compilation of a directory of main institutions/bodies (local and international) with relevant gender-sensitive employment-related and training activities/programmes in the post-conflict country; and case studies of two or three such activities/programmes.

## **APPENDIX 2: Persons Met in Geneva and Maputo**

### **International Labour Office, Geneva:**

Eugenia Date-Bah, Director

**Action Programme on Skills and Entrepreneurship Training in Countries Emerging from Armed Conflict, Training Systems and Policies Branch**

Hans Hofmeijer

**Enterprise and Co-operative Development Department**

Haje Schütte, Specialist in Finance and Small Enterprise Development

**Enterprise and Co-operative Development Department**

Jan den Veen, Senior Engineering Advisor

**Employment-Intensive Works Programme, Development Policies Branch**

Evy Massell

**Rehabilitation Department**

Stuart Maslem

**Consultant**

### **International Labour Office, Maputo:**

Jose Pinotes, Chief Technical Advisor, DHO Project MOZ/94/B01

John Clifton, Chief Technical Advisor, Feeder Roads Programme, DNEP

Elena Medi, Consultant

### **Government:**

Gilberto Antero Botas, National Director of Professional Training (INEFP)

**Ministry of Labour**

Victoria Ginja, Head

Gabriel Dava, Deputy

**Poverty Alleviation Unit, Ministry of Planning and Finance**

Alcinda Abreu, Minister (on leave)<sup>181</sup>

**Minister for the Coordination of Social Action**

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<sup>181</sup> Alcinda Abreu is no longer Minister for Social Action.

Josefa Langa, National Director, Women and Children's Affairs  
**Ministry for the Coordination of Social Action**

**Other government agency**

Ana Sithole, Kaja Stene (Economist, responsible for women's activities)  
National Institute for the Development of Local Industry (IDIL), Balcão dal Mulher

**International Agency:**

Odette Cossa  
**UNFPA**

Christina Toma, Gender Officer/Trainer  
Bai K.M. Bojang, Head of Programme/Adviser  
**World Food Programme**

Stella Pinto, Programme Officer  
**UNDP**

Diana Pereira, Gender Officer  
**UNICEF**

Christina Haerberlin-Lanz  
**Unit for Rehabilitation and Reconstruction, UNDP**

**Bilateral Agency**

Mieke Oldenburg  
**First Secretary, Royal Netherlands Embassy**

Ann Pedersen  
**Embassy of Sweden (Asdi)**

**Non-government (Mozambican)**

Filipa Baltazar da Costa  
**Member of Parliament**

Julieta Langa, Dean of Faculty of Arts, University of Eduardo Mondlane,  
**Mozambican Women for Peace (MMP)**

Leontina Muchangos, Gender Trainer  
Benilde Nhalivilo, Information Officer  
**Forum Mulher** (women's NGOs umbrella group)

Celeste Nobela, Director  
**MULEIDE (Women, law and development)**

Maria dos Anjos Rosarios  
**Mozambican Association for Urban Development (AMDU)**

Jacinta Jorge, President  
Rabelina Manuel, Deputy  
**Women's Department, AMODEG (Association for Demobilised Soldiers in Mozambique)**

Angelique Salamão, President  
**ACTIVA, Association of Business and Executive Women**

Paulina Mateus Kunda, General Secretary  
Esperancia, Executive Secretary  
**National Organisation for Mozambican Women (OMM)<sup>182</sup>**

Elizabeth Siqueria, Director  
**Progresso**

Frida Draisma, Programme Officer  
**Mozambican Red Cross**

Guillermina, Programme Officer  
Jose, Technical Adviser  
**Association for the Economic and Socio-Cultural Development of Women – MBEU**

Amelia Zambeze, National Co-ordinator  
**Mozambican National Association for Rural Women's Development (AMRU)**

### **Non-government (International)**

Nick Roseveare, Country Representative  
**Oxfam (UK/I)**

Anthony Nedley, Country Director  
Rachel Waterhouse, Researcher  
**ActionAid**

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<sup>182</sup> OMM became an NGO in 1991, but since its national congress in 1996, reverted to become an organisation aligned to the ruling party, FRELIMO.

Azevedo Suegi, Country Representative  
Jane Gibreel, Programme Officer, Zambezia (by telephone)  
**Save the Children Fund (UK)**

Martin Wyss, Technical Advisor for Demobilisation and Reintegration  
**International Organisation for Migration (IOM)**

**Consultants/Researchers:**

Teresinha da Silva, Researcher<sup>183</sup>  
**Centre for African Studies, UEM**

Fion de Vletter  
**Consultant Economist**

Soila Hirvonen  
**Gender Consultant** (on World Bank Cashew study)

Helena Zefanias  
**Consultant, founder of MBEU** (see NGOs)

**Group interviews/discussions with project beneficiaries:**

Belas Artes Training Centre, Maputo (DHO)  
Campoane, Maputo province (MBEU)  
Magude District, Maputo province (AMRU)

**Individual interviews:**

Former trainees of DHO project (3)

Women and one man in selected locations in Maputo:  
Fajardo (2), Janeth (3), Benefica markets (3)  
Street traders in *Bairro Coop* (2), *Bairro Plana Caniço B* (2), *Bairro Magude* (2)

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<sup>183</sup> Ms Da Silva was recently appointed Director of the School of Social Work, UEM.

### **APPENDIX 3: Gender analysis of Feeder Roads Programme (FRP)**

The Feeder Roads Programme (FRP) (Phase I – 1992-6) is a labour-intensive public works scheme, supported by a large number of donor agencies<sup>184</sup>, with ILO as the executing agency.

The objective of FRP (Phase I) was to develop rural areas of Mozambique, to rehabilitate and maintain tertiary roads and to promote institutional development. In the 1992-6 period, 2400 km of road were to be rehabilitated and a maintenance capacity established. The generation of temporary employment opportunities during rehabilitation and a lesser number of permanent posts in routine maintenance were additional objectives.

1936 km of road were rehabilitated in 1992-6<sup>185</sup>, 81 percent of the target figure. Shortages of supplies (particularly fuel and vehicle parts) and late payment of workers were the main constraints identified. Standards of maintenance were variable and in general insufficient to prevent premature deterioration of the roads and 19 percent of rehabilitated roads were not covered by a maintenance regime.

In terms of employment, 29 brigades were operational in mid-1996, in nine provinces<sup>186</sup> (not in Tete), with five mobilising and a further 13 brigades planned. Brigades had average size of 170-180 persons, as against a target of 250 persons. Thus, the total labour force is somewhere in the region of 4500-5000. Of this total, the percentage of women workers is significantly below the target of 25 percent, at around 14 percent. (See Table 6 for more detailed breakdown of female participation.) The continued failure to attract women workers was the subject of a study financed by UNDP and presented in 1996<sup>187</sup>. Actions are currently being taken to implement the findings of this study<sup>188</sup>.

Funding for a second phase of FRP (1997-9) has now been agreed, which is an extension of Phase I, with stronger emphasis on institutional development of DNEP (National Directorate of Roads and Brides) and its provincial level bodies, at the same time as supporting rationalisation, restructuring and commercialisation. As well as these direct institutional beneficiaries the ‘underprivileged and unemployed’ in rural areas will be provided with ‘employment and marketable skills’ and staff of the relevant institutions will also acquire new skills. Indirectly, benefits are expected to road users, agricultural producers, the rural population in general and rural traders. (Republic of Mozambique, n.d.).

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<sup>184</sup> UNDP, UNCDF, Asdi, SDC, KfW/GTZ, EU, ODA, OPEC/IFAD, Church Council

<sup>185</sup> Up to June.

<sup>186</sup> In terms of funding and numbers of brigades, Zambesia has the highest concentration of activities.

<sup>187</sup> Forum Mulher, 1996, ‘Participação da mulher no programa de reabilitação de estradas rurais’, financiado por programa das Nações Unidas para o Desenvolvimento (PNUD), Mozambique, April.

