

Mozambique

NATIONAL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2001

Gender, Women and
Human Development:
An Agenda for the Future

SARDC



undp

Mozambique

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Preface

The UNDP Country Office in Mozambique, once again, feels honoured to be associated with another edition of the country's National Human Development Report. This 2001 edition is the fourth in the series that followed the launching of the first national report in 1998. Over the years, the annual publication of this report has served not only to provide an independent analysis of the trends in human development but also as a major factor in promoting national debate on key development concerns in the country. Through this volume, the concept of human development is gradually being accepted in national development policies and is reflected in the national programme for poverty reduction. The current edition of the report shows that human development measured by the Human Development Index (HDI) continues to reflect a positive trend. It is estimated that the HDI was 0.362 in 2000 compared to 0.346 in 1999. This higher level of the index is the result of two main factors: first, the welcome trends in the reduction in the illiteracy rate from 60.5% in 1997 to 56.7%, in 2000. Second, the indicators show continuing modest gains in life expectancy, due fundamentally to intervention in the health sector, despite the pressures imposed by the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

The theme of this report is gender equality as one of the greatest development challenges facing many developing countries. There is a strong empirical evidence that gender-based division of labour and the inequalities to which it gives rise tend to slow development, economic growth and poverty reduction. These consequently contribute to lower levels of human development. Hence, gender issues are an important dimension of the fight against poverty. In Mozambique, this is reflected in the discrimination against girls and women in lower social and economic status compared to males, fewer opportunities to express opinions and participate in decision-making, lower levels of educational attainment, poor health and nutritional status. The problem of gender inequality is also reflected in the phenomenon of sexual exploitation and violence.

Gender issues are also central to the commitments made at the UN Millennium Summit and at the 4th World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. According to a recently prepared report by the UN System in the country on the Millennium Development Goals (MDG), Mozambique has made significant socio-economic progress since the peace agreement in 1992. The introduction of a vibrant multiparty democracy and the launching of a programme of economic reform account for the observed socio-economic progress. The country's economic performance has been consistently robust with an average growth rate of 8 to 9% between 1995-2001. The trend noted in the report is encouraging particularly because it is demonstrated by official statistics, that the investment in the social sectors undertaken by the government and its international partners in recent years, is beginning to bear tangible fruit.

This edition of the National Human Development Report titled, **Gender, Women and Human Development: An Agenda for the Future**, highlights many important aspects of gender inequality still persisting in the country, though in some cases, positive trends are also observed. While total illiteracy rate is still high and much higher among women than among men, progress has been made since 1997. The gap is narrowing in the 15-29 year age group, 51% of women cannot read or write against 30% of men. With respect to gender gap at the primary education level the MDG report concludes that despite the high rates of repetition among girls, if the current trend continues, the goal of achieving gender parity in education is likely to be met at the first level of primary education in 2005. The reality depicted in this report is that, although women constitute the majority of the population, they are generally poorer and less well educated than men, and do not have access to resources on an equal basis with men. Their participation in taking important decisions that affect their choices in life remains extremely fragile and limited.

Discussing this sensitive and complex theme in the National Human Development

Report might be met with some scepticism from those who think it irrelevant to speak of inequality between men and women in a country with such high levels of need. Obviously, the incorporation of gender issues into development action needs to be sensitive to specific conditions in the country.

Since the 1980s, UNDP has made progress in integrating gender issues into country work. Despite progress to date in gender mainstreaming, the effectiveness in addressing gender concerns can be improved by paying more systematic and widespread attention to gender issues in the context of poverty reduction through more interventions of a strategic nature. This report diagnoses gender-related barriers to and opportunities for poverty reduction and sustainable growth and makes appropriate

suggestions to reduce the barriers and to capitalise on the opportunities. Thus the theme of this report is an important addition to the ongoing debate on the wide range of discussions on the issue of the human development situation in Mozambique, to report and discuss the cultural and social bases that support inequality.

As has been the tradition, this report should generate an open, frank and honest debate about the recent economic gains and human development, especially its impact on gender inequalities. Hopefully, it would help in influencing the intervention strategies by government and the development partners and encourage gender disaggregated statistics.

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Abbreviations

ADI	African Development Indicators
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANE	National Road Administration
AGP	General Peace Agreement
CEDAW	UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
EP1	First level primary education
EP2	Second level primary education
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
GDI	Gender-related Development Index
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GHDR	Global Human Development Report
GNP	Gross National Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HPI	Human Poverty Index
IAF	Household Survey
ICM	Mozambique Cereals Institute
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INE	National Institute of Statistics
MIC	Ministry of Industry and Commerce
MINED	Ministry of Education
MISAU	Ministry of Health
MMCAS	Ministry for Women and Social Welfare
NHDR	National Human Development Report
OGE	General State Budget
OMM	Organisation of Mozambican Women
OTM	Organisation of Mozambican Workers
PEE	Education Strategic Plan
PARPA	Poverty Reduction Action Plan
QUIBB	Questionnaire on Basic Indicators of Well-Being
ROSCAs	Savings and Credit Clubs
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SNA	System of National Accounts
SIFIM	Indirectly Measured Financial Mediation Services
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
TAI	Technological Achievement Index
TVC	All Against Violence
UEM	Eduardo Mondlane University
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme



Introduction

As from the moment when the analysis of human progress ceased to be limited exclusively to economic growth, and came to include factors that enrich the lives of all people, humanity began to become aware of the scale of the obstacles which, despite the spectacular advances of the 20th century, it still had to remove in order to achieve full development, as well as the social transformation required in order to meet this challenge. It is no accident that the inequality in living conditions between women and men figures at the top of the agenda of contemporary development.

The marginalisation of women in all spheres of life, despite the fact that they constitute the majority of the planet's population, is an embarrassment for the human race. It is also the most eloquent proof of how futile is the argument that development rests on economic growth and that technological advance eventually benefits all people equally (UNDP, 1995).

The great unknown is how to ensure that the positive performance of the economy, with technological advance as its driving force, translates into a broadening of the range of choices for all the people of a given nation on a basis of equality. This question applies to many countries, and Mozambique is no exception.

The main purpose of the 2001 edition of the National Human Development Report is to analyse the human development situation in Mozambique, with a special stress on gender disaggregation. Sceptics may query the relevance of the debate on inequality in a country where the majority of the population, regardless of sex, lives in the most abject poverty, and is thus at an extremely low level of human development.

The precarious living conditions of the majority of Mozambicans may at first lead to the erroneous perception that the differentiated analysis of the human development of men and of women is a forced exercise, limited only to the agendas of those who wish to follow the fashion in contemporary social debate, by dealing with the heavily publicised issues of gender.

Such scepticism may be based on a variety of assumptions. First, because whatever may

be the conclusions and recommendations emerging from analysis of the inequalities between Mozambican men and women, they will not lead to a reversal of the situation in the short term.

Second, because in the particular case of inequality based on sex, discrimination against women rests on practices that have been consolidated over generations, a phenomenon which is obviously not exclusive to Mozambique. It is true that cultures are not static, and undergo changes induced by the evolution of humanity and caused by contact with other peoples. But cultural practices do not undergo sudden mutations as a result of the findings of reports or the application of the their recommendations, however perfect and detailed the analyses may be.

Third, because although the optimism resulting from the economic and social recovery of recent years is contributing towards a gradual reduction in the deprivations suffered by Mozambicans, as the data contained in the various NHDRs show unequivocally, it is recognised that lifting the human development of all Mozambicans to acceptable levels will still take a long time.

For the most sceptical, the situation of Mozambique would dictate that the priority at this stage is the accumulation of material wealth, in the hope that this may contribute in the long term to reducing the hardships faced by the majority of Mozambicans. According to this argument, at this phase inequality in the development levels of men and women would be a theme discussed at the wrong time.

Although the arguments sketched above may have their followers, it should also be recognised that research, quantification, analysis and discussion about inequality in the levels of development between the sexes in Mozambique is a pertinent and relevant debate. On the one hand, the exercise allows us to assess whether the increase in material wealth recorded in recent years and the social development that successive NHDRs have quantified and praised is benefiting equitably all social groups, that is, if it is being accompanied by a reduction in the differences in human development between men and women.

Furthermore, the description and analysis of the bases on which discrimination against women is rooted, and the exposure of their most backward and damaging aspects, makes it possible to influence, as much as possible, the formulation of development policies, avoiding continued neglect of factors which may perpetuate the exclusion of this important social group.

Apart from this, if the argument of the sceptics were valid, one might also question the validity of the disaggregation of economic and social indicators by macro-regions in the past two years, which has thrown light on the nature and scale of the differences in development levels between the various regions inside Mozambique.

In the argument of the sceptics, efforts to distinguish between the factors that influence the development or underdevelopment of the regions may also be classified as a futile exercise, because apart from their value for awareness and advocacy, they can do little or nothing to change the situation significantly, at least not in the foreseeable future.

The enthusiastic reception that the results of this exercise have met with from the public suggests that, although it in no way alters the imbalances in national development in the short term, the effort has the merit of informing and influencing national debate on this sensitive question, and in the final instance influencing decision taking on development questions.

The authors of this report believe that exercises of this nature make it possible to investigate whether the broadening of opportunities for access to education, and to health services or increased economic opportunities, are benefiting all social groups in a balanced fashion, replying to their specific needs and interest, rather than just a small fringe of elites or regions to the detriment of the majority of the population.

The position taken by this report, rests on several assumptions. First because, remaining true to the concept that is the *raison d'être* of this report, human development is defined as the process of broadening the opportunities for all human beings to enjoy a decent life in the widest meaning of that term, including living long and healthy lives, being educated, partici-

pating freely in choosing the destiny of their societies, and having access to income that allows them to live decently, making use of whatever they most value in life. Any development resting on discrimination or which helps exacerbate prevailing exclusion is undesirable and unsustainable, because it will end up generating social opposition in the long term.

Second, because if the true wealth of a country is its people, the exclusion of women from productive, political and decision-making processes not only limits the choices of the majority of the population, but also wastes an important resource for solving the prevalent shortfalls in society.

Third, because the quantification of differences and the study of the foundations on which they rest may draw attention to the problem, thus serving as a starting point for a deliberate and pro-active intervention to correct them, whether through public policies, or through social interventions in the private sphere.

Seen in this light, the debate on women's human development is pertinent and unavoidable, even for countries such as Mozambique, which have extremely high levels of deprivation. As the data contained in this report show, deprivation does not affect men and women equally. Nor are the benefits of recent social development deliberately promoting accelerated improvements in the living conditions of women. In the final analysis it would be imprudent, and rather hypocritical, for the NHDR to continue praising the gradual advance of human development in Mozambique, without seeing whether women are benefiting from this social development on a footing of equality with men.

Any analysis which neglects the need to investigate how the development process and recent social and economic gains are benefiting women and men may help worsen social injustice. To debate development in general terms, without taking into account the conditions, interests, roles and responsibilities of the various social groups that constitute the Mozambican human mosaic may undermine the development process itself in the long term.

As the 1995 GHDR noted, the movement towards gender equality is not a technocratic

process, removing inequalities fortuitously through the natural evolution of societies or through the multiplier effect of economic growth: it is a process which is born and strengthened in the political will to design, implement and regularly assess policies that are sensitive to equity and equality. Over the years political will has proved to be a more effective instrument than an abundance of material wealth in combating privations based on the segregation of women (UNDP, 1995).

Analysis of the impact of economic growth, from a human development perspective, with a special stress on the impact on women, may make it possible to promote an intervention aimed at the gradual elimination of differences based on discrimination between the sexes and the gradual removal of their causes through consciousness-raising, thus establishing the conditions for balanced development.

Quantification of inequalities must not, however, be transformed into an end in itself. The elimination of inequalities demands a deep study of the cultural, social and political foundations that support discrimination. This is because the elimination of inequality goes beyond the effort to ensure equity between men and women in access to resources and opportunities, and also covers recognition of women as individuals with specific interests and values which should not be denied, and of their role as agents of social transformation.

The struggle for the emancipation of women was always part of the political agenda in Mozambique. Since the early days of the nationalist struggle which culminated in the country's independence in 1975, and in the official post-independence discourse, the importance of eradicating inequality between men and women has been recognised. It is true that political commitment, has not, nor could it have, been translated into a total break with the patriarchal model that serves as the basis for discriminatory practices against women, a reality which extends to all the nations of the world. But the fact that inequality between the sexes to some extent concerned the leadership, both of the nationalist movement, and of the political class that emerged after independence, was and remains an important reference point in the struggle against discrimination of women in the various phases of the evolution of Mozambican

society. In this context, Mozambicans can be proud that they have gone further than many relatively powerful countries which today claim to defend gender equality.

To some extent, this edition complements the countless initiatives dedicated to studying the situation of women carried out in Mozambique by many organisations and institutions, and the authors hope that, in addition to updating the human development situation, it will be of assistance, as far as possible in informing and influencing the debate on development in Mozambique.

A detailed analysis would require data representing, in detail, the living conditions of women and of men at all levels, in a disaggregated way. This would include economic and vital indicators, school attendance and access to social services, and to decision-making, which should be measured systematically, and also disaggregated between urban and rural areas. Unfortunately, there are still gaps at the level of the smaller territorial units, such as districts, for the collection and systematisation of data disaggregated by sex. Unfortunately, it has not always been possible to obtain representative and reliable data in some areas.

In these circumstances, the dilemma of the researcher and the analyst is whether to wait for more representative data so as to broaden the possibilities of making an exhaustive analysis, or resort to the existing data to make an initial approach to the hypotheses raised.

The decision made by the authors of this edition was to work with the available information since, despite its fragility in some regards, it is sufficiently useful to describe the situation in some detail, and to draw attention to the problems. The lack of representative data cannot, in the final analysis, be used as a subterfuge to perpetually delay an assessment of the living conditions of 52% of the Mozambican population. Apart from this, the authors are convinced that the gaps identified during this work and during the debates that will certainly follow its publication are a challenge that will stimulate the institutions involved in collecting and systematising data in the country to respond to this need in future.

The ability to collect and systematise basic data has improved over the last five years, and there is now a base that deals reliably, and in a

disaggregated way, with the development of the administrative regions, with some gender disaggregation. These are the data produced by the National Statistics Institute (INE), which are the main quantitative base that inform the analyses, due to the philosophy of this report of always using official information. The INE's Population Census of 1997, the Household Survey of 1996-97, and the Questionnaire on Basic Indicators of Well-Being (QUIBB) of 2001 are the main data bases used in this work. Among these, QUIBB is the most recent source, which is why the data it contains are referred to most frequently in this report.

These data make possible a quantified approach to development in Mozambique by region, using the available multi-dimensional measuring instruments. These are the Gender-related Development Index (GDI), and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), presented in detail both in the qualitative analyses and in the statistical appendices which traditionally accompany all editions of the NHDR.

To cope with the scarcity of data at the lowest levels, in some instances the authors have resorted to data from the UEM and from non-governmental organisations for cases illustrative of situations where there are no official data.

This report is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 deals with the conceptual framework of human development, describing its origins, evolution and relevance in the context of the contemporary debate on development. The chapter explains briefly the link between the situation of women in the world and the evolution of the main instruments for measuring human development.

Chapter 2 analyses the human development trends in Mozambique both in terms of classifying the country in the world ranking of the Human Development Index (HDI) and the Gender-related Development Index (GDI), but also in terms of differences in the levels of human development and its respective components between the country's main administrative regions. The chapter also assesses the trend in the shortfalls between men and women through estimated provincial GDIs.

Chapter 3 analyses the situation of women, with a look at the traditional practices which, in socialising women into a subordinate role in society, condition from a tender age their choices in adulthood. The chapter makes a historical

review, focusing on the contradictions between the official discourse of emancipation and the practice of governance which has continued to relegate and confine women to a secondary role defined and defended by the patriarchal model of the construction of society. The chapter pays special attention to factors that constrain women's political participation, to gender violence and to aspects of current legislation that attack the rights of women, as well as efforts to reform them.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to a minute description of land tenure and inheritance regimes in Mozambique, bearing in mind, on the one hand, that the majority of the Mozambican people depend on the land for their subsistence, and, on the other, that women are the main producers in the countryside. Access to and control over land thus provides an eloquent example of how social organisation relegates women to a peripheral role in the control of this important asset, regardless of whether the social model followed is patrilinear or matrilinear.

The idea is not to make value judgements on the merits or disadvantages of each system, but merely to describe the main tenure regimes in some detail so as to allow the reader to form an idea of the place allocated to women in the traditional rules of administering this important resource which is the basis that supports rural life.

Chapter 5 deals with the main components of human development in a disaggregated way, to illustrate how women, particularly urban women, are excluded from development, as well as the strategies that women adopt to survive privations. The chapter describes women's access to education and health services, as well as their participation in the formal job market, and in the informal market. Finally, the chapter analyses how the survival strategies influence women's attitudes in gender relations.

Agriculture plays a fundamental role in the survival of the majority of the Mozambican people. The second part of chapter 5 has an eminently rural focus, and attempts to describe the situation of peasant women, the main food producers in Mozambique. The chapter describes the development situation of Mozambican peasants, including access to basic social services, and analyses the constraints which limit the efforts of the rural population, particularly women, to fight against poverty.

The last two decades of the 20th century witnessed a sharp, rich and profound intellectual debate between different currents of thought around a question which, at first sight, may seem simple and trivial: what, in the end, is development?

It is true that, from the start, discussion around a theme like this may seem a mere exercise in academic rhetoric, since it is generally believed that there is full consensus on what constitutes development. But as the debate deepens, it becomes obvious that the notion of development embraces such complexity and richness as to justify the intellectual polemic around its definition and articulation.

The debate is not restricted merely to questioning the science of economics as a study of the systems which human beings set up to satisfy the needs that are vital to their sustenance and reproduction. There has been a reaction against the dogmatic notion of the prevailing development paradigm, which ignored the multi-dimensional nature of "development" by approaching the conception and analysis of development processes from the sole perspective of economic statistics.

We should recall for example that the 1960s and 1970s were baptised as "development decades" by the United Nations. Ironically enough, at the start of the 1990s this institution would become the spiritual cradle of an alternative conception of development, different from that preached in the "development decade". The definition of "development" present in UN resolutions of those days was limited simply to the ability of countries to generate and sustain economic growth rates higher than the population growth rate.

The debate around development is a controversial one. On the one hand because, during the days when it was dominant, the development paradigm that rested solely on the growth of per capita income, influenced international economic relations, the way in which "development policies" were conceived and

even the kind of advice and assistance provided to the so-called "developing countries". This economic development perspective also inspired the measures imposed for a long time on the developing countries as conditions for receiving economic aid. The reform packages involved were often presented as finished and infallible recipes for "development".

Before falling into disuse through the joint effects of criticism and of its own ineffectiveness, the development model based on the "Washington Consensus", which inspired the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) reform packages of the 1980s, advocated an economic management model that rested solely on market mechanisms and the role of the private sector, regarded as the privileged and unquestionable motor of economic growth. This model included the privatisation of public enterprises and the liberalisation of the economy, the downsizing of the public sector, cuts in state budget deficits, cost recovery in social services, and balanced external accounts through policies aimed at promoting exports - these were fundamental components of a process that would eventually produce development.

The evolution of the economies of countries undergoing reform, particularly as from the second half of the 1990s, showed that these measures, although important, were not sufficient to generate development. Furthermore, some of these conditions involved high social costs, because not only did they have a disproportionate effect on the poor, but they led to phenomena that increased the number of poor people.

The challenge to the economic approach largely preceded the Washington Consensus. The challenge emerged from lack of satisfaction with the classical definition of development then prevalent, which, as we noted above, tended to reduce an extremely complex process to attainment of a particular growth rate of aggregate production, measured by the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or the Gross National Product (GNP). It was enough for growth to

occur at a particular rate, and "development" would take place through the multiplier effect, commonly known as "trickle down".

Reality, however, proved much more complex. In the last decade of the 20th century the idea that economic growth does not necessarily lead to satisfying all the needs of all individuals began to take shape and theoretical consistency. Indeed, the remarkable economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s, prior to the oil crisis, was not accompanied by any notable alteration in the living conditions of most people.

At the same time, the argument was born and consolidated that the needs of individuals should not be viewed solely from the perspective of struggling for an income that would allow them to satisfy their primary vital requirements, but should also cover what Mahatma Gandhi was referring to in another epoch, when he spoke of realising "human potential". This movement would form the intellectual platform for the concept of human development.

The argument of those critical of the excessive dependence on GDP/GNP as the main indicators of development, is precisely that this ignores other important aspects that go towards forming what is commonly regarded as individual wellbeing. This wellbeing is not just the satisfaction of biological requirements, but also covers sociological factors such as self-esteem, and freedom from servitude, whether this takes the form of poverty, exploitative economic relationships, discrimination or political oppression.

The main gap in the economic vision, in the opinion of the critics, lies in the tendency to regard economic growth as an end, and not as a means allowing people to broaden the possibility of satisfying their multiple and varied choices. For example, economic growth based on the use of slave labour or forced labour might pass for acceptable progress in an analysis based entirely on growth in per capita income, since it ignores the conditions under which prosperity is generated (Sen, 1999).

The concept of human development does not derive exclusively from the intellectual

uprising of the dissidents against the hegemony of GDP in defining progress in the 1980s and 1990s - precisely because this movement predates that hegemony. For back in the 1960s, economists such as W. Arthur Lewis were arguing that "the advantage of economic growth is not that wealth increases happiness, but that it increases the range of human choice". The conclusion to be drawn from Lewis' argument is that material wealth is only important when it allows people to control nature and their surrounding environment, and when it also gives them the freedom to choose between greater leisure, or obtaining more material goods and services, or simply denying the importance of these material wants in favour of a life devoted entirely to spiritual contemplation (in Todaro 1999: 102).

Thus what the precursors of the concept of human development can claim is that they provided leadership to the intellectual movement of "several scattered armies of discontent" which came together as from the launching of the first Global Human Development Report (GHDR) in 1990, and which is why the concept was so quickly accepted and acclaimed (Sen 1999).

The definition of human development as broadening people's choices, in the first GHDR published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), in 1990, arose as a counterweight to the hegemony of GDP in development theories, because it pointed to its gaps and limitations in conceptualising and measuring development, and thus dethroned it from its pre-eminent position, as the exclusive indicator of progress.

The main merit of human development lies not in the fact that it has articulated a new definition for a complex process, but particularly because it has made this concept operational through alternative instruments for measuring human progress, thus avoiding the easy paths of simple academic rhetoric. Its rapid acceptance and legitimization bears eloquent witness that human development was an idea whose time had arrived in the context of contemporary economic debate.

But essentially the concept of human development does no more than what, in a linear analysis, seems logical: it places human beings at the epicentre of the development process, through a wide-ranging and multidimensional approach in conceptualisation, analysis and measurement. It is this that the concept tries to transmit, with the argument that human development does not just cover economic matters, but is also about "creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interests". Thus, in the final analysis, development involves "much more than the rise or fall of national incomes" (UNDP 2001: 9).

The concept of human development argues that development should be analysed, not only in terms of economic growth, but particularly by asking how far the material wealth generated in the productive process contributes towards satisfying people's growing needs. Furthermore, it should be analysed under the pluralist prism that productive activities cannot be dissociated from the surrounding social environment in which they are undertaken, and from the diversified interests of the individuals taking part themselves. In other words, one cannot speak of development when there is a deficit on the individual freedoms choice of those who produce the wealth.

The problem of defining choices

Human development recognises that, in principle, the choices of individuals are multiple and infinite and evolve over time. But there are basic dimensions which cover all human beings. These elementary choices include the desire to live long lives that are spiritually and materially rich, to enjoy a decent standard of living, to have access to knowledge in order to make informed choices, in equal circumstances, about their lives, and to participate freely, without discrimination or hindrance, in making decisions on the destiny of their society and their world. These are the aspects that the main measuring instruments

proposed by the human development concept attempts to capture in the process of assessing development.

The emphasis placed on the conditions of individuals might at first suggest that the human development concept devalues the importance of material wealth. Nothing could be further from the truth. In the various GHDRs published since 1990, the proponents of the concept have insisted on the same message: "it would be a mistake to say that economic growth is unnecessary. No sustained improvement in people's living conditions would be possible without economic growth." What is a mistake is the single-minded assumption that economic growth in itself brings about the continual and sustained expansion of the choices of all people in the territory where this growth is taking place (UNDP, 1995).

The argument from the human development perspective is that economic growth cannot and should not be seen in isolation, because it only achieves due relevance when it contributes to lifting people out of deprivation, which is shown in:

- reducing levels of poverty, which are the reflex of inadequate income,
- reducing unemployment, which reflects limitation on opportunities,
- expanding access to social services such as education and health, and to essential goods and services such as clean drinking water and sanitation, among others, which influence the quality of life and longevity.

In other words, the question that should be posed when we talk of economic growth is: to what extent does the growing accumulation of wealth measured by the GDP allow people to:

- live free of want;
- enjoy access to health care that allows them ever greater longevity;
- be sufficiently well-educated to contribute to the development process as well as to use opportunities equally.

The main merit of the proponents of the concept of human development is that they proved the falsity in the automatic, positive correlation between economic growth and development that was predominant in the era of GDP hegemony.

Obviously, one recognises that development is a

The analytical framework of the HDI can be discussed with respect to three issues related to the HDI: its focus, its criteria and its variables.

● **Focus:** The focus of the HDI is to measure average achievements in human development in a society. It builds on three basic dimensions of human life - a long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent standard of living. The HDI measures basic human capabilities in these dimensions.

Three issues can be raised with regard to its focus. First, does the concentration of the HDI on three basic dimensions of human life mean that other aspects of human life are unimportant? The answer is: no. It just means that the basic capabilities are essential for human wellbeing and when they are achieved, doors for other opportunities open. Aspects like human rights, participation, non-discrimination, even though they are not captured in the HDI, are essential for human development. When significant levels of human development are achieved, as measured by the HDI, in three basic dimensions of human life, the doors for participation, ensuring security etc. open up for all people.

● **Criteria:** In constructing the HDI, five criteria were used as guiding principles:

1. **Simplicity** - The constructed index must be very simple. It should be easily interpreted and its basic message must be easily communicable to planners and policy makers.

2. **Universality** - the index must have universal relevance. It should have applications both in developed as well as in developing countries. All the dimensions included in the HDI have universal application. For example, a long and healthy life is valued both in rich and poor societies.

3. **Sufficient attraction** - the constructed index must be sufficiently attractive.

4. **Synthesis** - the index should be a synthesis of the breadth of information provided by all the human indicators and tables.

5. **Pluralism** - the constructed index must reflect multidimensional aspects of human life. It should not be mono-centric, rather it should be pluralistic.

● **Variables:** to represent the dimensions of human wellbeing included in the HDI, the following variables were chosen - life expectancy at birth, for a long and healthy life; educational attainment in terms of adult literacy rate and combined gross enrolment ration at primary, secondary and tertiary level; and GDP per capita (PPP\$) for a decent standard of living.

Source: Jahan S, Measurement of Human Development: Seven Questions. Oxford, September 2000

complex process that can be fully caught in a single index, no matter how representative it may be. But it was agreed that the aspects mentioned above are taken since they represent essential choices covering the majority of people.

Instruments for measuring human development

The methodology adopted by the human development concept is still regularly subject to adjustments to update it and bring it into line with changes. The main measuring instruments are the following:

Human Development Index - HDI

HDI is the main measuring instrument which estimates progress in human development. It takes as its basis as:

- longevity, measured by life expectancy at birth;
- knowledge, measured by the adult literacy rate and the joint enrolment rate in primary, secondary and higher education;
- income, measured by real per capita GDP.

These indicators are also interdependent.

The importance of longevity is directly related to the fact that it is associated with good health

BOX 1.2 COMPARING THE HDI AND PER CAPITA GDP

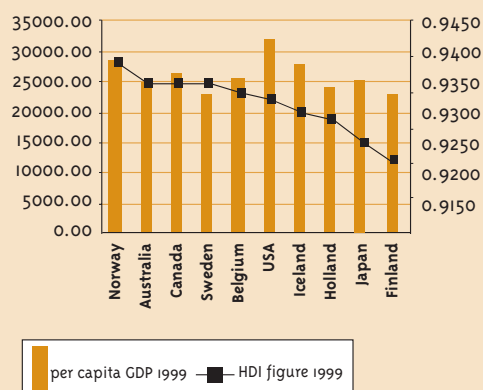
The Human Development Index (HDI) measures the average human development attainment, by assessing life expectancy, educational level and per capita income of a particular nation. The HDI shows that although income is an important part of human development, the latter involves much more than income. The HDI is thus a more inclusive measure than per capita GDP, which is a means for human development and not an end in itself.

Graphs 1.1 and 1.2 allow us to draw an important conclusion: the fact that certain countries have a relatively high HDI does not necessarily mean that their income is also high. When comparing the ten countries with most advanced development in the 2001 ranking, note, for example, that Norway has the highest HDI, but it has only the second highest per capita GDP, after the United States. And while the US has the highest per capita GDP, it occupies sixth position in the HDI ranking.

When assessing the condition of the ten countries with the lowest human development, a similar trend can be observed: although Mali has the highest HDI of this group, its per capita GDP is in fourth position, and is the same as that of Niger, which has the second worst HDI. For its part, Mozambique has the third best per capita GDP. But because HDI does not depend solely on income, Mozambique holds fifth position among those with the worst human development. These figures confirm that per capita income is just an agent for human development. The HDI offers a more inclusive picture of the general state of development by looking at the differential way in which countries use the wealth that their inhabitants create in the productive process.

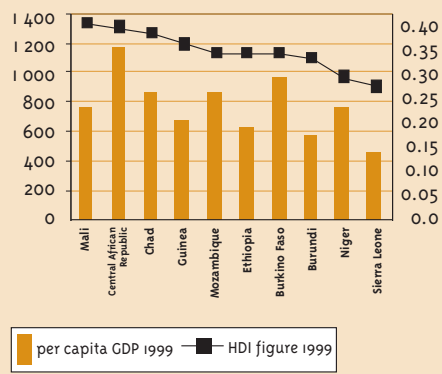
Source: UNDP 2001

Graph 1:1 HDI and per capita GDP for countries with high human development



Source: UNDP 2001

Graph 1:2 HDI and per capita GDP for countries with low human development



Source: UNDP 2001

and nutrition. These are in turn related to the income of individuals, and have an influence on obtaining the knowledge and skills that are among the requirements for ensuring a decent life, and for making informed choices.

The HDI, when taken together with other dimensions of development, such as freedom to participate in political, economic and professional activities, transmits a more inclusive picture of the

stage of human development of a nation or a region. The classification of countries on the basis of a composite indicator such as the HDI, which incorporates other dimensions, shows exactly that the level of per capita income does not always reflect a high degree of social progress. This reality is true both for the most developed countries and for the poorest nations in the world. Box 1.2 attempts to illustrate these discrepancies, taking the 10 highest

and 10 lowest countries in the GHDR 2001 classification.

Although the HDI is an inclusive indicator, its figures do not allow us to discern certain disparities in the national averages. The search for a measure that would capture disparities in development and opportunity between women and men stimulated the construction of two new indicators, first published in the 1995 GHDR: the Gender-related Development Index (GDI), and the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM).

Gender-related Development Index - GDI

The GDI measures the difference in human development achievements and capacities between women and men. This indicator adjusts the HDI to the observed inequalities between women and men based on the same variables as the HDI: the illiteracy rate, life expectancy at birth, and per capita income adjusted to the attainment in these indicators of the two sexes.

One of the characteristics of the GDI is that, as a rule, it is always lower than the HDI, which confirms that, in the national and world context, women face multiple obstacles to their human development. The discrepancy in development between women and men not only reflects differences in methodology, but above all the marginalisation of women in access to resources and to opportunities, thus creating the methodological and statistical basis for the debate on inequality between the sexes.

The debate on these inequalities is relevant, particularly when it is known that the poor attainment of their potential by women results, not from weaknesses arising from physiological factors, but from the prevailing forms of socialisation. For instance, in some societies the capacity of girls to contribute to domestic work frequently at the expense of their own education, is regarded as a symbol of "good upbringing". In adult life, women have to care for the wellbeing of the household, a responsibility that is not always granted a value in line with its importance on the scale of social values.

Gender Empowerment Measure - GEM

The GEM is the indicator that attempts to capture the inequality between the sexes as regards participation in economic, political and professional activities. The professional achievements of women are assessed in accordance with the percentage of income earned by women, and the number of women in technical or decision-making positions. Women's participation in political activities is assessed in accordance with the number of women in parliament.

Human Poverty Index - HPI

The HPI was introduced in the 1997 GHDR. It is an alternative to measuring poverty simply on the basis of consumption or income. Like all the other indicators mentioned earlier, the HPI is also a composite measure. It concentrates on measuring deprivation in three essential areas of human life: longevity, school attendance and a decent standard of living, but with some variations when compared with the HDI and the GDI.

The HPI is broken down into two variants: HPI-1 for developing countries and HPI-2 for the developed or industrialised countries. HPI-1 analyses longevity in accordance with the number of people in developing countries not expected to live to the age of 40. The same variable in HPI-2 sets a limit of 60 years for the developed countries. In developing countries, knowledge is assessed by the percentage of people who do not know how to read and write, while in the developed countries, it is estimated by the rate of functional illiteracy.

The standard of living is determined according to the most serious deprivations: for the developing countries, this indicator represents the percentage of people without access to clean drinking water and to basic health services, together with the percentage of children under five who are underweight. In the developed countries the same indicator represents the percentage of the population living below the poverty line. The various components of the measuring instruments

drawn up by the human development concept are schematised in table 1.1.

One of the innovations of the 2001 GHDR, an edition devoted entirely to the possible contribution of technology to human development, was the Technology Achievement Index, summarised in Box 1.4.

When used for comparative studies between countries, the multi-dimensional analysis proposed by the concept shows us discrepancies between the level of income measured by the GDP and social development which, in principle, reflects the differentiated way in which the wealth generated in the productive process in the various countries is applied in satisfying people's material and spiritual needs.

This analysis is valid both for comparing countries and for researching aspects inherent to development within a particular country. For example, when made operational at the level of various population groups or regions within a country, the measuring instruments proposed by the human development concept make it possible to investigate inequalities that the

aggregate averages of indicators, when taken in isolation, often disguise.

These inequalities vary, and they can include imbalances in terms of regional development, and even the invisible and subtle social exclusion of certain social groups. Gender inequality, expressed in the exclusion of and discrimination against women and the consequent limitation of the range of choices at their disposal, is just one of the dimensions that these instruments allow us to research, analyse and problematise.

The situation of women and the human development concept

The situation of women is one of the most eloquent examples of inequalities that official averages conjure away. We usually note that official social indicators, once they are disaggregated, show a clear trend to marginalise or discriminate against women, and sometimes this is institutionalised. This is a reality applicable to any country, regardless of its level of development.

TABLE 1.1 HDI, GDI, HPI-1, HPI-2 - SAME COMPONENTS, DIFFERENT MEASUREMENTS

Longevity		Knowledge	Decent standard of living	Participation or exclusion
HDI	Life expectancy at birth	1. Adult literacy rate 2. Combined enrolment ratio	Adjusted per capita income in PPP\$	
GDI	Female and male life expectancy at birth	1. Female and male adult literacy rate 2. Female and male combined enrolment ratio	Female and male earned income share	
HPI-1*	Percentage of people not expected to survive to age 40 *For developing countries	Illiteracy rate	Deprivation in economic provisioning, measured by 1. Percentage of people without access to water and health services 2. Percentage of underweight children under 5	
HPI-2*	Percentage of people not expected to survive to age 60 *For industrialised countries	Functional Illiteracy rate (a)	Percentage of people living below the income poverty line (50% of median disposable income)	Long term unemployment rate (12 months or more)

(a) based on level 1 prose literacy according to the results of the OECD International Adult Literacy Survey
Source: UNDP, 2000: 147

BOX 1.3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE HDI, THE GDI AND THE GEM

The HDI, GDI and GEM have several similarities, but the most direct relationship between the three lies in the fact that these indicators are composite measures. It is obvious that the HDI and GDI measure human development attainment in the same way because they use the same indicators: longevity, literacy and income.

However, each of these indicators assesses the attainment of these variables in a different fashion. While the HDI is concerned with human development performance in general, the GDI pays special attention to the effects of this human development on the inequality between women and men. For example, while the HDI assesses longevity in accordance with average life expectancy, the GDI determines the difference in men's and women's life expectancy.

The GDI figure is lower than the HDI one, indicating the presence of inequality between the sexes. The greater the inequality between the sexes, the lower will be the GDI when compared with its HDI, in all countries.

The methodological argument is that in an

ideal society the figures for HDI and GD will be the same.

The HDI measures human development attainment in overall terms, and the GDI in terms of gender inequality, while the GEM measures in inequality in participation between the sexes in political and administrative decision-making processes.

The link between the GDI and the GEM is their common concern with the situation of women. However, the former concentrates on differences in terms of life expectancy, knowledge acquired and income, while the GEM concentrates on the opportunities for women to use their capacities in the economic, professional and political arena.

The various GHDRs show that most countries have a higher GDI than GEM, which shows a new constraint imposed on the representation of women in positions where political and administrative decisions are taken. That is, although the capacities, as shown by the IDS, have increased, women remain marginalised from the decision-making process that affects their lives as a social group.

The concept of human development, as it developed, always took into account the capturing of increasingly complex dimensions of development. It was in pursuit of this effort that the disaggregated analyses of the 1995 GHDR, dedicated entirely to questions of gender difference, led to the conclusion that "in no society do women have the same status as men. Women suffer the double privation of gender inequality and a relatively low level of progress in life" (UNDP 1995: 2).

On the threshold of the 21st century, the disparities between the development of women and of men remain an embarrassing reality for humanity, despite noteworthy progress in all spheres of life and countless global initiatives in recent decades to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women.

The 2001 GHDR showed that, of the 854 million adults in the world who did not know how to read or write in 1999, 583 million - 78% - were women. Furthermore, of the 325 million children who were outside of the education system in that year, 183 million - or 56% - were

girls (UNDP 2001: 9).

If we define human development as the process of broadening the choices of all people, and not only of a part of society, then the fact that women do not enjoy the same level of development as their male counterparts is the clearest sign of their marginalisation.

The incidence of poverty also affects women more than men. Of the 1.2 billion people in the world classified as "poor", 70% are women, a situation which justifies the increased interest in theories of "the feminisation of poverty" currently in vogue. Although it is estimated that two-thirds of the world's work is done by women, women earn only 10% of world income, and control just 1% of global wealth.

Inequality impacts on other areas, including political participation and representation, as well as representation at professional and administrative levels. For example, although women are the majority of the world's population, and although it is proclaimed that

BOX 1.4 THE TECHNOLOGY ACHIEVEMENT INDEX

In 2001, faced with the enormous technological advances that have become the main source of income for many countries, and which control the operational systems of several of the world's institutions, the UNDP dedicated the 2001 GHDR to the effect of technology on human development. This report presented a new indicator, the Technology Achievement Index (TAI), the purpose of which is to determine efficiency in the creation and spread of technology and in training staff able to promote advances in this area.

In analysing the impact of technology on human development, TAIs were calculated for 72 countries. Based on these calculations, it can be concluded that Finland has the highest TAI (0.720) and Mozambique the lowest (0.066). The 72 countries could be divided into four categories: leaders (with a TAI above 0.5); followed by potential leaders (TAI between 0.35 and 0.49); dynamic adapters (TAI between 0.2 and 0.34); and finally marginalised countries (with a TAI less than 0.2) (GHDR 2001: 49).

Like the HDI, this is a composite measuring instrument. It provides a vision of the technological condition of countries in four dimensions (the creation of technology, the diffusion of recent innovations, the diffusion of old innovations, and the number of personnel capable of sustaining the dominant level of technology).

Each component of the TAI consists of two indicators. Technology creation, for example, is assessed in terms of the number of patents granted to residents, and the receipts of royalties and licence fees. However, only the licences sold on the formal market are included in this index. It should be noted that in developing countries there is a highly developed secondary market (and in some cases the informal sector is more

developed than the formal one) in which any product that offers a profit is marketed. As a result, in some countries a number of licences in circulation are not captured in this index.

The diffusion of technology is analysed at two levels: recent technology and old technology. The diffusion of recent technology is determined according to the number of internet service providers, and high and medium technology exports as a percentage of total exports. This is the main constraint facing the "potential leaders". Despite great success in technology creation, in the diffusion of old technology, and in training competent personnel, they still have important advances to make in the diffusion of recent technology. On the other hand, the diffusion of old technology is a problem that has been overcome in the first world, but is a constraint for developing countries. Since the diffusion of old technology is defined by the numbers of telephones and by per capita electricity consumption, it is clear that deficiencies in the diffusion of old technologies prevents the implementation of modern ones. That is, without electricity and telephones it is not possible to use the Internet, or to manufacture high and medium technology goods. Among the marginalised countries, Mozambique has the second best indicator for the export of high and medium technology goods.

Technology creation and diffusion depends on the existence of human skills and creates a demand for trained personnel with the ability to lead these innovations with the aim of contributing towards their maintenance and evolution. Training qualified personnel for this purpose depends on the average years of schooling and on the gross tertiary science enrolment ratio.

Source: UNDP 2001

political space belongs to all human beings without discrimination, the places occupied by women are not in line with their demographic weight: the percentage of parliamentary seats held by women in the world ranges from 42.7% in Sweden to 1.2% in Niger and none at all in Sudan. The country with the largest number of women holding ministerial positions in government is Sweden with 55%: in most countries no more than 20% of the ministers are women. In addition, women remain subject to abominable conditions of

exploitation: the United Nations estimates that annually, about 700,000 women are victims of sexual exploitation (UNDP 2001: 214-229).

As we shall discuss in subsequent chapters, Mozambique is no exception to global trends regarding women's access to opportunities and to resources. If we take education as an example, we note that there is a great disparity in access to knowledge as measured by the adult illiteracy rate. Although inequality in literacy levels has tended to decline in recent years, Mozambique still has a gap of 29.5

BOX 1.5 THE MOTIVATION BEHIND THE HDI

Let us begin with three observations. First, there has been and there still is no pretension on the part of the Human Development Report team that the HDI is a totally scientific, absolutely watertight perfect measure of human development. Second, the HDR team recognised quite early that the HDI, being a composite index, shares some of the well-known problems associated with composite indices. The issue is, if we can live fifty years with GNP per capita, which, by the way, is one of the greatest composite numbers in the world, why cannot we live at least a decade with the HDI? Third, there is a sound understanding among the members of the HDR team that a concept is always larger than any of its proposed measures. A measure can never fully capture the richness, the depth and the breadth of any concept, in physical as well as in social science. Given the perspectives of these three observations, there were three motivations for constructing the HDI:

● **Substantive motivation:** The substantive motivation for constructing the HDI can best be summarised in what Mahbub ul Haq said to his friend Amartya Sen in 1989: Give me a

measure - a single measure - which is as vulgar as GNP per capita, but not as insensitive to broader aspects of human life.

● **Statistical motivation:** The human development accounting by providing a set of comprehensive data can present a total picture of human development in any society. But one needs something to attract attention to this comprehensive framework and HDI is that something. If the human development accounting is a house, then the HDI is the door. Do not mistake the door for the house, and please don't stop at the door, enter the house.

● **Political motivation:** Ranking 174 countries on the HDI scale serves one important political purpose. Every country in the world has a favourite country to compare - for Norway, it does not matter where the rest of the world is, but where Sweden is. An Indian does not care that much for what happens in Latin America, but what happens in Pakistan. The HDI, by ranking 174 countries on the HDI League generates a healthy competition for every country to match or surpass the performance of its favourite country.

Jahan S, Measurement of Human Development: Seven Questions. Oxford, September 2000

BOX 1.6 THE NOBEL PRIZE? YES! BUT WHO FOR?

The Nobel Prize was created in 1901, and in 2001 it celebrated its 100th anniversary. By then, only 31 women have had the honour of receiving one of these prizes, which have been awarded to a total of 700 people. This shows one more form of male supremacy rooted in various cultures and traditions. Since the birth of humanity, the needs of men have been prioritised to the detriment of those of women, who mostly have been forced to contribute to men's advancement.

It is worth mentioning that ten of the 31 women who have received Nobel prizes have been from North America, none come from any countries of low human development, and only one is from sub-Saharan Africa. She is the South African writer, Nadine Gordimer, who won the 1991 Nobel Literature Prize. It is also notable that the United States of America and other countries with high levels of development have the best indicators for education, which suggests that part of the disparity in the distribution of Nobel prizes among countries with high and low development indices derives from other obstacles that prevent the advance of women in intellectual, scientific or political areas.

The Nobel Medicine and Physiology Prize has been received by 171 people, of whom 6 were women. There have been 90 Nobel peace prizes, and women have won just 8 of them. Only 4 of the 136 Nobel chemistry laureates have been women. Nine of the 97 Nobel literature prizes were granted to women. Not a single woman has received any of the 44 Nobel economics prizes, and of the 162 physics laureates, just two have been women.

Most women cut back on professional activities to look after the home, while men shun domestic activities to dedicate more time to the development of intellect - under these circumstances, women obviously have fewer chances of winning Nobel prizes than do men.

percentage points in the literacy rate for men and for women. The average level of illiteracy was 60.5% in 1997; but for women it was 74.1% and for men 44.6%. The QUIBB 2000 survey estimates the illiteracy rate at 56.7% - which breaks down into 40.2% among men and 78.2% among women. Mozambique's major exception is the number of women in parliament - at 30%, this is a relatively high rate by any standards (INE 2000: 34).

The conclusion to be drawn is that the data on the situation of women confirm that, when looked at closely, the aggregate statistics disguise serious situations of exclusion and marginalisation that in the long term can undermine development if proactive, corrective measures are not taken. The exclusion of women is abominable and beyond comprehension, particularly if we take into account the fact that the advantages of non-discriminatory policies are well documented.

The UNFPA states that discrimination against women wastes opportunities, distorts crucial decisions in favour of less productive investments which favour men and rewards them disproportionately to the detriment of women, creates difficulties for participation by women in economic and social activities, and reduces the effectiveness of women in carrying out their social duties (UNFPA 2000: 37).

It is legitimate, for example, to ask if it makes sense that only 4.4% of the 700 people awarded Nobel prizes since these were instituted in 1901 have been women. If we accept that women are not inherently incapable of performing to the level demanded by the Nobel Prize jury, then the explanation of the poor representation of women among Nobel laureates is that the criteria adopted are either out of line with reality, or reflect the prevailing social relations which clearly favour men (Box 1.6).

The exclusion and marginalisation of women is not only inconceivable and unacceptable because it is unjust, but it is also incompatible with the definition of development as broadening people's choices.

Limited access to basic health services affects women more than men, and this reality is particularly felt in the high maternal mortality rates.

Much of the work done by women is not recognised, and the little that is recognised is

under-rated. This invisibility of women's contribution, and the lack of support for their responsibilities is reflected not only in their personal income, but also in the national income. The prevalence of discrimination prejudices socio-economic growth, and hinders potential partnerships between men and women.

Sen (1999) points to, among others, the following advantages of the social emancipation of women:

BOX 1.7 WHY INEQUALITY MATTERS

Whether and why inequality matters is an old issue - going back to the time of Karl Marx and before. For development economists concerned primarily with the world's poor countries, the central issues have been growth and poverty reduction, not inequality. And for mainstream economists during most of the postwar period of the 20th century, inequality was at worst a necessary evil - helping to enhance growth by concentrating income among the rich, who save and invest more, and by creating incentives for individuals to work hard, innovate and take productive risks.

But income inequality does matter. It matters in itself, if people - and nations - care about their relative income status. It may also matter for instrumental reasons - that is, because it affects other outcomes.

- Inequality can exacerbate the effects of market and policy failures on growth and thus on progress against poverty. That makes inequality a special problem in poor countries, where imperfect markets and institutional failures are common. For example, where capital markets are weak, poor people, lacking good collateral, will be unable to borrow. Their potential to start small businesses will be limited - reducing overall growth and limiting opportunities for poor people. Though growth is not always sufficient to advance human development and reduce income poverty, the experiences of China, the Republic of Korea and other countries of East Asia suggest that it makes a big contribution. Finally there is the arithmetical reality. Even if there is growth and poor people gain proportionately from that growth, the same growth rate buys less poverty reduction where inequality is high to start with.

- Concentration of income at the top can undermine the kinds of public policies such as support for high quality universal public education - that are likely to advance human development. Populist policies that generate inflation hurt poor people in the long run. Artificially low prices for water and sanitation mean that bankrupt public utilities never expand to poor neighbourhoods. If rich people support industrial subsidies or cheap loans for large landowners, that may reduce growth directly as well. Developing and implementing good social policies is especially difficult where inequality takes the form of concentration at the top combined with substantial poverty at the bottom - and thus the absence of a middle class that demands accountable government.

- Inequality is likely to erode social capital, including the sense of trust and citizen responsibility that is key to the formation and sustainability of sound public institutions. It can undermine participation in such common spheres of community life as parks, local sports leagues and parent-teacher associations of public schools. Street crime undermines communal life, and differences in income inequality across countries are closely associated with differences in rates of crime and violence.

- Inequality may over time increase a society's tolerance for inequality. If global pressures lead to increases in wage differences (for example, as the salaries of the most skilled and internationally mobile people rise), the social norm for what wage gap is acceptable may eventually shift. If inequality matters for any of the reasons above, the possibility that it can worsen matters too.

Source: UNDP 2001: 17

- An independent income outside of the home raises the visibility of women's contribution, improves their negotiating capacity, makes them more powerful in the home, and influences acceptance of their rights in society.
- Raising the educational status of women reduces child mortality more substantially than does a significant alteration in the general level of development: for example, increasing the literacy rate of women from 22% to 75% reduces the under-five mortality rate from 156 to 110 per 1,000 live births; the same increase in the educational level of men reduces the under-five mortality rate from 169 to 141 per 1,000 live births; while a 50 percent reduction in the general incidence of poverty only reduces the predicted value of under-five mortality from 156 per thousand live births to 153.
- Although women work long hours at home, because this contribution is not remunerated, it is ignored in the household accounts; when the same work is done outside the home it is recognised, and raises negotiating capacity because the contribution becomes visible.
- The emancipation of women reduces fertility rates since everything that raises the decision-making power of young women tends to discourage them from having many children.
- In many societies, ownership of important assets such as land favours men, as Chapter 4 of this work shows, though there is evidence that when these practices are abandoned, women are able to seize opportunities with equal success; the benefits go beyond simple income, and include low mortality and low fertility and act as engines of social transformation.

Sen also states that recent empirical work shows that respect for women and attention to their wellbeing is strongly influenced by variables such as their skills in obtaining income independently, in finding paid employment outside of the home, having property rights, being literate, and being informed and educated participants in decisions within and outside of the home. (Sen 1999: 191-201).

TABLE 2.1 UPDATED HDI FOR MOZAMBIQUE, 1994-2000

BASIC DATA	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001*
Life expectancy at birth (years) ^a	41,7	41,9	42,1	42,3	42,9	43,5	44,2	44,8
Adult literacy rate (%) ^b	39,5	39,5	39,5	39,5	39,5	39,5	43,3	43,3
Combined enrolment rate (%) ^c	25,0	25,0	29,3	28,9	30,5	32,7	35,8	37,41
Real GDP per capita (dollars PPP) ^d	617,2	636,8	713,7	755,3	817,6	851,0	864,6	1049,9
CALCULATING THE HDI FOR 2000								
Life expectancy index	0,278	0,282	0,285	0,288	0,298	0,308	0,319	0,329
$\frac{44.2 - 25}{85.0 - 25} = 0.32$								
Educational Index	0,347	0,347	0,361	0,360	0,365	0,372	0,408	0,413
a) Adult literacy rate								
$\frac{43.3 - 0}{100 - 0} = 0.433$	0,395	0,395	0,395	0,395	0,395	0,395	0,433	0,439
b) Combined enrolment rate for primary, secondary and tertiary education								
$\frac{35.8 - 0}{100 - 0} = 0.358$	0,250	0,250	0,293	0,289	0,305	0,327	0,358	0,374
c) Educational index								
$\frac{(2 \times 0.433) + 0.358}{3} = \frac{1.224}{3} = 0.408$								
Adjusted real GDP per capita (dollars PPP)	0,304	0,309	0,328	0,337	0,351	0,357	0,360	0,392
$\frac{\log(864.6) - \log(100)}{\log(40,000) - \log(100)} = 0.360$								
Human Development Index	0,310	0,312	0,325	0,328	0,338	0,346	0,362	0,378
$\frac{(0.32 + 0.408 + 0.360)}{3} = \frac{1.088}{3} = 0.362$								
a b c INE 2001, see Table 9, Statistical Annex d Estimates based on the World Bank PPP conversion rate * Preliminary estimates 2001								

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse human development trends in Mozambique, using the measurement instruments described in the previous chapter.

The chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part summarises the evolution of Mozambique's human development in the 1996-2000 period, based on the performance of the main components of the measuring instruments, and using updated official statistics and methodologies that make it possible to compare the level of human development in Mozambique with other countries.

To this end, the parameters used in the first part are strictly derived from the methodology of the Global Human Development Reports (GHDRs), and the results obtained are thus comparable with the indicators of the other countries and the figures published in the GHDRs¹, diverging only in the sources used for the data.

The second part of the chapter analyses the behaviour of the human development indicators within Mozambique. The difference between this and the previous section lies in the fact that while in the first part the GHDR methodology is scrupulously adopted in estimating the indicators to allow comparison with other countries and the figures published in the GHDRs, in the second we resort to an adaptation and adjustment of the methodology to allow comparison between the various administrative regions of the country.

It is important always to bear in mind the difference in the two methodologies used in calculating the indicators, since this implies that, in practical terms, the final figures for the HDIs calculated in the two sections are not comparable. The main difference in the methodology lies in the treatment of income. In the first, per capita GDP adjusted to Parity Purchasing Power (PPP) is used, while in the second figures in nominal meticaïs and dollars

are used, applying in the first case a deflator that makes possible comparison between years across the series under analysis.

Human Development in Mozambique in the year 2000

The results of the 2001 National Human Development Report confirm once again the rising trend of the main human development indicators. The updated trend of the national Human Development Index (HDI) and of its components is summarised in table 2.1 and in graph 2.1.

The results for 2000 are rather surprising. First, because in a year when Mozambique was buffeted by the most devastating floods of the last century, it was logical to expect that some of the indicators aggregated in the HDI would reflect this tragedy to some extent. Thus the estimates of the evolution of the social indicators aggregated in the HDI show a somewhat unexpected development, since indicators such as the educational index are not likely to show major oscillations from one year to the next. But it is precisely here that we find the surprise.

For the first time since Mozambique began its economic recovery, social development has overtaken the economic growth rate. It is estimated that the HDI rose from 0.346 in 1999 to 0.362 in 2000, a growth of about 4.6%. The positive evolution of the HDI results from two main factors. The first is that the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by only 1.6%. But secondly it results from a reduction in the illiteracy rate from 60.5% (the figure found by the 1997 General Population Census) to 56.7%, which is the figure from the INE's survey carried out in 2000 into the wellbeing of households (QUIBB 2001). This suggests a noteworthy increase in Mozambican school attendance.

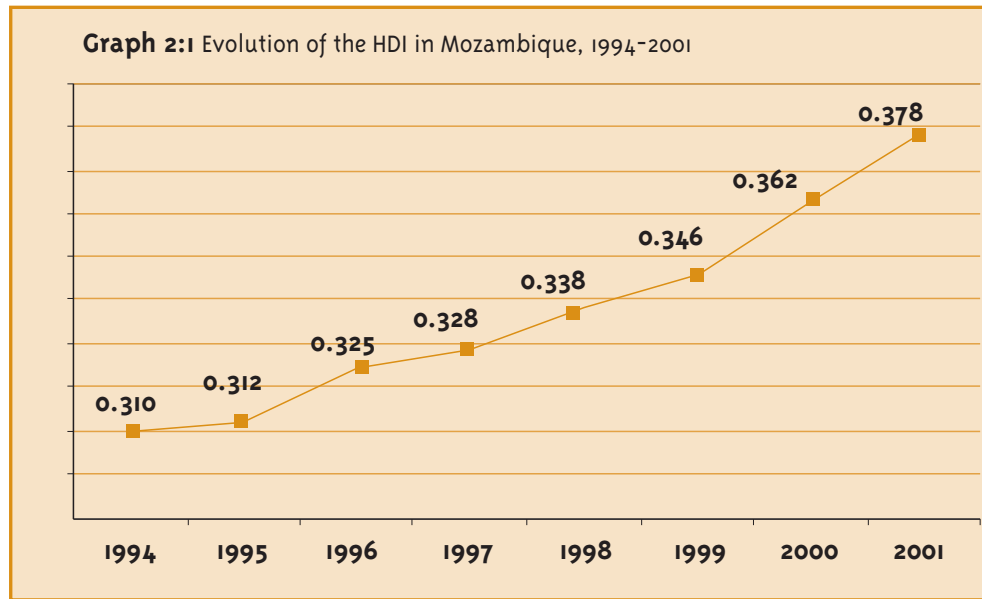
¹ Life expectancy is based on the INE projections for 2000, starting from the figure found by the 1997 General Population Census; the adult literacy rate results from the survey carried out by the INE in 2000 through the Questionnaire on Basic Indicators of Well-Being; while the combined enrolment rate is based on Ministry of Education figures. The per capita GDP was estimated on an implicit conversion rate derived from the World Bank's estimate for Mozambique in 2000.

Furthermore, if preliminary estimates of GDP growth in 2001 are proved correct, and taking into account the evolution and of the educational and life expectancy indicators, then Mozambique's HDI may reach the figure of 0.378 in 2001, which would be an improvement of 4.42% when compared with 2000.

One fact worthy of note is that the level of literacy grew substantially among the male population, with a fall of about 4.4 percentage points in the male illiteracy rate (which is a

indicators suggests that, although the proportion of women deprived of reading and writing is going down, women remain at the back of the race to acquire knowledge, and this limits individual choices.

Second, the indicators show that modest gains in life expectancy continue to be recorded, resulting basically from the intervention of the health sector and the improvement in the nutritional status of the population, despite the pressures imposed by the HIV/AIDS epidemic. The effects of this

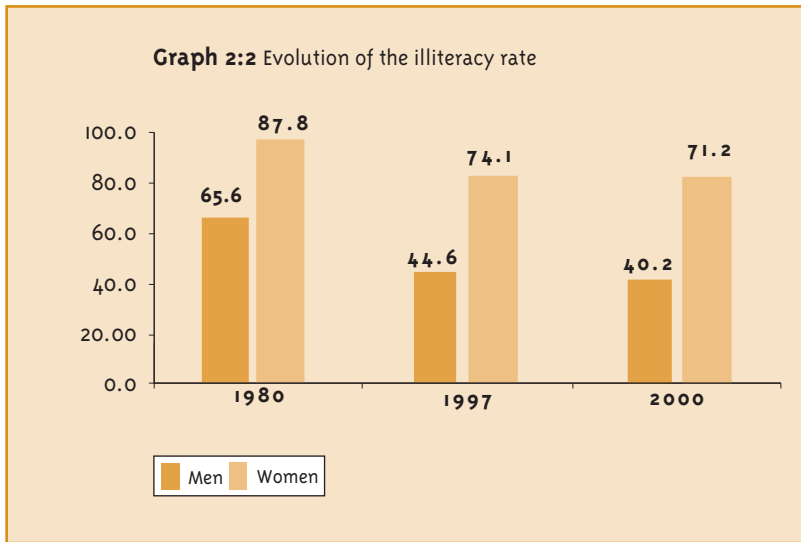


10% reduction). But the illiteracy rate among women went down by only 2.9 percentage points, which is equivalent to just a 4% drop in the proportion of Mozambican women who cannot read and write. It is important to bear in mind that this positive trend represents the evolution between the year of the census (1997) and the year of the QUIBB survey (2000), and not necessarily a difference between 1999 and 2000.

When compared with 1980, the illiteracy rate among men has been reduced by about 28%, while among women it has declined by only 19%. The socio-cultural reasons for the marginalisation of women will be analysed in detail in Chapter 3. However, the preliminary inference that can be drawn from the literacy

epidemic have not been properly investigated and quantified in Mozambique: there are only estimates and extrapolations used for purposes of advocacy in campaigns to make people aware of the epidemic. However, women are particularly vulnerable to infection by the HIV virus because of their subordinate role in society and inability to negotiate power with their male counterparts, caused by reasons that will be dealt with in Chapter 3.

Graph 2.3 clearly shows, based on the official data, that all the HDI components have developed positively in the period under analysis, although the variables that form the indicators in the HDI are, as already mentioned, not such as to produce substantial variations over a short period of time, due to

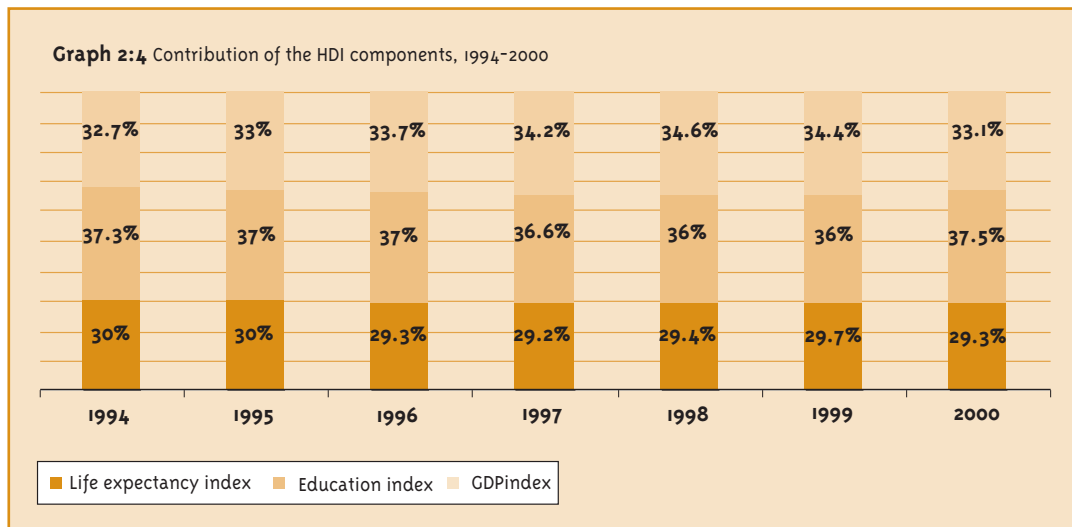
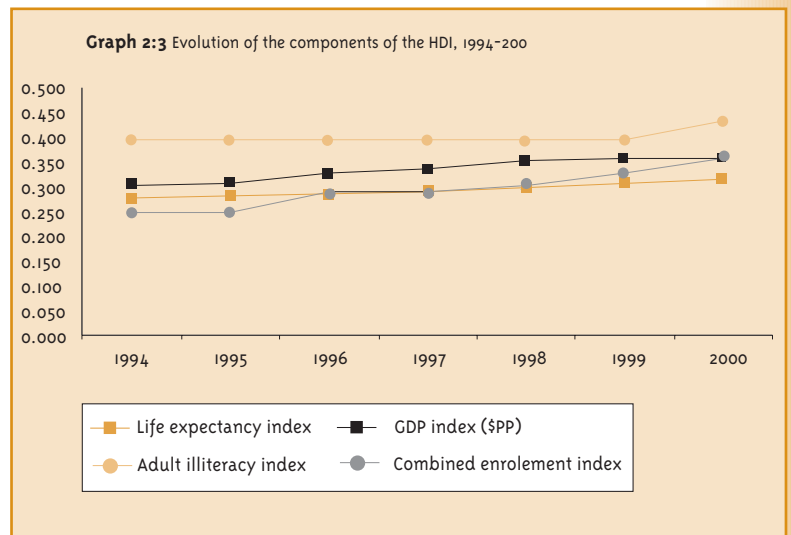


substantial increases in the number of places available in the country's education network, particularly as from 1995. Indeed, the percentage of Mozambicans of the appropriate age to attend school (from primary to higher education) and who are actually attending school has risen over the past five years - from 29% in 1997 to

their very nature.

Were it not for the effects of HIV/AIDS, certainly captured by the trends in the birth and death rates shown by the 1997 population census, and had the economic growth rate maintained the tendency of previous years, then the results would certainly have been still more positive. These results renew the hope that, although there may be a long way still to go, Mozambique is, in purely relative terms, taking important steps in reducing the deprivations of its population.

In disaggregated terms, the most dynamic indicators have normally been income, which reflects recent economic gains, and the joint enrolment rate, which reflects the gradual but



about 36% in 2000.

Graph 2.5 shows clearly that the QUIBB data showing basic welfare indicators, suggest a substantial improvement in the literacy levels of the adult population between 1997 and 2000, which is obviously a trend induced by the increased supply in the education system.

When broken down by province, the QUIBB data show a trend to rising levels of literacy in almost all provinces - particularly for Tete, with an increase of 30% in the literacy rate since 1997, followed by Gaza with an increase of 19%, and by Manica and Inhambane with a rise of about 16% each. The reasons for this rather extraordinary evolution of the literacy rate in these regions are not clear, when it is known that adult literacy is an indicator that only presents substantial oscillations in the long term.

Furthermore, behind this optimistic picture there remain some reasons for disquiet. The data show some exceptions in the literacy trend among the provinces. In 2000, Cabo Delgado and Zambezia provinces presented lower literacy levels than those recorded in the 1997 general population census.

According to the QUIBB data, the literacy rate in Cabo Delgado fell from 25% in 1997 to 22.7% in 2000, while in Zambezia the literacy rate fell from 29.7% to 25.3%, a decline of

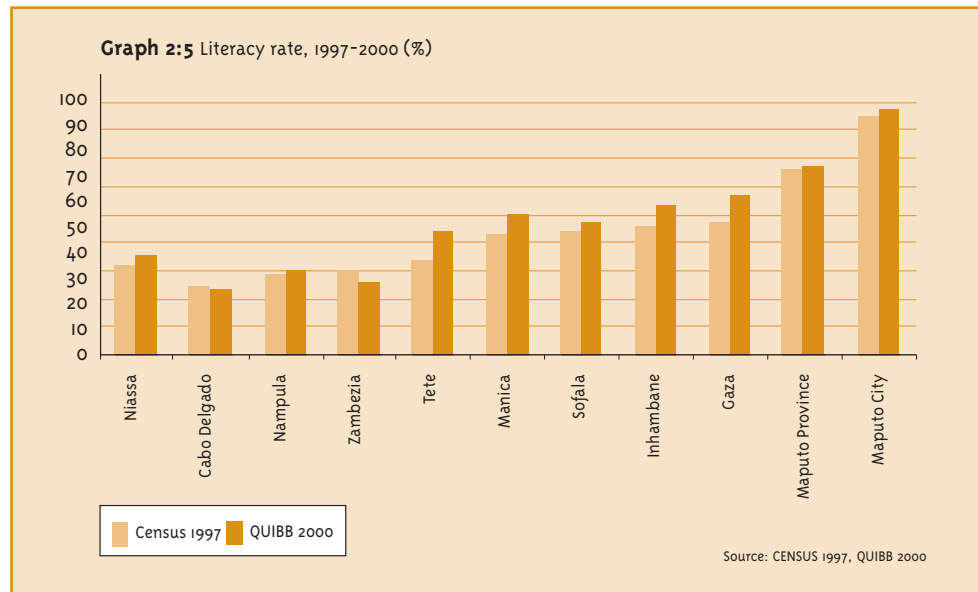
about 15% (Graph 2.5). It is not easy to discern the reasons for this, and it is a subject that deserves deeper research in the future.

Mozambique's GDI

The Gender Development Index (GDI), the development measurement instrument intended to estimate the disparity between the development achievements of women and of men, shows an evolution identical to that of Mozambique's HDI. Graph 2.6 shows the comparative evolution of the HDI and the GDI.

The estimates show that there has been a parallel evolution between the HDI and the GDI, which does at least suggest that the gap in levels of achievement between men and women has not grown worse. Indeed, while the HDI recorded growth of 10.34% between 1997 and 2000, the GDI grew by 10.1% over the same period.

The conclusion that can be drawn from this result is that, while disparities between men and women are not increasing, the policies intended to promote the advancement of women in a deliberate manner, particularly as regards access to education, health and other social services, are not yet producing the desired effects, although they are steps in the right direction.



One of the agreeable surprises in the results from the Questionnaire into Basic Indicators of Social Well-Being (QUIBB 2001) is the rise in the number of Mozambicans who know how to read and write. QUIBB estimates that the illiteracy rate has developed positively, falling from 60.5% (the figure obtained in the 1997 census) to 56.7% in 2000. This is a reduction of about 6.3% in the short space of four years.

Although this phenomenon may be the subject of rejoicing, particularly among those who work in the education sector, the experience of the recent past advises us to be cautious when we praise this "success".

Those who have read this series of reports attentively will certainly have noticed the sharp oscillation in the illiteracy rate between the 1998 NHDR and the subsequent editions. The 1998 NHDR took as its basis the data from the Demographic and Health Survey (IDS) which estimated that 63% of adults were literate as against 40% in 1995. This figure had a significant impact on the value of the HDI for 1997 and the estimate for 1998.

The indicator raised eyebrows among users of the report who thought this evolution was excessively optimistic, since the literacy rate is an indicator that is not very susceptible to major oscillations in the short to medium term. But, since there had been a gap of 15 years since the last population census, the IDS was the only up-to-date official source.

But the methodology had its critics, and among them was the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). UNESCO insisted on continuing to use the rate found in the 1990 census in calculating the HDI: it

argued that the methodology tended to overestimate the literacy rate since its samples suffered from an over-representation of urban areas where literacy levels are obviously higher.

The results of the 1997 General Population Census confirmed that the fears of UNESCO were far from unfounded. The 1997 Census found that the literacy rate was not 63%, as had been estimated by the IDS, but 39.5%.

Obviously methodologies are always subject to adjustments to correct inconsistencies and make the data from the indicators credible and reliable. The results from QUIBB 2001 may perhaps have benefited from such refinement, in the attempt to obtain a more representative sample.

In addition, whatever individual or institutional views there be on the data, in official terms, and until the next population census is held in 2007, the valid official literacy rate will be that which is discovered by the successive surveys undertaken until then.

But it is still advisable to proceed with some prudence, and not much sense of triumph, when using the rate uncovered in the surveys. The importance of the user choosing between the QUIBB and the Census indicators lies in knowing the advantages and limitations of the methodologies and their representative nature, taking into consideration their margins of error. QUIBB 2001 is up to date, but it suffers from possible inconsistencies deriving from the how representative the sample is in ascertaining some indicators. The census is more reliable because it is more representative, but has the disadvantage that, in the absence of wars, it is only held once every ten years.

Human development broken down by province

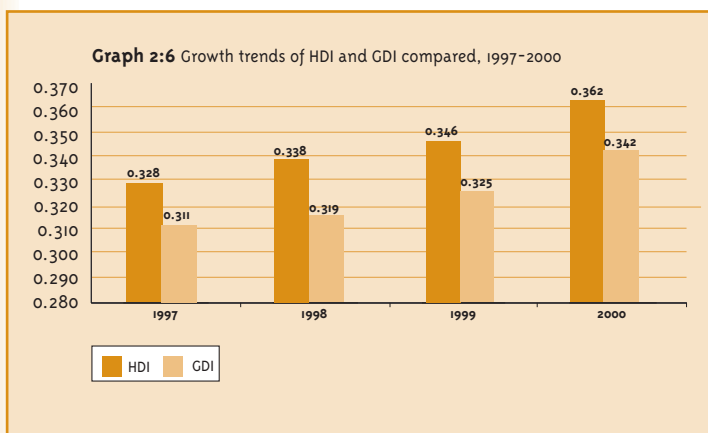
Performance of the economy

One of the bases that allows us to use the human development measuring instruments to assess the performance of social indicators in the various provinces of Mozambique is the existence of up-to-date and reliable official data. For calculating the overall HDI of the country, statistical data are updated annually by the INE, but assessing provincial devel-

opment requires data disaggregated by region, and some of the components are traditionally never dealt with in a disaggregated way.