<sup>188</sup> Another study is being conducted by a Swedish consultant Gunilla Akesson, in three stages, on the socio-economic impact of FRP, in Mecuburi district of Nampula province, halfway through the construction process, at completion of the road and some time later. Phase II was completed in October.

**Table 7: Female participation in feeder road construction in FRP, 1993-6**

Year	Number employed	Percentage women
1993	-	10
1994	-	4.0 – 4.1
1995	3663	9.55
1996 <sup>189</sup>	4404	14

Source: Republic of Mozambique, 1995c, 1996b, 1996c

Table 7 shows the participation levels of women in the FRP over 1993-6, for which data is available. Breakdowns of these data by district and province for 1995/6 also show considerable variation, from 10 percent in Maputo province (1994) to a low of 2.8 percent and 0 in brigades in Inhambane and Cabo Delgado respectively; in 1995, from 23 percent in Sofala, to a low of 0.6 percent in one district of Nampula and 4.5 percent in districts in Niassa; and in 1996, from a high of 29 percent in Magude district of Maputo province, 21 percent in Sofala province and 0 in one district of Nampula and Manica respectively. What is also interesting about these more detailed figures is that they display considerable variation between districts (e.g. in 1996, average participation of women in Niassa varied from 5-20 percent and in Gaza from 6-18 percent), within provinces, as well as between provinces, suggesting either that local conditions in terms of female labour supply and constraints to this are highly contextually specific and/or that district level factors in the design and implementation of FRP are a key in ensuring female participation. Broad regional, ethnic or cultural differences in attitudes towards women working do not adequately to explain or justify these variations. (Republic of Mozambique, 1995c, 1996b, 1996c.)

Beyond these quantitative indicators, other gender issues arise, for which data are not systematically gathered, relating to the terms of women's participation. The 1996 study found that the status of women participants varied by province. In most provinces, the majority of women were *de facto* heads of household (single women, widows or divorced women), although in Sofala and Maputo, the majority were married (Forum Mulher, 1996). The 1996 study also found that there were few women recruited as supervisors.

Major constraints to female participation identified in the 1996 study were recruitment mechanisms, and specifically the lack of guidelines on recruiting women. Standard channels of information used were not reaching women (either through local structures, or word of mouth, since men would tend to pass on information to other men). Other issues were lack of provision for health care, access to food supplies (in areas with no readily accessible markets) and lack of child care facilities. Technical advisers suggested additional constraints were cultural, regional and ethnic variations in attitudes to women working, lack of women with driving licences (where vehicles are involved), failure of district administrators, who are key

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<sup>189</sup> January to June only.

to the recruitment process, to recruit women, and (outside the Southern region) prevailing norms against women handling machinery (*ibid.*, 17-20).

Recommendations of the *Forum Mulher* study included:

- the sensitisation and training of FRP staff in relation to gender issues;
- plans, strategies, indicators etc. for improving women's participation in FRP;
- coordination with women's organisations in the project areas;
- preparation and distribution of guidelines for recruitment at provincial and local levels;
- improved information about FRP and opportunities available to women;
- resolution of problems faced by women including health, childcare and acquisition of foodstuffs;
- avoiding site camps; and
- action to recruit more educated women.

(Forum Mulher, 1996: 33-4)<sup>190</sup>

The 25 percent target is to be retained, pending the establishment of more detailed targets on the basis of the 1996 study, with a view also to ensuring that women are not marginalised from semi-permanent or permanent maintenance positions.

Following the *Forum Mulher* study, a committee had been set up within DNEP to push forward and implement its recommendations, partly under pressure from donors. The first step to ensuring that these recommendations are carried out is the recruitment of a *cooperante* to work on social and gender issues, a two year position funded by Sida. At the time of visiting the programme offices in DNEP, this position was pending appointment, subject to approval by the national director. Meanwhile, the brief for this position had been widened to cover the institutionalisation of gender issues in DNEP as a whole. Concerns were expressed by the technical adviser<sup>191</sup> about the location of this position within the structure of DNEP or FRP, the lack of line management responsibilities of the post, and the scope for impact at district level, where recruitment takes place. There were also concerns about whether a single appointee would be able to cover both the issues of female participation in FRP and the wider institutionalisation questions in DNEP.

There are very few women engineers in DNEP, although there are more women working on the design and administration and financial side. Efforts are currently being made to bring gender aspects into the training courses being run under the FRP (and also wider DNEP training courses) at the training Centre in Chimoio, and it is expected that this work will expand once the *cooperante* position is filled. Forum Mulher had been requested, following their study, to prepare some modules for use in the training centre. In terms of training within DNEP, the ILO technical adviser felt that 'the question of relevance' in training (i.e. that training should be seen to be immediately relevant to the job in hand) would be a constraint to staff being given gender-related training.<sup>192</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> den Veen, personal communication.

<sup>191</sup> Personal communication, John Clifton.

<sup>192</sup> Personal communication, John Clifton.

## **APPENDIX 4: Review of main reintegration programmes from a gender perspective**

### **ILO/DHO**

The DHO/OSD programme began in September 1994 in order to address the problem of demobilised soldiers flooding onto the labour market, once demobilisation had been set in train in March 1994. It consisted of accelerated vocational training (practically-based training of less than 900 hours), provision of tool kits, basic business skills training and the facilitation of access to employment and self-employment (Bryant, 1996). In addition to provision of training and kits, the selection of training providers and provision of training to these institutions has formed a major activity of DHO as well as the development of training materials to support self employment. Latterly, the DHO has increasingly emphasised assisting graduates to access credit for self employment, principally through the poverty alleviation fund of the Banco Popular de Desinvolvimento (BPD) although there have been considerable delays in processing applications. The appointment and training of local employment animators (*Animadores Locais de Emprego* – ALEs) since early 1996 has strengthened local level links and knowledge of labour market conditions, although there is still considerable room for improvement here. DHO is set to terminate in March 1997. A new programme has been agreed, which would build on the methodology developed under DHO, but targeting a wider cross-section of the population. Details of this were not available at the time of writing.

Overall, the programme has trained nearly 9000 persons as well as distributing kits to 3000 additional persons (no gender breakdown available for this latter group). Of these, 88 percent approximately are ex-combatants (the programme was permitted to train other candidates to a limited extent and selection criteria have been relaxed more recently), 1.86 percent women and 2.9 percent disabled. Thus, around 7700 ex-combatants have been trained by DHO, about eight percent of the total number of ex-combatants.

Because women formed a tiny proportion of the total number of recognised ex-combatants (1380 out of 92881, or 1.48 percent), no consideration was given to gender issues, or the special needs of women, in the design of the programme or the selection of candidates. There was ‘no time’ to make special provisions for women. No child care facilities were provided in any of the centres, due to lack of funds.<sup>193</sup> In spite of these factors, the proportion of women trainees was slightly higher (1.85) than their proportion in the overall ex-combatant group. Table 8 gives a breakdown of DHO trainees by gender and province.

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<sup>193</sup> Personal communication, Jose Pinotes.

**Table 8: DHO trainees by gender and province**

Province	Total no. trainees	Distribution of trainees by province	No. women trainees	Distribution of women trainees by province	% of trainees female by province
Niassa	214	2.4	2	1.2	0.93
Cabo Delgado	327	3.7	0	0	0
Nampula	1845	21	12	7.4	0.65
Zambezia	593	6.7	5	3.1	0.94
Tete	394	4.5	0	0	0
Manica	935	10.6	6	3.7	0.53
Sofala	1530	17.4	12	7.4	0.78
Inhambane	700	8.0	17	16.6	2.43
Gaza	633	7.2	7	4.3	1.11
Maputo Prov.	958	10.9	4	2.5	0.42
Maputo City	655	7.5	98	60.1	14.96
Total	8784	100.0	163	100.0	1.85

Information supplied by DHO project, February 1997

Throughout the duration of the programme, three sewing courses were specially set up for women ex-combatants, the first sponsored by Singer sewing machines and the second two at the initiative of AMODEG, and run by the Belas Artes training centre in Maputo. Another course in secretarial skills in Maputo had also recruited mainly women. The setting up of 'gender-specific' courses in Maputo is reflected in the above table which shows that by far the highest proportion of female trainees were in Maputo, with an under-representation of women in training courses in all other provinces, except Inhambane, compared even to their negligible presence among the target group.

More recently, the Active Training Promotion Centre in Inhambane (one of six government vocational training centres) has trained women in 'non-traditional' skills, such as plumbing and panel beating, under the auspices of the DHO programme. In fact, more than half of the trainees in this centre are women. This is not a result of a conscious effort to recruit women into such training, rather the product of a situation where women form a relatively high proportion of the adult population (due to male outmigration and other, war-related factors) and, possibly, as result of women themselves spreading the word among their contemporaries about the availability of such training.<sup>194</sup>

In general, then, the provision of training for women ex-combatants is along highly gendered and traditional lines, emphasising skills which probably had little chance of providing for sustainable self-employment (given the competition from second hand clothes markets, imports from South Africa and relatively short duration of training) (see Box 7 in section 5 of main text for further information on the impact of sewing training for women ex-combatants).

<sup>194</sup> Pinotes, personal communication.

External indicators the project show high levels of employability, relationship between training and occupation and of kit utilisation.<sup>195</sup> The interpretation of ‘employability’ and the relatively small sample size for the third interview (with the highest employability figures) may have biased these figures upwards. No gender breakdown on employability is given. Other data supplied by DHO show that 20-25 percent of those followed up were in formal employment, the majority earning above average incomes; compared to 70-75 percent in self-employment. Of those classified as self-employed, the majority were earning low incomes relative to average, suggesting high levels of underemployment. Given that no women were known to be in formal employment, this suggests that women are highly likely to be underemployed, or non-employed, on completion of their training. Slightly over ten percent of micro-enterprises supported through DHO (66/640 by February 1997) were female-run. Informal interviews with former trainees (see section 5) confirmed that some of those registered as entrepreneurs are not earning significant incomes.

Because follow-up data on employability are not broken down by gender, an assessment of the relative success of the programme for men and women is difficult. This information would be vital to informing the extension of a similar programme to a higher proportion of women. Similarly, data on the number of women trainers providing courses, or given training, the number of women artisans used as training providers and the number of women supported through the micro-credit programme are not systematically collected, although some indicative data on these aspects were made available on request. Any future extension of the programme, with women specified as a priority target group, would need to develop more effective monitoring systems by gender.

Future extension of this approach would also need to consider seriously the gendered nature of skills training being provided, in the light of the likely effect of this on women’s take up of courses, and future employment opportunities for women. This implies broadening the range of skills training offered to include areas which are less obviously ‘gendered’ and/or providing specific encouragement/support to women to take up non-traditional skills training.

#### Other programmes (IOM, GTZ, ISCOS)<sup>196</sup>

Less gender-relevant data is available on the other reintegration programmes, because the consultant was directly attached to DHO and thus able to access internally generated data more readily. No response was received to a request for gender-disaggregated data on other reintegration programmes from PCU in MoL, the overall co-ordinating body, who indicated that this data was not readily available. IOM representatives also stated that no gender breakdown of beneficiaries was available. In view of the predominantly male target group of the reintegration programmes, this is not entirely surprising or unreasonable. However, it does imply the urgent need for increased gender awareness and attention to gender-disaggregation in monitoring future programmes under the auspices of the MoL, where women have been designated as a priority target group.

The **Information Referral Service (IRS) provided by IOM** assisted the demobilised and their communities to identify obstacles to reintegration as well as the existing range of social and economic opportunities. It then referred the demobilised and/or their dependants to these

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<sup>195</sup> Unfortunately, follow-up data were not classified by gender in the analysis, although it would be possible to extract this information from the raw data.

<sup>196</sup> For a general account of these programmes, see Bryant, 1996.

opportunities, offering the Provincial Fund (PF) as a flexible funding source. IRS/PF worked with public, private and non-government organisations. Three main types of activities were supported: job creation, through employment subsidies; on the job training, six month work placements or apprenticeships; and intensive labour projects in rehabilitation. From September 1995, funds were also offered to graduates of DHO training programmes who presented viable proposals. Data collection efforts by IOM, according to a 1996 evaluation, were weak and inconsistent. With the cessation of subsidies under the RSS, demand for IRS services dwindled. IOM operations in Mozambique were winding up at the time of writing this report (Bryant, 1996; IOM, 1996).

As well as responsibility for the IRS nationwide (see above), IOM was also responsible for the Provincial Fund, from November 1994, providing assistance (grants) to small-scale projects, in six provinces: Maputo, Gaza, Zambezia, Niassa, Nampula and Cabo Delgado. From 1996, they extended activities to the other four provinces, but most beneficiaries were concentrated in the original six (e.g. 31 percent in Nampula). (IOM, 1996.)

In an interview, an IOM representative stated that while they did not have data to establish the extent of female participation in PF supported activities, he believed that they had favoured women both as ex-combatants and as wives or family members of combatants. In spite of their small numbers, he felt the women ex-combatants were highly visible. In community level meetings, they were more responsive to instructions and 'easier to handle'. They also tended not to lose interest as easily as men. The main activities in which women have been involved are commerce and sewing and knitting. The mandate to support family members, he said, had allowed them to offer grants in stages, in order to give more support for enterprises, with additional funds being offered through family members, since financial support was calculated on the basis of number of beneficiaries or participants (250,000 MT per beneficiary). Wives were also encouraged to sign agreements. In some cases, IOM preferred to deal with wives on their own, since they are more readily able to justify expenditures and are more accustomed to organising their livelihood in an independent way (because they are mostly not reliant on formal employment). Flexible responses to individual needs, it was claimed, had also enabled them to provide money to improve the *barracas* of women traders (e.g. adding freezer facilities, or rooves), to provide additional working capital and, in one case, to assist a woman to buy a house.<sup>197</sup>

Since no data were available and there was no opportunity to follow-up these claims, they cannot be verified. These comments suggest that, like DHO, PF largely supported women in 'typically female' and possibly not very remunerative activities.

**The Open Reintegration Fund (ORF), administered by GTZ**, aimed to promote 'opportunities for employment and income generation for the demobilised and their families which will also serve the communities within which they live and work' (cited in Bryant, 1996: 19). Essentially, the Fund provided assistance in the identification and formulation of projects, finance or cofinance for viable micro-projects, administrative and logistical support for integration and monitoring and evaluation of projects. The ORF is operational in Inhambane, Tete, Sofala and Manica.

Criteria include minimum participation of 50 percent (or 80 percent) of demobilised, with priority to rural and sub-urban rehabilitation activities. A high proportion of projects

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<sup>197</sup> Martin Wyss, personal communication.

supported have proved to be unsustainable (up to 50 percent). Due to the small-scale and dispersed location of projects, monitoring and evaluation costs have been very high.

No classification of beneficiaries by gender, age or disability was available. Five small projects for women are currently (as at December 1996) being evaluated following a proposal from the women's section of AMODEG.

From January 1997, ORF activities will consist mainly of monitoring existing projects, the last of which is expected to terminate in early 1998. Currently, discussions are underway to extend the project, with a wider target group including other 'vulnerable groups'.