Data is available on literacy rates and school enrolment because regional breakdown of the figures has already become a routine requirement in planning development at various levels. But disaggregating the economic performance of each province is an innovation begun by this series of reports.

The assessment of human development in the provinces took as its starting point the use of the methodology adapted in previous years



in order to estimate the contribution of each of the 11 administrative regions in the economy.²

The performance of the economy in the year under analysis was conditioned by the floods which affected economic activity in the centre and south of the country in 2000, reflected in the low level of economic growth. But the estimates of economic activity show that the performance of the provinces did not undergo a uniform development.

In overall terms, the results of the economic performance in 2000 still show a major economic concentration in the southern region, with about 51% of production. In this, Maputo city stands out with a contribution to production of about 36.9%. The central zone follows with a contribution of 27.7%, and finally the northern region with 21.3%. The contribution by region is shown in graph 2.7.

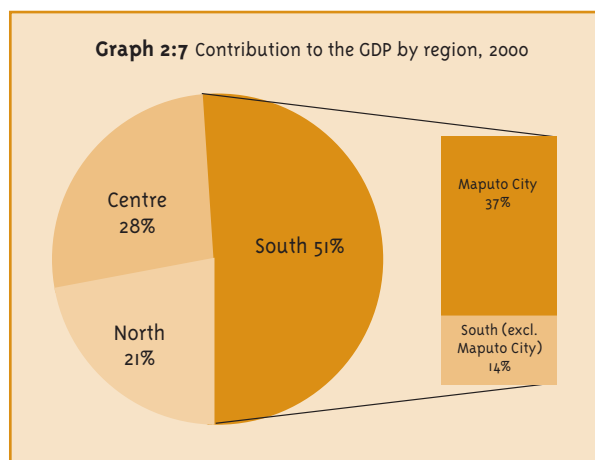
One of the inferences that can be drawn from disaggregating the contribution to the GDP is that, when Maputo City is excluded, the other three provinces of southern Mozambique, namely Maputo province, Gaza and Inhambane, have a much lower weight than the central and northern regions. Based on these data, one may once more conclude that, just in terms of contribution to the GDP, the alleged asymmetry between the south of the country and the centre and north, is not a linear reality. What does exist is an enormous gulf between economic activity in Maputo city, and in the

rest of the country, including the three southern provinces.

Sofala and Zambezia provinces in the centre, and Nampula in the north head their respective areas with a contribution of 9.4%, 8.8% and 13.6% respectively. The lowest contributions to the GDP are 2.8% from Niassa, 3.8% from Gaza, 5% from Cabo Delgado and Inhambane, and 5.4% from Maputo province. The contribution from each province is duly shown in Graph 2.8.

Each region's contribution to the national economy is limited by the level of economic growth in each province. The variations in the contribution of each province over the period under analysis is summarised in Table 2.2 and Graph 2.8.

The data suggest that in 2000 there was a substantial growth in economic activity in only four of the 11 administrative regions. Particular stress must be laid on Maputo Province which, despite the floods which affected a considerable part of its territory and



population, recorded growth of about 26.5%.

This growth is explained by the start of production at the MOZAL aluminium smelter, the main reason for the spectacular increase in the value of manufactured production, 182.9% between 1999 and 2000. It also explains the 20% growth rate in manufacturing industry at national level in 2000. This fact shows the advantages of relatively diversified economies.

² Note that the 1998-1999 estimates underwent slight modifications as a result of routine updating of the respective national GDPs, and greater coverage in terms of information from the provincial yearbooks from these two years. For the same reasons, the 2000 estimates are still tentative, and thus subject to alteration in later years.

Despite the fact that MOZAL is not counted as part of Maputo province, it is Maputo province throughout the 1997-2000 period that shows the highest average rate of growth, with 22.4%, followed by Manica and Tete provinces, with 12.7% and 12.5% respectively.

After Maputo Province, the most remarkable growth in 2000 was in Tete, where there was economic growth of 16.6%. Agriculture, livestock, and mining are the main sectors contributing to this, with growth rates of 25.5% and 15.2% respectively.

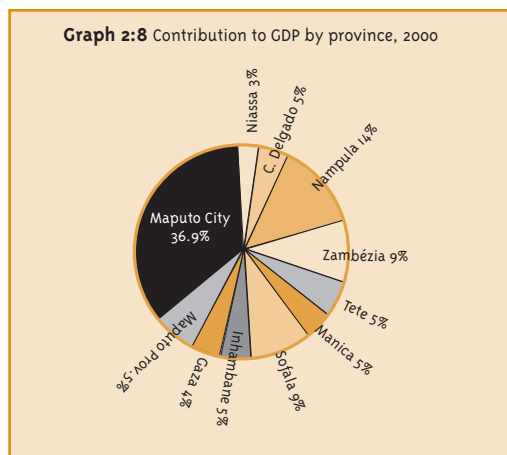
Niassa is another of the four provinces with growth rates above the national average (6.9%), followed by Maputo City with about 6%. Among the factors which contributed most to growth in Maputo City, there stand out the sectors of industry (13.9%), electricity and water services (7.5%), construction (8.1%) and trade (11.9%). For Niassa, agriculture and livestock contributed with growth of about 8.6%, followed by government services with 14%, and trade with 11%.

The greatest decline in productive activity occurred, as expected, in Gaza province, the worst hit by the floods of 2000, with a fall of about 17.1%. There was also substantial contraction in Manica (-11.1%) and Sofala (-10.5%). The decline in these provinces was also a corollary of the floods which affected the agricultural sector, electricity generation, and transport and communication. In addition, Manica and Sofala suffered the collateral effects of the economic crisis in Zimbabwe, the main motor of development in the central region.

In the specific case of the agricultural sector, Manica and Sofala recorded falls of 20.8% and 29.5% respectively. The decline in transport was 15.5% and 4.5%.

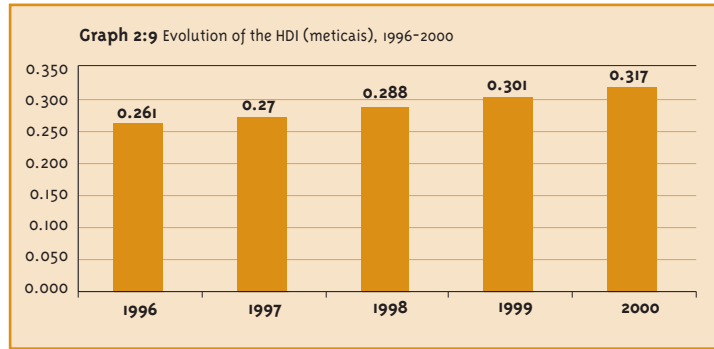
In the north, the decline in agriculture (-6.2%) and in mining (-65.8%) explains the negative performance of Cabo Delgado province in 2000.

Provinces/Regions	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Average
North	100	19.0	10.5	3.5	0.9	8.5
1. Niassa	100	18.7	3.9	11.5	6.9	10.3
2. Cabo Delgado	100	1.5	23.4	3.9	-1.3	6.9
3. Nampula	100	25.9	7.6	1.9	0.5	9.0
Centre	100	10.0	7.1	10.2	-3.4	6.0
4. Zambezia	100	7.7	-3.4	8.1	0.8	3.3
5. Tete	100	19.8	1.1	12.5	16.6	12.5
6. Manica	100	21.9	28.1	11.9	-11.1	12.7
7. Sofala	100	4.3	10.3	10.2	-10.5	3.6
South	100	8.3	17.2	7.8	4.8	9.5
8. Inhambane	100	8.3	8.4	10.0	-1.3	6.3
9. Gaza	100	19.1	14.1	9.5	-17.1	6.4
10. Maputo Province	100	45.3	5.6	12.2	26.5	22.4
11. Maputo City	100	3.5	20.5	6.8	5.9	9.2
National	100	11.1	12.6	7.5	1.6	8.2



Agriculture remains the activity with greatest weight in the economy, at both national and regional levels, but its share of the GDP has been declining over the years under analysis in favour of other sectors, such as manufacturing industry and trade, following the classic development trend. In 1997, agriculture accounted for about 24.9% of the GDP, and in 2000 agriculture's contribution to the GDP had slipped to 22.9%. Over the same period, the contribution of manufacturing industry rose from 9.9% in 1997 to 13.6% in 2000.

However, when analysing the contribution of agriculture in 2000, we must, as mentioned above, always bear in mind that the floods



which affected the south and centre of the country had their greatest impact on agricultural activities, particularly in Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane provinces in the south of the country, and in Manica and Sofala in the centre. The overall estimates suggest that the impact of the floods was at its most severe in agriculture (-11.4%), livestock (-26.1%), electricity and water (-24.8%), and transport and communications (-26.1%).

At regional level, the results from the southern zone show a clear dominance of trade over the other sectors of economic activity throughout the period under analysis. In 2000, this sector represented 24.4% of all production in the south, compared with 17.8% in agriculture, 13.6% in manufacturing industry, and 12.6% in construction. In both the central and northern regions, agriculture was dominant, with a participation of about 33.5% and 49.4% respectively. Trade followed, with a contribution of 22.9% in the centre, and 14.2% in the north.

GDP per capita

The evolution of the per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to some extent reflected the slowdown in economic growth that occurred in 2000. Expressed in Mozambican currency, the most substantial falls took place in Gaza province, where per capita GDP fell from 2.04 million meticaïs in 1999 to 1.8 million in 2000, Sofala where the decline was from 3.67 million to 3.2 million, and Manica which fell from 2.4

to 2.3 million meticaïs.

Due to the devaluation of the metical against the dollar, all provinces, with the exception of Maputo province, recorded a decline in GDP per capita in nominal dollars. As a result, the national GDP per capita fell from US\$ 243 in 1999 to US\$ 210 in 2000 at current prices.

Graph 2.10 shows the estimated GDP per capita per province in meticaïs and in dollars at current prices in 2000.³

In terms of GDP per capita, the Maputo City figure is six times greater than the national average, and 12 times that of the Zambezia per capita GDP. It is 11 times that of Niassa and Tete, 10 times that of Cabo Delgado, and 9 times that of Gaza.

Maputo City and Sofala province have per capita GDPs higher than the national average - but even so, one should note that the Maputo City figure is five times greater than that of Sofala. In other words, Maputo City, strictly in terms of income, remains an oasis of relative prosperity in a desert of difficulties.

Human development inside Mozambique

The HDI and the GDI

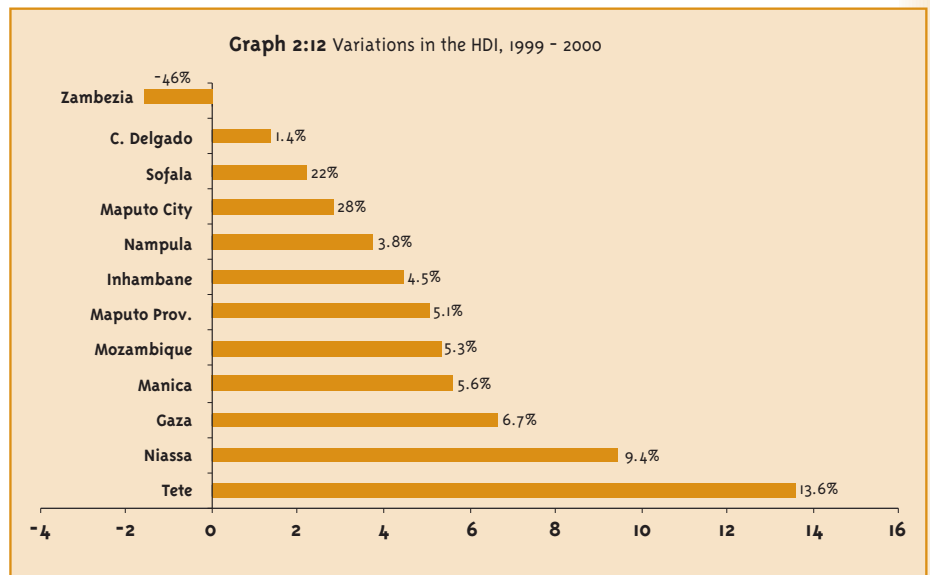
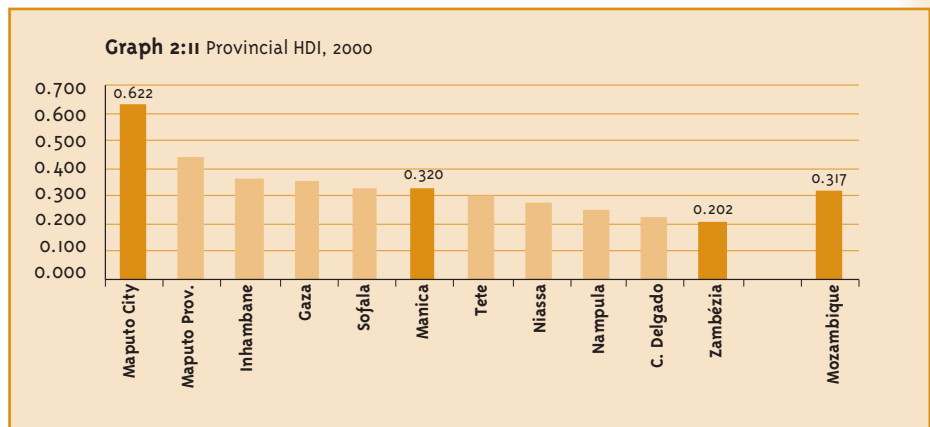
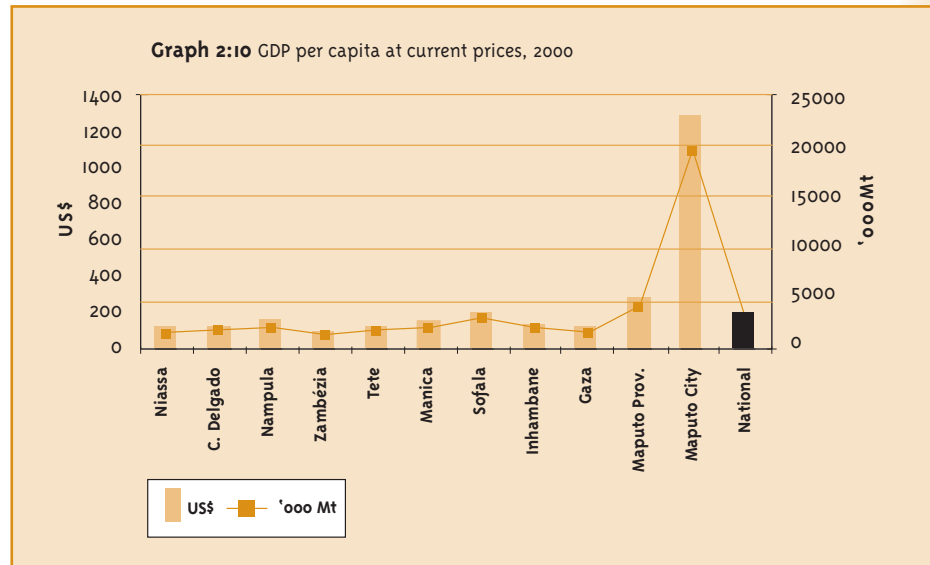
The data for 2000 allow us to note that, despite the economic difficulties faced that year, the level of national human development continues its gradual rise. As Graph 2.9 shows, the national HDI (using meticaïs) grew by about 21.3% between 1996 and 2000. In comparison with 1999, the national HDI grew by 5.3%, but not all the administrative regions showed a positive performance.

There were regions that recorded a decline in their human development. Graph 2.12 shows the trend in the HDIs in the various regions of the country.

³ One of the reasons why Zambezia province shows a negative figure in the GDP index in dollars has to do precisely with the fact that this province has a per capita GDP lower than the US\$ 80 that was set as a minimum in the established parameters.

Maputo City has an HDI that is almost double the national average (Graph 2.11). Six of the 11 administrative regions have HDIs that are above the national average. It should be noted that, of the six provinces with HDIs above the national average, only two (Manica and Sofala) are not in the southern region. The four provinces of southern Mozambique all have figures higher than the national HDI. Graph 2.12 shows the variation over time in the HDIs of the 11 administrative regions. Tete province, ranked seventh in the 2000 national ranking, shows the highest rate of growth of its HDI, resulting from a significant economic performance and improved educational levels of its population mentioned earlier. Manica and Gaza provinces, despite the effects of the floods, performed above the national average, with growth rates of 5.6% and 6.7% respectively, while Niassa was the province with the second highest growth rate in its HDI (9.34%).

The remaining seven administrative regions had growth rates below the national average. Special mention must be made of Zambezia which unexpectedly recorded a decline in its HDI between 1999 and 2000. One of the reasons for this unusual occurrence has to do with the fact that, unlike the country's other regions, the adult literacy rate in



Zambezia has regressed, falling from 29.7% in 1999 to 25.3% in 2000. This situation has served for Zambezia to consolidate, as is said in sporting language, its place at the “bottom of the table” in terms of human development in Mozambique, reversing the tendency for improvement shown in 1999.

The Gender-related Development Index in the provinces

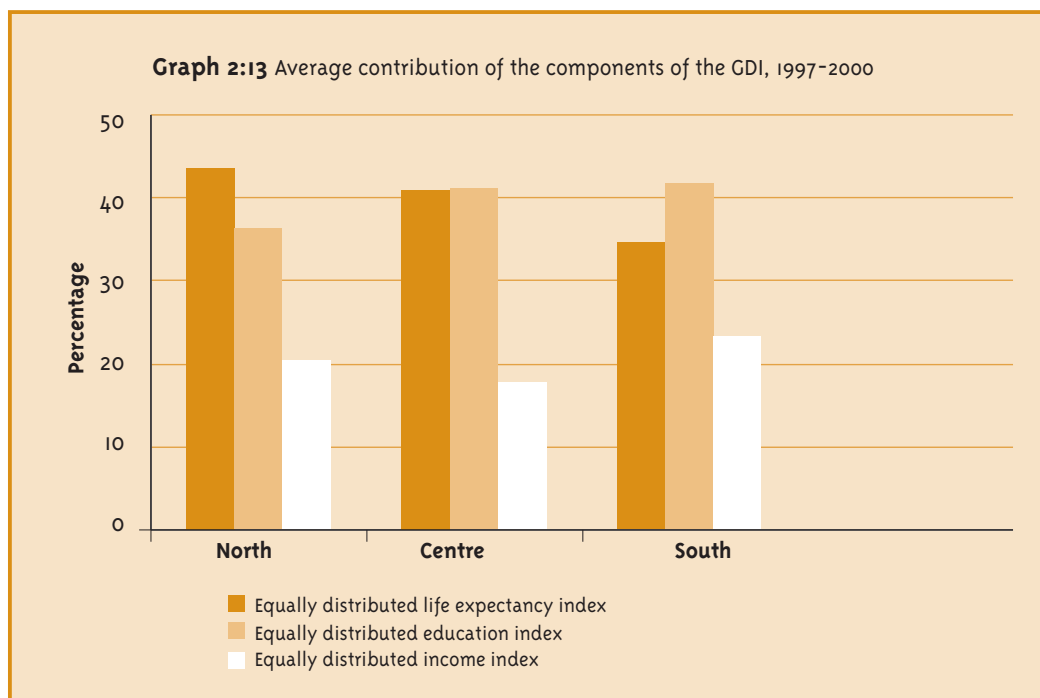
The most obvious finding from the data is the confirmation of disparities between the achievements of women and of men, as measured by the GDI. Just as with the figures for the HDI, the south of the country has the best performance, with a GDI above the national average, in terms both of the region as a whole and the individual provinces.

The central zone follows, and finally the north, both with GDIs below the national average. The central and northern provinces are also below the average, with the exception of Sofala which has a GDI above the national average.

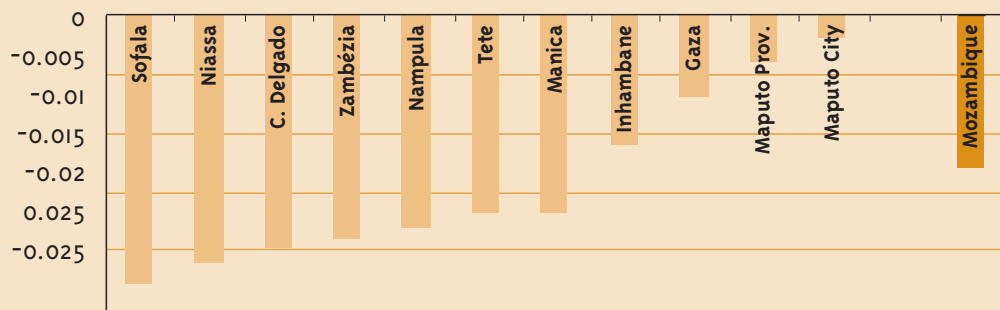
From a historical analysis of the data, covering the period 1997-2000, it may be concluded that education contributes most to average achievement and to reducing disparities between men and women with an average national involvement of 40.7% in this period. Life expectancy contributes 36% and finally income with 23.4% (Graph 2.13).

In regional terms, the centre and south have the same structure as the national average with education contributing to average achievement with 41% and 45% respectively, followed by life expectancy with 40% and 37%, and finally income contributing with 19.5% and 18.9%. The situation is different in the north, with life expectancy contributing 43%, followed by educational level with 36%, and finally income with 20%.

An analysis by province shows that Sofala, Niassa, Cabo Delgado and Zambezia have the greatest gaps between achievements of women and of men. They are followed in order of size by Nampula, Manica, Tete, Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo province.



Graph 2:14 Differences between the HDI and GDI by province, 2000



Graph 2.14 and table 2.3 show the gender gap in Mozambique's 11 administrative regions. This data reflects a reality which can serve as a basis in planning development in favour of the gradual elimination of differences in development between women and men, and promoting greater gender equity. The following chapter will analyse in detail the cultural bases of the gender relations that are at the root of this social differentiation.

TABLE 2.3 COMPARISON BETWEEN HDI AND GDI, 2000

Provinces	GDI	HDI	Gender gap
Niassa	0.246	0.267	-0.021
Cabo Delgado	0.199	0.219	-0.020
Nampula	0.227	0.245	-0.018
Zambezia	0.183	0.202	-0.019
Tete	0.275	0.292	-0.017
Manica	0.303	0.320	-0.017
Sofala	0.300	0.323	-0.023
Inhambane	0.341	0.352	-0.011
Gaza	0.338	0.345	-0.007
Maputo Province	0.431	0.435	-0.004
Maputo City	0.620	0.622	-0.002
Mozambique	0.304	0.317	-0.013

Special Contribution

Women and Human Rights From the Storming of the Bastille to Human Development

The first declaration of human rights, drawn up in 1789 by the state born out of the French Revolution enshrined equality of rights between human beings, but in practice excluded women from enjoying this right and from decision-making. Such an elementary choice as the right of women to elect their representatives became a reality only in 1893, when it was enacted in New Zealand, followed by Australia in 1902 (see Box 3.1). Only in the period after 1945, following World War II, did the growing visibility of women make it possible to expose the contradiction between the spirit of democratic governance and the practices of states which embraced this model (relatively progressive for the period) and the exclusion of women from the exercise of political and civic rights.

The proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 was the culmination of a broad movement for equality between men and women and led to pledges from a considerable number of states to enshrine the principle of political and civil equality in their own legal orders.

The second generation of rights began as from 1950, with the inclusion of social and economic rights as human rights. Intellectuals in Europe such as Gertrude Stein, Anais Nin, Simone de Beauvoir and Virginia Woolf had made names for themselves in the development of this movement by breaking with stereotypes which, in relegating women to the private sphere, merely to their reproductive and domestic roles, rendered them useless as citizens.

Up to the 1970s, the struggle for equality in Europe was centred on demanding the extension to women of the full rights enshrined in the 1948 Universal Charter. This was based on the argument that gender inequality was above all a problem of formalizing rights. However, even in countries that were pioneers in granting women the right to vote, this right was accompanied with restrictions ranging from marginalisation in the acquisition of knowledge to selective discrimination, as in the case of Australia and South Africa, where black women were excluded from the right to vote on the basis of their race.

Reflection on the insufficiency and the limits of the legal approach in analysing the human rights of women began at this time as it became increasingly clear that inequality was rooted, not in legislation, but mainly in the way in which social relations were structured.

Based on this thinking, cultural rights came to be

regarded as the third generation of rights, and the concept of gender was introduced into social reflection. Unlike biological differences denoted by sex, the notion of gender points us to the way in which the social roles of women and of men are constructed, differentiated and governed. Since gender is not a synonym for women, the use of the concept of gender in analysing social reality always brings us to the relationship between men and women - relationships expressed in how the cultural model builds differentiation, and justifies inequality between the sexes.

The 1990s were determinant for expanding the human rights of women, since this decade coincided

BOX 3.1 THE LONG MARCH OF WOMEN TO THE BALLOT BOX

The recognition of women's right to political participation through the vote has been a long journey. The list below shows where and when women obtained the right to elect their representatives:

New Zealand	1893
Australia	1902
Finland	1906
Norway	1913
Denmark	1915
Netherlands, Russia	1917
Canada, Luxembourg	1918
Ecuador	1919
South Africa	1994
Spain	1931
Brazil and Uruguay	1932
Turkey and Cuba	1934
France	1944
Italy, Japan	1946
South Korea, Israel	1948
Chile, India, Indonesia	1949
Switzerland	1971
Mozambique	1975*

* year of independence

Source WLSA Mozambique, Maputo, 2000

with an awareness of social aspects in the thinking about development. The Human Rights Conference in Vienna in 1993, the Cairo Conference in 1994, and the Beijing Conference in 1995, contributed to a systematic debate on the rights of minorities. Furthermore, these events also served to deepen discussion on the human rights of women in the private sphere, since it is in the home that initial identities are built, and individuals learn to evolve from males and females into men and women (Beauvoir: 33).

If we analyse the hierarchies of decision-making, the values that structure decisions, and which allow some to succeed in society while condemning others to failure, we note that the competitive, aggressive approach and the public exposure inherent to politics do not attract women. This is not a case of low expectations within the group.

There are few cases in which key positions of political, and economic intervention have been held by women. In those rare cases where women do become heads of state they are, with a few notable exceptions, bearers of a family heritage in the political field. Clear examples of this in the recent past are the cases of Indira Gandhi in India, Corazon Aquino in the Philippines and Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan.

The exercise of power by these women was marked by an adaptation to and appropriation of the male political model, and an almost total absence of policies aimed at changing women's situation. This finding concerning "inherited power" has been corroborated by the acclaimed economist and 1998 Nobel economics laureate, Amartya Sen. In his work *Development as Freedom*, Sen states that, "opportunities at the highest political levels happen to have come to women, in many developing countries, only in rather special circumstances - often related to the demise of their more established husbands or fathers" (Sen, 1999: 199).

Reproductive and sexual rights, as the fourth generation of rights, covering the right to reproductive health, the right to decide on one's own body, and the right to motherhood, are determinant in the framework of the struggle for equality, making visible the violation of women's human rights within the family.

Social scientists such as Stang Dall Tove, Alda Facio, Heleith Saffiotti, Charlotte Bunch, Patricia Mcfadden and Amima Mama, stand out for their reflection on how, faced with differentiated cultural realities, the violation of the reproductive and sexual rights of women in the private sphere structure female subordination. In this context the concept of gender,

which basically covers cultural reality, is replaced by the concept of the sex-gender system, which makes it possible to underline the importance of sexual differentiation in inequality.

The deepening debate on human rights, in recent decades, leads to the conclusion that gender inequality is expressed, not only in women's restricted access to resources, but fundamentally in control over these resources, thus ensuring the perpetuation of male supremacy.

The debate on the relationship between the human rights of women and development took on new impetus with the emergence of the concept of human development which proclaims the welfare of human beings as the objective of development, and defines productivity, equity, sustainability and skills as components of the new paradigm in the first global Human Development Report, published in 1990.

This means that measuring wellbeing must take into account not only economic income and material wellbeing, but also other human choices. People must have the possibility of access to knowledge, to health care, to decent work, and must also have the freedom and opportunity to exercise their right to choose what they most value in life, in the material or the spiritual sphere.

The human development analysis does not approach human beings as massive beneficiaries, but regards them simultaneously as the agents and beneficiaries of development, and articulates their contribution to wealth generation with political and civic freedoms and participation in decision making. Development also comes to include eminently psychological aspects such as self-esteem, which derive from the possibility of living with dignity and personal, community and political security.

In this context, the exercise of human rights is regarded as an essential part of development. The inclusion of other dimensions in the development analysis breaks with the conservative paradigm centred only on the economy, and incorporates the wellbeing of individuals from a multi-dimensional perspective.

However, it is important to note that the conclusions of the human development indicators show only realities that can be measured. The barrier of female silence, allied to lack of knowledge about their rights, stifles women's negotiating capacity, thus ensuring that the distribution of and control over resources in the family and in society, respect for sexual and reproductive rights, and physical and psychological violence are still not adequately highlighted and dealt with.

Conceição Osório

Tradition, legislation and politics in the creation of gender inequality

"There is plenty of evidence," says the economist Amartya Sen, "that when women get the opportunities that are typically the preserve of men, they are no less successful in making use of these facilities that men have claimed to be their own over the centuries" (Sen, 1999:199). The reality described in this quotation is fully accepted in most contemporary societies because it is often the fruit of the struggles over time described by Osório in the special contribution that opens this chapter.

Bearing in mind the apparent consensus on the potential and capacities of women in social transformation, it is thus legitimate to ask what explains the fact that most of them remain on the bottom rungs of life's ladder. As mentioned in chapter 1, the majority of the poor and of the illiterate are women, women are not adequately represented in political structures, they die disproportionately from easily preventable diseases, they are subject to violence and gender discrimination and they have to live in a society that often does not take into consideration their specific interests, and ignores their potential as agents of social transformation.

Many of the privations that women suffer are based on gender relations that in turn emanate from power relations rooted in culture and tradition. This does not mean that all traditional practices are inherently harmful. They are an integral part of the cultural identity of a people. What is undeniable is that some of them are declared obstacles to equality between men and women. Fortunately culture and tradition are social constructs and are therefore not insensitive to outside influences, and are not immutable.

Mozambique is no exception in the list of privations that affect the social group, slightly referred to as "the weaker sex", although women constitute the majority of the population. Nonetheless, it is a case on its own. The legislation frequently cited as an example of

discriminatory practices was, in many instances, passed during the colonial period, and has relatively little to do either with Mozambican culture, or with the legal spirit expressed in the Mozambican Constitution.

On the contrary, this legislation was designed and promulgated to serve the interests of a colonial regime that entirely despised the cultural practice of the natives, and therefore took no inspiration from them in designing a legal order governing social relations. Much of the legislation that we shall analyse in this chapter belongs to this period, and, since it has not been repealed, it still rules relations between Mozambicans, and is applied in solving social disputes, thus to some extent prejudicing women.

The human development paradigm defines development as the broadening of choices for all people, and not just of a segment of the population, regardless of sex, because it is people who are the real wealth of a nation. The primordial objective of development is not merely to create conditions for material prosperity, but also to allow people, independent of their sex, to enjoy a long life, to be healthy and to lead creative lives in accordance with the values they most treasure as individuals (UNDP, 1990).

The inclusiveness defended by the concept may at first seem redundant given the obvious character of the dimensions of development that it articulates for all people. But world reality shows us that different groups enjoy the basic choices mentioned above in a differentiated manner. Of all the groups who can be classified as on the periphery of development in its various facets, women are the most blatant example, and discrimination against them takes on the characteristics of a real human scandal. One of the merits of human development was precisely the concern not to remain aloof from this reality, which is often hidden in the aggregate statistics.

The inference, thus, is that any development process that does not take into consideration

inequality between women and men or which has, as its deliberate or unforeseen result, the worsening of discrimination, and involves as a cost deterioration in the quality of life of a particular group, is inherently unsustainable because it is unjust.

The concern of those who proposed the concept of human development was to find ways of drawing attention to this reality, not through the noisy but empty campaigns of activism, but through indicators allowing an objective comparison between the situation of women and that of men. These indicators have been described in chapter 1. The starting point for correcting any inequality is to become aware of its existence, followed by researching and quantifying it. Thus, in addition to an entire edition of the Global Human Development Report being dedicated to the problem of gender inequality in 1995, indicators were created in order to express the differences in basic dimensions of development between the sexes: longevity, income and participation in taking decisions.

The present chapter undertakes a brief qualitative assessment of the situation of women in Mozambique, attempting to stress those aspects and factors which condition the range of choices that women can make in various spheres, thus limiting their human development. This chapter thus attempts to serve as a qualitative foundation for the inequalities that will be analysed in detail in the subsequent chapters.

Mozambican women in the struggle for broadening choices: a historical perspective

One of the indicators that surprises many observers is the relatively high degree of participation by women in decision making in Mozambique, at the highest level, that is, in parliament, when compared with other countries in southern Africa. Graph 3.1 shows the level of representation of women in legislative bodies in 11 of the 14 members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC). In this area Mozambique takes a leading position, leaving

BOX 3.2 THE POOREST OF THE POOR

There are now about six billion people living on our planet, but the great majority of them are living in poverty. Four billion people live below the level of relative poverty, of whom the great majority are women and children. 1.3 billion people live in the most absolute poverty, and 70% of these are women.

The gap between countries has gradually widened over the past 30 years.

Currently the income of the richest countries is 59 times greater than that of the poorest countries (compared with 30 times in 1960). The same phenomenon can be found at individual level: the gap between the richest 20% of the world's people and the poorest 20% has doubled.

World wealth has risen fivefold while the ratio of poor people to non-poor has risen from 3-1 to 15-1.

These chasms are even more pronounced for women, although women are half the world's population. Women perform 67% of the world's working hours, but earn only 10% of world income and control just 1% of the world's wealth.

Source: Forum Mulher, Guide to the Demands:
World Women's March 2000: 7

such regional forces as South Africa, Mauritius, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

Mozambique does not occupy this striking position as a matter of chance. It derives from the tradition of a struggle for equality, despite the low academic level of women, and the existence of certain cultural practices which still promote the subordination of women and create difficulties for their full integration into modern society.

The tradition of a struggle for the emancipation of women dates to the early days of the independence struggle in the 1960s and 1970s. The principle of equality between men and women was defended for the first time during the armed national liberation struggle. Articulating the principle of women's emancipation arose from the need for the clear definition of women's position within the epic of the nationalist struggle.

The programme and the political discourse of the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) defined as the basis for the combat against Portuguese colonialism the liberation of the land and the restoration of fundamental rights and human dignity to both women and men.

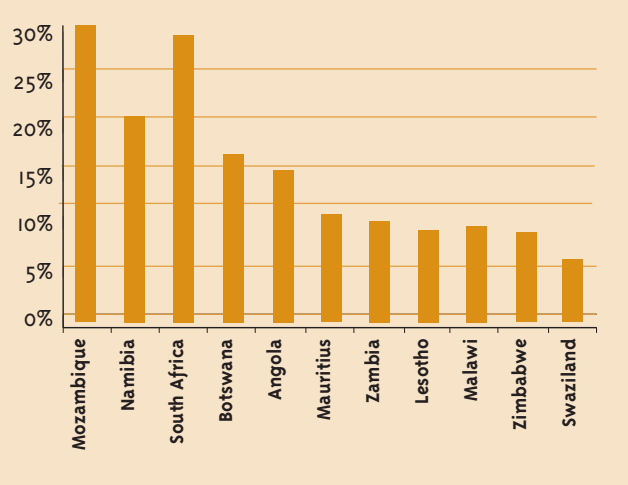
Thinking on the role of women during the liberation struggle resulted in the establishment of the Women's Detachment within the nationalist movement, in 1971, and of the Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM) in 1973. The creation of these institutions formalised the recognition of the role and importance of women in the struggle for the country's independence.