**ISCOS** (an Italian trade union NGO), with a long history of working in Mozambique, initiated reintegration courses for the demobilised in January 1994, funded by Italian co-operation. Implementation began in June 1994. The programme emphasised the importance of linking training to employment and self-employment and worked closely with government structures, i.e. vocational training centres under INEFP, and provincial directorates of labour, including employment centres. Training occurs mostly in urban settings. Courses are of 3.5 months duration, including two weeks of basic management training and are followed by formal work placement (for six months) or self-employment. 'Women, young people and the disabled are not specifically targeted for training and data are not classified by gender, age or disability. There have been three courses for women in Xai-Xai and Maputo, but there has been no other specific action taken' (Bryant, 1996: 25). About one third of those trained have been retained following work placements. Poor staff capacity, lack of resources to run training courses and poor labour market (especially informal sector) information as a basis for selecting courses have been constraints to the effectiveness of ISCOS. ISCOS intends to extend its programme under the framework of PROFEM, if funding can be secured (Bryant, 1996).

## APPENDIX 5: Gender Aspects of Selected Bilateral and International Agency Programmes in Mozambique

### 1. Bilateral agencies

The **European Commission**<sup>198</sup> (EC) focuses much activity on rural development (through micro-project programmes) and on support to poverty alleviation, particularly in Northern provinces. The EC has also been involved in supporting the Feeder Roads Programme (FRP) (see Appendix 3). A recent mission to Mozambique by a gender consultant identified the lack of social development, poverty and gender expertise in the EC delegation as a constraint to gender-aware programming and recommended the appointment of technical assistance in these areas. In addition, greater use of local expertise on gender for training and advisory purposes, and of participatory approaches to community development and project planning, were recommended (Fleming, 1996).

**The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Netherlands** (DGIS) has a gender specialist on the ground and a policy to mainstream gender in their development assistance. DGIS also has a special women's fund (of US\$30-100,000) to support women's initiatives. Much Dutch supported activity is in the Northern region and particularly in Nampula province, for which DGIS is currently supporting the preparation of a gender profile. In the Northern region, a gender specialist has been attached to the co-ordinating body of water companies, to improve client participation in the development and delivery of water services, as they are privatised and decentralised. DGIS is also working to improve the agricultural marketing system in Nampula, in conjunction with the Ministries of Agriculture, Public Works, Trade and Social Action, and attempting to integrate a gender perspective in this work. In terms of employment creation, DGIS is supporting *Activa* (see Appendix 9) and some credit and savings programmes, such as the AMR rural women's group in Nampula, which has a Dutch *cooperante* attached. DGIS is also trying to develop (with IDIL – see section 9) a programme training women in construction skills, beekeeping etc. and providing credit to support self employment, in the three Northern provinces. DGIS is also currently looking for ways to develop links to external markets for arts and crafts products, in conjunction with UNICEF training programmes for young people, including young women.<sup>199</sup>

**Sida** is one of only two bilateral agencies with a resident gender adviser. Sida is currently phasing out their rehabilitation activities in Mozambique which are not 'gender specific'. In general, Sida's approach is to mainstream gender issues across their programmes. Sida provides direct support to women's organisations, as part of their support to human rights and democracy. This is not specifically linked to post-war issues but rather focuses on legal rights. Under this programme, Sida gives support to *Forum Mulher*, the women's forum (see Appendix 9), and specifically (in 1996) for a campaign against domestic violence, which involved several organisations.

In education, Sida is concerned with increasing the number and quality of female teachers and with increasing female enrolment and persistence. A study has been commissioned from

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<sup>198</sup> This brief summary is based on secondary sources and does not cover the full scope of EC programming.

<sup>199</sup> Mieke Oldenburg, personal communication.

AMME on why girls do less well at school (to be completed in April 1997). Sida is also involved in curriculum development work with the Department of Educational Planning, in order to encourage girls' persistence at school, and has set up groups at provincial level, with responsibility for overall quality of teaching, using a new methodology. Sida has set up a reference group of persons directly interested in gender and education issues, including AMME, Progresso and MULEIDE (see Appendices 8 and 9). Sida is also supporting two technical institutes, in Maputo and Beira. Girls now pay 50 percent of the fees at these technical schools. Interestingly, they have found that in Maputo, young women with technical skills are discriminated against in the employment market, while in Beira, all women trained in technical skills have been able to get jobs. Sida have also assisted in creating the *Nucleo Feminino*, a group of female teachers working with girl students to encourage the continuation of their education at secondary (technical) level and the take-up of non-traditional subjects by girls.

Sida are also working with parastatal agencies and the public administration to promote gender awareness, equal opportunities in training and employment and gender policies, for example, with the electricity company of Mozambique (EDM). They are now working on a pilot project, in six districts (spread across the country), giving assistance on how to involve more women in the political structure and on development activities which promote women's economic position. Sida has supported the development of a gender-disaggregated statistical database, through the Ministry of Planning and Finance (see Section 9).<sup>200</sup>

## 2. International Organisations

**UNDP** have supported the provision of informal training alongside credit schemes, both individual and group based, as part of wider community development activities. The type of training UNDP support is in business skills, management, accounting and project formulation, as well as training in technical aspects of particular activities, e.g. agriculture, poultry rearing etc. Training is part-time and variable in length from a week to a couple of months. UNDP has worked mainly through NGOs and also through the First Ladies Cabinet. UNDP specifically targeted women in their activities, although no data were made available on the representation of women among beneficiaries.<sup>201</sup>

UNDP initially emphasised rural micro-credit, in order to stimulate rural development, but ran into difficulties with this, since repayment rates were not satisfactory and working with mainly illiterate populations made training difficult. As a result, UNDP moved its credit activities into urban areas and established a minimum eligibility level of 6<sup>th</sup> grade education. This improved the returns to credit programmes but probably meant that UNDP's programmes were reaching less poor groups and may also have acted to exclude women. Specific problems UNDP have faced in targeting women are that women use credit for consumption purposes and then are unable to repay. The credit programme run through the First Ladies' Cabinet had also run into problems, because of weak economic expertise. Lack of training prior to the provision of credit and lack of entrepreneurial skills among the women concerned also hampered this programme, which ended in 1996.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> Ann Pedersen, personal communication.

<sup>201</sup> Stella Pinto, personal communication.

<sup>202</sup> Stella Pinto, personal communication.

UNDP are phasing out small-scale micro-credit schemes and are now planning to work alongside MICAS (see section 9) to develop their overall capacity in terms of co-ordinating poverty alleviation and social development activities. Part of this initiative will involve support to the mainstreaming of gender in MICAS and other government departments.<sup>203</sup>

**UNFPA** support a variety of projects and programmes in Mozambique<sup>204</sup>: in reproductive health and family planning; population and development (e.g. developing the national population policy); teaching and research on demographic issues, through the Centre for Population Studies in the University; the improvement of gender-disaggregated data collection, specifically with reference to the 1997 Census (in the Population and Planning Unit of the Ministry of Finance and Planning); the development of population and family life education, in conjunction with the Ministry of Education; as well as IEC activities; supporting the training and skills upgrading of health personnel through the Ministry of Health (especially nurses) and HIV/AIDS prevention and control.<sup>205</sup> Their approach is to integrate gender into all their activities, rather than to ‘target women’. This means, for example, that reproductive health activities should also address men, that both sexes should be encouraged to attend family planning clinics and benefit from their services.

With respect to ‘post-conflict’ issues, their main focus is on reversing the destruction of the health infrastructure. While there has been slow progress in the physical rehabilitation of the rural health services, shortages of skilled personnel and equipment persist. Most rural health posts are reliant on traditional birth attendants or other unskilled workers, with limited support. Transport and communications problems also mean that there are difficulties in assuring medical supplies to some areas. In Zambezia, for example, UNFPA supports a mobile team which makes supervision visits around the province to monitor deliveries and deaths and to assess needs in terms of materials and personnel.