The Women's Detachment came to take on a decisive role in more than one aspect. It demonstrated the worth of women's contribution to the liberation struggle, while simultaneously changing attitudes within the movement concerning women's capacities and skills, thus breaking some deeply rooted cultural taboos. When the status of women fighters was formalised, the range of attributes reserved for women in the struggle was expanded beyond activities in support of the guerrillas, thus generating a change in attitude.

Their existence within the formal structures of Frelimo provided greater visibility to the women who stood out in the process, and came to influence the philosophy of governance in the period following independence in 1975.

The socialist path followed by the newly independent state, reflected in political discourse on the emancipation of women and in the visibility of the OMM, consolidated the principle of equality between men and women. The first Constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique, drawn up in 1975, enshrined this equality in the eyes of the law, providing the principles that were to regulate the rights, duties and relations between men and women. This principle was taken up again and consolidated in the 1990 Constitution, particularly in Article 67 which declared "men and women shall be equal before the law in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life" (African European Institute, 1991: 31).

Graph 3:1 Women in parliament, 1999



Women's participation in the initial years of independence extended to all spaces of social intervention, notably:

- in literacy classes attended by hundreds of thousands of women;
- in free and compulsory access to school for all children;
- the first woman minister was appointed in 1976;
- 10% of members of the People's Assembly set up in 1979 were women;
- traditional practices such as bride-price or *lobolo*, and polygamy were discouraged in public discourse.

Constraints and ambiguities

Advances in promoting the human rights of Mozambican women were not free of contradictions and ambiguities. One of the most eloquent examples of these contradictions was the first Nationality Law, which gave women and men different access to Mozambican nationality. This may be regarded as the first sign revealing the fragile nature of the apparent equality.

Political discourse, at the same time as defending the emancipation of women, limited in its definitions and practices expectations concerning the contribution of women. Far from choosing a complete rupture with the patriarchal model, the social role of women continued to be structured around motherhood and domestic

work. The socialist political model adopted in 1977 combined the public participation of women on the one hand, with the maintenance of the dimensions of submission on the other.

The lyrics to the Mozambican women's anthem adopted by the OMM neatly captures the ambiguities of the ideology of the time when it declared women to be "the inseparable companion of the committed man... who feeds the fighters". This clearly suggested that behind the egalitarian discourse there still remained some hesitations soaked in the social constructions based on male domination.

The OMM became a forum where the contradictions between intentions and political practice were plain to see. On the one hand, the organisation defended women's rights to work, to education and to health, but on the other, it legitimised women's vocation for the domestic sphere, expressed, for example, in the enthusiastic promotion of cooking and needle-work courses, as the main activities for improving women's skills, particularly in the towns.

However, it would clearly be unjust to assess the OMM solely in terms of its inability to break with the patriarchal model and the tendency to shape itself as a subsidiary organisation of the political model that characterised the new era. The OMM was at the same time established as the first space for women's intervention outside of the family; it allowed women to express their longings and concerns and to articulate the visions and expectations in a space of their own, confronting a social model which still limited their social participation to their traditional roles in the domestic sphere.

For example, the OMM was the first body where women began a struggle against domestic violence, and gradually became aware of their capacity to become subjects of the country's history.

The first attempt to amend the clause in the Nationality Law mentioned earlier, so as to ensure equality of treatment between men and women, took place at an OMM national

conference in 1985, when a group of women proposed equal treatment with men in the case of marriage to foreigners. At the time, the proposal was rejected, but it had the merit of showing the determination of women to put to the test some discriminatory aspects of the legislation then in force. The situation was changed by the Constitution of 1990.

Examples of ambiguities and contradictions between intentions and political practice at various levels of social reality could also be found in other legal instruments. Although public policies rested on equality and equity, they excluded some fundamental rights of women, such as abortion, which continued to be punishable by law. Furthermore, a family planning policy was instituted within a tradition where women had to seek the consent of their male partner.

In the mid 1980s, the abandonment of economic policies based on collectivisation, the resurgence of armed conflict, and the implementation of a structural adjustment programme that marked the turn towards a market economy, led to important changes in people's lives. The decline in the role of the state in health and education, the shrinking of the formal labour market, the absence of incentives for peasant agriculture, the liberalization of the prices of basic goods, the displacement of the population¹, all contradicted official optimism spawned by the country's economic growth.

From the economic point of view, women's situation worsened. Redundancies in state companies² and the rising cost of living thrust women violently into the informal labour market, without any change in the social expectations as to their role and function. While, on the one hand, the new *modus operandi* allowed women direct access to more resources through their participation in the production of "visible" income, on the other, the distribution of these resources within the household and the taking of decisions on expenditure and savings remained linked to the patriarchal model, in

¹ In 1994, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees noted that 80% of those displaced by the war were women and children.

² According to estimates made by the main trade union, the Organisation of Mozambican Workers (OTM), the economic reforms have led to the retrenchment of 120,000 workers in the whole country.

BOX 3.3 ABORTION, A CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE

Maternal mortality is one of the main components in the mortality rate among women of child-bearing age. And some of this maternal mortality results from high levels of illegal abortion.

The penal code in force in Mozambique (drawn up in 1886) outlaws all forms of abortion. There is no exception even for therapeutic abortion. Thus the law subjects women who have abortions to jail terms of between 2 and 8 years: if the pregnancy resulted from rape, the jail term drops to between 3 days and 2 years.

But this law is contradicted by government practice. In 1987, the Ministry of Health authorised all categories of abortion under certain circumstances, without the law being repealed.

The legal aspect of abortion is just a small fragment in a vast world of contradictions, divergences and conflicts surrounding this subject and making it highly controversial.

In the countryside, where communities are more conservative and initiation rites are a very common practice, abortion is an inconceivable act and should a girl who has not been initiated become pregnant this is rejected, not only by the community, but also by the girl's relatives.

This encourages pregnant girls to avoid health centres: instead they resort to certain members of the same community to carry out "back-street" abortions, which frequently result in infections or hospitalisation. Back-street abortionists use a variety of practices, including certain traditional drinks or the insertion of sticks and wires into the neck of the uterus. There have also been several cases where the embarrassment of pregnancy leads the girl to commit suicide.

In urban communities, where people are relatively more liberal and adapt to change more easily, abortion is still regarded as taboo, and is only accepted by a minority of the population, although practiced by a large number of people within this same population.

which these were privileges of the head of the household.

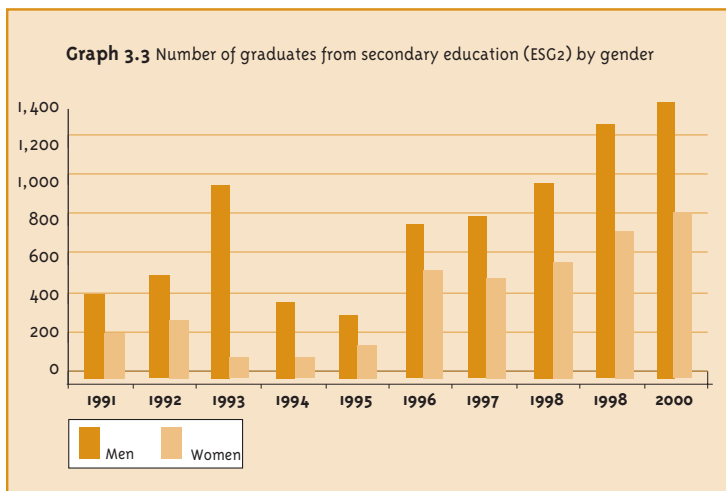
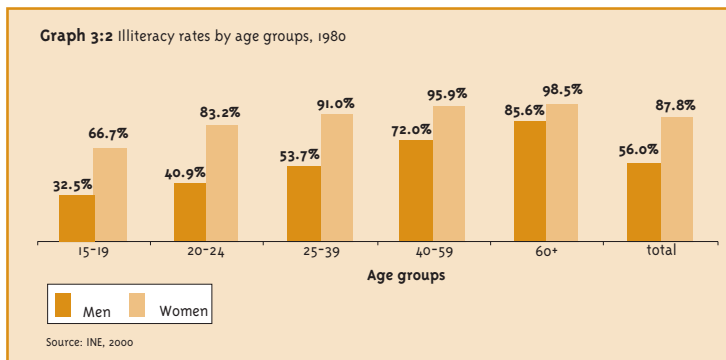
This situation unfolded at a time when, despite the progress made in the first years of independence, women, still found themselves in a precarious situation, a situation that also resulted from their marginalisation during the colonial period. The vital indicators show us that the life expectancy at birth of women in 1980 was about 40 years (compared with 37.4 years for men), girls were marrying relatively young (at 17.9 years, on average), they had high fertility levels (an average of 6.4 children during child-bearing age), and the majority of illiterates were women - the illiteracy rate was 87.8% among women, compared with 56% among men, and a national illiteracy rate of 72.8%. Graph 3.2 shows illiteracy levels by age groups in 1980.

Although illiteracy levels have dropped considerably in recent years, as a result of

government efforts in this direction, as mentioned in chapter 2, women's access to knowledge remains precarious.

The overall illiteracy rate in Mozambique has dropped from 60.5% (the figure found by the 1997 population census) to 56.7% (according to the household survey undertaken in 2000). However, the data show that the shortfall in access to knowledge is dropping more quickly among men than among women. The percentage of women who are unable to read or write in any language fell from 74.4% in 1997 to 71.2% in 2000, but the illiteracy rate among men fell from 44.6% to 40.2%.

The origin of these gender imbalances are the different school attendance rates. Thus, while the attendance figures are similar for girls and boys (32.5% and 37.4% respectively) among children aged 6 to 10, the gap in attendance figures has widened considerably by the time they reach the ages of 13 to 17 years. (INE, 2000).



Graph 3.3 shows the small number of women that graduate from the second cycle of secondary education in the country's publicly-owned schools (MESCT, 2000; MINED, 2001).

While these measurable variables allow us to quantify the differences in satisfying basic needs, women's possibilities of choice and access to opportunities are only revealed by the whole range of factors involved in how gender relations are constructed. Access to education cannot be viewed as an end in itself, since it is only worthwhile if it allows women to contest for opportunities on an equal footing, and to raise increasingly their standard of living and their influence in society.

The origin of the constraints

Empirical research undertaken in Mozambique in recent years shows well how the foundations of inequality, to some extent reflected in the poor achievement of women as measured by the GDI,

and the weak participation of women in the political and economic sphere measured by the GEM (see chapter 2 and the earlier section of this chapter), are to be found in the model of social organisation (WLSA: 2000, 2001).

Strangely enough, the structural differences between matrilineal societies, dominant in the north of the country, and the patrilineal societies of the south, or between rural and urban areas, do not significantly alter gender relations as relations of power, in which men take on a position of supremacy.

The construction of identities is guided by representation and practices which shape women's social role around a position of subordination. This means that discrimination against women has its roots in how women's labour is organised, divided and "classified or declassified", and in the way in which their choices are defined and limited, and dichotomies are established between value systems regarded as "essential" and "natural" for men and for women.

Discrimination built in private is eventually reflected in the enjoyment of human rights in the public sphere. Women's access to education is just one example. Access to the courts, together with the lack of knowledge that most women have of the law, are further examples. There are also constraints on transferring the solution of private conflicts to the public sphere.

The most notable example of this phenomenon is domestic violence, but the right to maintenance, and the cultural norms governing inheritance are also dealt with under standards that exclude the exercise of rights by women. The empirical research shows that, regardless of which part of the country they are in, women who are widowed never occupy a position higher than third place in the family hierarchy, after parents, sons and brothers. The systems which govern access to and control over land in the rural areas, and which are described in chapter 4 are an eloquent example of this reality.

Mozambican women's access to and occupation of the political arena is determined by family or group strategies which clash with the social expectations and with the roles traditionally reserved for women. It is no accident that some of the women who occupy positions of great responsibility in the public administration (traditionally classified as a male domain), had a long and hard battle to prove their competence, adopted and adapting to forms of organisation and hierarchy that are still deeply patriarchal, and which end up by limiting their effectiveness and capacity to intervene.

Despite the progressive changes, favourable to women's emancipation, that the political system introduced in 1975, the contemporary situation shows us that the model adopted did not fully break the cultural basis on which women's subordination rests. It is these relations

of appropriation and re-adjustment of the modern to the traditional which explains how cultural factors such as *lobolo* and polygamy, fought against vigorously as from 1975 when they were labelled as backward practices, were later recreated and renewed with new nuances. Using the argument of respect for tradition, practices have been justified which, in some cases, resulted in flagrantly trampling upon women's human rights. Faced with a broad movement that wished to infuse deep transformations in social relations, traditional practices did not undergo far-reaching changes, nor did they evaporate - they simply went underground to get round the discouragement contained in political discourses (Andrade, Osório and Trindade, 2000).

Reviving cultural practices in a context where tradition had been adjusted to new realities,

BOX 3.4 WHAT IS LOBOLO?

Lobolo is a traditional ceremony, equivalent to civil marriage, which involves the delivery of money and material or symbolic goods to the family of the bride in order to formalise the marriage in southern Mozambique.

The procedures followed during this ceremony vary from region to region, and with them vary the sums and goods transferred to the woman's family, but the basis of all of them is the payment of a compensation to the bride's family.

This ceremony thus represents the transfer of the woman from one family to another, and the creation of kinship links between them. From that moment on, the family of the groom, is committed to sustaining the woman who has been purchased. In exchange, this woman acquires the responsibility of looking after the children and her husband, as well as doing the domestic chores.

A woman who produces no children may be rejected, but children conceived by a woman for whom lobolo has been paid, but outside of wedlock, are regarded as her husband's. The children of a married woman for whom no lobolo has been paid are regarded as belonging to the woman's family.

The woman's fundamental duty is to reproduce. Sterility thus constitutes a motive for seeking divorce. In such a situation, the woman's family must return what was paid in lobolo. The importance of the woman's reproductive capacity is due in part to the man's need to prove his masculinity to the people surrounding him. Lack of children is often a motive for humiliation and stigmatisation.

Sometimes, both the number of children and the number of wives for whom he has paid lobolo is a standard for measuring a man's prosperity. A man with many wives is seen as a rich person, since only somebody rich could acquire them. All these women in themselves and also through their reproductive capacity represent an abundance of labour, indispensable for the agricultural work which sustains the household, apart from the role of women's subjugation and the constraints on women's ability to take decisions even in their private space. Lobolo is thus one of the factors that sustains the subordination of women.

Source: WLSA Mozambique, 1998: 49-50

worsened women's vulnerability. For example, it is difficult to see how a practice such as *lobolo* is expressed in a society which, over about 25 years, has evolved from tradition, passed through the benevolent socialist experience, and re-emerged in a market economy.

But it is not surprising that *lobolo* and polygamy have, under some circumstances, become removed from their primary function as links binding families together and guarantees of social balance, and have become transformed into practices that to some extent are shorn of their integrating role.

Nonetheless, the 1990s was a decade of great change. The introduction of political pluralism and the broadening of fundamental rights such as freedom of expression, of assembly and of the press, allowed women to win greater public space, differences of opinion to be tolerated, and more women to enjoy the possibility of choosing and deciding about their lives in greater freedom.

Several organisations representing women's interests have emerged in recent years, while women educators, jurists, peasants, journalists and academics are beginning to be able to express their desires and fight for their rights. In parliament, and in the government, and in the system of the administration of justice, women are beginning to play a more prominent role, and to affirm themselves as subjects of history.

Women and participation in economic and political life

Although there has been an effort, ever since independence, to encourage women's participation in economic and political life, it was in the 1990s that the presence of women in public decision-making arenas became more visible. Thus the percentage of women in the Assembly of the Republic grew to 29.4% in 1999, up from the 27.6% resulting from the first multiparty parliamentary elections held in 1994 (AWEPA 1995; INE 2000).

Although this is still relatively limited in relation to the proportion of women in the total population, the representation of women in Mozambique's top legislative body is, as

mentioned earlier, one of the highest, not only in southern Africa, but in the world. It very nearly fulfills the target set by SADC leaders in their 1997 Declaration on Gender and Development, to achieve a quota of 30% of parliamentary seats held by women by 2005.

The information in the tables 3.1 and 3.2 shows that:

- Women's participation in parliament is encouraging but still insufficient;
- Only 3% of the chairpersons of municipal assemblies are women, but the number of women in these assemblies amounts to 30.4% of their members;
- Women hold 9.2% of the decision-making posts in public administration.
- Not one of the country's 10 provincial governors is a woman.

This data clearly shows that, quite apart from the limited number of women who hold positions of responsibility in the legislature and in public administration, women do not occupy the topmost decision-making levels.

Equity would demand, for example, that about 30% of the chairpersons of the municipal assemblies should be women, which would mean that around 10 of these municipalities would be headed by women. Currently just one of the 33 local authorities has a woman as the chairperson of its assembly.

What is it, then, that explains this weak participation and the limited activity of women, and what implications do these factors have on women's development? These are the questions dealt with in the following section.

Discrimination starts at home, and does not respect age

When the differentiation of the social roles and functions of men and of women is analysed, two factors must be taken into account. One factor reminds us to the legal field of formal rights, to the existence of norms that formalise the equality of individuals before the law, but a second dimension leads us towards a differentiated tradition in the social construction of women's human rights.

TABLE 3.1 WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN LEGISLATIVE POWER (%), 1999

Decision making area	LOCAL AUTHORITY BODIES		ASSEMBLY OF THE REPUBLIC			
	1998		1994	1999	1994	1999
	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN		MEN	
Deputies			27.6	29.4	72.4	70.6
Chairpersons of municipal assemblies	3.0	97.0				
Members of municipal assemblies	30.4	69.6				

Source: INE (2000) Women and Men in Mozambique, Maputo, p.69, Table no. 8.1

Gender inequality should be seen, not merely in terms of the absence of women's rights, but in lack of access to rights; this should be understood not merely from the practical point of view of access, but from the mechanisms of socialisation that inform and structure social relations (Osório et al., 2000). Thus it is fundamental to bear in mind the impossibility of isolating women's participation in decision-making from the mechanisms of socialisation that shape the female identity around values and practices that limit their access to opportunities.

The family is the place, par excellence, where identities are constructed. The family is simultaneously a place of affection, and a place of learning. It is in the family that, for the first time, emotions take shape, and that the various generations express the values and the practices that regulate the relations between the different members, and between them and their social environment.

The family is not just a series of people linked by ties of blood. It is, essentially, a social body where the kinship relations that unite its members guide the way in which a hierarchy is organised, power is distributed and labour is divided.

What is the meaning then, of family in Mozambique? In our country can we today find a dominant form of family?

The political, economic and social changes that

Mozambique has undergone over the past 25 years have led to successive remakings of the social fabric, with evident impacts on the way families are set up.

While in the colonial period we could mention the prevalence of extended families, particularly in rural areas, with the country's independence, and later the armed conflict and the economic crisis, the situation has changed:

- The political objectives that guided the creation of communal villages as a model of collectivisation, stressing the economic and ideological needs of the regime, contributed to the break with some forms and rituals of traditional organisation.

TABLE 3.2 WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN ADMINISTRATIVE POWER

Decision making area	WOMEN	MEN	TOTAL
Ministers	14.3	85.7	100.0
Deputy ministers	29.4	70.6	100.0
Permanent secretaries	31.3	68.8	100.0
National directors	16.0	84.0	100.0
Deputy national directors	19.6	80.4	100.0
Provincial governors	0.0	100	100.0
Provincial directors	7.6	92.4	100.0
Deputy provincial directors	20.0	80.0	100.0
District directors	4.4	95.6	100.0
District administrators	4.7	95.3	100.0

Source: INE (2000) Women and Men in Mozambique, Maputo, p.70, Table no.8.2

- Discouraging factors of the social construct, such as lobolo and polygamy, and later marginalising them, depleted the union between individuals of their most consistent dimensions, that is, the rights and duties inherent to these rituals, and since nothing replaced them this led to social malfunctioning.
- The displacement of almost half of the population because of the war divided and nuclearised families, and led to the reconstitution of extended families in the city; but even before the spread of the war, and on a much more limited scale,

BOX 3.5 A PUGNACIOUS PROFESSIONAL

When Luisa Diogo was appointed to the powerful job of Minister of Planning and Finance, some people asked: What family does she belong to? Who is her husband? What position does she hold inside the Frelimo Party?

The tradition of seeing people, mainly women, being chosen because of their political allegiances or their family legacies, led many people to ask who was this woman who dared to compete with men in a country where men are still the dominant group in political and economic life.

In addition, said others, the economic difficulties facing the country, the situation of great poverty in which the majority of the population is mired, and the ambiguities of the political model, demanded a more muscular leadership, one capable of imposing "order" and "authority" on a sector so vital for the country. Some stated that this is men's business. The Finance Minister must work hard, must be intelligent, must know the ins and outs of politics, must keep calm... A woman would be easily deceived, they added.

But who really is this woman?

Luisa Diogo is 43 years old, she is married, and she has three children. She has a masters degree in economics from the University of London. Born in Tete province, Diogo was only 22 years old when she began working in the Planning and Finance Ministry.

Over the past 20 years, Diogo has been charged with jobs of great responsibility, and she has distinguished herself in leading negotiations with international bodies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and other multilateral organisations.

As one of few women in the world who plays a role in the extremely powerful sector of finance, she has been able to win the respect and admiration of most of the partners who negotiate with the Mozambican state.

Within Mozambique the voices of sceptics fell silent a long time ago. Today, when Luisa Diogo speaks and takes decisions, or when she is outside the country defending Mozambique's interests, Mozambican men and women know that this is a woman who brings them dignity and fights on their behalf.

For Mozambican women, and particularly for young women who are eager for success in their professional careers, who dream of participating actively in politics, and who wish to reconcile private life and political activity, Luisa Diogo has set an example to be followed.

"operation production", the coercive transfer of unemployed people to rural areas in 1983, also impacted on family structures.

- Clandestine emigration to the neighbouring countries helped break family ties, sometimes causing great tensions, ruptures and ambiguities in the families of origin.

Although, even today, the extended family predominates in rural areas, it is difficult for us to find there the same forms of occupation of space as in the past, from both the material and the symbolic viewpoints. Furthermore, one must also take into account the differences between the south, the north and the centre, where factors such as opposition to the socialist model of

organisation, the war and displacement of the population produced different effects.

In the cities, the trend towards nuclear families is contradicted by the need and moral obligation to provide shelter for relatives travelling from the countryside to study, to work or simply to live. The tensions between modernity and tradition obviously lead to the appearance of new values and practices which do not always live peacefully side by side.

Thus in analysing the social roles and functions of women and their status, we must take into account the plurality and complexity of the socialisation process, that are determinant in the construction of inequality between the sexes.

Empirical studies undertaken in various parts

of the country³ show, however, that there are common elements in the way that the identities of boys and girls are constructed and differentiated in Mozambique, and which have an effect on their future behaviour.

Social expectations towards new members of the family are determined in accordance with their sex and age.

What, for example, is desired for a girl?

- marriage
- motherhood
- knowing how to care for other family members
- tolerance and obedience.

How are girls educated?

- in domestic work
- in looking after their siblings
- through initiation rites.

Girls learn very early, as the norm, that the home is their destined place, and it is here that compliance with the rules that govern their role will be assessed and sanctioned. It is in the home where, in looking after their brothers and helping in routine domestic tasks, girls learn that motherhood is an end in itself, that work in the fields is part of the same identity, producing goods to support the family, and producing children to perpetuate the family.

The recognition of male difference is in fact the recognition of male superiority, through a different and appreciative representation of male values and practices. When they are children, boys begin, from an early age, through games and work, an apprenticeship in giving orders with obedience more or less guaranteed from women, and respect won by force, to sustain the family, and to be strong and intelligent. Just as with the girls, so boys' initiation rites ensure familiarisation with social expectations for the

future and their place as individuals within society.

Boys are given priority in access to school because of the roles envisaged for them. While the home is woman's domain, the public arena belongs "naturally" to men. Furthermore, socialisation determines that the school means different things for the two sexes: for boys, it is a place for acquiring knowledge and behaviour that will permit their integration into the world of work. For girls, the school is still the place you go to before getting married, and the knowledge picked up there should complement their primary functions which have been predetermined by socialisation.

This situation will not change for the better in the short term because of the negative image that many parents, particularly in rural areas, have of schools, because of the absence of schools within easy distance of some communities, because of the need for female labour in the homes, and because of the shortage of places in schools.

Initiation rites are the key moment in formalising the education that began in the family. The girl entering puberty learns obedience as a value and motherhood as the norm. She learns her place in the family hierarchy, and to distinguish between "good and bad conduct" in accordance with the cultural model. As in any society the effective acceptance of the norms and values transmitted in the socialisation process are all the greater when the girl herself learns them as certain, desirable and natural.

The division of labour in the house expresses women's role of reproducing daily life in the social structure - that is in guaranteeing, organising and undertaking the household's survival activities.

The logic of submission resulting from this cultural induction is expressed, after marriage, in the impossibility of the woman taking the role of head of the household⁴ *de facto* and *de jure*, and often it establishes the conditions for accepting violence in all its forms, and accepting the "particular" nature of men.⁵

³ WLSA (Women and Law in Southern Africa) has, over the past 13 years, researched the situation of women in central, southern and northern Mozambique.

⁴ The concept "head of the household" expresses joint access to goods and the power to take decisions about them. The presence of women in Mozambique's informal market has led to some deceptive conclusions about the alteration of power relations in the household. In fact, while negotiation strategies in the home have led to more control over some of the income obtained directly by the woman, on the other hands there has also been an increase in male violence and a worsening of women's living conditions.

⁵ In some parts of southern Mozambique, the male head of household is referred to in the local language as *munumuzama* (the chief), while a woman who lives alone with her children and manages to meet the family's needs is *xifuricati*, or "she who behaves well".

BOX 3.6 MARRIAGE AND WOMEN'S ECONOMIC RELATIONS: THE CASE OF THE MAKHUAS

A recent study on gender relations in Nampula province shows that the Makhuas are not a homogeneous group and that, although they are governed by a matrilinear system, Islamic influence has a significant impact on the application of traditional norms.

For a young urban male, skill in earning money involves experience in agriculture. But modern values push him into sexual experience before demonstrating his ability to earn money. Young urban women are very dependent on men because of their low educational level, and because of the age at which they start having children. Without specific skills which they can use, many women resort to sex as a survival strategy.

In the countryside, marriage is viewed as a mutual relation of economic exchange through which a woman agrees to bear children, take care of the household, and undertake agricultural labour, in exchange for financial support from her husband. This "contract", that is, marriage for mutual services, unites the two, since they are each interested in receiving what the other has to offer.

A Makhua woman is identified as such if she bears a child: a woman must be able to give life to another person in order to be considered an adult member of society. Women begin to bear children at a very tender age. Girls become sexually active when they are 12-13 years old, and half the women already have children by the time they are 16 (one in five children are born to mothers who are under 18). Early pregnancy and childbirth leave young urban women with few options to generate income, and this is made worse by the high level of illiteracy. The research by Horne suggests that almost half (47%) of the people sampled were illiterate against the average rate of 38% illiteracy among urban women. Horne's samples suggest, however, that because of the strong influence of initiation rites, Makhua women, regardless of their level of education, tend to experiment with their sexuality in order to prove their fertility at a very

young age, which contradicts the negative correlation between educational level and childbirth.

The major factor behind this great economic dependence is the subordinate role of Makhua women in economic production. Horne mentions that "power comes from two main sources: the ancestors and money". Women are very powerful spiritually because of their intimate relations with ancestral clans. Men are more powerful economically because of the control they exercise over income. While one series of relations may influence the other, the increase in household income needs to balance the ability to gain resources against the ability to invoke the ancestors.

The literature on Makhua women repeatedly states that they are not economically active because they depend on the income of their husbands. In the countryside, women are responsible for work in the fields, but have little decision-making power over what should be planted, when it should be harvested, and who should sell the crops. Although women are responsible for looking after the surplus, normally they have no rights over its sale.

Men do not readily share the economic domain. When women make advances in political and economic power, the marital relationship can be endangered, and the result can be divorce or separation. In any case, it is the woman who loses. Either she is subordinated to the man's domination, or she is left on her own to bring up her children herself. Horne concludes that unless the dominant cultural practices, particularly female initiation, are adapted to modern socio-economic norms, then women will remain at a disadvantage. The influence of the initiation rites, patrilinear and matrilinear customs, religion and economic modernisation create obstacles for women's economic emancipation, thus contributing to further impoverishing them.

Nancy Horne et al., 2000, "Market Based Research: Nampula Province",
Mozambique. Adapted by Fion de Vletter

Official statistics on who are the heads of household in Mozambique are worth some consideration. Although the figures show that, in purely numerical terms, there was an increase in households headed by women from 23.5% to 30.5% between 1980 and 1997 (INE, 2000), it cannot be affirmed categorically that this number really amounts to an increase in women's decision-making power in the household. This means that no change in social gender relations has been noted, since most of the women-headed households consist of just one person, or are single parent families.

In fact, the picture of households headed by women is no more than a statistical illusion, as Box 3.7 explains. Many of the households thus classified are simply households where the male head is absent, or where the younger males de facto take on the roles of heading the household. Inequality becomes more visible when it is noted that statistically, men head 69.5% of nuclear families, compared with 30.5% headed by women (INE, 2000).

When she marries, a woman must, before anything else reproduce as a mother. This is how she is socially accepted, recognised and sanctioned. A woman's identity is thus built by mechanisms of socialisation and normative bases that exclude her from functions of control.

These factors, underlying a cultural model that shapes women's rights around male-dominated guidance, are also present in other forms of discrimination, such as access to school. They also define how women accede to and occupy political space.

Research undertaken with municipal and parliamentary deputies, both women and men, has shown that it is usually men who recruit women into political life. In the same way, the distribution of places in decision-making processes takes into account the "essential" vocation of women to look after

BOX 3.7 REINATA: THE ARTIST OF "WEIRD FORMS"

In any discussion of Makonde ceramic art in Mozambique, the first name that springs to people's minds is that of Reinata Sadimba, one of the Mozambican ceramic artists with an enviable talent for transmitting the wealth of her feelings and her culture in the form of art.

Known as "the mother of weird forms" (of objects made out of clay), Reinata was born in a peasant family in 1945, in the village of Nimu, in Mueda district, in the northern province of Cabo Delgado. As part of her traditional education in the Makonde ethnic group, Reinata learnt to work in clay, making useful objects such as plates and pitchers.

In 1975, Reinata began a deep transformation in her ceramic work. She started to be well known in Cabo Delgado for the unusual characteristics of her pieces sculpted in clay.

Because of the war that affected the country shortly after independence, Reinata emigrated to Tanzania in 1980, where she stayed until 1992, the year of her breakthrough in the world of art. That year she held two individual exhibitions, one in Tanzania and the other in Maputo. In the following two years, 1993-1994, Reinata took part in individual and collective exhibitions, and in art workshops, in Maputo.

In her second venture abroad, in 1995 Reinata took part in the Johannesburg biennial, and in a collective exhibition in London. She also exhibited that year in Maputo.

Also in her display of creativity beyond the country's borders, in 1996 Reinata took part in a collective exhibition in Denmark. The following year she exhibited in Maputo and in Lisbon. In 1998, Reinata had both individual and collective exhibitions in Maputo.

Today it is difficult to imagine Mozambican ceramic art without the strange works imagined by Reinata, a woman whose academic level is insignificant - she cannot read or speak her country's official language (Portuguese) - when compared with her immeasurable artistic creativity. She speaks two languages fluently - Makonde and Swahili.

The diversity of the work created by Reinata includes objects that symbolise Mozambican cultural diversity - the love, the suffering, the joy and the traditions of the past that are preserved for future generations.

Her work is represented in the National Art Museum in Mozambique, and in Portugal's National Museum of Ethnography, in addition to the pieces that are to be found in countless private national and foreign collections. She is very well known in several countries in both Africa and Europe.

BOX 3.8 FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS: OPTION OR IMPOSITION?

In recent years there has been an increase in the number of households classified as headed by women. A natural tendency would be to associate this phenomenon with an increase in women's autonomy. But in fact most of these women are single mothers, widows, wives of emigrants, or have been abandoned. This suggests that these are women who have no choice. That is they did not decide to take on the leadership of the household - instead, it was the absence of a man able to play this role, that led them to perform these duties.

TABLE 3.3 DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SEX OF THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD, 1980 AND 1997

Year	Women	Men	Total
1980	23.5	76.5	100.0
1997	30.5	69.5	100.0

Source: INE, 2000

TABLE 3.4 DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY SEX OF THE HEAD OF THE HOUSEHOLD, AND BY RESIDENTIAL AREAS, 1997

Area	Women	Men	Total
Urban	28.5	71.5	100.0
Rural	31.2	68.8	100.0

Source: INE, 2000

When a woman heads a household, she frequently becomes its only breadwinner. But this does not free her from her domestic cores. As a result of the limitation imposed by the scarcity of resources and by the simultaneous execution of multiple tasks, these women face constant difficulties in accompanying the school life and moral education of their children, health care, and provision of food. These burdens are usually delegated to their older daughters who are often forced to abdicate from their own formal education in order to take care of younger brothers. Thus discrimination passes from generation to generation, creating a vicious circle that perpetuates the exclusion of women from development.

others, and sharpens the social control made by the group (Osório, Mejia et al, 2001).

The combination of discriminatory mechanisms of socialisation and the equitable intentions of the democratic system leads to a situation in which the increase in the number of women in decision-making positions goes alongside the absence of women from places where political decisions fundamentally involve individual decision, as is the case, theoretically, with the district administrators. Thus, participation in public life is constrained by a series of factors ranging from the social representation of the central roles that women should continue to play, to the fact that the model of political participation is being built while thinking in exclusive terms. The difficulty of combining a professional or political career with personal and family life limits women's expectations as regards their true possibilities in a world still built on competition and aggression.

But the continued presence of women in the political arena means that, despite the conflict, women's voices make themselves heard, as regards strategies for fighting poverty, or in the struggle against gender violence. Thus there is room for optimism. Every year more girls attend the various levels of education, and begin the progress toward a professional career, while an increasing number of women play leadership roles in political and economic life.

Gender violence is no accident

When we speak of violence against women, we are resorting to the definition adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1993. This considered violence to be "any act of violence based on gender which has as its real or possible result physical, sexual or psychological damage, including threats, coercion or the arbitrary deprivation of freedom, which takes place in

public or in private" (UNDP, 1995). This results from a series of factors which have emerged from women's struggle for equality.

The period 1975-1985, declared by the United Nations as the Decade of Women, made a definitive mark on the visibility of women's rights as human rights. The 1990s were marked by international events that denounced discrimination against women in general, and violence against women in particular.

Gender violence legitimates and is legitimised by gender inequality. It is simultaneously the cause and the result of unequal gender relations. Studies undertaken in the mid-1990s in countries such as Canada, the United States, Zambia and Sri Lanka show that, regardless of differences in the level of development, the majority of women who suffered physical violence, suffered it at the hands of their husbands, and they state that psychological, physical and sexual abuse is a common form to deal with conflicts between husband and wife.

Although varying with social reality, interna-

tional research has noted that violence runs through women's entire life cycle (Box 3.10).

The prevalence of sexual abuse against children and young girls has not diminished. The study we are citing shows that, in the United States, about 27% of women were subject to sexual abuse when they were younger than 18.

Discrimination against women as regards health care, education and food still occurs on a large scale in many parts of the world: in Bangladesh three times as many girls as boys are malnourished; in India two to three times more girls than boys die. Between 1985 and 1993, about 114 million girls suffered genital mutilation, mostly in Africa and Asia.

As for the social origin of the victims of violence, the research shows that although there is an association with poverty and unemployment, violence crosses all social groups, regardless of their level of education, of social and economic status (Bleichmar, 1998; Armstrong, 1998; Skold, 1998).