**UNICEF** has recently shifted its approach from women-focused projects to a gender approach, in line with government policy. UNICEF works mainly in health and education and has also supported training centres for women (see section 9). In health, the main activities are vaccination programmes, maternal and child health and pre-natal care. In education, UNICEF are working in conjunction with MINED. In previous years, UNICEF has stressed disaggregation of data and top-down planning: it was not really possible to decentralise planning, except in a few districts, for security reasons. Now, UNICEF are working towards greater community (parents, teachers, heads etc) involvement in analysis of data and identification of problems. There are some problems with capacity of MINED and reluctance to decentralise planning.<sup>206</sup>

The Girl’s Education Project is operational in three provinces in the North and involves training on gender and education issues, for provincial education directorates, including general gender awareness and data analysis from a gender perspective. The project also attempts to make the curriculum more representative of the post-conflict democratic situation, and to improve the presentation of women and gender roles in educational materials. There are constraints to promoting girls’ education because of the low ratio of female to male teachers (UNICEF, 1994).

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<sup>203</sup> Stella Pinto, personal communication.

<sup>204</sup> Previously, UNFPA was funding the OMM Circles of Interest Project in Zambezia (see Appendix 9).

<sup>205</sup> Since April 1996, UNAIDS is the main co-ordinating body working on HIV/AIDS prevention and control.

<sup>206</sup> Diana Pereira, personal communication.

This year, UNICEF is supporting studies and training in the areas of gender and emergency preparedness, because of growing concern about local-level food security, vulnerability to drought etc., an area they feel is not receiving sufficient attention from government. UNICEF has also supported gender training activities, at the grassroots level, with women from training centres, discussing concepts and issues, and with journalists, who it is hoped will write more features from a gender perspective, following the training.<sup>207</sup>

The **World Bank**<sup>208</sup> do not tend to support specific programmes targeting women and have no gender specialists on their country staff.<sup>209</sup> A gender consultant has recently been appointed to work with the Ministry of Agriculture on a study to examine the gender impact of cashew liberalisation, which is a major component of the World Bank country programme.<sup>210</sup> Renewed incentives to cashew production are thought to hold potential benefits for women, because of their major role in cashew harvesting, processing and trading. This hypothesis is to be tested in the study, given current limited understanding of the dynamics of cashew production at household level.<sup>211</sup>

**World Food Programme's** (WFP) country programme in Mozambique, has appointed a gender and training officer to implement WFP's Gender Action Plan<sup>212</sup> at country level, mainly through both general and gender training. WFP approved its country strategy (WFP, 1996) in mid-1996 and is now in the process of developing programme activities, to be approved by May 1997.

In terms of specific programmes, the Feeder Roads Programmes (FRP) (see Appendix 3), in which WFP supports a food for work component, employs women although the level of female participation has been well below target. WFP staff estimate that 40-50 percent of those receiving emergency rations were women (although no accurate data could be produced to verify this) and specifically that a high proportion of recipients were female-headed households. This is moving towards, but still below, WFP's global commitment to channel 60 percent of resources to women, which also applies to partner organisations. In order to ensure this, WFP have modified reporting formats to provide disaggregated data but is experiencing some difficulties with partner organisations in obtaining this information. In 1996, WFP commissioned a series of country studies examining gender issues in emergency programmes. Murungu (1995) gives details of the assessment for Mozambique (see section 8.1).

While skills development is not the main focus of WFP activity, since it has traditionally mainly worked in relief and rehabilitation, it has set up a Food Fund, to support the development of micro-enterprises. The details of this are not yet finalised. Priority will be

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<sup>207</sup> Diana Pereira, personal communication.

<sup>208</sup> This does not give a comprehensive account of World Bank activity. The World Bank is also involved in support to micro-credit and training programmes, urban development, the education and agricultural sectors (through sector investment programmes) and to natural resource management.

<sup>209</sup> Tara Yudelman, personal communication.

<sup>210</sup> The Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Norway and Finland are supporting this consultancy.

<sup>211</sup> Soila Hirvonen, personal communication.

<sup>212</sup> At the international level, WFP have done a lot of work recently to integrate gender into their operations. In 1994-5 a series of studies, both global and country specific (including a review of emergency food programme in Mozambique), were conducted to assess the consideration of gender in their programmes. This resulted in the development of a strategy and guidelines and the Gender Action Plan 1996-2000.

given to urban areas and to the rehabilitation of infrastructure in poor communities. WFP are keen to collaborate with other agencies in promoting skills development.<sup>213</sup>

At the social level, WFP are engaged in feeding programmes for vulnerable groups, and in pre-school education and disabled centres. There is some training offered in the latter centres, 'to reduce dependency'. WFP provides school meals and income transfer packages to offset the opportunity cost of attending school or training courses. WFP are also co-operating with the Ministry of Education in schools reconstruction and rehabilitation and in a programme to encourage female enrolment in selected areas, particularly in the Centre and North.

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<sup>213</sup> Bai Bojang, personal communication.

## **APPENDIX 6: Summary of Government Goals and Strategies for Implementing Beijing Platform for Action**

Mozambique has adopted the Beijing Platform for Action. Follow up activities include the elaboration of a Plan of Action (MICAS, 1996) which integrates gender concerns across the range of government policies and programmes.

### **The Government Plan of Action has the following goals:**

- empowerment and advancement of women
- reducing discrimination against women, especially girls
- improving female living standards

Strategies envisaged to reach these goals include:

- promotion of women's groups to increase awareness of gender issues and self-help;
- developing macro-economic and sector policies which take into account women's needs and efforts in poverty reduction;
- improved child and maternal health provision;
- increased access to education and improved performance for girls;
- provision of a legal framework to safeguard women's rights;
- measures to address violence against women.

Source: UN, 1997: 36.

## **APPENDIX 7: Gender Aspects of Selected International NGO Training and Income Generation Programmes**

**ActionAid** were invited into Zambezia province in 1987 to work in war-affected areas. They initially tried to do long-term development work but by 1989 were over taken by a full-scale emergency. Prior to this they had no emergency experience. Faced with over 100,000 people on the verge of starvation, ActionAid began shipping in food aid, and continued this over a period of four years, during which time confidence and trust developed with displaced communities and national staff. ActionAid supported self-help initiatives of misplaced persons in transit centres, set up zones for planting seeds, provided tools and started a fish salting unit. Most of his activity was experimental and some of it collapsed. Nevertheless, at the end of the war, ActionAid was in a strong position in that it was accepted by both sides and thus had access to areas where people were under Renamo control. Once areas were liberated, ActionAid followed displaced people back to their home areas and was able to provide a bridge between communities and the government as well as to support the rehabilitation of basic service provision. ActionAid works with district level government staff, building capacity, and also with traditional community structures.<sup>214</sup>

ActionAid are involved in an ODA-funded livestock restocking project in Zambezia, supplying goats to communities, who are then expected to hand on offspring. Goats were to be supplied to female heads of households but in fact they did not necessarily want them and saw them as a 'male' responsibility. Women had no time to look after the goats and were afraid of them being stolen.

ActionAid have encountered a number of problems in their work in Zambezia and attribute this in part to the role of outside agencies during the war and post-war period. There is a lack of both community and state participation in rehabilitation and development work, in part because of 'crowding out' by international agencies.

ActionAid has had to rethink their approach to gender issues in some instances. Attempts to create formal consultations with women in the Zambezia programme backfired: the women themselves refused to co-operate and reacted angrily to being called to formal meetings. They saw this as a male responsibility and did not have time to attend such meetings. ActionAid has now reverted to less formal mechanisms for consulting women.

Eighteen months ago (in mid-1995) ActionAid began working in communities in Maputo province (Manhica and Marracuene), areas overlooked during the war but which also suffer from serious poverty and underdevelopment. They are largely remittance economies with a very high percentage of female-headed households. ActionAid's experience of working in the South has been that people take the initiative more and that women are more used to independent decision-making. For these reasons ActionAid has been able to achieve more in these areas in a short time than in several years in Zambezia. ActionAid has set up a programme to provide schooling for children outside the state system, through self constructed centres with learning areas and educational facilitators, taking 50 pupils a day. Partly because of their experience in Zambezia, ActionAid have insisted on government

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<sup>214</sup> Antony Nedley, personal communication.

involvement at district and provincial level. As a result of PRA work conducted in these communities, a community association was formed, with a legal status and which will own assets created through programme activities (e.g. schools). ActionAid is also currently researching issues related to land ownership, specifically the gender implications of changing tenure patterns and demographic shifts (see section 4.5 on land).

**Oxfam's**<sup>215</sup> programme in Mozambique is moving away from emergency and physical rehabilitation work, although they are still involved in supporting the rehabilitation of health and education facilities. Oxfam has started long-term development work in Zambezia and Niassa provinces, in three main areas: raising incomes, food security and social service provision, particularly qualitative support to education services. The needs and aspirations of women are concerns running through all Oxfam's work rather than separate activities being designed for women. The food security programme in southern Niassa has one staff member (a nutritionist) who works closely with women. The programme as a whole includes micro-enterprise development, small-scale credit, agricultural extension and research and the reintroduction of crops lost during the war (particularly crops which see people through the hungry season when stocks are low). The nutritionist works closely with traditional birth attendants, to upgrade their skills and status and to increase their knowledge e.g. of nutrition. She is also building up informal contacts through meeting and talking to women at water points, rather than through formal meetings. In this area, there is a perception among the population, including women themselves, that 'business is not for women.' So, in terms of introducing income generating activities for women, Oxfam have proceeded very slowly. For example, they have distributed sunflower seeds among women, encouraging them to grow these in order to improve nutritional standards. An oilseed press has been leased to women for short periods, for processing sunflower seeds, thereby slowly raising the possibility of more formal income generating activity in the future.

Oxfam's activity in Niassa is largely aimed at rebuilding trust and co-operation, through, for example, the distribution of small stock to carefully selected households (after much consultation), and passing on breeding pairs to other members of the community. This was a well entrenched method prior to the war. A number of women are involved in the small livestock scheme although responsibility for homestead animals varies by family. Now, there is a reluctance to organise in co-operatives, collectives etc., so Oxfam has not been pushing these forms of organisation. For example, with the oil presses, individuals are responsible for managing the presses, rather than groups, and users pay in cash or kind. (All those running oil presses at present are men.) The overall aim is to establish a self-sustaining cycle, by introducing assets into the community, which then get distributed more widely, restimulating processes of economic co-operation and relationships of trust and interdependence.

Oxfam is also working in Gurue district in the north of Zambezia province, where they are phasing out their emergency activities and planning the next phase, through a process of needs identification. In this area, they have had 'interesting and stimulating contacts with women'.<sup>216</sup>

One of the major limitations in their work at present is the lack of skills and experience in working in participatory and informal ways and the difficulty in finding programme staff who

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<sup>215</sup> Oxfam prepared a strategic plan for Mozambique in June 1996 which was revised in January 1997. This was not available at the time of writing.

<sup>216</sup> Nick Roseveare, personal communication.

are flexible in their approach to working with communities. This is partly the fault of agencies themselves who have encouraged other ways of working in the past and partly a product of the historical context where there is no tradition of grassroots work with rural communities.<sup>217</sup>

**Save the Children (SCF)** (UK) began its activities in Mozambique in 1984. From 1986 onwards, they expanded their programme, mainly in two provinces: Zambezia and Inhambane. SCF has been engaged mainly in technical assistance to the Ministries of Health, Education and Social Action, at provincial and national levels, with a particular focus on programmes aimed at children and child welfare, as well as funding training and scholarships. Since 1993-94, SCF has been reviewing their technical assistance strategy and has reduced the number of technical advisers (Tas). SCF Tas provide broad advisory capacity, rather than being tied to specific projects as before. They are phasing out the remaining technical assistants.

At the provincial level, SCF has been engaged in emergency and rehabilitation work, particularly distributing seeds and tools to promote agriculture and in the rehabilitation of health, education, water and social welfare facilities (since the GPA). SCF plans to continue this activity for one more year, in line with government policy to restore 1980 levels of provision. SCF has also been supporting roads and bridges rehabilitation in Zambezia, with support from ODA and has an adviser located in the Department of Roads and Bridges (DNEP).

During the war, SCF worked with some craftspeople (e.g. carpenters, tin makers), promoting income-generating activities but there was no market for local production. In the last six months to one year, SCF has been working at community level in 6-10 areas, promoting income-generating activities (e.g. goat rearing, selling charcoal, providing small-scale credit) mainly through mixed groups of men and women, with management support from the district administrations. These projects have provided a space for training and for raising awareness on gender (and other) issues, through district level workshops and seminars. SCF is also trying to promote women in management structures and are training women as social welfare officers at district and community levels. SCF is increasingly focusing their activity on children and moving more into child rights awareness training, including with MPs. One of the key schooling for elements of their programme is the mobilisation of girls to attend school, working with provincial directorates of education.<sup>218</sup>

In Zambezia, SCF has been working with communities in eight districts (now starting work in two others) for 18 months (i.e. since mid-1995). This work began with PRA training for local staff followed by a process of talking to and listening to communities. SCF is now beginning to move on from this gradual process of building links to more active support of development work. Most SCF activities with communities are focused on school building and restoring water supplies, for example. Schools are the main entry point in these mainly Renamo areas. In these activities, SCF attempts, discreetly, to promote women. More than half of those involved in school building are women and women also make up more than half the representatives on water committees. This creates a situation where the contribution of women gets greater recognition. SCF has also been involved, with another NGO, in a small goat loan project. Communities themselves select beneficiaries and tend to prioritise those

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<sup>217</sup> Nick Roseveare, personal communication.

<sup>218</sup> Azevedo Suegi, personal communication.

with high dependency ratios, or who are particularly vulnerable, such as female-headed households, child-headed households and families accommodating unrelated children (substitute families). One problem is that the key priorities expressed by many communities are in areas which SCF does not currently support, e.g. agricultural inputs, credit, extension. All communities put a high priority on water and the restoration of livelihoods.

As regards the extent to which women are able to participate in rebuilding activities or decision making, this varies considerably in different communities. In some areas, there is a lot of resistance to women being involved in work teams; in others, it seems quite acceptable. SCF has no blueprints for promoting women's participation.

SCF has so far held back from involvement in credit and agricultural extension projects, for example, because they recognise that their understanding of gender relations is limited and fear that such initiatives will increase the burden of activities on women, whilst conferring their main benefits on men. Their experience of small animal projects, for example, is that they increase women's workload without necessarily adding benefits.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Jane Gibreel, personal communication.

## APPENDIX 8: Gender Aspects of Selected Local NGO Training and Income Generation Programmes

**AMDU** (Associação Moçambicana para o Desenvolvimento Urbano – Mozambican Association for Urban Development) is a non-governmental, non-profit association of 30 professionals, established in 1992 to promote the development of human settlements in the post-conflict period, as a contribution to lasting peace. Members have a wealth of experience in physical planning, engineering and architecture, as well as teaching and training. Notwithstanding the name, AMDU is not just concerned with urban settlements as conventionally defined, but with all human settlements, and with challenging the artificial divisions between rural and urban. It is also concerned to develop a new conception and vision of the African town, and to promote more self-sufficient and sustainable forms of local development, reducing dependency on external funds. AMDU has developed construction technologies for self build, which are simple yet durable (unlike some buildings made of local materials such as reeds, which have fallen rapidly into disrepair). AMDU has a rural programme in 40 villages in the south of Inhambane province (*tsima ga ku aka* – ‘let’s build together’) and an urban programme (*pfuka dzixile* – ‘wake up it’s dawn’) in 18 *bairros* in Maputo.<sup>220</sup> AMDU has deliberately concentrated its resources in a limited geographical area so that close contact can be maintained with the communities.