BOX 3.9 INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND WOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS

Name	Objectives	Date	Place
United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development	Human beings as agents of development	1992	Rio de Janeiro
World Conference on Human Rights	Human rights are components of development - discrimination against women should be eliminated	1993	Vienna
International Conference on Population and Development	Equality and equity between the sexes - people are the centre of development	1994	Cairo
World Summit on Social Development	The economy should be at the service of people's wellbeing - solidarity between developed and developing countries	1995	Copenhagen
Beijing Conference	Defence of women's human rights - against gender violence	1995	Beijing
Source: UNDP 1995			

Gender violence in Mozambique: shaping young attitudes

The effects of the cycle of gender violence have enormous implications for the development of countries. The combination of the absence of opportunities to gain access to resources (which is in itself a form of violence) and a model which relegates more than half the members of society to a subordinate role, shows just how far away humanity is from the ideal of balanced development.

There is a popular saying according to which cucumbers become twisted when they are small; meaning that these attitudes are shaped while children are still young. It seems that gender violence in Mozambique follows this saying, in its negative sense. Gender violence takes on a variety of forms which even the most exhaustive of lists could not fully cover:

- Even before they are born, boys are generally more desired than girls;
- As from childhood, girls must perform domestic chores;
- Girls are discriminated against in access to

- schools;
- Many girls are forced to marry prematurely;
- Since they are less educated, women have more unstable jobs and earn less than men;
- At work, many women are subjected to sexual harassment;
- At home, women are humiliated and insulted by their partners;
- Many women are frequently assaulted by their partners;
- Many girls and young women are raped by husbands, fathers, brothers and male neighbours;
- Many women and girls are still suffering from trauma caused by kidnap and rape during the civil war.

Qualitative research has shown that much of the violence against women in Mozambique derives from the mechanisms of primary socialisation (Loforte, 2000; Osório, 1997). Psychological violence is the first form of violence in the family. In childhood, girls are often subjected to heavy domestic labour: while her brother plays and studies, the sister fetches water, helps mother in the kitchen, and looks after the younger siblings.

If the material conditions of the family allow the girl to study, she must, even so, learn the routine of "water tank, stove, broom and hoe", not as additional skills with an intrinsic value of their own, but as the fundamental aptitudes for constructing her identity, and the norm of "good education". The shareout of tasks between boys and girls, even when it exists, always shows an unequal characterisation of the school and of housework, for example by defining tasks done in the home by boys as "help" and those done by girls as "duty".

BOX 3.10 TYPES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN THROUGHOUT THEIR LIVES

Phase	Type of violence
Before birth	Selective abortion depending on the sex of the foetus, beating during pregnancy, forced pregnancy (rape during war)
Infancy	Infanticide of girls, emotional and physical abuse, disparity in access to food and health care
Childhood	Genital mutilation, incest and sexual abuse, disparity in access to food and health care
Adolescence	Violence in dates with men and during courtship. Sexual practices imposed for economic motives, sexual abuse at the workplace
Maturity	Abuses against women by their intimate partners, violence in marriage, dowry-related abuses and murder, murder by their partners, psychological violence, sexual abuse in the workplace, sexual harassment, rape, abuse of disabled women
Old age	Abuses suffered by widows and the elderly (affecting mainly women)

Source: Heise L, 1994. Violence Against Women: The Hidden Health Burden. World Bank Working Paper

BOX 3.11 IDEAL FRAMEWORK OF EQUALITY BETWEEN THE SEXES

Area of life	Indicators
Bodily autonomy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal protection against violence based on sex • Control of sexuality • Control of reproduction
Autonomy within the family and the household	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freedom to marry and divorce • Right to custody of the children in cases of divorce • Power to take decisions and have access to goods within the household
Political power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decision-making at levels higher than the household (municipalities, trade unions, government, parliament) • Percentage of high-ranking executive posts held by women
Social resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to health • Access to education
Material resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to land • Access to housing • Access to credit
Employment and income	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distribution of paid and unpaid labour • Wage differences between men and women • Division of formal and informal labour
Time	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative access to leisure and to rest
Gender identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rigidity of the division of labour according to gender

Source: UNFPA (2000), *Common lives, separate worlds: Men and women in times of change*

Low self-esteem, fear of facing others, and flight from visibility are expressions of the psychological violence that girls experience from an early age.

In many parts of central and northern Mozambique, a significant percentage of girls drop out of school prematurely in order to marry, due to the economic hardships facing households. One of the factors pushing girls backward into this practice, which literally mortgages their future, is that the schools are also areas for violence against girls, not only because their school work is undervalued, but also because of sexual harassment and rape.

As a result, many girls become pregnant and drop out of school. It is in the north and centre of the country where most girls stop studying. In

1997, about 61.8% of girls left school before concluding first level primary education - that is, during the first five years of primary school. In the same year, only 39.2% of girls of school age in Sofala entered the system (Walker 1998).⁶

Early pregnancy is one of the most serious forms of violence against young women. An increased rate of pregnancy among adolescents outside of stable relationships has to do with a series of factors including poverty, the loss of reference points, the breakdown of the traditional model of education, and the absence of information on sexuality and reproduction.

Although premature pregnancy is a common phenomenon throughout the country, empirical research has shown that it is in urban areas and among recently urbanised families, that

⁶ The Ministry of Education Action Plan shows that because there are no disaggregated data for each province, there can be clear picture of the reality, since schools in urban areas have higher rates of female entry.

pregnancy among adolescents is most frequent. Many young girls become pregnant as a survival strategy, seeking, through marriage, to achieve the freedom and wellbeing that their families cannot provide. Furthermore, in families poised between traditional values and modernity, adolescent pregnancy is frequently associated with the attraction felt for the image of a successful woman in which physical appearance is the indicator (Osório, 1997).

Early pregnancy, apart from its consequences for the health of the young mother, always bears with it an added burden of violence. If the girl is attending school, she is forced to drop out. Yet if the marriage does not take place, she is subjected to constant recriminations and harder work, and she frequently falls into prostitution and relationships that do not give her back stability, respect and dignity in society.

This violence not only affects children and girls. When they are adult and married, many women are still subjected to very high levels of violence. The influence on women's behaviour of values which make them out to be inferior beings, lead women to accept male domination. Even when they have jobs and reasonable incomes, many women present themselves, and are presented in the first instance as mothers and wives. The multitude of activities to which they are subject and to which they subject their daughters reveals their conformity with the model that suppresses them.⁷

To the so-called "symbolic violence" that women suffer when they are held responsible for the harmony and "good environment" of the home is added physical and sexual violence. The physical violence is often regarded as natural both by the attacker and by his victims. Alcoholism, male unemployment, adultery, or even "badly cooked food" are the arguments most often used to justify physical violence against women.

The fact that women, because of the norms governing marriage, cannot refuse sexual relations, leads to sexual violence. Rather than

challenge the dominant model, many women are still obliged to have sexual relations against their will, and accept a string of pregnancies.

Medical consultations and legal assistance for women who have been the victims of violence suggest an increase in violence against women, which could mean a greater visibility of violence, or a real increase in violence within marriage. Research in recent years has shown not only a surge in violence, but also that most of the violence remains hidden (Osório, Andrade: 2000).

Women do not break the silence, first because they have been educated to accept "some violence" as a male right, as a sign of love, or as the fate arising from their dependence, and secondly because they fear the stigmatisation and shame that accompanies a divorced woman who is regarded as "defective" or incapable "of keeping a house and a husband". For these reasons, few women complain of the acts of violence practiced in the marital context. But even when they do complain to the courts, in most cases they are discouraged from formalising the case, both by their relatives, and by the agents of authority. Attendance to women who have been victims of violence is often guided by the same kind of values that regard gender violence as something "natural" to Mozambican culture.

Representative data on the prevalence of violence against women are rare in Mozambique, as a result of the incipient state of the institutions that advise women in this area. Maputo City is one of the few areas where this data collection is beginning to take place with some consistency, and the relevant information is beginning to be systematised. Data on women cared for (555) in 1996 and 1997 in Maputo Central Hospital under the Kulaya programme shows that 188 of the victims suffered domestic violence, others suffered sexual violence, and half of the attackers were boyfriends, husbands, neighbours or parents.

⁷ The statistics produced in Mozambique still do not take account of the number of hours of housework performed by women, which distorts the reality of women's labour.

The profile of the women attended to shows that about 70% were single mothers, with low levels of education, employed as domestic servants or vendors in the informal market (Kulaya, 1997). Data from the pathology department of Maputo Central Hospital show that about 32% of those analysed are women affected by violence (WHO, 2001). Table 3.5 shows, in the context of "All Against Violence" (TCV) ⁸, the number of cases of women victims of violence cared for between 1991 and 1999.

The struggle against gender violence

Based on the recommendations from the Beijing conference, six Mozambican non-governmental organisations have been participating, since 1996, in a joint programme, TCV, seeking to undertake research, advocacy and legal assistance and contribute towards drafting a law to punish domestic violence.

In Mozambique, women's organisations are tasked to lead the movement to oppose violence against women:

- by counselling and sponsoring women victims of violence;
- by mobilising women to break the silence;
- by encouraging projects that permit women to become economically independent;
- by encouraging communities to ensure that girls have access to school;
- by advising and pressuring the authorities to draw up a more punitive legal framework;
- by making civil society aware of the need to protect women's dignity.

Ratification by the Mozambican state of international conventions on protecting the rights of women also shows a political willingness to reduce gender violence. However, the integration into the Mozambican legal order of the international legal instruments should be complemented by some internal initiatives, including:

- Approve a Family Law that establishes equality of rights;
- Draft a law that makes domestic violence a public crime;
- Introduce into the penal code the crime of femicide;
- Draw up more rigorous procedures for punishing sexual harassment;
- Ensure rigorous compliance with the law that punishes sexual abuse of minors, particularly in schools;
- Establish the conditions for the Ministry of Health to take action to assist, support and ensure the social rehabilitation of women victims of violence.

TABLE 3.5 VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN, 1991-1999

Organisation	Cases attended to
KULAYA	1,395
OMM	747
AMME	428
AMMCJ	497
MULEIDE	755
Total for the period	3,822

Source: Maria José Arthur, 2000

Women's situation in legislation and politics

In 1996 Mozambique set up the Operative Group for the Advancement of Women, as a follow-up to the Platform of Action adopted in Beijing, with the objective of coordinating strategies and sector activities undertaken by state institutions, non-governmental organisations and the Eduardo Mondlane University. The formation of legislative proposals and programmes of action, and following and assessing the activities taken to promote women's equality are regarded as this body's main areas of intervention (Report from Mozambique, 2001).⁹

⁸ We refer to a programme against domestic violence, in which each one of the organisations involved carries out a component of the project.

⁹ Presented at the Regional Conference of Ministers for Gender and Development Affairs, held in Maputo in 2001. The Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Action drew up a balance sheet on the promotion of gender equality and equity in Mozambique, dealing in particular with the activities carried out by state institutions.

In recent years the activities of the Operative Group have faced difficulties, due to the inability of the state to provide resources for its programmes and the lack of a clear definition of gender policy. However, it should be stressed that the work undertaken by some of the organisations that are members of the Operative Group aimed fundamentally at publicising women's human rights, legal aid, and hospital assistance for the victims of violence.

The coordination of strategy and priorities for promoting gender equality by government sectors and more than 50 organisations working with and/or for women is still deficient. It is thus increasingly important to deepen the discussion among the sectors working on gender and development.

The absence of this debate could lead to lack of clarity on the objectives to be achieved. There could be lack of clarity also on whether the issue of women's human rights is just a question of creating more opportunities for access to resources, or whether "empowerment" means increased access to resources together with greater access to knowledge and to control of decision-making - which means not only participation in the political arena but above all the possibility of women taking decisions in all spheres of life, including sexuality and reproduction.

The core problem at present is that women's equality is being promoted in Mozambique without questioning the traditional model on which women's subordination rests. A revealing sign of this is the fact that the draft Family Law, still under popular debate, is being queried precisely by some in the leadership of the State on those fundamental aspects where inequality is structured - such as the eventual possibility of women becoming de jure heads of household, or the legal legitimacy of polygamy.¹⁰

Because of this situation, the activities undertaken by the state to promote women are sometimes out of line with a real recognition of the importance of gender for development.

¹⁰ Using arguments about "our cultural reality", people holding positions have responsibility in the state and in NGOs have come out in favour of including polygamous marriages in the future Family Law.

¹¹ The enrolment rate increased in the year 2000 by between 1.5 and 2%.

Pressure from donor institutions or individual political influence has been, to a certain extent, more effective in implementing gender programmes in Mozambique than the willingness to translate political intentions into state practice. Part of this reflection is the discussion generated by the creation in 1999 of the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Action, which revived the debate on whether women's situation is a sectoral issue or not. Furthermore, the justice of including in the same institution women, children and the elderly, as part of a series of vulnerabilities, is under question. This suggests a welfarist solution to the problem of inequality and the absence of a gender approach as a trans-sectoral question affected all areas, programmes and activities.

The government programme for 2000-2004, in defining the reduction in absolute poverty as the priority for the five-year period, stresses the need to increase the access of the public to basic services, particularly education.

From the information it has been possible to collect and systematise, and from the concrete actions carried out across the country, the education sector is the state body which has made most advances in developing an effective gender policy. With the central goals of ensuring that girls enter school and stay there, increasing the number of women teachers and school directors, revising the curricula and study plans, the Ministry of Education (MINED) has undertaken activities with families, schools and communities to make society aware of the need for girls to be educated, while at the same time providing incentives so that an increasing number of girls enjoy access to education.¹¹

In 1996, MINED set up a Gender Unit centrally and in the provincial directorates. In its action plan for integrating a gender perspective into the Education Strategic Plan 1997-2001, it laid down as priorities an increase in the number of girls entering and staying at school, and the deepening of questions concerned with information and planning from a gender approach.

BOX 3.12 GENDER POLITICS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

After the Beijing conference, many UN member states took as a strategy the furtherance of women's equality and equity. Participation in the area of power, promotion of incentives to increase women's access to resources, and the fight against gender violence are the main areas of intervention.

As for Africa, the drafting of the Additional Protocol To the African Charter on Human and People's Rights, concerning women's rights in Africa, in 1995, stands out. This had the central objective of specifying the condition of women on the continent, thus allowing improvement in women's knowledge of and access to human rights.

The SADC member countries signed a Declaration on Gender and Development in 1997. In Mauritius, in 1998, this was followed by the Addendum on the Prevention and Eradication of Violence against Women and Children. In the same year, a Gender Unit was set up within the SADC Secretariat. In 1999, SADC recommended that its member countries should enshrine gender equality in their constitutions, should ensure the legal removal of all provisions that violate women's human rights, and adopt a quota policy in areas linked to decision-making.

Mozambique set up the Operative Group*, in order to assess and identify the main components of intervention in 1997. This group has not functioned properly for lack of resources, and the absence of a clear definition of the content and responsibility of its activities. In most SADC states, the information most used is qualitative, given the absence of statistics disaggregated by sex.

The priority objectives and actions for the organisation are the promotion of women's access to sources of funding, increased access of women to power (by guaranteeing that in 2005 around 30% of those who take decisions in the secretariat shall be women), institutional capacity-building, the formation of networks, and the drafting and implementation of national action plans which deal with the fight against violence in an integrated manner. Curiously, only Namibia has ratified the Optional Protocol to the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), while Swaziland has not even acceded to the Protocol.

* The Operative Group consists of representatives of state sectors and NGOs.

However, the initial assessment of compliance with the activities envisaged in the 1997-2001 Strategic Plan showed that the increase in girls' attendance advocated, was not reached. Between 1995 and 2000, participation by girls in first level primary education increased only marginally, reaching 42.09%, while in second level primary education it declined to 39.7%. There was a similar trend in enrolment in the two levels of general secondary education, with figures that were way below the targets laid down in the Strategic Plan (COMPETE, 2001).

It should be mentioned that most of the provincial reports, in keeping with the logic of reproducing the traditional roles of girls, state that sewing, needlework and cookery are important areas for the promotion of girls.

The sector policy for health notes as the main constraint on institutional work the absence to date of a formal national policy on gender to facilitate incorporating, monitoring and assessing the sector policies on this matter (Ministry of Health, 2001: 26). The existing

information is most inadequate and is not systematised. ¶This is why Health sets out strategies that are excessively generalised, imprecise and vague for the next five years, giving as priority areas the increase in knowledge of the access of women to health care, community education, institutional capacity building, and publicising reproductive health rights.

These differences between the sector policies for health and education to some extent reveal the ambiguities of the government programme's approach towards increasing gender equity and equality. While in education, the intention to increase women's access to schooling and training is clearly defined, in health the programme expresses improvements in women's situation in a more general and technical context.

Thus, on one hand, women are regarded as part of the most vulnerable population, like children and the disabled, and on the other, the targets for the sector prioritise mother and child care and medical assistance to mothers. This vision of "promoting

women" neglects, for example, the levels of violence against women, and the need to draw up a wide-ranging policy of concrete and systematic support for the victims of violence, in hospital care, and in the free exercise of sexuality and reproduction.

If we look at the other components that form the field of social development, there is further evidence of many weaknesses as regards a coherent strategy for the advancement of women. In the labour sector, for instance, the creation of self-employment for women is the only component mentioned in the plan. There is no reference – in contrast to what is said about the emigrant population - of the protection of women and work, and increasing the capacity of trade unions. Although there are no systematic records about the situation of working women, it is known that labour legislation is continually trampled upon, particularly in the promotion of women at work, in sackings without just cause, and in sexual harassment.

There are other areas, such as the case of culture and sport, in which women are either not mentioned or are mentioned together with the disabled. This may mean that there are fields of sector intervention which are regarded as exclusively male, in de facto contradiction to the principle of equity declared by the government. This question takes on greater importance because of the importance of cultural constraints in preserving social stereotypes about the role and status of women. This contrasts with the fact that it is women who have most distinguished themselves in international sports competition - as shown by the cases of the athlete Maria de Lurdes Mutola and, more recently, the victory of the Mozambican Academic Association's women's team in the African Basketball championship.

Legal reform

The government's programme for the protection of legality and the administration of justice, regarded by women's organisations as

fundamental for defending women's rights, is amiss as regards improved access to rights by women. It may be inferred that the activities and targets prioritised for the sector include both women and men. However, the research undertaken by WLSA in recent years has amply shown that women have less access to the courts, and that the administration of justice is discriminatory. Laws that do not promote equality are still enforced, and legislation to discourage violence is still lacking (as in the case of the failure to raise domestic violence to the category of a public crime).

Furthermore, the Family Law, which is an important instrument in the struggle for equality, may, because of the way in which it is formulated, lead to some women's rights being made dependent on "cultural reality" – that is, women may continue not to be considered heads of households, polygamous marriages would be legitimised, and the de facto unions (equivalent to common law marriages) will still have no legal existence (Government Programme 2000-2004, 2000: 95).

The law must be analysed taking into account the transformations that have occurred since independence in which attempts were made, through the creation of the people's tribunals to bring the administration of justice closer to people. Apart from this formalising of bodies to mediate and arbitrate in conflicts, through elected structures integrated in the communities, other areas for conflict resolution such as the Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM) and the neighbourhood Dynamising Groups, were informally accepted.

At the same times as the access of men and women to justice was made more flexible, the traditional forms of mediation were, in the revolutionary context, made illegitimate. This illegitimacy extended to the traditional norms that governed social relations in Mozambican peasant societies.

Despite restrictions on the application of the norm, it may be considered that in the period between 1975 up to the late 1980s, women had the possibility and used it abundantly to seek solution for their problems (mostly marital and

BOX 3.13 THE LAURELS OF A GOLDEN GIRL

Maria de Lurdes Mutola is, without doubt, the fifth symbol of Mozambique after the head of state, national flag, anthem and currency. Through her victories in international competitions, she has helped to popularize the anthem and the flag abroad, and helped to put Mozambique on the map of the world.

The girl who, at the age of 14, was taken away from playing football in a boys' team in a poor suburb of Maputo, could hardly have found a more symbolic occasion when, on 25 September 2000, she crowned her brilliant career by winning the title that she and Mozambicans had always desired - that of Olympic champion. That date marked the 36th anniversary of the launching of the armed struggle on 25 September 1964, when men and women took up arms to fight against Portuguese colonialism, a struggle that culminated in the independence of Mozambique in 1975. This was the first Olympic gold medal for the country, the product of a woman's dedication. It is not surprising that the Minister for Women's Affairs and Social Action, Virgilia Matabele, should have claimed Mutola's win as a special feat for Mozambican women.

The trajectory of Mozambique's only Olympic champion was not easy. In the Olympic Games at Seoul in 1988, Barcelona in 1992, and Atlanta in 1996, she had to live with the frustration of not finishing first in her chosen discipline.

Although the Olympic title continued to elude her, Mutola provided moments of joy for Mozambicans. Apart from winning at various international meets, she became World Champion at Stuttgart, Germany, in 1993; and won the gold medal at the Commonwealth Games in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, in 1998. In 1999, she won the silver medal at the

World Games in Seville, Spain; a bronze medal in Athens, Greece, in 1997; and she was in fourth position in Tokyo in 1991 - all in her specialty of the 800 metres. Mutola took the world championship on the covered track in 1999 in Lisbon, and also won the title of Champion of the Goodwill Games in Brisbane, Australia; not to mention the national records that she set earlier in Mozambique in the 200, 800, 1500 and 3,000 metres.

However, the laurels of this golden girl were missing something without the Olympic achievement, which happened in 2000. In 2001, she regained the title of World Champion at Edmonton, Canada.

What makes Mutola a case apart, is that she has always remained loyal to her country, maintaining her Mozambican nationality, although she has been living in the United States since 1991, and she has never been short of enticing offers, if she would change her nationality. Recently, she registered the Lurdes Mutola Foundation in her home country, an institution which, in her own words, is intended to stimulate a self-help movement "capable of uniting efforts and channelling them towards identifying and promoting new talents in the sporting, social and economic areas". Lurdes Mutola is that example of a successful athlete who has not abandoned her Mozambican identity, and associates herself with the country's development efforts.

At home, there was always plenty of moral recognition, but the material prize took a long time to arrive. When she won Olympic gold in 2000 the government offered her a house in one of the most luxurious parts of the capital and a vehicle, while Maputo City Council has given the athlete's name to one of the city streets.

BOX 3.14 ADULTERY IN THE PENAL CODE: A CASE OF DOUBLE STANDARDS

One of the most eloquent examples of the backward and discriminatory nature of laws still in force in Mozambique, but inherited from the colonial period, are the different provisions for adultery, when committed by a man, or by a woman, under the Portuguese Penal code of 1886.

...When adultery is committed by the women, the penalty envisaged under the penal code is a prison term of between two and eight years; but when it is practiced by the husband, the crime is punishable by a fine...

This is made worse by the provisions of article 372 of the Penal Code which state that if a husband finds his wife committing adultery, and then kills her or the other man, or both of them, or inflicts upon them any of a series of listed injuries, then his punishment will be deportation for six months from his home district. If he inflicts lesser injuries on the adulterous pair, then he will suffer no penalty at all.

The same provisions apply to a wife, who, under the same

circumstances, kills "the concubine maintained by the husband in the marital home".

One aspect worthy of note here is that the law specifically exempts the man of any responsibility for adultery, if it occurs outside the home. The law states that, for adultery to be an offence, it must be a regular relationship and must occur "in the conjugal home". In other words, if the act occurs outside the home, and with a woman who is not "kept or maintained", if it is not a regular relationship, then the adultery is not an offence.

But if a married woman should commit any act of infidelity, regardless of the circumstances, then under the terms of this law she can be declared an adulteress and sentenced.

This section of the Penal Code is obviously unconstitutional. However, in a country where knowledge of the laws is limited, one cannot exclude the possibility that it may be used to arbitrate in marital conflicts.

Edited version from WLSA Mozambique 1998: 154-155

work problems) in bodies that were implanted in their own communities. Up to the end of the 1980s this helped to increase visibly women's access to justice.

But the change in political and social orientation at the start of the 1990s, notably the extinction of the people's tribunals, ensured that access to justice had to be exclusively through the formal justice system: this became the sole legitimate location for the arbitration of conflicts.

Furthermore, the body of law has not been essentially changed since independence, so that in many fields of law Mozambique is still governed by legal provisions drawn up over a century ago, some of which have a markedly anti-egalitarian nature and are in contradiction with the principles enshrined in the 1990 Constitution (Box 3.14).

It should also be borne in mind that although only the formal system of the administration of justice is recognised as legitimate in Mozambique, the traditional norms based on women's subordination still influence the maintenance of unequal gender relations for the vast majority. For example, although the provision under which a Mozambican woman who married a foreigner automatically lost her nationality has been eliminated, the 1990 Constitution maintains inequality between women and men. Article 21 of the new Constitution contains a discriminatory principle concerning the acquisition of Mozambican nationality by foreigners who marry Mozambicans. It only expressly allows the acquisition of Mozambican nationality for a foreign woman who has married a Mozambican man, and the same principle is not applied to foreign men who

have married Mozambican women.

The second half of the 1990s was marked by a series of initiatives in the legal domain seeking to replace very old laws, and create new legal provisions. In particular, the establishment in 1997 of the Legal Reform Commission should be noted, which drew up the draft Family Law and started to revise the Penal code.

Since the Penal Code is guided by a male-dominant model there are several articles that demonstrate male superiority, such as the fact that a husband may bring a lawsuit against the express will of his wife.

The absence of a Law on Violence against Women that would criminalise domestic violence not only guarantees impunity to those who commit such violence, but is made worse by the trend to regard physical and psychological violence against women as something "natural" in Mozambican society.

The legal provisions concerning murder within marriage also form a part of the false picture of the social equality between men and women and of the neutrality of the law. Recent research has shown that crimes committed against women by their husbands or partners, are on a much vaster scale than crimes committed by women against their husbands. When a woman does commit a crime against her partner, this has almost always been preceded by systematic, prolonged and continual violence against the woman - but in determining punishment, this fact is not regarded as a mitigating circumstance (Osório, Andrade, 2000).

Access to land in rural areas is one of the most illuminating elements in gender relations in the traditional context. Since land is the main asset for overcoming the basic needs of the majority of the Mozambican population, the way in which land is granted, controlled and inherited is one of the most important foundations for socialisation, which influences the choices of various social groups. Studying this issue is complex, but fascinating, since it is the best entry point into traditions which can help us understand the way in which these mould and are moulded by social constructs that determine the place and the role of men and women in society. Five systems have been chosen which, by and large, govern land tenure and allocation in Mozambique, although it is recognised that there are variations on these systems, determined by specific cultural practices in different geographical areas.

The 1997 Land Law brings some comparative advantages to the household sector, particularly for women, who, as citizens in full possession of their rights, are given some control over land as a resource. However, neither women nor men are yet benefitting from these advantages, partly due to lack of information and knowledge about their rights, and partly because administrative and judicial practices are still far from incorporating the norms and dynamics that the Land Law attempts to encourage.

When the new law determined that land tenure rights are acquired by occupation by individuals and by local communities according to customary norms and practices, it had to include an exception - namely that norms and practices are only accepted if they do not contradict the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique. Why this exception? Because in most cases customary norms and rights express gender relations that are contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Constitution which proclaims equality between men and women.

BOX 4.1 LAND AND RURAL HOUSEHOLDS: SOME DEFINITIONS

Land is understood in this work as the series of natural resources of the soil, combining productive land, habitable land, water, forests and wildlife. For the purposes of this chapter, the right of access is understood as a series of norms that regulates anything from permission to cross land to the possibility of using land as collateral for social reproduction.

Possession, or tenure, carries implicitly the economic role played by the use of land as a factor of production, a resource, a social agent, and a source of income. It implies the possibility of transmitting it to third parties through concession, alienation, sale, inheritance, mortgage or rent. Finally, control means the taking of decisions on what can be done with the land, including its preservation, so that its per capita usefulness does not decline when passed on from one generation to the next.

A rural household is understood to be the smallest unit of production, consumption and distribution among local communities. In turn, the rural community is a series of households which establish among themselves economic, social and judicial relations with the aim of minimising the risks of their social reproduction.

We prefer to call the person at the head of a rural community a community chief rather than a "regulo" or traditional chief, or even local authority - because the "regulo" does not always enjoy institutional legitimacy, nor are the chiefs always particularly traditional. And the authority of those who really are in charge is not always recognised by the state. The ideal would be to use the name in each of the local languages, but Mozambique's great linguistic diversity would make it difficult to read and follow the text, if we adopted that solution.

Analysis of the relations between rural women and factors of production can be undertaken from the point of view of access to, possession of, and control over land, as an essential and often determinant factor in the gender relations that develop within the household, and have repercussions on social organisation.

We have selected as the descriptive functions of the systems the access to land by men and women through inheritance and marriage, the transaction of land rights through sale or rent, and the position of women as daughters, nieces, wives and aunts. Since women are not isolated in their households, whether these take the form of nuclear or of extended families, one must also make reference to the rural communities of which they are part and, obviously, to society at large.

The five customary systems discussed in this chapter are:

- preferential marriage
- entrusted territories
- stability of core descendants
- three generation security
- group dependency.

System of preferential marriage

Of the five customary systems presented here, that of preferential marriage is the one that has undergone most changes over time and in geographical area. This system is dominant in the areas where lineage power is inherited via the maternal line, and exercised by the males who have kinship links with the stem of this line. Mozambique is one of the few places in the world where it is still possible to study the matrilineal system.

Forms of access to, possession of and control over land have changed over the years. Among the factors that have most influenced these changes, the following stand out:

- the exercise of power at the level of chieftainships and lineages as from the 19th century;

- the gradual sale of grain and oilseed surpluses for the market;
 - production of the industrial crops of cotton and tobacco (as from 1940), and
 - the harvesting of cashew nuts for industrial processing as from 1960.
- The main vehicles for the successive forms of adaptation to change were:
- the gradual adoption of patrilocal or virilocal marriage (in which the woman goes to live in the residential area of her husband), instead of matrilineal marriage (where the man goes to live in his wife's residential area), or even a switch to living in neutral territory;
 - the gradual autonomy of lineage segments, formed by four generations of a gene line, in relation to the maternal lineage and its territory;
 - the fragmentation of the rule of the community chief of several lineages into smaller units corresponding to the matrilineal lines, with the exclusion of the "scattered lands" of the husbands (dispersed or concentrated areas of cashew, cotton or tobacco managed directly by the husbands).

Although a certain trend can be noted over the decades, it would be imprudent to state that this is expressed in a homogenous way across the territory whenever there are identical conditions. There is no evidence that allows us to conclude that we are witnessing a series of historical phases the result of which, in the final instance, may be the passage from a matrilineal to a patrilineal system. All that the research has allowed us to know is that the customary system of preferential marriage has been adapting to outside factors brought by history, without going into rupture, and without acquiring a uniform pattern of change, although it presents common characteristics in the territorial area under study.

A basic characteristic of the matrilineal kinship system is that it allows both matrilineal and patrilocal marriages. For as long as there have been historical records, the ruling lineage and all those who have links of affinity with it

may opt for patrilocal marriage. During the 20th century, the number of those who could adopt the patrilocal form grew continually, and the privileges granted to chiefs expanded with the monetarisation of the economy, the increase in population density, the proximity of urban centres and also, for some academics, with the adoption of Islam.

The choice of where the married couple should live is not a simple problem of psychological supremacy over the place moved from: it is particularly the place of domicile that determines the place of marriage of the children (inside or outside) and, as such, the transmission of property rights and of authority.

Recent case studies show that marriage on land under the husband's control is increasingly frequent. This is more common when the inheritance system for trees and land follows the paternal line. Also noted was the existence of latent and permanent tensions and friction between the children's father and the mother's brother over the place of residence of the bride; and between the old and the young, with the former using related women to whom they grant management of the land, and arrange marriages at the time of the initiation rites as a way of having in their territorial space the people they find most convenient. From the unfolding of these frictions the authority and prestige of the chief and of the *piamwene* (the chief's sister or her eldest daughter), who guard the integrity and cohesion of the group, are emerging more or less strengthened.¹

When the marriage is patrilocal, the land is granted to the man, at the point of marriage, by the head of the lineage segment. In her own community the woman has access to and uses the forms of customary property in the lands of the matrilinear line. Upon her marriage, the woman goes to her husband's village, where access to, control over and possession of land are dependent upon him and his father or

maternal uncle. For this reason, divorce and widowhood (when not followed by a second marriage with one of the relatives of the deceased husband) are motives for ending the rights acquired by the woman on her husband's land, and for sending her back to her mother's land, an eloquent example of how choices are limited by a tradition based only on the matrimonial option taken by the widow.

In the case of matrilocal marriage, the woman, apart from the guaranteed right of access by birth, uses the forms of customary joint property in the lands of the matrilinear line. However, control over the use of resources - what to produce and how to preserve resources - is exercised by the maternal uncle, upon whom falls the responsibility of the matrilinear line. On his death, this responsibility is transmitted to the oldest son of the first-born daughter of his mother. In the event of the woman's death, another with the same clan name replaces the deceased, taking on her status, husband and land.

The territory is occupied solely by the women of the matrilinear line, that is, those who have the same clan name. In this way female "crossed cousins" on the mother's side, and both "crossed" and "parallel" female cousins on the father's side, are excluded. "Parallel" cousins are the children of one's mother's sisters, and of one's father's brothers, while "crossed" cousins are the children of one's mother's brothers, and of one's father's sisters.

Prior to the exploitation of cash crops, or in areas where these are not grown on any great scale, the man had to work on the "land of the mother-in-law" for two or three agricultural campaigns, in order to prove his dedication to his chosen woman, and his maturity for bringing up a family. When this time was over, he asked for land from the woman's family, within its territory, or for a piece of "scattered land" in the chief's territory, but outside the

¹ The dilution of the authority of the community chief in favour of strengthening that of the chief of the lineage segment is accompanied by the individualisation of the nuclear family in relation to its lineage segment. When the spatial distributions at the beginning of the 20th century, in mid-century, and now are compared, it is noted that the territorial units are smaller, that the chiefs of lineage segments have taken to calling themselves community chiefs, and that the matrilinear barns have ceased to exist, and have been replaced by barns belonging to the lineage segment.

woman's family lands, and he moved there with his wife. There could be and still may be various reasons for requesting land from the chief, but the most common are lack of space in the woman's territory, incompatibility with the mother-in-law, and desire to have his own home and piece of land.

When it comes to land granted by the chief, the wife's maternal uncle has no power to decide what can be produced there. Control over the land by the uncle is only valid in the matrilinear territory. In the "scattered land" it is the husband's responsibility. However, the rights acquired over the "scattered land" that has been granted to him are limited in that the land remains the property of the host community. This rule is also applied as regards the land in his matrilinear area of origin, and the land granted by its chief to the husbands of his sisters. Thus the man who weds matrilocally indirectly assumes the function of the maternal uncle of his nieces, with limitations, in his quality as a husband in the chieftainship of the woman, should the chief have granted him some "scattered land".

With the spread of cotton and tobacco cultivation, and the increase in the seasonal migration of male labour, there were demands for heavier and more regular pre-nuptial services on "the land of the mother-in-law", which helped step up family tensions, weakened the social roles of the chief, and of his sister or eldest daughter, and led to growing instability in marriages. The man took total control over the "scattered land", using it for cash crops, while food crops were grown on the woman's land.

The man who marries matrilocally transmits to his first born son control over the "scattered land". The son thus comes to experience a double subordination: on the one hand he is subordinate to his father, from whom he receives rights to control land, and on the other, he is subordinate to his maternal uncle with whom he shares the same clan name.

This dual subordination has been solved through the preferential marriage between crossed cousins. The man, in his capacity as

father of his male children and uncle of his nieces, prefers them to marry each other so that his descendants will have his name. Thus the grandchildren have the same clan name as their grandfather, and father, and maintain, by force of inheritance, control over the land and the trees.

This system of preferential marriage, in order to ensure control over the land, is being consolidated, and took on new characteristics with the generalisation of the purchase of cashew nuts for industrial processing. It has come to take place not only between crossed cousins, but also with the maternal granddaughter of the first wife. Customary rights throughout the country decree that the cashew trees are individual property. With cashew trees there is an increased trend for control over land to join hands with ownership of the land where the trees are found.

Although customary rights do not allow the alienation of land, and only give priority to the owner of the trees to gain access to them, with the passage of time, the owner of trees in the "scattered land" has come to exercise loan rights and even, in exceptional circumstances, the right to sell the land to third parties. With cashew, just as happened with coconut palms along the coast, there has been a transfer of rights over the tree to rights over the land, which introduces profound changes into customary land rights. The rights of alienation and exchange have joined the rights of fruition and transmission.