AMDU’s rural programme involves the reconstruction of schools, health posts, maternity clinics and a range of other activities (e.g. income generation through poultry rearing, mobile libraries, cultural newsletters, science competitions, toy-making competitions) which are designed to promote rural development, informal education, exchange of experiences and local innovation. Approximately 8,000 people have been involved in the reconstruction programmes in these communities, with men often dominant in construction work. In all, 95 new classrooms have been built, 27 rehabilitated and three new maternity clinics built as well as health posts, road and storage tanks, with a budget of around US\$2 million.<sup>221</sup>

**Progresso** is a small membership association (with 80 individual members), mainly involved in rural development and the rehabilitation of social services, with activities focused in Cabo Delgado and Niassa provinces. Progresso has been employing the CEFÉ methodology developed by the GPE/GTZ programme in developing the capacity of peasants and small traders at village level. Progresso has a small-scale credit fund in Niassa of which 80 percent of the beneficiaries are men.<sup>222</sup> Progresso is also involved in supporting the development of the teaching of reading in the school system and the upgrading of the skills of trainers of traditional midwives in the health sector, in conjunction with government health and education authorities.

In 1998, Progresso is planning to open a training centre for self-employment near Lichinga, in Niassa, which will cater for unemployed people. At present, Progresso is developing the curriculum, doing market research etc. A feasibility study has already been conducted. There

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<sup>220</sup> Details of the urban programme can be found in section 9.

<sup>221</sup> Maria do Anjos Rosario, personal communication.

<sup>222</sup> The Director of Progresso stated that it is unusual in this area to find women supporting households alone, for cultural reasons, and women themselves do not ask for credit (Elizabeth Siqueira, personal communication). However, data cited in section 3 suggest a high rate of female headship in Niassa province.

will be two main areas of activity: agriculture, with husbandry and construction and joinery. The intake will be 50 students per year. The first year will be devoted to training, and the second to direct supervision of self-employment. Progresso has modelled the curriculum on experiences of secondary schools in FRELIMO liberated areas and of the ZIMFEP (Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production) college in Zimbabwe. Part of the philosophy is to encourage self-reliance, recognising that this requires a psychological change. The centre will be residential, to remove the problem of travelling costs and to encourage stability in those who, because of lack of employment, have no stable place of residence. There will be no formal requirements in terms of qualifications but writing, maths and practical skills will be tested. Participants will be expected to return to rural areas on completion of training. Progresso has involved the provincial ministries of labour, education and provincial government in the development of their plans and has set up a consultative board, including members from churches, training institutions, government bodies etc. In the longer term, the training centre will become autonomous and run short courses, e.g. on health, environment, gender. Courses will be adapted to suit changing market conditions. Initially, Progresso set a target of half of the participants to be women, but revised this in light of the fact that in Niassa, the 'unemployed' are predominantly male whereas 'women can always work in their *machamba*'.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> Progresso, n.d.; Elizabeth Siqueira, personal communication.

## APPENDIX 9: Activities of Women's Organisations in Mozambique

**Activa** (Association of Mozambican Professional and Business Woman) is a national association aiming to promote the role of women in the economic development of the country. It was established in December 1990, and has approximately 200 members, organised into six groups across the country. *Activa* has a number of working groups and is also involved in lobbying government on legislation which affects women entrepreneurs.

Its main activities are

- participation in national, regional and continental seminars and workshops;
- raising the profile of, and providing marketing outlets for women entrepreneurs through stalls and presentations at national trade fairs;
- organising or sponsoring participation in training courses to promote business and related skills for women;
- producing a regular newsletter.

*Activa's* headquarters are in a small office in Maputo. It lacks financial resources and has experienced difficulties in raising funds through membership fees. Many members do not perceive the benefits of regularising or formalising their activities. *Activa* has difficulties in meeting the needs of its membership, particularly for credit since it has no funds and is not able to act as a guarantor.<sup>224</sup>

**AMRU** (Mozambican National Association for Rural Women and Development) is involved in small-scale rural development activities in the three Southern provinces (Maputo, Gaza, Inhambane – the latter as of 1997) as well as in Manica province. Its activities include rehabilitation of an agricultural training centre, promoting beekeeping (in Chagalane and Marracuene districts of Maputo province), promoting the quick multiplication of cassava (in Massingir district of Gaza); constructing schools, pit latrines, boreholes and improved granaries in four villages in Chokwe district (of Gaza), as well as promoting reforestation, small species livestock (goats) and beekeeping. AMRU has also experimented with supplying bales of used clothes to women on credit, as a means to finance other activities.

AMRU targets much of its activity towards women, recognising that women have been disadvantaged in access to schooling and employment, and are mostly very poor and illiterate. In the rural areas of the Southern region where they are working, a high proportion of the male population migrate to Maputo, or further afield to South Africa, to work, leaving behind a largely female population to secure rural livelihoods. AMRU's aim is to raise the incomes and improve the livelihoods of women, men and their communities. Since they started in 1991, they have reached around 350 beneficiaries in total.

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<sup>224</sup> At the time of the field visit, the ILO were considering providing support to *Activa* although further details are not known (Angelique Salamão, personal communication; *Activa*, n.d.; *Activa*, 1996a; 1996b).

AMRU works with small groups of women, and most of its activities operate on the basis of credit 'in kind' (goats, beekeeping hives, used clothes etc.) on the principle of a revolving fund. Beneficiaries are selected from volunteers who come forward at open meetings, and by information gathering through questionnaires to ascertain who is the poorest in the community. AMRU claim not to have experienced many problems in working with groups, because of the tradition of collective work in rural areas. AMRU does not directly address other issues, such as reproductive health, violence or trauma.

In terms of training offered, the technical adviser/programme officer visits groups 4-5 times to talk with them, and to explain their role in the project, after which a contract is signed. Follow up visits are made once a month. In the Magude goat rearing project (see Box 14 below), there are two (male) technicians employed on site. In its offices in Maputo, AMRU is also attempting to increase capacity by building up a documentation centre and training two young women to run a library.<sup>225</sup>

**Box 14: Goat restocking in Magude**

AMRU started a goat-restocking project in Magude district in 1993, with the idea of increasing the rural asset base and household welfare. The area is one of heavy male outmigration where traditionally cattle were a major asset and input to agricultural production, but most of these were lost during the war. There had been goats in the area previously and it is generally women's responsibility to look after animals.

The first year or so was spent building pens and shelters, selecting beneficiaries in the community (through discussions and questionnaires) and bringing stock from Zimbabwe. Priority was given to poorer households. In the first distribution, AMRU gave out five females and one male goat (on loan for two years) to women from 150 families. Although the goats are for the benefit of the whole family, it is the women's responsibility to ensure that they are looked after. Families are expected to return seven kids at the end of the two year period, which should enable them to retain a surplus, as well as providing a pool of additional goats to pass on to other families. Since the first distribution, there have been another three, reaching fifty families each, so that 300 families in total have received goats. AMRU has just received back the first batch of goats returned from the first distribution (who received goats in 1994/5) and all 150 gave back the required seven kids. However, a major problem has been identified for future distributions: there are few females in the batch returned, and no-one wants to swap male for female goats. This is a constraint on the sustainability of the project, since future distributions are dependent of families receiving female goats. Clearly, there were mistakes made in the design phase which now need to be rectified. Other problems faced by the project include foot diseases being experienced by goats, which may be a result of being penned up in household compounds in wet conditions (women are reliant on children for herding, but children have to attend school). A new sheltered goat pen is being built, with money from Ford Foundation, because the existing uncovered one is no good for rainy weather.

The women beneficiaries were rather unenthusiastic about the project. They said what they really wanted were cattle. They were not allowed to sell the goats (although this might be allowed at the end of the project cycle) and so could not generate income from them. They also complained that they had been promised bicycles which had not arrived. AMRU is considering introducing cattle to the area but this is felt to be risky because of the high costs involved and fears that cattle may be sold.