Obviously these changes were reflected in women's ever greater dependence on men for access to land. In the 1990s, generalised poverty contributed to the appearance of landless people in some coastal areas. This particularly affected the women of poor households. It was not lack of land which led to poverty, rather it was poverty which created the landless.

The situation of the landless is not absolute: they are "without land" when the areas of the nuclear family are lying fallow, or are marginal areas with very low levels of productivity. In accordance with the system's internal logic,

they ought to resort to land belonging to their matrilineal line. But that does not happen, either because the land is already entirely occupied by older people (matrilocal marriage), or because the woman went to live with her husband (patrilocal marriage).

Land is rented from those who have “scattered” or individual land - the land of the matrilineal line cannot be rented. Goods such as silver necklaces, gold rings and others are pawned to “people’s bankers”. The money is given to the landowner, and then returned (after deducting the interest agreed, depending on the period and the amount required), with the delivery of part of the harvest. Some people mortgage their own land which is lying fallow, as a guarantee of recovering the money lent to them. The debt never expires, and there are cases of the total transfer of land to the pawnbrokers.

System of entrusted territories

The system of entrusted territories may be found where the pre-colonial kingdoms and empires ruled the land and the people up to the end of the 19th century.

In this system, when a man marries, his family has to pay *lobolo* (bride price) to the woman’s family. *Lobolo* is not only the guarantee of the transfer of potential children from one territorial space to another, but is also the public expression that the family which receives the woman guarantees her access to land for housing and agriculture.

The family receiving the woman allocates land to the couple in its spatial housing, production and consumption unit, better known as *muti*.² Apart from a spatial unit, it is also a social organism with a well-defined structure whereby the rural household is regulated by customary laws accepted by all.

Part of the structure is dependence on the community chief for adjudicating the right to

use the necessary land. At the time of the marriage, if the “house” chief has no more land to allocate, resort should be made to the village chief. If he too cannot find land for the young couple, then he should contact the “*cabo de terra*” to know if there is a possibility of access to virgin land, or if land can be loaned. If even then the problem cannot be solved, then the community chief is contacted. In the final analysis, it is up to him to choose between allocating common land, contacting neighbouring community chiefs, or asking the administration for more land for his community.

Until the 19th century the territories that are now under state control were governed by the land chief, the supreme authority at territorial level, who was empowered to declare war in the event that other peoples tried to occupy the land. The power of the community chief was strengthened with the growth in the number of his “subjects”, and he exercised it through a monopoly on the allocation of new land, and the judicial role he enjoyed in a situation of conflict. We are thus facing a system of territories earmarked hierarchically from the higher level to the lower, a system where the notion of state territory is clearly implanted, a system where it is not occupation that determines the space of jurisdiction, but the jurisdiction that decides on access to land.

It is believed that any improper or illegal occupation may be punished by the spirits of the ancestors of the legitimate “owners” of the land in question. Apart from that, the offender is subject to social ostracism, and excluded from participating in the safety and mutual obligation networks that are established through marriage and inheritance. Thus there is tacit recognition, on the part of all those who are unable or do not wish to break with structural dependencies, of the customary forms of granting land tenure.

This is why *lobolo* plays a key role in the

² The *muti* consists of an interlinked series of elements such as limits, houses, kitchens, corrals, shady areas, sacred places, bathrooms, and spaces for access to water, firewood and other resources. Its growth and spatial distribution are thought out according to a cosmological code, which takes into particular account the sun and the moon and their movements, and circular cycles, marking and organising the horizon by reference points - the cardinal points.

land allocation system. It is the maximum expression of mutual obligations between allied lineages - in other words, it is a guarantee against the risks of reproduction that the family faces generation after generation.

Until the mid-20th century, and it still happens sporadically today, it was common practice that, alongside lobolo went the possibility of marrying the bride's younger sister. This habit fell into disuse with advancing urbanisation. But it is still common to find forms of polygamy among the richer strata, the purpose of which is to expand the social security networks, and strengthen the husband's food security by opening a field only for him, which is worked by all his wives, under the leadership of his first wife.

If a living man may marry his wife's sister, his death is accompanied by the practice of "levirate", that is, the marriage of the widow to the dead man's oldest brother; she continues to have all the rights and duties of "the spouse of the family". Access to land was thus conditioned by use, in accordance with what was decided by the family that received the woman. Over time, and possibly because the available land has been shrinking, the levirate has been falling into disuse - the widow now needs special authorisation to remain on the land of the family that took her in. This authorisation could be revoked after several years, if the family of her late husband so wished; this situation usually happened when her children reached adulthood. Under these circumstances, security in the woman's access to land was greater the more children she had, and the older her husband.

On the husband's death, the land is inherited exclusively by the males in the family. The women, by force of the system of kinship alliances, are excluded as a function of their insertion into the receiving family by marriage. Control over the family land, as well as over the goods and obligations of the dead man, is under the custody and responsibility of his oldest son. But he in no way acquires property rights, and may not sell or grant the land, even temporarily, without consulting his uncles and

male cousins. It is based on this golden rule that the household ensures the stability of its assets, using all kinds of threats related with spirits and witchcraft as a preventive measure.

Another preventive measure consists in purification rituals after the death of the previous "owner". The purpose of these rituals is to ensure the "proper" use of the land in accordance with household interests and reproduction. Purification is a temporary cleansing of "evil" spirits, which may return at any moment if the rules laid down are broken. Purification rites are among the symbolic moments concerned with access to and preservation of resources, whose origins are lost in the mists of time. On them depends the present and future of the family land.

Nowadays it is increasingly common for widows to be accorded the same lowly status as women whose husbands divorce them because of adultery, sterility, bad behaviour or accusations of witchcraft - that is, the widow is expelled from the lands of her husband's family and sent back to her original family. But whenever there is a shortage of land, her original family is reluctant to take back a widow or divorced woman kicked off her husband's land - since she has not been counted among those who should have access to the family land.

These cases of discrimination against women are more common among couples where lobolo had a merely symbolic role. Whenever the practice of expulsion by both families takes root, married women find themselves in a weak position in their daily relations with their husbands, since they have no security of access to land, if they have to return to their original homes.

One form of access to land is the loan. A household that has land which is neither being used, nor lying fallow, may lend it to another household or individual. The loan is subject to several rules, the most important of which is the temporary, almost "emergency" character, of the transmission of rights to use the land, and the ban on planting trees. This ban is due to the temporary character of the concession of

household land to a neighbour with whom alliance via marriage has now been forged.

Recently, in areas where the demand is greatest, cases of renting land are beginning to occur ever more frequently, and the norms for these are not very different from those that govern land loans. The contractual relation involving payment brings little or no benefit to the occupier, he has no security of tenure and no prospect of remaining there. The way of controlling the rent rules is through use contracts per agricultural campaign that are non-renewable.

The system of entrusted territories is based on a series of assumptions. Altering any one of them leads to altering rights, and in some case to the system breaking down. Among the assumptions are:

- the availability of “virgin” land when ever population increase requires it;
- the availability of territories that the *regulo* can re-allocate;
- fluidity in the establishment of lineage alliances via marriage (*lobolo*);
- women’s rights to access to land via marriage, via the practice of a man marrying his wife’s sister, via the levirate, via the temporary grant of use rights (loan and rent), or by authorisation that may be revoked.

Whenever any of these assumptions is altered, the flexibility of the system is tested - it may incorporate the change, or it may break down. Incorporating change happened when the development of forms of marriage was expressed in the relative decline in the value of *lobolo*, and in the gradual disappearance of the levirate and of men marrying their wives’ younger sisters. In this case, the system allowed the “woman without a husband” to remain on the territory of her late husband’s family or of her original family. But the system began to break down when, after independence, *lobolo* was discouraged or when, after the signing of the General Peace Agreement in 1992, the exponential increase in the demand for land by third parties provoked a relative shortage of land.

System of stability of core descendants

This system is found among peoples where coconut plantations have, for a long time, formed the basis of the household economy. It is unique in Mozambique, since it is the only system that allows women to receive and inherit land.

When a man dies, his inheritance should be shared out among one or more wives and children. The land and property of the widow are not subject to a share-out, and neither are the land and trees inherited from the father.

The first stage in the division concerns the payment of any debts owed by the dead man. During the ceremony for the shareout, the creditors demand the repayment of loans contracted by the deceased. Should there be debts, which are not generally well accepted by society, moveable property is sold off to liquidate them. If this does not provide sufficient to cover the debts, then part of the landed property is sold, preferably coconut trees. The amount of the debts can never exceed the value of the total, personal property.

Nowadays, the only legitimate heirs are the sons and daughters, with no discrimination between them. The trend is increasingly to regard them as having equal rights. After the sale of movable property, each one receives the same amount of money, the same number of coconut palms, and an identical parcel of irrigated land, where, among other crops, rice is produced.

Inheritance is characterised by the fact that the widow does not possess inheritance rights, and by the total and equitable division of the inheritance between the first generation descendants. The marriage gives no access to property rights over the husband’s land, but transfers these from the father to his descendants.

Division of the inheritance means that goods and property rights are shared out and granted to the first generation descendants, and there is nothing left over and no “reserve fund”, for the grandchildren, i.e. this is a system based on two generations, or a system of stability of core descendants.

But there is another characteristic that should be stressed. When the daughter receives coconut

trees and land of her late father, she becomes their effective owner. Just as there is no access to property rights in the direction wife-husband, so there are no property rights in the other direction, husband-wife - that is, the husband has no access to the goods inherited by his spouse. This implies that when the mother dies, she also leaves an inheritance to be distributed.

In general the procedures concerning the division of the maternal inheritance are very similar to those for the paternal one. There is a total shareout of the personal goods and property of the deceased, in an equitable manner, between all her sons and daughters.

The peculiar aspect of this is the transfer of property between individuals with different clan names. Although marriage does not give access to property rights in the wife-husband direction, this phenomenon does occur in the second generation in the direction husband-wife.

Due to the relative scarcity of land in the areas in question, rural households have in their inheritance the most important means for access to land. However, inheritance is not the only way to acquire land, and generally the land inherited is not sufficient for reproduction of the nuclear family. With the exception of the richest individuals in the community, who over generations have been able to accumulate land that has neither been confiscated or expropriated, the great majority of recently married couples do not inherit enough land to undertake agricultural activities.

With increased demand, cases of land loans have also increased. The loan is subject to some norms, the application of which is controlled by the chiefs. In their absence, the community chief is called upon to solve the problem. The two families are invited by the chief to lend land to the young couple, and no form of payment is demanded for its temporary use. The young couple are allowed to eat the fruit of the trees growing on this plot of land, such as coconuts, but are firmly forbidden to sell them. Both on land given by the father and on land loaned, the couple have the duty to

seek additional plots, as soon as their first son is born.

There are two other ways of transmitting land: renting and buying land and trees. At the beginning of the 20th century, some people rented part of their coconut plantations for the production of alcoholic drinks based on palm tree sap - *sura*. The agreement for this was intended exclusively for the production of *sura*, and the tenant was not allowed to collect coconuts or plant between the trees. But renting was not common. When somebody wanted to use a plot of land for a limited period, it was enough to request from the owner use of an abandoned plot.

But nowadays renting land for agriculture, particularly for growing rice, is normal. The contract is annual and payment can be in cash or in kind. The maximum period of rent for the same household is four years, because of the nature of the soil and the average time needed to buy or inherit land. Resort to renting land is a temporary alternative, and purchasing the title definitively is preferred.

The alienation of land is complicated. The first norm of customary law is that no one is allowed to alienate all their land. The second determines that the act of alienation should be observed by the chiefs of the lineages involved and by the community chief, in their capacity as witnesses who can confirm the assessment of the plot of land, and the very act of transmission.

The third rule concerns the reasons for alienation. The main reasons are payment of debts, and the requirement for money for medical treatment, or for payment of something else, so long as it is well defined and justified.

None of the brothers of the same mother may alienate "the family's land" without the permission of the others because "nobody may bury a stranger in our land". However, for sale to take place, the opinion of the woman has greater weight than that of the brothers. If there is a sister who disagrees with the transfer of the property to an outsider, then the inherited land may not be alienated. The justification is that

“she has no security in the house where she married, and may wish to return to the home after some time”. On the other hand, if she wishes to sell the inherited land she may do so without needing the agreement of the brothers. But they have right of preference, which frequently happens.

It is the poor who most frequently sell their inherited lands. In the act of sale, the rules must be strictly applied, and the reasons must be carefully analysed by the local authorities as well as by the buyer and seller. For example, the payment of brideprice should never be a reason for alienating land.

The father has a crucial role in this system. From him the children acquire their clan and lineage names which sanction the rights and duties of the father towards his sons and daughters.³ At the moment of marriage, there are three relevant obligations with economic consequences, first the responsibility for paying *lobolo*, secondly the responsibility for allocating land when the bride arrives, and thirdly the search for a new plot when she is pregnant.

The social reproduction strategy is simple, and the access to land as well as security of tenure for the core descendants is in first place. Stability is based on the transfer of wealth between lineages via inheritance. Thus the woman is not a potential spouse to be transferred, but an effective daughter who inherits from the father and mother and transmits to her sons and daughters. The mother represents the union of different origins of wealth which is materialised through the descendants.

System of three generation security

On the banks of the Zambezi there are people who speak the *chiPhodzo* language and who practice an inheritance system based on three generations. They are patrilinear, marriage is patrilocal, and links of matrimonial kinship are as a rule exogamous, i.e. the son of the daughter (grandson) receives the clan name³ from his paternal grandfather and not his

BOX 4.2 CUSTOMARY MARRIAGE: MOMENTS, NUANCES, MEANING AND IMPLICATIONS

The Phodzo customary rights do not allow marriage between two people with the same clan name (*muthopo*), in the belief that “the child will fall ill and die”. But certain exceptions are possible under the condition that the marriage takes place between individuals with different surnames. These are exceptions, and there is no indication of a clear tendency towards the extinction of clan exogamy in favour of family exogamy.

There are six basic stages for marriage, or for realising the guarantees demanded by the bride’s lineage for her future economic security. **The first** act is the announcement of the intent to marry, “*mafungura mulome*” (literally “open the mouth”), when the girl is authorised to speak with the boy. **The second** stage occurs with the recognition of the courtship by the families of both, at a ceremony called *lumbato* or *lupato*.

The third moment is the placing of the ring, *pethe*, when the main payment is made, equivalent to three months of a male wage. **Stage four** concerns the agreement for the marriage: the boy’s father presents him to the bride’s family and shows them the plot of land where the couple will have their house and field, in a ceremony called *machanguzo*. **The fifth** stage is when the bride leaves her parents’ home. And the final stage occurs a year after the “wedding”, when the couple receives from the husband’s father their own *mathua*, their own plot of land for agriculture.

maternal grandfather. Probably there are other rural peoples or communities in Mozambique who have an identical customary system, since it is an ingenious way of dealing with social reproduction in moments of land scarcity.

When a man dies, his land is not transferred to his widow or to the community but remains the responsibility of the oldest son. The transfer of rights and duties occurs at a ceremony, known as *kufa*, where the extended family participates. If the oldest child of the deceased is a girl, she cannot take responsibility for administering the land inherited by the descendants. Later, when the oldest son dies, the responsibility for administering the land and the trees is transferred to his oldest

³ There is a certain trend to weaken the use of the clan name in favour of the lineage names.

son, that is, to the oldest grandson of the old man who has died. Under these circumstances, the oldest grandson cannot take decisions about the land without the prior consent of his paternal uncles.

If for any reason the oldest son is unable to take care of his father's land, the latter's brother (the paternal uncle) takes the responsibility until the lineage elders designate which son should take on the role of head of the family. The economic security of the woman until she is widowed, or that of her descendants, is generally not the responsibility of the partners of her clan, but the partners with her husband's clan name. This institution is guaranteed through the rituals associated with matrimony.

The son charged with managing the property has two main responsibilities: first, market the fruit (coconuts, for example) every year, followed by the equitable division of the income among all the brothers; secondly, it is his task to distribute plots of "the old man's" land to his younger brothers, and to the sons and nephews at the point of their marriages.

The oldest son is not allowed to plant fruit trees on his late father's land. The benefits from his father's land revert in his favour while he is temporarily cultivating it. However, the revenue from the annual sale of coconuts, bananas and mangos, when the trees were planted by his father, should be shared by everyone.

The division among the legitimate heirs is on an equal basis, but only the sons are regarded as genuine heirs. In the event of any conflict arising from the division of monetary income, the oldest brothers are called upon to solve the dispute. If they are unable to do so, then the uncles must take the final decision. Only when the brother refuses to share the money or has spent it all, is the community chief called upon to intervene. In order to prevent such conflicts, the brothers usually opt to sell their father's trees.

The family and the community consider the distribution of the "old man's land by his descendants at the time of marriage as the most

important function of inheritance. The allocation system is simple. Suppose that an old man dies and none of his sons are married. When one of them marries, the wife comes to the territory of her husband's lineage. At this point, the oldest brother gives him a plot from the father's land. This plot becomes his property and nobody can claim rights over inherited property.

However, it is unusual for the father to die before his sons marry. The situation then becomes more complex. An old man dies leaving sons and grandsons. The oldest son takes responsibility for the father's land. The sisters of the oldest son have already left the lineage because of exogamous marriage, but the sons of their uncles are still there, marrying and demanding land. According to the customary law of this system, these plots of land should be obtained from the grandfather's original land. This means that each man should have enough land for himself and for allocation after his death to grandsons with the same clan name.

Allocation of the land directly to one son only happens when the grandfather's land, for any reason, has already been fully distributed. This situation is in fact increasingly frequent. Various causes may contribute to this - for example, during his life the grandfather may not have been able to acquire greater amounts of land or, more usually, the grandfather's land may have been expropriated in favour of third parties or the state. Faced with these historical constraints, the trend has grown for each man to have enough land for himself, for his grandson of the same clan name, and any of his sons who may not have received any of their grandfather's land. This is the three generations system, where the risks of the descendants tend to be minimised by the two previous generations.

The administration of the father's land and its distribution among the descendants is a relevant aspect at community level. The rights of the oldest son over the land are numerous and unlimited. If a younger brother needs a mango tree from his father's land in order to build a canoe, he is entirely dependent on the

permission of his elder brother. If the latter is not in agreement, there is no appeal to any higher instance. But the oldest son may decide to cut down all the trees without having to consult or request permission from either his brothers or his uncle.

However, the land itself cannot be sold. Should this happen, his brothers and uncles have the right to invoke a curse against the offender. While the usurpation of annual income is a matter to be treated by the chief, the unauthorized sale of land falls within the sphere of the witchdoctor, the *kumbaissa*. In other words, such an infraction is sufficient to invoke fear of the death penalty, such are the persuasion mechanisms of this custom, since “the grandsons will have to eat from this land”.

At the moment of marriage, men have access to land through inheritance, and during their marital life through acquisition or other forms of transaction. Due to the number of family members covered by the three generations security scheme, and because of land constraints imposed by the presence of companies and of small and medium commercial farmers, the inherited plot is generally small, and of low yield. However, it plays a significant role in the matrimonial alliances established, not only because it guarantees the place of residence during the initial years of marriage (until the first birth), but also because it is a guarantee given by the groom’s lineage to the bride’s family.

In the event that none of the grandfather’s land remains, the bridegroom’s father has the duty to look for some land from neighbouring families. Should there be land available in the community’s territory, the groom’s father may request a plot, and under particular conditions and witnessed agreements, he may even request it in the territory of another community. However, since it is increasingly difficult to find available land anywhere, the alternatives became buying a plot of land or renting it for a year. Asking for a loan of land has ceased to be a viable alternative.

The impossibility of loans has nothing to do with customary laws. When there was

sufficient land, it was normal to ask for land loans and rent was the exception. Today, however, it is the other way round. Customary law allows the occupation of a plot that is not being used, as long as permission is given by the family that owns it. Should fruit trees stand on the land in question, the user may not harvest the fruit, but he is allowed to consume any windfalls, and even to plant new trees. If the owner or his family asks for the land back, they must pay for the trees planted and any other improvements made.

The norm on the use of land but not of trees is related to the norm on renting. Since this practice is recent, it gives rise to various interpretations, discrepancies, and even conflicts in the event of alienation. Long before the practice of renting, at the time when land loans were common, the sale of fruit trees and adjacent land was part of the economic transactions of rural households in this system. It was clear that land without fruit trees could not be sold. Only certain trees have a market value - coconut palms and mango trees. Others, such as banana and paw-paw trees, do not. On being sold, they brought with them ownership of all other fruit trees that were on that plot. The sales price does not take some aspects into consideration - such as whether the associated plots are extensive or not, whether they are irrigated, whether they are appropriate for ploughing, or whether they are exhausted.

Nowadays, when land shortage is a reality, the question of sale value is not so simple. Although it is firmly agreed that land in itself, i.e. “land for grain”, cannot be alienated, it is also accepted that when the plot of land associated with trees is larger, is near a river, and is fertile, then the value of the trees rises in accordance with the demand.

On the one hand the system is intended to provide security in access to land for three generations, but on the other, as demand increases, so does the value of land, calling into question the social reproduction of the community.

It is to face this situation that normally the brothers opt to sell their father’s trees, and do

not allow the planting of new trees in the lands they inherited.

The local institutions have thus circumvented the problem of trees, but not the temptation to sell the land itself. In the territories where land has a market value, the solution to this problem consists of two rules: first, land may not be sold if there are no trees on it; second, there is a consensual restriction on the sale of trees/land between individuals with the same clan name. The transfer of land between individuals of the same clan demands the presence of the community chiefs and the consent of the guardians of both lineages. It is thus very unlikely that they would allow sale in circumstances that pose risks for future generations.

Should these mechanisms for preserving the system fail to function, then women's security in access to land, guaranteed by the complex marriage ceremonial, is severely affected. So far no case has been recorded in which this has happened. The generalisation of the purchase and sale of lands for reasons exogenous to the communities which follow this system could constitute a serious threat to the security that women have enjoyed in access to land.

System of group dependency

The kinship terminology of the people who speak the *cisena gombe* language, in central Mozambique, reflects the economic structure of rural households. For this people, there are three main levels of kinship reference: that of the grandparents, the ancestors of the father and mother, the level of the self, and that of the children. Despite differences identifiable through forms of treatment, the kinship terminology is based on generations.

The terminology used to identify relatives corresponds to relationships between members of the extended family, and is reflected in the administration of territory and in the forms of land allocation. Although this system has been identified in a specific part of the country, in the central region, it is likely that identical systems operate in regions with similar charac-

teristics - poor soils, low productivity, low population density, and on the periphery of a great empire that collapsed around the 15th century.

The households live in a large common territory, and receive land for their fields directly from the community chief. Among the extended families social and economic relations are established that do not take place between nuclear families. The head of the extended family, who is the guardian of the lineage, recognises only the authority of the community chief, who is responsible for the security and reproduction of the various lineages.

However, the nuclear family has its own economic identity and its own residential area. It must produce sufficient income to cover consumption costs, contribute to the lineages with which it maintains relations of affinity, and comply with its duties to the extended family.

When the head of the nuclear family dies, he leaves a widow or widows and children, but the only legitimate heir is his oldest brother. If for any reason he is incapacitated, the legal substitute will be the first son of the brother or his own first son. Only movable goods are inherited. Immobile property such as land, trees or the house must revert to the community, while the family of the deceased only hold property rights to the fruits and trees which belonged to their relative.

According to customary law, the movable property may not be used by members of the extended family, under pain of sacrilege or death, known as *chocolo*.

But there are two ways of transferring movable property to members of the extended family without risking *chocolo*: first, the owner may donate them before his death; secondly, they may be converted into money.

The first form obeys no specific rules, although preference may be given to members of the extended family, particularly to the oldest remaining brother or to his first-born son. The beneficiary then becomes the legitimate owner of the goods donated on condition that he only has access to those

goods after the death of the donor, and takes on the duty of looking after the donor's children. It is thus a form of credit reimbursed after death. In the same way that the provision should be in favour of the descendants, also the debts of the deceased, for which there is no testament, are assumed by the legal substitute.

The second form consists of converting the goods of the donor into money, or even through financial speculation (in cash or in livestock), during the life of the beneficiary, as a way of guaranteeing the future of the descendants, and the reproduction of the extended family at the level of the territorial group.

Personal goods, such as clothes and utensils, are sold under the watchful eye of the master of the funeral ceremonies. Part of the revenue is used for the funeral expenses, for food and drink during the mourning period, and the rest, including the deceased's savings, is entrusted to the legal substitute. The legitimate heir thus becomes responsible for the allocation of the money, and for the use of the goods by the minors and by the widow, whom he marries (levirate). The land, trees, and houses revert to the community, under the responsibility of the community chief.

The land under the jurisdiction of the community chiefs forms part of the ancestral territory. It belongs to the spirits of the ancestors of the clan name, of each extended family. The mythological spirits of the clan are those who "appropriate the land", and the only ones empowered "to make it rain". The rain ceremonies, *ntsembe*, are held by the heads of the extended family who live in the same area.

The community chief allocates land by extended family. The chief has the duty to control the land used by the nuclear families under his responsibility. Due to the practice of returning the plot of land belonging to the nuclear family after the death of the head of the family, one notes a gradual rotation of land among the extended families who live in the same area of the community chief. In the past, field rotation corresponded to the biological cycle of human life. Over the past 50 years, the gradual impoverishment of the soils has implied

two-yearly rotation of the plots of land within the area allocated to the extended family.

To sum up:

- 1 At the point of marriage the nuclear family receives, through the head of the extended family, a new plot of land in the territory of the community chief;
- 2 The new parcel of land received by the nuclear family becomes part of the area belonging to the extended family;
- 3 Every two years the nuclear families, who live in the area belonging to the extended family, exchange plots of land among themselves;
- 4 In the event of the death of the head of the nuclear family, the land in use is incorporated into the area of the community chief;
- 5 Later, this plot of land is allocated to recently married individuals from another extended family, but
- 6 If there are fruit trees on this plot they belong in perpetuity to the descendants of their first user.

If a particular family does not possess plots available for the two yearly rotation mentioned in (3) above, it is frequent to ask for land loans from another extended family. The temporary transfer is supervised by the community chief, who also takes on judicial responsibilities in the event of conflict.

Under no circumstances can a plot of land be rented or sold. Only the trees can be sold. In this system, land has no market value, since access, possession and control are dependent on the group dynamic. Although frequent, the loan of plots of land is regarded as an exception imposed by the relative scarcity of land in the region.

The engine of the group dynamic which stimulates interdependency lies in the circulation of women through marriage. Among the peoples who follow this system there is no clan exogamy, and the ban on marriage only applies

to members of the extended family with the same surname. Furthermore, preferential marriages between crossed cousins are arranged, and marriages with the sisters of the first wife are common.

A woman's security in access to land is not based on being a daughter or a wife, but as an aunt resident in the father's house. The first daughter, even if she changes her residence on marriage, is the person mainly responsible for the education of her nephews, the sons of her brother. The mother is only responsible for the education of the children until they can feed and clothe themselves without needing help (six or seven years old). Thenceforth, the educational responsibility is transferred to the community, through the tutorship of the husband's sister.

The practice of marrying several sisters also establishes a complex network of interdependency. While the work of the first wife belongs entirely to the family of the husband, his second and third wives contribute only to the running costs of the husband's house. Income acquired through marketing surplus or other productive activities is generally transferred to the father's house, and belongs to the family that "supplies" the wives. In the event of the husband's death, only the first wife is inherited by the husband's brother. The second and third wives are free to return to the paternal home and to remarry. Should the heir be the first-born, the first wife receives the title of mother-widow, and her sister (the second wife of the deceased), becomes the wife of the legal substitute.

Freedom to participate in politics and in the taking of decisions that affect social organisation, the elimination of violence based on sex, the repeal of discriminatory legislation, as well as the establishment of conditions for people to live with dignity, discussed earlier, are important aspects in the promotion of balanced development based on the principle of justice for all. However, the pursuit of rules for a social life based on equality and liberty is only complete when people have access to income that guarantees a decent standard of living.

The majority of the Mozambican population live under conditions of extreme deprivation, both when measured in terms of consumption, and when measured so as to cover other basic elements of development such as access to education that broadens people's horizons and helps them make informed choices, to health care that broadens people's chances of living longer lives, and to essential goods such as clean drinking water and other services that improve the quality of people's lives.

The cultural factors, enshrined in formal law and in customary rules, which underlie the subordinate status of women in society, and weaken their development were dealt with in Chapters 3 and 4. This chapter describes important aspects of women's condition, particularly in such basic dimensions as access to education and health, generating and controlling income, and survival strategies, including women's participation in the labour market in urban areas.

Access to basic services

The level of access to education is one of the primordial indicators for the promotion of human development in the long term. As the NHDR2000 mentioned, education influences the way in which people make their choices and their capacity to enjoy their rights. Education gives them the skills to adopt more

productive methods, to be innovative, and to make use of opportunities, which in turn enable them to live longer lives, and enables them to influence social organisation, by making informed choices about their lives (UNDP, 2000).

Exclusion, represented by disparities in literacy and school attendance between men and women in Mozambique is partly the combined result of the meagre supply of school places, and the way in which society regards the education of girls. At a young age, girls are expected to make their contribution to routine domestic activities, such as looking after their siblings, preparing meals, fetching water and fuel, and participating in family production in the countryside. These are imperatives of their socialisation.

Formal education does not occupy a prominent place on the scale of priorities of social life. This factor, together with tough living conditions and traditional practices, often pushes girls into premature marriages which remove them from school earlier than would otherwise be the case, thus imperilling their future. Poor households are unable to keep all their children at school - regardless of the availability of places, they give priority to the boys at the expense of the girls, because early on the latter are bearing responsibilities in the sustenance of the household.

The situation becomes worse under conditions of a limited supply of places in the school system which limits young people's access to education. In general, primary schools are relatively more accessible than secondary ones. The data from QUIBB-2000/2001 show that nationally 63,4% of households said they had access to primary education, but only 10.5% said they had access to secondary education.

However, this aggregate measure hides abysmal differences in levels of access between rural and urban areas. Access to primary school in the rural areas is 57.1%,

TABLE 5.1 GROSS AND NET SCHOOL ATTENDANCE RATES BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND BY SEX (%)

Sex	1st level primary (EP1)			2nd level primary (EP2)		
	Net	Gross	Satisfied	Net	Gross	Satisfied
Male	52.6	110.7	39.3	6.9	69.8	59.5
Female	48.6	90.9	40.8	5.0	50.0	58.2
National total	50.5	100.6	40.0	6.0	60.2	59.0

Source: INE, 2001

while in the urban areas it is 81.6%. At secondary level, the urban-rural imbalance is still sharper: less than 2% of rural households have access to secondary education for their children - a very large difference from the situation in towns, where 34.1% of households have access.

Table 5.1 shows the educational situation from the point of view of access and level of satisfaction expressed by the beneficiary population. The net figure shows the percentage of potential students of the age group 6-10 years who are actually in school. As may be noted, the gross school attendance rate for First Level Primary Education (EP1) is higher than 100%, reflecting the presence of a large number of people who are older than the ideal limit age for concluding the cycle with success, that is, older than 10, especially among the boys. Furthermore, the table shows us that there are more males, in both gross and net terms, in both EP1 and EP2.

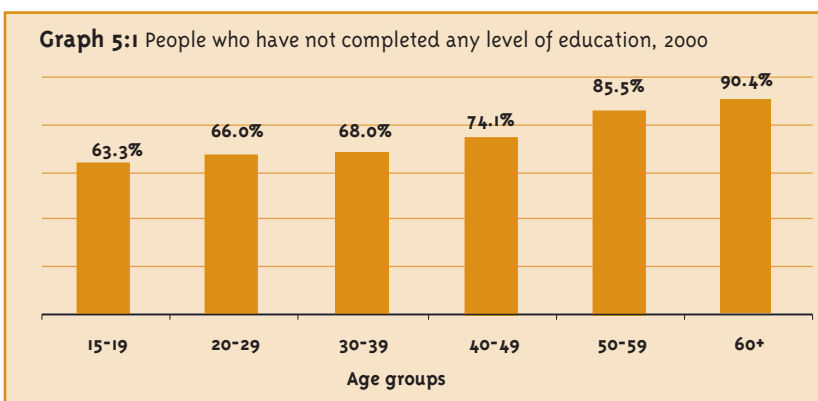
In general, the QUIBB results show that the trends noted for EP1 and EP2 continue into secondary and higher education, where there is a higher rate of school attendance among boys than among girls, with the exception of the net attendance rate in the first cycle of secondary education which is 2.4% for both boys and girls.

Although the school attendance and literacy rates have undergone noteworthy growth in

recent years, they disguise the inefficiency that still characterises the system. For example, QUIBB estimates that about 71% of Mozambicans have not concluded any level of education, although some of them may be classified as literate. The percentage of

those who have not concluded any level of education is highest among women, at 81%, reflecting the high drop-out rate among girls, as against 59% among men. Similarly a higher percentage of the rural population has not concluded any level of education - 83%, as against 45.3% of the urban population. Only 8.7% of women have completed the two levels of primary education, while 1.7% have completed secondary education: this compares with figures of 17.5% and 6% for men who have completed primary and secondary education respectively.

The percentage of people who have not completed any level of education is worrying. The data suggest a somewhat ephemeral contact between the public and schools, a phenomenon that dilutes the possible benefits that might have been expected from the substantial increase in



the entry rate in recent years. However, one fact worthy of note is that this percentage of people who have not concluded any level of education is lower among the youngest strata, and rises as one rises in the scale of age groups, which probably reflects the expansion in supply in recent years.

But, considering that education is one of the main instruments in the fight against poverty in Mozambique, the large number of people who have not concluded their education is a concern that must warrant the attention of all those involved in education and in society.

One of the innovations in QUIBB is the attempt to measure the public's degree of satisfaction with the education services. In general, a large number of pupils expressed dissatisfaction with the education services. Only about 40% of those surveyed expressed satisfaction with primary education.

However, substantial differences are noted in the level of satisfaction between rural and urban areas. Dissatisfaction is more pronounced in rural areas (67.4%) than urban (41.1%). The reasons for dissatisfaction vary, depending on the place of residence. Thus in the countryside the main problem with education, from the viewpoint of the users, is the premises, while in the cities, the main problem concerns the lack of educational materials. Strangely enough, both in the cities and in the countryside, the quality of education does not seem to be a factor influencing people's level of satisfaction.

BOX 5.1 THE ROOTS OF EXCLUSION: LOCAL EVIDENCE

Studies undertaken by the Agronomy Faculty of the Eduardo Mondlane University in districts in Gaza, Nampula and Cabo Delgado provinces in 2000, to some extent corroborate the QUIBB results on the exclusion of girls, as Table 5.2 illustrates. In Xai-Xai, for example, 75.3% of the boys of school age were studying, but only 54.4% of the girls of school age. In Monapo district, Nampula province, 90.2% of the boys, but only 50.4% of the girls of school age were studying. In the Cabo Delgado district of Macomia, it was found that 33.4% of girls of school age were studying, as against 51.2% of boys of school age.

TABLE 5.2 PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN STUDYING, FROM INTERVIEWS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN THREE DISTRICTS

District	No. households interviewed	Gender	No. children of school age	No. children studying	%
Xai-Xai	345	Male	653	492	75.3
		Female	701	381	54.4
Monapo	232	Male	440	397	90.2
		Female	597	301	50.4
Macomia	265	Male	385	197	51.2
		Female	365	122	33.4

The study also tried to ascertain from those surveyed the reasons why the children were not studying. Lack of money, floods, shortage of places in the schools, sickness and helping the household were the most important causes (Table 5.3).

TABLE 5.3: REASONS GIVEN FOR CHILDREN NOT STUDYING

	Xai-Xai	Monapo	Macomia
Lack of money	45%	53%	64%
Floods	23%	0%	0%
Shortage of places in schools	17%	22%	24%
Illness	5%	5%	0%
Helping in the household and others	10%	20%	11%

In this study, poverty is indicated as the main cause for limiting girls' educational opportunities, particularly in the rural areas, where there is a lack of schools, or where the distance between the school and the home is very large. This fact is associated with households' preference to put boys rather than girls into schools, due to the prevailing perception of the opportunity cost in situations where economic resources are scarce, dictated by the patriarchal structure that governs how society is set up.

Source: Mucavele, Firmino G, 2001. "Estudos de Seguranca Alimentar e Nutricao" Agronomy and Forestry Engineering Faculty, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo

Access to health services

Women's access to health services has been made difficult by the low level of schooling of the population which hinders their involvement in economic undertakings that would provide them with a decent income. With the opening of health services to private initiative, and the introduction of cost recovery policies in public services, women, especially in rural areas, lost access to free treatment in health units. Quality health services became

TABLE 5.4 MAIN CAUSES OF DISSATISFACTION WITH MEDICAL CONSULTATIONS, BY SEX

Sex	% dissatisfied	Reasons						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Men	50.4	5.1	40.6	4.4	18.9	33.8	31.1	9.5
Women	46.0	5.3	37.3	6.0	18.1	36.6	31.7	8.9
Total	47.9	5.2	38.8	5.2	18.5	35.3	31.4	9.2

1 = Lack of hygiene
 2 = Long waiting time
 3 = Shortage of staff
 4 = Very expensive
 5 = Lack of medicines
 6 = Unsuccessful treatment
 7 = Others

Source: QUIBB 2001

accessible only in exchange for payment higher than the income of most households.

Furthermore, health centres in rural areas, where the majority of the population lives and works, are short of specialist staff. Thus women, who have the responsibility to look after children and the elderly, have to walk long distances to reach those health centres which provide a minimally acceptable service. Access to health services in both rural and urban areas is precarious. More than 70% of the rural population takes more than an hour to reach the nearest health unit, while in urban areas only 14.7% live more than an hour's walk from the nearest health unit. (QUIBB, 2001)

The quality of the health services is deplorable, and this is reflected in high levels of dissatisfaction. Of those who resorted to the health services in 2000, 47.9% said they were dissatisfied. The level of dissatisfaction was higher in rural areas, at 51.9%. Three reasons

for dissatisfaction were given, namely:

- long waiting times (38.8%)
- lack of medicines (35.3%)
- unsuccessful treatment (31.4%).

Those health institutions mentioned as the ones providing the best services are the private clinics and pharmacies - which happen to be out of reach for the majority of women, because of the high prices charged.

A lower percentage of rural women (69.0%) enjoy ante-natal care than urban women (91.9%). 42.9% of births were attended by midwives, and only 2.2% by doctors. One in five births were attended by traditional midwives, and only 5% by nurses. Most urban women (83.6%) were attended by health workers during childbirth, since they have access to the hospitals, while only 36% of rural women were attended by health workers. The lack of adequate medical care is one of the reasons for the very high rate of maternal mortality: in 1998, it was estimated that, out of every 2,000 live births, three of the mothers die (INE, 2001; INE-MISAU, 2000).

Women's survival strategies

Survival strategies are related to the sources of household income. Although there are signs of economic recovery in Mozambique, one cannot yet affirm with certainty that economic growth is contributing to improved living conditions for the poorer groups in society. As mentioned above, more than 62% of the urban population and 71% of the rural population are living in absolute poverty, and suffer from lack of adequate food for lengthy periods during the year. QUIBB 2001 estimated that 33.2 of the households surveyed experienced difficulties in satisfying their food requirements.

The data show that 43% of children suffer from chronic malnutrition (low height for their age), and 22% are severely malnourished. The various poverty estimates based on income and consumption have sometimes been criticised for their focus on the household as a unit of analysis, which

does not allow them to capture the dimensions of poverty within the household, where women may find themselves in a particularly disadvantaged situation.

According to the data from IAF 96/97, the following survival strategies were found among households:

- Work on the household's own field (own production);
- Work outside of the household's field for payment in cash or kind (sale of one's labour power);
- Transfers - emigrants' remittances;
- Formal employment - state companies, private businesses, shops etc;
- Family and community links.

Migration from rural to urban areas, and beyond the country's borders, is a frequent and very important phenomenon in southern Africa. In Mozambique, migration is particularly important in the south, and in the border areas.

For households who depend basically on agriculture as their source of income, the sale of crops has been characterised as an alternative source of income, as well as the possession of fruit trees, such as cashew trees, oilseed-bearing trees, and citrus trees. Various initiatives of women, on their own or in groups, function as survival strategies, particularly in rural areas and among widows, single women and divorcees.

The main determinants of women's poverty in Mozambique are the low level of schooling, and high rates of dependency in poor households headed by women. This list should also include low agricultural yields, since most women live from subsistence agriculture, the poor network of basic infrastructures, the country's fragile industrial base, and the lack of social security safety nets that would minimise the risks of natural disasters.

The high level of poverty leads people to adopt subsistence strategies in order to guarantee their survival. Short term strategies for young women have been resort to the informal market and domestic employment in urban areas, and participation in agriculture,

assisting the family, and resort to premature marriage in rural areas.

As for the individual factors that determine women's poverty, one may mention poor health due to consecutive births resulting from high fertility rates (6 and 4.9 children for each woman of child-bearing age in rural and urban areas respectively in 2000), and lack of mother-and-child health care, together with physical weakness resulting from deficient diet, and lack of employment for women (INE, 2000).

In rural areas, poverty is also reflected in the differences in social relations between men and women, when the community regards single or widowed men and women as poor. In some cases, poverty is related to ownership of household property (money, livestock, employees, number and size of fields), with households owning little or nothing being classified as poor.

Women-headed households and the debate on the "feminisation" of poverty

Given the above data and arguments, it is legitimate to ask whether poverty wears a woman's face in Mozambique. The theoretical approach of the "feminisation of poverty" concept is expressed in conflict between men and women over access to and control of resources, reflecting the notion that there are more poor women than poor men.

Mozambique's policy was always guided towards equality of opportunities, but it neglected the social foundations resting on gender discrimination. That is, even when equal access to resources for men and women was decreed, the structure of social gender relations did not change, because women continued merely to represent their traditional role as mothers and wives. However, recently social relations between men and women have undergone a different dynamic, expressed in the winning of some rights for women. The appearance of households headed by women is part of this dynamic.

BOX 5.2 LOCAL EVIDENCE OF GENDER DISPARITY IN ACCESS TO INCOME

Among women and men access to income reflects differences in ownership of productive resources and schooling. There is a direct relationship between access to income and ownership of factors of production. Table 5.5, though reflecting local situations, expresses this reality.

TABLE 5.5 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INCOME PER CAPITA PER YEAR & POSSESSION OF LAND & AGRICULTURAL TOOLS

District	Gender	Production factors	Heads of household who possess factors	Income per capita/per year (meticaís)
Xai-Xai	Male	Land	311	7,360,000
		Tools	324	4,540,000
	Female	Land	3	9,650,800
		Tools	16	6,450,900
Monapo	Male	Land	217	9,450,000
		Tools	138	3,540,600
	Female	Land	15	8,560,800
		Tools	87	4,600,800
Macomia	Male	Land	203	4,770,800
		Tools	25	3,900,500
	Female	Land	42	6,850,500
		Tools	7	4,650,000

In the households headed by women who have land tenure, income tends to be higher than in the male headed households, illustrative examples are the cases of Xai-Xai district, in Gaza province, where the per capita income is 9,650,800 meticaís, and Macomia district, in Cabo Delgado province, where the per capita income is 6,850,500.

Studies in some districts in Maputo, Gaza, Manica, Nampula and Cabo Delgado indicate that women perform better than men in agricultural activities (Mucavele, 2000):

- Women provide 80% of the labour force in the countryside;
- Women work long hours when compared with men, particularly in domestic activities, production, and the provision of water and of fuel;
- Structural adjustment programmes have speeded up bimodal development: men emigrate to the urban centres or to neighbouring countries in search of waged jobs, while women remain in agriculture.

In urban areas, women's access to income depends on their schooling. Women with higher educational levels have greater chances of employment in the formal sector. Women without schooling, tend to work in the informal sector or as domestic servants.

Given that agricultural incomes are lower than those provided by manufacturing, women tend to have lower incomes than men, since most women work in agriculture.

Source: Mucavele, Firmino G., 2001, Estudos de Seguranca Alimentar e Nutricao, Agronomy and Forestry Engineering Faculty, UEM, Maputo, Mozambique.

BOX 5.3 POVERTY ALLEVIATION STRATEGIES

Women are involved in exchanging their own labour for the labour of others (*matsoni; hilimihana*), exchanging labour for foodstuffs or money (*khurhimela; thothotho, kuthekela, ganho-ganho*), exchanging labour for accumulation of livestock (*kuvekhelissa, ovaliha*), and in informal savings systems (*xitique*). In general, these practices of mutual assistance occur both in urban areas and in rural ones, with higher rates of participation in places studied in the south than in the north.¹ Despite the different names used for these practices in different regions, their characteristics are very similar throughout the country.

In urban areas, the dominant forms of mutual aid are those that require the exchange of money as part of the transaction, while in rural areas practices of payment in labour or food predominate. The trend in the evolution of these practices between friends or in communities is for the substitution of exchanges of labour by monetary transactions. However, among the poor, there is a significant continuity in exchanges of labour between friends and relatives, due to the limited availability of resources.

The results show that the poor tend to participate more in traditional practices where labour is offered in exchange for food, goods or money. Participation in such activities depends largely on the existence of members of the community with financial resources, with excess food, or with goods that they can offer as payment.

Temporary work is regarded as the major survival strategy for coping with transient food insecurity.

In the poorest areas, where such opportunities

are limited, radical changes in diet, including dependence on foodstuffs that grow wild, the sale of property, and emigration to other areas are strategies that reduce the household's ability to recover from shocks.

Women's participation in traditional mutual aid activities is important, because even when both sexes are involved in a particular activity, the women participate more than the men. In the cases of *matsoni/xivubga* and *xitique*, only the women participate. This stresses the important role that women play in guaranteeing the basic subsistence needs of their households.

One of the traditional practices that was most severely affected by the war is *kuvekela* (Gaza) or *ovaliha* (Nampula), through which the youngest or poorest members of the community can look after the livestock of others, and in exchange they receive some of the new-born animals. Traditionally, accumulating cattle was the major goal in life for many inhabitants of southern Mozambique, and in many parts of the central and northern provinces, since a large number of cattle represented wealth and guaranteed ability to participate in ceremonies (weddings and funerals). The sale of livestock was a source of income for households in difficulties.

Clearly the most vulnerable (the elderly, the disabled, the sick, and women who are pregnant, breastfeeding or looking after infants) are frequently excluded from many of these practices, because they are physically unable to participate, or they do not have enough time due to domestic responsibilities, particularly those associated with caring for children.

Source: "Estudos de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional", 1999-2000, Agronomy and Forestry Engineering Faculty, Eduardo Mondlane University, Maputo, Mozambique.

Normally, the literature distinguishes between households headed by women "de facto" (which refers to a married woman whose husband is absent), and households headed by women "de jure" (single women, divorcees and widows). This definition is based on decision taking within the household.

The results of successive demographic surveys present differing results as to women-

headed households. The IAF data of 1996/97 indicated that about 22% of Mozambican households are headed by women - it took as the head of the household whoever was named by the household. These results are close to those of the 1997 population census which stated that 30.5% of Mozambican heads of household are women - 28.5% in urban areas and 31.2% in rural areas. For its part, the

BOX 5.4 HOUSEHOLDS HEADED BY WOMEN: AN ALTERNATIVE DEFINITION

An alternative view on female headship and poverty was provided by the analysis of rural households undertaken by the National Roads Administration (ANE) in 2000. This survey of 3,936 households forms part of a three year study into the socio-economic impact of the road rehabilitation project, ROCS I. The sample was compiled from 22 road sections throughout the country, and is felt to be generally representative of rural Mozambique.

In terms of household leadership, the study let the women interviewed decide who was the head of the household, resulting in a small percentage - 12.9% - headed by women, as against 31.16% in the 1997 census and 22% in the IAF study. The difference is largely attributed to the fact that the ANE survey effectively looked at *de jure* heads of households, while the census and the MIAF looked at *de facto* heads. For example, in the ANE survey, households with absent male migrants were still regarded as male-headed households, while in the census and the MIAF surveys such households were inclined to be defined as headed by women. In the 1997 census, households defined as headed by women are those described as "single parent (female)". By subtracting those female household heads who are married (formally or traditionally), that is the *de facto* women heads, we obtain the figure of 13.76%.

There is a strong likelihood that in many cases where the male migrants are absent for lengthy periods, not returning for years (unlike the miners who come back regularly, usually during their holidays), there will be a grey area as to what are technically "*de facto*" female headed households, and what are in effect *de jure* households.

In the ANE research, it was found that in the south 23.9% of households were headed by women, against only 7.7% in the centre, and 8.6% in the north.

Female leadership and wealth points

The study tried to measure household wellbeing by attributing "wealth points" to the

households. The study selected a comprehensive set of wealth point determinants and allocated points according to different categories within each determinant, including: size of the household fields, the value of crop sales, the use of various agricultural inputs, particularly improved seeds, fertiliser and pesticides, possession of livestock, monthly wages, monthly non-agricultural income, annual investment, and housing characteristics (type of building material, water supply and electricity).

The distribution of wealth points was highly skewed towards the lower end, with only a very small percentage of households that could not be considered poor. More than three quarters of the households had less than 50 points, and half had less than 25 points (median). The average number of points was 38.4.

The distribution of wealth points showed extreme regional variation, reflecting patterns similar to those found by the 1999 National Human Development Report. Households in the south had much higher levels of wealth points than those in other regions, and there is a clear tendency for household wealth to decrease the further north one goes. Barely more than one in ten households in the south fall into the lowest quartile, against over 40% in the north, and over 25% in the south. On the other hand, more than half of the southern households are in the highest quartile, as against only 3% of the northern households and 17.4% in the centre.

The wealth point analysis also shows some interesting results in relation to the debate over household poverty and the gender of the household head. There is a greater concentration of women-headed households in the lowest quartile. Almost two-fifths (38.3%) of the women-headed households fall into the lowest quartile as against just under 25% of the households headed by men. On the other hand, among the wealthiest households, there seem to be equal chances for households headed by women and those headed by men to be in the highest quartile.

Adapted by Fion de Vletter

results of QUIBB 2001 showed that nationally 23.2% of households are headed by women. This figure approximates those given earlier by the IAF and the Census. But there is no consensus on how to define a woman-headed household, as shown in Box 5.4. This is important because it explains the dispute over whether there is a higher incidence of poverty among women-headed households, a thesis which does not seem to be backed up by the data in Mozambique.

Traditionally, households headed by women have been regarded as more vulnerable, because these households have a woman as their main source of economic sustenance - a woman who generally faces more barriers than a man in terms of chances and abilities to obtain income.

The vulnerability of women-headed households derives from the constraints of factors of production, time and capital. The capital constraint arises from the barriers women face in access to the credit market and to formal sector employment, as a result of the conditions they face in their youth such as limited access to education and health. However, even if a woman has sufficient education to compete on the job market, her education and experience are not rewarded as highly as those of men (Psachoropoulos and Tzannitos, 1993). Under these conditions, women are forced to work longer hours to obtain the same income as a male head of household.

Some problems of women-headed households are related to their heterogenous nature, since each one has specific characteristics that identify it. Apart from the lower level of schooling and the high rates of dependency of women-headed households, their predominance in rural areas, where they rely basically on agriculture as their main source of subsistence without any complementary source of secure income to guarantee the household's food security, makes the living conditions of these households more precarious.

Below we deal with women's situation in

the labour market in urban areas, as the main basis for income generation for sustaining households.

Women in the job market

Women's participation in the Mozambican labour force has not changed greatly in recent decades. The percentage of women in the total labour force declined slightly from 49% in 1980 to 48.4% in 1997 (ADI, 1999, WDI, 1999). In all of sub-Saharan Africa, the rate has always been lower, falling from 41.6% in 1979 to 41.5% in 1997 (Ardeni 2001). According to the ILO, taking developing countries as a whole, the share of the female labour force in agriculture fell from 77% in 1970 to 68% in 1985, to 60% in 1997.

In sub-Saharan Africa, the same share went from 84% in 1970 to 70% in 1997. Thus, while there is evidence that, across most developing countries, increasing numbers of women are turning to jobs outside the agricultural sector, most of them located in urban areas, this is apparently not the case in Mozambique, where it is estimated that 96% of the total female labour force is in agriculture. In Mozambique, in fact, the percentage of women in industry barely changed between 1970 and 1997 (rising from 13,000 to less than 50,000), while in the trade and service sector, the number has merely doubled in 30 years, from 66,000 to a little more than 125,000 (Ardeni 2001).

The difference between men and women in the rural areas, in terms of the economically active population, is not very great, and in fact shows that adult women are more economically active than men (69.1% as against 63.1%). Although 39.5% of rural women are shown as having "worked" (implying payment), this category is almost exclusively for subsistence agriculture (self-employed). Similarly, the category "helped the family without pay" also applies almost exclusively to subsistence agriculture. The main difference is likely to be that in the latter case, the woman worked with a senior member of the household. As will be seen, almost no rural

women were involved in wage employment (and relatively few men).

It is in the urban areas that the category “worked” refers essentially to wage employment and to self-employment. As we shall see, this distinction is particularly important for women with the rapid growth of the informal sector, especially over the last 15 years. The much smaller proportion of women regarded as economically active (33.3% as against 48.4% of men) is attributed to the 28.7% who are categorised as unpaid domestic workers and not economically active (the distinction arises because rural housewives are assumed to undertake more productive activities than an urban housewife). This category has been a subject for debate for many years.¹

Although the gender gap in school enrolment is narrowing, there is still much to be concerned about. In urban areas 30.8% of adult women are studying compared to 35.6%

of men. In the rural areas, reflecting high drop-out rates and few secondary schools (many rural students are sent to the urban areas to continue their studies), we find an overall drop for both sexes. But only 13.9% of adult women are studying, a figure considerably lower than the 22.6% of the men who are students. Nationally, 43.9% of adult students are women, and 56.1% are men.

Data from the 1997 Census present a slightly different picture. The labour force participation rate is estimated at 66.5% for women and 73.5% for men (with an employment rate of 93.6% for women). It is also estimated that 91.3% of the economically active women work in agriculture and 1.1% in industry. The female labour force participation rate is lower in the urban areas (44%) than in the rural areas (75.3%). Agricultural employment in rural areas for women was 97.8% and 63.1% in urban areas. The second largest area of women’s employment in the urban areas is trade (20.4%).

TABLE 5.6 EMPLOYMENT STATUS BY RESIDENTIAL AREA AND SEX (%)

Employment Status	Urban Area			Rural Area			National		
	S	Γ	All	S	Γ	All	S	Γ	All
Worked	41,5	27,3	34,2	49,4	39,5	44,1	46,7	35,5	40,8
Employed, but did not work	0,6	0,4	0,5	1,0	1,1	1,1	0,9	0,9	0,9
Helped a family without pay	1,9	4,6	3,3	11,8	28,3	20,5	8,4	20,6	14,8
Sought employment	2,4	0,3	1,3	0,2	0,0	0,1	1,0	0,1	0,5
Unemployed	2,1	0,7	1,4	0,7	0,1	0,4	1,2	0,3	0,7
Economically active population	48,4	33,3	40,7	63,1	69,1	66,3	58,1	57,5	57,8
Retired	1,6	0,2	0,9	0,2	0,0	0,1	0,7	0,1	0,4
Studied	35,6	30,8	33,2	22,6	13,9	18,0	27,0	19,4	23,0
Domestic work (unpaid)	7,5	28,7	18,3	3,7	6,7	5,3	5,0	13,9	9,6
In compulsory military service	0,2	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,0
Physically disabled	1,4	1,1	1,3	0,7	0,6	0,7	1,0	0,8	0,9
Other	5,4	5,9	5,9	9,7	9,6	9,6	8,2	8,4	8,3
Economically non-active population	51,6	66,7	59,3	36,9	30,9	33,7	41,9	42,5	42,2
Adults	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Ardeni 2001

¹ As for what can be defined as employment, Standing argues that the terms “employment” and “work” are used alternately, but are not synonyms. He argues that much of women’s work is classified as unpaid “domestic” or “household” work, and is therefore not measured under classical definitions.

Women workers

Less than a quarter (22.7%) of women workers earn a wage. The majority (51.8%) have become self-employed workers - most involved in either agriculture or informal sector trade (many are in fact engaged in both). The category “unpaid urban workers” is likely to include a significant number of workers (often relations brought in from rural areas) who work in the informal sector or in domestic type work in return for food, accommodation, and a small allowance, an urban replica of rural practices. It should be noted that only 2% of rural women workers earn a wage. Self-employed women workers and unpaid workers in rural areas are mostly involved in subsistence agriculture as well as other domestic chores. A growing number of rural women are now supplementing agricultural production with cash obtained from trading activities in local markets (often with their own produce).

It should be noted that many people, when asked about their employment situation, refer to their agricultural activities (from the family field to regular and seasonal agricultural activities) as a simple job, thus implicitly paid, but when questioned about the type of work they feel they

TABLE 5.7 TYPE OF WORK BY AREA AND SEX

Type	Urban Area			Rural Area			National		
	S	Γ	All	S	Γ	All	S	Γ	All
Waged workers	62,9	22,7	45,5	9,9	2,0	5,5	24,0	5,8	14,4
Self-employed workers	28,2	51,8	38,4	62,9	35,4	47,7	53,6	38,4	45,6
Entrepreneurs	1,1	0,4	0,8	0,4	0,1	0,2	0,6	0,1	0,3
Total paid workers	92,2	75,0	84,7	73,1	37,5	53,4	78,2	44,4	60,3
Unpaid workers	7,8	25,0	15,3	26,9	62,5	46,6	21,8	55,6	39,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Fonte: Ardeni 2001

do, they say they are domestic workers.

Table 5.8 shows the importance of agriculture for both urban and rural women (and to a large extent for men, although a significant proportion of men are urban fishermen and wage workers in agriculture or fisheries). The table suggests that 80.1% of urban women are either in agriculture or trade. Indeed, a very large percentage of urban women who undertake agricultural activities also devote part of their day to trade. In the countryside, almost all women workers are in agriculture and a growing number are taking up trading activities to earn cash.

Ardeni (2001) states that, as in most developing countries, the participation rate of

TABLE 5.8 EMPLOYMENT BY SECTOR OF ACTIVITY AND BY AREA AND SEX (%)

Sector	Urban Area			Rural Area			National		
	S	Γ	All	S	Γ	All	S	Γ	All
Agriculture and fisheries	21,7	57,2	37,2	88,0	98,4	93,8	70,6	90,9	81,3
Mining	2,9	0,1	1,7	1,1	0,0	0,5	1,6	0,0	0,8
Manufacturing	14,7	4,7	10,3	2,8	0,4	1,5	5,9	1,2	3,4
Public Utilities	1,5	0,3	1,0	0,2	0,0	0,1	0,5	0,1	0,3
Construction	7,2	0,5	4,3	1,3	0,1	0,6	2,8	0,1	1,4
Trade	15,8	22,9	18,9	2,4	0,6	1,4	5,9	4,7	5,2
Transport and communications	10,1	1,0	6,1	0,7	0,0	0,3	3,2	0,2	0,6
Private services	3,4	0,8	2,2	0,3	0,0	0,1	1,1	0,2	0,6
Public services	19,0	9,5	14,9	2,9	0,4	1,5	7,2	2,0	4,5
Domestic work	3,1	2,6	2,9	0,3	0,1	0,2	1,0	0,5	0,8
Other	0,7	0,3	0,6	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,2	0,1	0,1
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Ardeni 2001

TABLE 5.9 CATEGORY OF WORK BY AREA AND SEX

Type	Urban Area			Rural Area			National		
	S	Γ	All	S	Γ	All	S	Γ	All
Public Administration	14,1	6,1	10,6	1,8	0,3	1,0	5,1	1,4	3,1
Public enterprises	25,5	7,3	17,6	3,2	0,9	1,9	9,1	2,1	5,4
Private Sector	22,9	8,7	16,7	4,8	0,6	2,5	9,6	2,1	5,6
Cooperative Sector	0,5	0,7	0,6	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,2	0,2	0,2
Self-employed	28,2	51,8	38,4	62,9	35,4	47,7	53,6	38,4	45,6
Unpaid worker	7,1	23,7	14,3	26,7	62,4	46,5	21,5	55,3	39,3
Entrepreneur	1,1	0,4	0,8	0,4	0,1	0,2	0,6	0,1	0,3
Servant	0,8	1,3	1,0	0,2	0,1	0,1	0,4	0,3	0,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Ardeni (2001)

women in the labour force has been rising in recent decades. An increasing share of female employment is in the non-agricultural sector, particularly in urban areas, and women have been shown to move from non-wage to wage employment. But in Mozambique, this situation only happened until the beginning of the 1990s, and it is now slowing down. The majority of women today appear to be in non-wage employment in the informal economy (this also applies to men), either as self-employed or unpaid workers.

Table 5.9 shows the percentage of women workers involved in the three main categories of wage employment. The table shows that the percentage of men involved in the public and private sectors is about three times that of women, and in the public administration (public service), it is just over twice as large. The table also shows that more than half of the urban women “workers” are self-employed, compared with rather more than a quarter (28.2%) of the men. This does not mean that less men are self-employed. 41.5% of all men are regarded as workers against only 27.3% of women, suggesting that the absolute

number of men and women who are self-employed is probably about the same.

There are signs that in most developing countries a growing number of women are turning to the non-agricultural sector for jobs, most of which are located in urban areas, but this does not seem to be the case in Mozambique. In Mozambique, in fact, the participation of women in industry has barely changed from 1970 to 1997 (rising from 13,000 to less than 50,000, in absolute terms), while in trade and in the service sector the number has merely doubled in almost 30 years, increasing from 66,000 to rather more than 125,000.

In the 1970-1997 period, the average growth rate of the Mozambican economy was 0.76% a year. While in the 1970s and 1980s, the index was mostly negative, in the 1990s it was 5% a year. Yet the number of women employed in industry has increased by less than 11,000, and in trade and services the number has been more or less constant.

Thus, taking into account population growth, the biggest decline in the wage labour force - and in female wage labour - seems to have occurred between 1991 and 1997. This is in apparent contradiction with the economic growth and the

TABLE 5.10 FORMAL AND INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT (%)

Employment	Urban Area			Rural Area			National		
	S	Γ	All	S	Γ	All	S	Γ	All
1. Income-earning workers (5+6)	74,2	44,0	58,1	72,9	52,0	61,3	73,3	49,8	60,3
2. Waged workers	39,9	19,4	29,0	8,4	2,3	5,0	17,9	7,1	12,0
3. Self-employed workers	25,4	22,2	23,7	61,5	28,0	42,9	50,7	26,4	37,3
4. Entrepreneurs	0,6	0,4	0,5	0,3	0,1	0,2	0,4	0,2	0,3
5. Total declared paid workers (2+3+4)	65,9	42,1	53,2	70,3	30,3	48,1	69,0	33,7	49,6
6. Undeclared income-earning workers	8,2	1,9	4,9	2,6	21,7	13,2	4,3	16,1	10,8
7. Non-earning workers	16,7	53,7	36,5	24,2	46,2	36,5	22,0	48,3	36,5
8. Declared unpaid workers	9,3	11,7	10,6	34,8	48,6	42,5	27,1	38,2	33,2
9. Active unemployed	9,1	2,3	5,5	2,9	1,7	2,2	4,7	1,9	3,2
Total workers (1+7+9)	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Informal workers (3+6+7)	50,3	77,9	65,0	88,4	95,9	92,6	76,9	90,8	84,6

Source: Ardeni 2001

rise in agricultural production noted during this period, although it is probably an indication of both a rise of informal labour participation and of increased female informal employment.

Much of the female employment in the “modern” sector in sub-Saharan Africa has been in government civil service rather than in private or parastatal companies, which suggests that women have unequal access to good jobs. In conclusion, the overall evidence seems to indicate that more women are gaining access to wage employment, but few manage to obtain employment in the formal sector.

Women in the informal market

According to Ardeni, 84,6% of all workers in Mozambique appear to be informal: 92.6% of workers in rural areas and 65% of all workers in urban areas are in the informal sector. Among women, 95.9% of those working in rural areas and

77.9% of those working in urban area are informal workers. Among men, 88.4% of those working in rural areas are informal, as are 50.3% of those working in urban areas. Overall, women account for 59.1% of total informal workers at national level (75.8% in rural areas and 24.2% in urban areas) (Ardeni, 2001).

The percentage of women employees in the informal sector has also grown significantly in recent decades, particularly among unpaid workers. All this shows the existence of a gender bias since more women are in poor quality employment and there are relatively few paid women employees in the informal sector. Women are also over-represented in specific branches and activities within the informal sector, which suggests that women are generally over-represented in low income activities (Ardeni 2001).

Table 5.11 shows the huge disparity between rural and urban incomes. It also looks at income

TABLE 5.11 EMPLOYMENT AND POVERTY STATUS BY AREA AND SEX

Sex	Urban Area				Rural Area				National			
	Non Poor	Poor	Ultra Poor	Total	Non Poor	Poor	Ultra Poor	Total	Non Poor	Poor	Ultra Poor	Total
Income earning workers												
Men	70.7	17.4	11.9	100	29.1	27.9	42.9	100	41.8	24.7	33.5	100
Women	69.0	17.2	13.7	100	30.5	27.7	41.8	100	40.1	25.1	34.8	100
Total	70.0	17.3	12.6	100	29.8	27.8	42.4	100	41.0	24.9	34.1	100
Active Unemployed												
Men	71.9	19.7	8.4	100	38.6	36.1	25.2	100	57.8	26.7	15.5	100
Women	65.8	17.7	16.5	100	34.0	26.1	39.9	100	44.8	23.3	31.9	100
Total	70.5	19.3	10.2	100	36.6	31.8	31.5	100	53.5	25.6	20.9	100
Non-earning Workers												
Men	53.5	23.1	23.5	100	19.2	27.4	53.4	100	27.4	26.4	46.3	100
Women	66.5	19.1	14.3	100	24.7	30.7	44.7	100	37.8	27.1	35.2	100
Total	63.8	20.0	16.3	100	23.1	29.8	47.1	100	35.0	26.9	38.1	100
Students												
Men	73.0	16.8	10.2	100	24.2	31.8	44.0	100	46.2	25.0	28.8	100
Women	75.9	15.7	8.4	100	25.7	33.4	40.9	100	51.6	24.3	24.1	100
Total	74.4	16.3	9.4	100	24.8	32.5	42.7	100	48.5	24.7	26.7	100
Other												
Men	51.2	26.7	22.1	100	21.1	26.5	52.5	100	30.0	26.5	43.5	100
Women	53.6	24.2	22.2	100	20.2	28.0	51.7	100	28.6	27.1	44.3	100
Total	52.3	25.5	22.2	100	20.6	27.3	52.1	100	29.3	26.8	43.9	100
TOTAL												
Men	68.3	18.6	13.1	100	25.8	28.7	45.5	100	40.4	25.3	34.4	100
Women	69.2	17.9	12.9	100	26.8	29.2	43.7	100	40.5	25.8	33.7	100
Total	68.7	18.3	13.0	100	26.3	29.2	44.5	100	40.4	25.5	34.0	100

Source: Ardeni 2001

differences by gender and by employment status. Almost half (44.5%) of the rural population can be classified as ultra-poor as opposed to only 13% of urban dwellers. In contrast, just over a quarter (26.3%) of the rural population can be considered non-poor as against more than two thirds of the urban population.

The following section provides an analysis of urban market women based on various surveys of the urban informal market in Mozambique. Most results are drawn from two surveys, one undertaken in Maputo and Beira in 1996 (de Vletter, 1996), and the other, a survey of 100 market women in Maputo in 2000 as part of the ILO's Feminisation of Poverty Project (de Vletter, 2001). The sample sizes were small, but close consistency between the surveys suggests they are representative. All data are from the 2000 survey unless otherwise indicated.

In 1996, the modal monthly income for market vendors was (US\$ 50-100) for Maputo. A study by Little and Coloane (1992) of 73 petty traders in five Maputo peri-urban markets highlighted the variability and skewed distribution of income among the vendors. Although the traders' average earnings of about 40 dollars a month were about twice the average formal sector wage earnings at that time, 70% earned considerably less than this, with about half earning about the same as formal sector wage earners.

A further characteristic of the vendor's income is the volatility of income from one day to the next. Contrary to what we have often been led to believe, over half (60%) of those surveyed in Maputo indicated that they would not prefer a waged job - they would rather have their present activity (1996). More interestingly, despite a strong sentiment, especially among the poor, that living standards have deteriorated since the PRE, almost half the respondents felt that life for them had improved. This contrasts strongly with the widespread dependency found among factory workers interviewed.

Although for many women their incomes are low, more than two thirds (71.2%) have savings, but only 11.5% have bank accounts. Almost a quarter (23%) are involved in traditional xitique groups, while more than a third (34.6%) deposit money in mobile banks (xitique geral). The mobile banks are crucial for the vendors who need regular amounts of capital to restock their merchandise.

Almost two thirds (63.5%) said they could can borrow money from relatives or friends. In order to start their activities, the interviewees often said that they received initial capital from their husbands, or asked for a loan (usually without interest) from friends or relatives. Most, however, had managed to accumulate or convert some asset in order to acquire the capital necessary to start their activities.

The informal sector has two main types of workers: wage workers and unpaid workers, normally family members, who are not paid regularly, but are accommodated, fed and given occasional allowances. Both types of worker are usually exploited. About 20% of the respondents said they had family members or waged employees working for them. Abreu (1994) found a similar percentage paying wages, generally at very low levels - US\$ 5 to US\$ 10 a month. None of these workers were in possession of employment cards, and very few were given any time off work, including weekends.

The conditions of exploitation extend to most workers in the informal sector. 89% of the informal sector employers interviewed did not allow leave, 72% did not allow time off on officially recognised holidays, and most did not give weekends off. In fact, the employers did not fare much better. On average they worked for 10 hours a day, and almost no-one took leave. Most did not interrupt their activities during public holidays. The 1996 survey found that a third of the respondents in Beira said they worked every day of the week. In Maputo almost half said the same.

BOX 5.5 INFORMAL FINANCIAL SUPPORT SYSTEMS

A recent study* suggests significant regional differences in the way people deal with financial deficits or surpluses. The *xitique* system (similar to what are commonly referred to as rotating savings and credit associations (ROSCAS)) involves members regularly depositing a fixed amount into a common pool which is collected in turn by each member.

Xitique is practiced, to varying degrees, throughout the country. It is more common in urban areas, particularly among wage workers. *Xitique* is also practiced by market vendors but more commonly in the south than in the central or northern provinces. *Xitique* facilitates the accumulation of funds to purchase a specific consumer item such as a refrigerator, television, bicycle, furniture etc. It is also practiced for income generation, for instance, as start-up capital or for the purchase of merchandise. In the markets, the rotation can be on a daily, weekly or monthly basis.

One of the more important differences between the informal vendors of the south (particularly Maputo) and those of the centre and north is the quite recent introduction of *xitique geral*, a mobile banking system almost identical to those found in West Africa. It is said to have been introduced to Maputo in the early 1990s, where, curiously enough, it operates with great popularity in a virtual vacuum from the rest of the country. The mobile bankers typically have between 75 and 150 clients who agree to pay a fixed sum every day (amounts vary from a minimum of about 10,000 meticaís a day).

These deposits are made over a month, at the end of which the whole amount is withdrawn, less one day's deposit, which is the banker's commission. Many vendors in the Maputo markets have more than one mobile banker to spread their risk, should a banker have difficulty returning the money on time or suffer a robbery (which happens occasionally).

The *xitique geral* has strong appeal, because it allows (through forced savings) the members to accumulate money so that merchandise and other business related expenditure can be paid for at the end of the month. It also prevents members' spouses (especially husbands) from gaining access to part of the day's takings, as well as resisting the temptation to purchase small unnecessary items for the member or his/her family. The *xitique geral* is of particular importance for single women, since there is considerable evidence that working husbands help their wives with start-up capital and also in the purchase of merchandise.