The project had a number of technical problems which were being addressed. In addition, however, it was not clear that the 'beneficiaries' really saw the project as addressing their needs or priorities. Perhaps there had been insufficient participation of local women in the design and planning of the project. Technical positions in the project were taken by men (i.e. the two livestock technicians) and the project was managed from the Maputo office, with, it seemed, little participation from the women concerned.

Source: based on discussions with AMRU programme officer and project technician, as well as project beneficiaries.

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<sup>225</sup> Amelia Zambeze, personal communication; AMRU, n.d.

**Forum Mulher** (FM) is an umbrella group for organisation working on women's and gender issues, started in 1990. It does not include all organisations working on women's issues but a broad cross section, including a range of sectors, research as well as direct development work, and departments of government involved in setting policy. FM has an information and documentation centre. It produces a regular magazine featuring activities of its members and women's issues in general (e.g. a recent issue on feminisation of poverty, a forthcoming issue on demobilised women soldiers). FM is currently compiling a directory of its members. FM is also involved in gender training at different levels.

For the last two years, FM has been coordinating a campaign against domestic violence, both in Maputo and in the provinces as part of a three year initiative. Eight organisations (including MULEIDE, KULAYA, AMMCJ, MICAS, OMM, Forum Mulher and AMME) worked on different aspects of the campaign, depending on their area of expertise. For example, KULAYA provides psychological counselling and medical support, AMMCJ works on legal aspects, FM on the information/media side, MICAS on women's refuges and OMM on a sheltered house. The campaign involved lobbying government to accept the idea of domestic violence, sensitising journalists, and a small research study<sup>226</sup> conducted by Cea, which generated a lot of interest. The response has been very positive. Later, they plan to extend this work to more general issues of gender violence including non-physical aspects of violence, and may touch on violence associated with armed conflict.<sup>227</sup>

**MBEU**<sup>228</sup> (Association for the Promotion of the Socio-economic and Socio-cultural Development of Women) is a non-governmental organisation with the objective of improving the lives of women and the community in general. MBEU began work informally in 1991 and in 1992 began work at community level. It was legally registered and recognised in June 1993. (MBEU, n.d.) MBEU's main activity is in income generation for women (see Box 12, section 9.5). Initially, MBEU started out with the goal of working on conscientisation and empowerment of women, through awareness raising and training activities. It quickly became apparent, however, that poor women in rural communities were most immediately concerned with securing livelihoods. Since then, MBEU has worked with local communities to identify sustainable income-generating activities based on local skills and materials. A number of problems have arisen, however, mainly due to lack of research on market demand.<sup>229</sup>

**MULEIDE** (Women, Law and Development) is a women's association set up in 1990 and active in Maputo, Pemba (Cabo Delgado) and Beira. MULEIDE works in a number of areas: research and training on women in the informal sector; HIV/AIDS prevention; legal awareness and legal and psychological counselling and referral services (the latter only in Maputo, except for legal counselling services in Beira). MULEIDE was also involved in the 1996 campaign against violence against women (see above).

MULEIDE's approach to the informal sector is to improve the performance and incomes of poor urban women in the activities they are already engaged in, mostly petty trading, through training in how to set prices, accounting, knowledge of the market, etc. MULEIDE sponsored an initial study (MULEIDE/Freidrich Ebert Stiftung, 1994) on women's

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<sup>226</sup> Dominguez (1996).

<sup>227</sup> Leontina dos Muchangos, Benilde Nhalivilo, personal communication.

<sup>228</sup> The word means seed in five of the national languages.

<sup>229</sup> Helena Zefania, personal communication; Jose, personal communication.

participation and conditions in the informal sector in one *bairro* of Maputo. Following this, MULEIDE invited GPE (see 9.1) to run a training course for informal sector women and identified participants. This led, for example, to some women forming small groups to purchase goods in bulk, since due to the small-scale of their activities, they cannot afford to buy large quantities individually. It also led to women diversifying their activities away from areas with limited demand. Some women have gone on to access credit through the Gpe/GTZ scheme (see 9.1).

MULEIDE is also promoting health education and legal awareness in communities, by training grassroots activists, then supporting those trained to run meetings and workshops for others in the communities. Grassroots activists were identified with assistance from OMM. A first course ran in 1995, followed by two others (in Maputo and Pemba). In 1996, MULEIDE ran a further three courses, training 60 people in Maputo and 15 in Cabo Delgado. After the initial training sessions, MULEIDE organises follow-up meetings in the communities once a month, at which payments are made to community level activists, who continue their work in groups. In Maputo, MULEIDE activities are focused on the market of Benefica (formerly known as George Dimitrov).<sup>230</sup>

**OMM** (Organização da Mulher Moçambicana) is the only truly national women's organisation in Mozambique. Originally set up as an arm of FRELIMO in 1973, it is a mass organisation with structures and membership reaching down to grassroots level. Whilst OMM claims to have one million active members, the impact of the war and other difficulties suggest that this is unlikely in practice, and that activities are probably quite patchy. Nevertheless OMM has the widest network of women, especially in rural areas, in the country. In 1991, OMM broke away from FRELIMO to become an independent NGO. For various reasons, however, it realigned with FRELIMO in July 1996.

OMM is working to address women's needs in a number of areas, many arising directly from the impact of conflict. Firstly, it is working alongside the Ministry of Health, to improve services for women, particularly in family planning. OMM is also working with the Ministry of Justice on issues of violence against women. During the elections in 1994, OMM was involved in civic education to encourage female participation. OMM is also involved in community-based education of girls and boys who have completed the first level of primary school but have no skills, and is developing specific projects to provide skills training to young men and women. OMM also has a major community development initiative, called 'Circles of Interest'.

In all areas of its work, OMM is particularly targeting widows (many of whom lost husbands during the war), solitary women and young girls, many of whom are not able to continue in formal education. OMM also specifically targets children who are 'victims of war', i.e. children of widows or separated parents and children who are above the normal age range for school attendance but whose education was disrupted during the war. The main difficulties OMM face in implementing programmes are financial: in education programmes, women are willing to participate but they cannot afford to pay, or the spare time to come.<sup>231</sup>

Circles of Interest (COIs) (*Círculos de Interesse*) are part of a project conceived and managed by OMM and financed by NOVIB, initially as part of a wider project on population and

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<sup>230</sup> Celeste Nobela, personal communication.

<sup>231</sup> Paulina Mateus Kunda, personal communication; OMM n.d.a.; OMM n.d.b.

development, involving a range of government ministries.<sup>232</sup> Circles of Interest are community centres open to all women (regardless of ethnic, religious or political affiliation), as well as men, for exchanging experiences, socialising and learning new skills. Particular emphasis is given to supporting women suffering from abuse, women heads of households and poor women.

The project has three components: establishing social centres throughout the country for exchanging experiences and social events (for women, men and youth); providing a variety of training courses for women via these centres (e.g. in MCH, health, home economics, literacy etc.); and developing activities to enable the centres to become self financing. The initial impetus behind setting up the centres was a perception that women faced a number of cultural and social barriers to their development (such as lack of education, poor health provision and the preference for traditional healers, systems of bride price and polygyny and more generally, conditions of poverty). The COIs lack local management capacity, capital to launch income earning activities and materials for practical activities.

OMM already has some experience of training activities, for example through its training centre in Machava (just outside Maputo), even during the war years, OMM was still conducting training to provide women with skills, often working with internally displaced persons in their centres. OMM has other training centres in Gaza, Inhambane and Manica. (A training centre in Nampula was destroyed during the war.) Training centres organise a number of different courses, according to their capacity. They work in co-ordination with other government bodies in the provision of training (e.g. Ministry of Labour). OMM is seeking funding nationwide. At the community level, OMM wishes to establish small co-operatives and micro-projects: women themselves will submit ideas and OMM will give help to develop these, especially in financial and management aspects.

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<sup>232</sup> The Circles of Interest were first developed in 1988, under a project financed by ILO and implemented by OMM and UNFPA.