Capital is increased in various ways, such as the weaving of traditional baskets (*xirundzu*) for sale in isolated communities. This practice suggests that the marginalisation of vulnerable women, particularly in southern Mozambique, will worsen since the formal economy - both in South Africa and in the neighbouring urban areas - offers a high rate of return per hour of work when compared with the opportunities for rural income.

Such marginalisation and, implicitly, feminisation of poverty, is sharper in the south than any other part of the country: the research indicates that there are fewer disparities between rural and urban incomes and in the quality of life in the rural areas north of the Save river.

* An unpublished study by F. de Vletter based on 1,000 interviews in all provinces (1998)

Human development in the rural areas

The Mozambican economy is essentially agrarian. It is estimated that 80% of the Mozambican population lives in the countryside, and, according to the QUIBB results on Basic Welfare Indicators, about 77% of the population make their living from agriculture and fisheries (INE, 2000-2001).

Agriculture is the basis for the survival of the majority of the population and it is still, for historical reasons, dominated by the household sector, including for cash crops such as cotton and cashew nuts, traditionally regarded as the domain of the commercial sector. Graph 5.2 shows the weight of the household sector in agricultural and livestock production. The figures refer to the 1998-99 crop year.

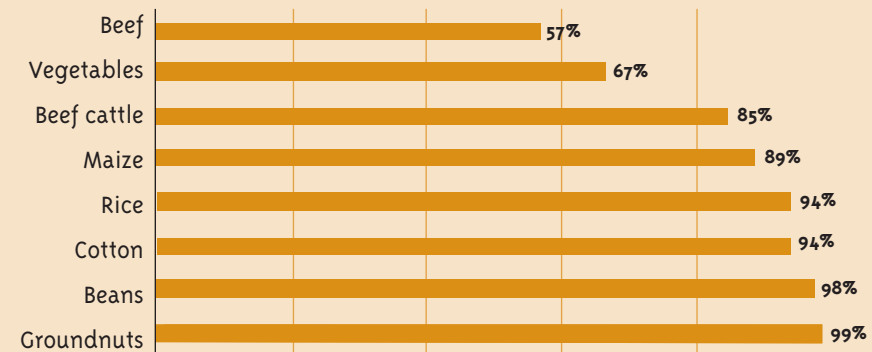
Although poverty affects the vast majority of the population, with 69.4% living below the poverty line, it is in the rural areas that high levels of poverty, measured both from the perspective of consumption and from that of human poverty, are felt at their sharpest. (Tables 15 and 16 in the Statistical Annex)² Official estimates indicate that about 82% of the 12 million people living below the poverty line - or 9.8 million people - live in rural areas, compared to two million poor people living in urban areas (PARPA, 2001).

However, statistics on production do not fully reflect the fact that agriculture is a sector where female labour is predominant, due to cultural factors that determine the social division of labour and the gender roles associated with this, and also the phenomena of

labour migration from the countryside to the cities and to neighbouring countries.

Apart from the domestic tasks adequately outlined in Chapter 3, women in the rural areas in many parts of the country are responsible for producing food to support their households. It is

Graph 5:2 Weight of the household sector in agricultural and livestock production, 1998-1999



Source: INE, 1999

their task to cultivate, sow, weed, select seeds, harvest, and take part in distributing and marketing the surplus.

Faced with this well-documented reality, the questions raised are:

- If women are the main producers of food in the countryside, why is their human development not in line with their social responsibilities?
- What is the extent of women's influence and decision-making power over matters concerning their role as the main food producers, and as those who sustain the home?

This chapter briefly summarises the living conditions of Mozambican peasants and the role of agriculture in their survival strategies, without losing sight of the reality that most producers in the countryside are women.

The living conditions of Mozambican peasants

One of the most eloquent facts about the situation of the rural population is that, although they are the majority, the activities of

² Poverty can be measured from the perspective of consumption, which is based on income, or from the perspective of human poverty. See chapter 1.

these 13.6 million Mozambicans produce less than 30% of the country's Gross Domestic Product, while the remaining 3.4 million people produce 70% of the estimated national wealth. Table 5.12 shows how much each of the various sectors contributes to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

As can be seen from table 5.12, the weight of agriculture in the national economy is tending to decline, even though, in terms of volume, agriculture has been recording substantial increases in production. The proportion of agriculture in the value of the GDP shrank by about 13% between 1998 and 2000. Several factors may have contributed to this, amongst which the following should be noted:

- the fall in real prices for agricultural export products, and the deterioration in the terms of trade for agricultural produce;
- the prevalence of rudimentary production methods and the limited use of agricultural technologies and mechanisation, which results in the weakness of commercial agriculture;
- high costs of imported inputs and lack of investment in agriculture, with a consequent decline in yield per hectare;
- increased activities in the construction and services sectors, which reduced the specific weight of agriculture in the structure of the Gross Domestic Product;
- the precarious state of the marketing network, which means that producer prices cannot act as an incentive to more efficient production.

The lack of a market in rural areas, the shortage of transport, and the absence of modern storage infrastructure results in losses and also increases the transaction costs. This situation makes foodstuffs excessively expensive.

The low level of training of the actors in the production process makes it still more difficult to optimise production - such factors, worsened by the constraints imposed by lack of infra-

TABLE 5.12 STRUCTURE OF THE GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (%)

Economic Sector	1998	1999	2000
Agriculture	27.2	25.4	20.1
Industry and Fisheries	14.3	13.7	12.5
Construction	8.3	7.6	11.0
Transport and Communications	9.2	10.2	12.3
Trade and Other	40.7	42.7	43.5

Source: INE, 2000-2001

structure, mean that some imported agricultural products become cheaper than those produced locally, thus endangering the viability of Mozambican agriculture.

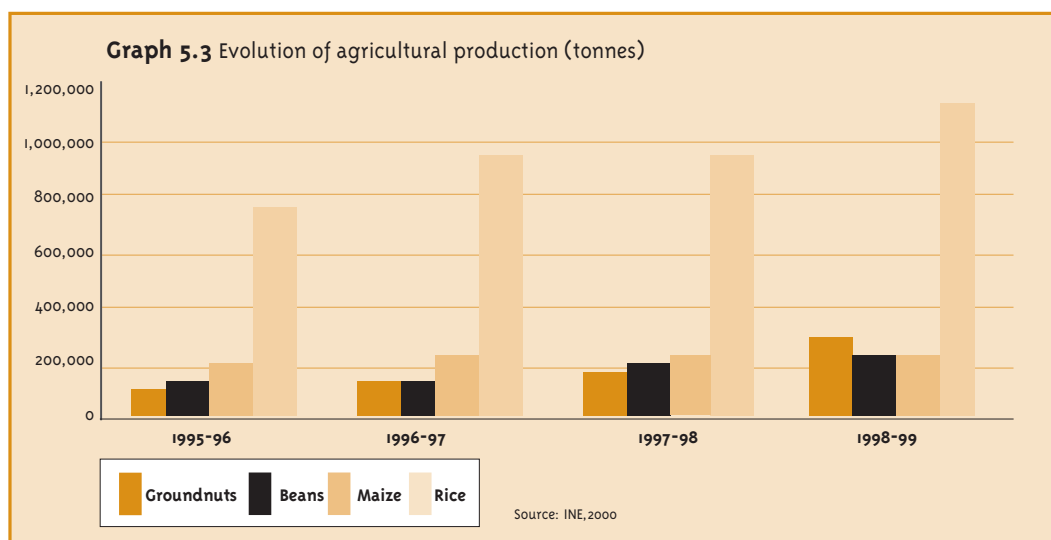
For example, in 1999 Mozambique spent US\$ 68 million on importing grain, \$6 million to purchase cotton for the manufacture of textiles, \$2.8 million for the importation of milk, milk products and eggs, and \$2.7 million to buy vegetables and edible root crops (INE 2000).

Thus national producers are increasingly the losers: they obtain tiny returns and peasant farmers are tied into a cycle of poverty, while

TABLE 5.13 OCCUPIED POPULATION, BY TYPE OF ACTIVITY AND BY GENDER, 2000-2001 (%)

	S	F	Total
Agriculture and fisheries	63.2	89.0	76.7
Mining	3.4	0.2	1.8
Manufacturing industry	2.4	0.2	1.3
Construction	5.3	0.1	2.6
Transport	2.0	0.1	1.0
Trade	11.0	7.1	9.0
Services	9.0	2.3	5.5
Education	1.9	0.4	1.1
Health	0.5	0.3	0.4
Administration	1.2	0.2	0.7
Total	100	100	100

Source: QUIBB 2001



the country literally exports jobs and income to the countries where the imports come from. The lack of credit and insurance services for agricultural production keeps the level of risk in the food production chain very high, ensuring that credit for agriculture is ever scarcer. By way of illustration, only 21.8% of all the credit to the economy granted by financial institutions in 1999 was channelled to agriculture (INE, 2000).

The impoverishment of the peasants contrasts with the development of agricultural production in recent years. Since the end of the armed conflict in 1992, the volume of agricultural production has been growing satisfactorily, which has allowed the country to reduce substantially its dependence on imports and donations. This has helped improve not only the supply of foodstuffs, but also the generation of foreign currency. Graph 5.3 shows the evolution of the main food crops between 1995 and 1999.

Agriculture plays an important role in poverty alleviation and in establishing social wellbeing. The QUIBB 2000-2001 report shows that agriculture is the area of activity that absorbs the majority of the work force (76.7%). The report also shows that the main activities of women are in agriculture, with about 89% of women; trade has about 7%, and services about 2.3%.

The living conditions of peasants are generally precarious in many parts of the countryside, but their poverty is expressed in various ways. The feeble communications network, and limited access to health and education services and to clean drinking water in the countryside are some of the aspects that make peasants' lives difficult.

Most Mozambican households live in houses which belong to them, (91.7% - 1997 Census; 93.4% - QUIBB 2000-2001). In the countryside about 96.8% of households live in their own houses, while the figure for urban areas is 84.4%, as Table 5.14 shows.

But the quality of the housing is very precarious, and varies according to the income and level of education of the households. The dominant building materials in the rural areas include daub and wattle, sun-dried bricks and reeds. Daub and wattle accounts for 50.4%,

TABLE 5.14. HOUSEHOLDS BY HOUSING PROPERTY REGIME (%)

Area of residence	Own	Rented	Ceded	Other
Rural	96.8	0.4	2.4	0.4
Urban	84.4	10.2	4.6	0.8
Total	93.4	3.1	3.0	0.5

Source: QUIBB 2001

while bricks are used in 29.9% of houses. In urban areas, the materials most commonly used in building walls are cement blocks (36.6%), mud bricks (21.2%), and reeds (19.9%).

It is estimated that 76% of the houses are roofed with thatch, and only 1.7% have concrete floors. Although it is recognised that thatch is a predominantly rural material, 40.1% of houses in urban areas are also thatched - mainly the houses of poor households (64.2%). The unemployed (55.1%), and self-employed heads of household (86.6%) are those who have huts or houses roofed with thatch (INE, 2001).

Another aspect that indicates the quality of life for peasants is sanitation. In the year 2000, some 57.5% of households had no latrines and defecated in the bush, while 31.4% used non-improved latrines. Sanitation conditions, in both rural and urban areas, are deplorable. In the countryside 97.9% of households, and in urban areas 64.6%, do not use sanitation methods that are recommended for a healthy life (INE, 2000-2001).

Access to education is another indicator that reflects the low level of human development prevalent among the rural population. More than half of the adult population aged over 15 (56.7%) in Mozambique do not know how to read or write. There is a much higher percentage of illiteracy among women (71.2%) than among men (40.2%).

But illiteracy rates are much higher among the rural population, particularly women. About 69% of Mozambican peasants are illiterate - which means that only one in three people in the countryside knows how to read and write. However, 83.1% of rural women are illiterate, which means that less than 20 out of every 100 rural women can read and write. This figure contrasts shockingly with the percentage of city women who are illiterate: 44.9% of urban women are illiterate - so around one out of every two women in the towns is literate.

The QUIBB 2001 results show that 86.9% of the population has access to drinking water. Access to this essential liquid, which has a

TABLE 5.15 HOUSEHOLDS BY TYPE OF SANITATION AND RESIDENTIAL AREA (%)

Residential area	Rural	Urban	National
Toilet linked to sewers	0.1	5.3	1.5
Septic tank	0.2	5.4	1.6
Improved latrine	1.4	20.7	6.6
Non-improved latrine	27.0	43.3	31.4
Others	0.4	4.0	1.4
None	70.9	21.3	57.5
Total	100	100	100

Source: QUIBB, 2001

TABLE 5.16 ILLITERACY RATE BY AGE AND BY SEX, 2000-2001 (%)

Age	S	Γ	Total
15-19	40.9	30.1	51.0
20-29	53.1	37.0	65.7
30-39	56.1	37.7	72.8
40-49	62.6	42.0	83.7
50-59	73.0	51.8	91.6
60+	81.5	67.0	94.0
National	56.7	40.2	71.2

Source: QUIBB, 2001

TABLE 5.17 ILLITERACY RATES BY RESIDENTIAL AREA AND SEX, 2000-2001 (%)

Residential area	S	Γ	Total
Rural	68.9	52.1	83.1
Urban	31.4	17.4	44.9
National	56.7	40.2	71.2

Source: QUIBB, 2001

major influence on the health of the population, is better in urban areas (94.5%) than in rural ones (84.1%). But this figure may be deceptive. Access to water is not the same thing as the quality of that water. As table 16 in the Statistical Appendix shows, about two thirds of the Mozambican population has no access to piped water, which is regarded as technically safe for human consumption.

BOX 5.6 EXPENDITURE OF RURAL HOUSEHOLDS: THE EXAMPLE OF XAI-XAI

Studies done by the Faculty of Agronomy and Forestry Engineering at Eduardo Mondlane University show that the average real total per capita expenditure of households in Xai-Xai is 230,500 meticaís per month. The real total per capita expenditure for the lowest quintile is 60,400 meticaís, and for the highest quintile it is 550,600 meticaís. Comparing rural and urban households in Gaza, it is notable that the highest real total per capita expenditure is to be found in the urban areas - 350,400 meticaís in urban areas compared with 185,900 meticaís in the countryside.

Another fact noted in the studies concerns the average size of household, which declines as real total per capita expenditure increases, for both rural and urban households. The poorest households in the rural areas have more members than the poorest households in urban areas, and the opposite is true for the highest income group.

Households headed by women in Xai-Xai district tend to be smaller, and have somewhat higher income, with an average of 285,000 meticaís. The dependency rate, defined as the ratio between the number of children plus elderly and the number of adults in the household, declines as real total per capita income increases.

In the district under study, the average estimated age for the head of household is 45.8 years in the rural areas, and 42.9 years in the urban areas. In both rural and urban households, the age tends to decrease as income increases. This means that the poorest households are correlated with the oldest heads of household.

The average percentage expenditure on foodstuffs is estimated nationally at 67.5%. But rural households spend a higher proportion of their income (69.7%) on food than do urban households (60%). This trend corresponds to the differences in earnings between households in rural and urban areas.

UEM and INE, 1999

Slightly less than half of households (40.6%) have access to food markets. In rural areas the access to markets is much lower (38.4%) than in urban areas (83.9%). Overwhelmingly, the rural population produces for its own consumption, which is why the percentage with access to the market is lower.

Apart from this, access to markets is related to availability of transport which in turn depends on the state of the road network. In 1999, the country had a road network of 28,959 kilometres, of which 18% (5,266 km) were paved. About 58% (18,814 km) of the roads are simple dirt roads, which makes them vulnerable to bad weather. Thus, given the high degree of vulnerability to degradation, only 7,866 km of roads were regarded as in a good state in 1999.

The remaining 73% of the road network varied in condition from “reasonable” to “bad” to “impassable”. The roads also constrain access to transport. It is estimated that only 34.2% of rural households have access to public transport, compared with 46% of households in urban areas. The state of the roads also influences agricultural marketing, which we discuss below (INE, 2000).

Agricultural marketing

Agricultural marketing plays a determinant role in any agrarian economy. It is through the marketing system that producers have access to the market for their surplus crops, and gather information that influences the decisions they take in planning production. In the final analysis, this determines the acquiring of income that guarantees them a decent standard of living.

In general, the rural population in Mozambique is poorly integrated with the market for its produce. Marketing is affected by the weak development of rural infrastructure. The poor state of the roads mentioned above requires large-scale investment in order to upgrade the production, processing and marketing systems.

The prices of agricultural products are unstable due to the high level of uncertainty and risk associated with agricultural production, and the variation in climate which oscillates between severe droughts and major floods. Under competitive conditions, the prices of agricultural products tend to be out of balance, making it difficult for

BOX 5.7 PEASANT POVERTY AND FOOD SECURITY

The loss of employment by household members, poor agricultural production and productivity, the loss of household assets because of the floods, the shortage of foodstuffs in the markets, and other natural disasters, are the prevailing causes for food insecurity and malnutrition in Mozambique.

There is a causal relationship between poverty, malnutrition and vulnerability, so that in many situations it is difficult to identify the primary cause of food insecurity or of malnutrition. Poverty can be regarded as one of the major causes of food insecurity in Mozambique. The term "poverty" refers to the inability of individuals, or of population groups, to obtain the minimum requirements for wellbeing. The level of poverty is determined mainly by the country's absolute level of per capita income, and by the scale of inter-personal distribution of income. The lower per capita income is, the greater poverty will be, and the greater the inequality in distributing the country's income, then too the greater will be the level of poverty.

TABLE 5.18 DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY IN MOZAMBIQUE (% OF POPULATION)

Province	Incidence of poverty	Human poverty
Niassa	70.6	61.8
Cabo Delgado	57.4	67.8
Nampula	68.9	63.6
Zambezia	68.1	65.3
Tete	82.3	62.1
Manica	62.6	57.5
Sofala	87.9	55.2
Inhambane	82.6	51.7
Gaza	64.7	49.1
Maputo province	65.6	37.3
Maputo City	47.8	21.1
Mozambique	69.4	56.8

Source UNDP, 2000; MPF, 1999

Women who are heads of households, and who thus have possible decision-making power over agricultural production, have smaller cultivated areas (0.5 - 1 hectare) than those cultivated by male heads of households, who mostly possess two hectares (Agricultural and Livestock Census, 1999/2000). Studies undertaken in Xai-Xai, Monapo and Macomia districts (see Table 5.19) show five reasons for women becoming heads of household:

1 Single woman, 2 Widow, 3 Separated or divorced, 4 Decision of the household, 5 Tradition.

Widows are the most vulnerable and tend to be poor, without means of sustenance. This is particularly the case in Gaza province, unlike the widows of Monapo who tend to have family support that guarantees their food security. The level of poverty is highest among the widows of Xai-Xai and Macomia.

Investment, storage and supplies of foodstuffs guarantee food security and establish the conditions for good nutrition of household members. Household assets may be the result of household agricultural production, market exchanges or transfers from family members living outside the household. Investment enables the acquisition of means of production and inputs. Lack of investment affects agricultural production, reducing the supply of food in the markets, thus leading to food insecurity and malnutrition. Agricultural marketing is only possible if there are foodstuffs to be exchanged, and money as the fundamental means of exchange. Investment can ensure the creation of assets, food for households, and with the surplus, the storage of food can be established and supplies of consumer goods maintained to guarantee food needs.

(Continued on pg 92)

Investment creates productive capacities which in turn have a multiplier effect. If households are able to generate surpluses, over and above their own food needs, these surpluses can be converted into household assets that can, in times of scarcity, be sold or exchanged for other foodstuffs or consumer goods.

Households without any capacity to invest and without assets are vulnerable to hunger, and in the event of a natural or human disaster, they will have no means of subsistence. Poor households generally do not have the purchasing power to buy basic foodstuffs, and have no investment to buy equipment and inputs for basic food crops.

Poverty, vulnerability and malnutrition are the main sources of food insecurity. These result from a series of economic, social, institutional and structural factors. Vulnerability may be socio-economic, political, military, climatic etc. Vulnerable individuals tend to lose their ability to produce, or are incapable of obtaining access to foodstuffs.

The combination of poverty, vulnerability and malnutrition results in seven critical states in the analysis of food security and nutrition:

- 1 the poor
- 2 the vulnerable
- 3 the malnourished
- 4 the poor and malnourished
- 5 the vulnerable and malnourished
- 6 the poor and vulnerable, and
- 7 the poor, malnourished and vulnerable.

TABLE 5.19 FACTORS THAT DETERMINE THE POSITION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, 2000 (%)

District	Number of households interviewed	Number of households headed by women	Factors determining position of head of household	Relative percentage
Xai-Xai	345	19	Single women	12
			Widow	15
			Separated/divorced	46
			Household decision	25
			Tradition	2
Monapo	232	153	Single women	17
			Widow	23
			Separated/divorced	49
			Household decision	5
			Tradition	6
Macomia	265	49	Single women	7
			Widow	12
			Separated/divorced	41
			Household decision	22
			Tradition	17

Source UEM, 2001

producers and traders to plan their operations.

The situation is made worse by the fact that the goods produced by the peasants are generally basic crops; the demand for these is relatively inelastic and does not vary greatly in response to alterations in relative prices.

The variability of production is very accentuated in Mozambique due to differences in agro-ecological zones and uncertain rainfall patterns. This lays greater stress on market intervention to stabilise the supplies of agricultural products, using price as an instrument.

TABLE 5.20 VALUE OF MARKETED PRODUCE, 1995-2000 (BILLION METICAIS)

Crop	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Maize	124.8	347.3	377.9	364.8	441.3	207.3
Rice	9.9	184.8	35.4	22.1	37.1	18.4
Sorghum	0.5	1.3	1.5	1.3	2.0	3.2
Cassava	7.1	6.1	16.6	18.5	19.0	29.2
Beans	56.5	101.2	90.1	104.7	183.9	236.3
Groundnuts	41.7	126.5	98.4	118.7	124.9	98.1
Sunflower	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2
Copra	28.7	37.8	65.8	78.4	88.8	49.0
Mafurra	0.7	1.0	0.3	0.6	0.3	0.2
Cashew	50.1	196.5	166.8	199.1	293.6	207.6

Source: MIC, 2000

Marketed agricultural production in Mozambique over the past six years shows a positive, but volatile and inconsistent evolution, as shown in Table 5.20. Between 1995 and 1999 there was a significant increase in the marketing of maize. But in 2000, maize marketing fell to 207.3 billion meticaais, mainly due to the floods of that year and the damage caused to communication routes in the centre and south of the country. The marketing of beans saw a remarkable growth from 56.6 billion meticaais in 1995 to 236.3 billion in 2000. Cashew nuts showed an increase of 50.1 billion meticaais in 1995 to 293.6 billion in 1999, but declined in 2000 to 207.6 billion meticaais.

In general, Niassa, Cabo Delgado and

Nampula provinces in the north of the country produce surpluses in most of these crops. In the centre of the country, there is surplus production in Zambezia, Tete and Manica, while Sofala usually runs a deficit in agricultural produce. The centre and north of Mozambique produce over 80% of the country's maize, rice, cotton, cassava and cashew. In the south of the country, agricultural production is in deficit, and depends on surpluses marketed in the centre and the north to meet food needs.

Due to the weak marketing network, and the fact that the Mozambique Cereals Institute (ICM) does not function efficiently, informal traders have a major role in agricultural marketing. Studies made by the Agronomy Faculty at the UEM show that 53% of the agricultural products sold in Maputo City are sold by informal traders, while in Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane provinces the informal traders contribute with 76%, 89% and 92% respectively.

The informal traders use a variety of road transport, including tractors, bicycles, pick-ups and trucks with a capacity of up to 10 tonnes (Morgado, 2001). Although economic theory preaches that under conditions of price

liberalisation the producer benefits, the high transaction costs, due to the cost of transport, wipe out the potential benefits to the producer of this market competition.

In the south of the country the transaction costs for maize reach 112% of the producer price in periods of hunger, and 60% in normal harvest periods. Transaction costs for beans are 35%, while for groundnuts they reach 80% due to the cost of transport (Mucavele, 2000). By and large, marketing operators tend, as far as possible, to split their transaction costs with the producers, shrinking the producers' margins while increasing the cost of the goods for the final consumer.

The dilemma of maize production in Mozambique is related to the differences

between the centres of production and of consumption. The centres where maize is consumed are located in the south of the country, but the areas with a comparative economic advantage for producing maize are in the north, particularly Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Nampula provinces. The distance between Cabo Delgado and Maputo province is about 2,300 kilometres along precarious roads, stretches of which are simply impassable.

This situation demands an assessment of possible alternatives for the distribution of resources in the production of maize and other goods, as well as policies for developing infrastructures and food security. There is a need to assess agricultural policies to identify possible policy instruments that can improve maize production strategies and reduce inefficiencies in the production and marketing systems.

In real terms, the prices of the main marketed crops produced by the peasant household sector have fallen in the past ten years. The increase in nominal prices was lower than the rise in the price of manufactured goods, and of production inputs which became very expensive. The terms of trade between agricultural and manufactured goods deteriorated.

To sum up, the main constraints on agricultural marketing are:

- Problems of access to finance under conditions appropriate for agricultural marketing;
 - Poor rural trade networks, along with precarious access roads to areas with good agricultural potential, which makes it difficult to take surplus crops to domestic and export markets;
 - Inadequate statistical control, particularly for goods sold by the informal sector;
 - Falling production of some cash crops, notably cashew nuts;
 - High costs of transport between districts and between provinces, which has helped increase prices for the final consumer;
 - Lack of an integrated strategy that would allow intervention by leading producers to improve quality and obtain greater income from their production;
 - Lack of alternative markets for produce from the north of the country.
- (Morgado, 2001)

The official data for the year 2000 show that the level of human development in Mozambique is continuing to rise, despite the difficulties caused by the floods which affected vast areas of the country that year. Preliminary estimates indicate that this rising trend continued in 2001.

The evolution of the variables that serve as the basis for calculating the HDI, namely Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita, the level of literacy and school attendance among the population, and life expectancy, show that the evolution of the human development indicators in Mozambique is challenging more sceptical opinions. That is, the HDI is displaying a certain consistency and resilience.

Mozambique's overall HDI rose from 0.346 in 1999 to 0.362 in 2000 (Table 2.1), in a year when the economic growth rate was just 1.6%. Preliminary estimates show that in 2001, Mozambique's HDI may reach 0.378 - which is a growth of 4.4% over the figure for 2000.

A major contribution to the growth in the HDI was the performance of education, compared with the other two components. The level of illiteracy fell from 60.5% in 1997 to 56.7% in 2000. During the same period life expectancy made modest gains, rising from 42.3 to 44.6 years.

The effects of the HIV/AIDS epidemic on life expectancy have not yet been properly researched. Knowledge of the demographic effects of HIV/AIDS remains inadequate, due to the limited network of sentinel sites for monitoring HIV infection. As a result, the available data only gives a broad idea of the situation of the HIV epidemic in Mozambique. The General Population Census scheduled for 2007 will determine more precisely the effects of the epidemic on demographic variables such as life expectancy.

Education and its determinant role in the fight against poverty

One factor which significantly influenced the positive performance of the HDI in 2000 is the

increase in the percentage of the Mozambican population that is literate, according to the findings of the questionnaire on Basic Indicators of Well Being (QUIBB 2001).

The overall illiteracy rate has been reduced substantially, by 3.8 percentage points between the General Population Census in 1997 and the QUIBB survey in 2000. The reduction in illiteracy was more significant among men (10%), then among women (just 4%) in this period. However, one should bear in mind that QUIBB was a survey based on a sample, and the precision of its data is not the same as that of data from a general census.

One aspect worthy of note is that, even when compared with the data from the General Population Census of 1980, the reduction in illiteracy levels still shows a strong tendency to favour the male population. The level of illiteracy among men has been reduced by about 28% over the 1980-2000 period, while among women illiteracy has gone down by only 19% over the same period. This reality is one of the most eloquent illustrations of the long journey that women still have to travel to cross the barriers of marginalisation.

Inequality in the levels of school attendance by men and women remains very high, particularly between rural and urban women.

The inference that can be drawn from the literacy indicators is that, although in general terms the universe of women deprived of access to reading and writing is shrinking, they remain at the back of the race for acquisition of knowledge when compared with their male counterparts, which limits their choices and perpetuates their lowly social status.

Inequalities in the various dimensions of development are adequately captured by the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) in Mozambique.

The data from 2000 show that, while the HDI of Mozambique grew by 10.34% between 1997 and 2000, the GDI grew by 10.1%. The conclusion that can be drawn from observing the evolution of the two indicators is that, although

the chasm of inequality is not widening, the promotion of women's advancement has not yet produced the desired effects. The ideal scenario would be one in which the GDI grows more rapidly than the HDI, to compensate for the gap between Mozambican women and men.

Deliberate efforts will have to be made to encourage improvement in the status of women, including the promotion of knowledge relevant to their specific development needs, particularly among peasant women.

The Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (PARPA) considers education in general, and the education of women in particular, as a determinant factor in combating shortfalls. Evidently, encouraging results cannot be expected in the short and medium term in the fight against poverty without putting the education of women in general, and of rural women in particular at the top of the priorities. Despite the reduction in the illiteracy rate, school attendance levels are far below what would be needed to overcome poverty.

Furthermore, the visible improvements in levels of entry hide a reality which should begin to merit the attention of the educational authorities: although an ever larger number of people have access to education, the majority of those who enter school do not conclude the various cycles of education.

Another aspect that should be stressed is that educational levels in the provinces show flagrant imbalances, with Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo provinces and Maputo city leading with literacy rates of above 50%, while the northern area brings up the rear, with Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Niassa and Zambezia provinces all with literacy rates lower than 45%. In general, the provinces increased their literacy rates between the 1997 census and the QUIBB survey of 2000 - with the exceptions of Cabo Delgado and Zambezia where, inexplicably, illiteracy actually increased.

Only more detailed research can solve this mystery. But the preliminary inference is that the expansion of supply in the education system has not been commensurate with population growth. If this prognosis is correct, then it is

imperative to take measures to correct the situation, bearing in mind that these two provinces have illiteracy rates in excess of 70%, the highest in the country.

Women in decision-making bodies: a long way to go

Mozambique has one of the highest indices of women's participation in the sphere of political decisions.

This privileged position of women is certainly praiseworthy for a country under Mozambique's development conditions where some traditional practices that place women in a subordinate situation are still predominant.

But Mozambique's position is not a coincidence. The struggle for women's emancipation dates from the dawn of the national liberation struggle led by Frelimo which culminated with Mozambican independence in 1975. This policy was followed vigorously after independence, and resulted in greater visibility for women, and in the implementation of policies sensitive to women.

But the progress represented by the presence of a large number of women in the Assembly of the Republic (parliament) contrasts with their representation in decision making bodies of democratic structures; for example, although 30% of the members of municipal assemblies are women, only one municipal assembly has a woman as its chairperson. As for the executive, only 14% of the ministers are women, 29% of the deputy ministers, and 31% of the permanent secretaries of the ministries. Evidently Mozambicans will have to make greater efforts for better representation of women. However, these indicators show significant progress toward the targets contained in the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development of 30% women in decision-making positions by 2005.

Discrimination and tradition: between reality and rhetoric

The lowly situation of women results from the status reserved for them in the context of gender

relations. These relations are social constructs developed over time. And although they adapt to new realities as societies evolve, they are not susceptible to sudden changes.

The socialisation of women from a tender age stresses inequality, and continues to put women in a subordinate position in relation to men. In some regions these practices justify the trend not to prioritise girls in access to education, resulting in marginalisation expressed by high rates of female illiteracy.

Such socialisation makes it difficult to eradicate practices that are damaging to women, such as domestic violence, a phenomenon which is still not properly dealt with or duly punished under the national legal system.

One of the most eloquent examples of the influence of tradition in determining women's place in society are the systems that govern access to, control over, and alienation of land. The five systems described in Chapter four show that, on the whole, even in communities where there are matrilineal marriage systems, women have no power over the allocation and control of this resource, which is so important for the survival and social reproduction of communities.

Promoting equality in access to this important resource does not involve an administrative break-up of the existing systems that were built over centuries and contain their own logic. But knowledge of them provides a starting point for understanding the logic of tradition better, and thus allowing an informed intervention which draws attention to the consequences of discriminating against women in access to land, and gradually furthers transformation in the social relations that are the basis for maintaining the systems described in chapter 4.

Legislation sensitive to the conditions of women

One of the major gains of Mozambican women is that the principle of equality between men and women is enshrined in the constitution. The

effect of this has been to render null and void discriminatory laws inherited from the colonial regime, because they have now become unconstitutional.

The ambiguity which has marked and still marks the application of legislation can be explained by the fact that the social transformation begun with independence has not resulted in a break with the patriarchal model which structures the model of social organisation.

Furthermore, there has not always been a consistent defence of the principle of equality in the application of laws. The reluctance to extend observance of the principles of equality to the Nationality Law is one of the clearest examples of the contradiction between the discourse of intentions and the practice of governance in the not so distant past.

The state has also been slow in repealing legislation which violates the rights enshrined in the Constitution. In a country where knowledge of the laws is very limited and where the application of justice is fragile, one cannot completely neglect the hypothesis that some of the laws that contradict the spirit of the Constitution may still be used to settle conflicts.

The political will to promote the emancipation of women is evident and unquestionable. Ratification by the Mozambican state of international conventions to protect women's rights is an example of this political commitment.

However, it is not sufficient to ratify international legal instruments. Integrating international legal instruments into Mozambican law should be complemented by some domestic initiatives, including:

- Approval of the draft Family Law which establishes equality of rights within the family;
- Drafting a law to make domestic violence a public crime;
- Introducing the legal term femicide into the penal code;
- Drawing up more rigorous procedures to punish sexual harassment;
- Rigorous compliance with the law that

- punishes sexual abuse of minors, particularly in schools;
- Establishing conditions so that the
- Ministry of Health can undertake activities to assist and support women victims of violence, and re-integrate them socially.

Low incomes, precarious living standards

Income is the main basis for ensuring a decent living standard. Official estimates indicate that 9.8 million of the 12 million or so people living below the poverty line in Mozambique are to be found in the countryside.

The index of women's participation in the labour force is 66.5%, against 73.5% for men. But only a minority of women are in formal employment, since only 22.7% of women workers earn a wage.

The relatively small number of people who are in formal waged employment illustrates the fragility of the economy, despite the recent economic growth.

Lack of opportunities for formal sector work pushes people to seek alternatives for their subsistence. In urban areas women resort to survival strategies such as the informal sector to support their families. The promotion of policies that also favour women's access to adequate income is essential for raising their standard of living.

In the rural areas, 98.4% of women work in agriculture, forestry and fishing, which, as earlier mentioned, contribute less than a third of the national wealth, although these areas occupy the majority of the population. The situation is worsened by the fragility of rural infrastructures which, for instance, do not allow access to markets and marketing networks, thus limiting households essentially to produce for their own consumption.

The housing conditions of the majority of the population, reflect the levels of generalised poverty: 76% of the houses have thatched roofs, and the percentage is high even in urban areas. Less than 2% have cement floors. Sanitation is

also precarious: it is estimated that 89% of the population either defecates in the bush or uses non-improved latrines.

Access to water may be regarded as satisfactory, since about 87% of the population are within half an hour's walk of the nearest water source. Availability of water has a great influence on the living conditions of women, since in general women are responsible for fetching this essential liquid. In areas of severe water shortages, women are obliged to walk for several kilometres to obtain it. But the main problem is that of the quality of water. It is estimated that only 37% of the population have access to clean drinking water, required to ensure a healthy life. But establishing good quality water sources, particularly in rural areas, involves high costs, which in many cases the state is unable to pay.

Toward social policies sensitive to the advancement of women

In terms of the position of development policies, the question posed today is how to reconcile the minimal state (Cohn A., 1997: 102) with the state that regulates the public domain. It is not necessarily a matter of denying the state its role, but of restructuring it within a development plan that integrates aspects of sustainable development and public policies of a social character.

One of the major problems Mozambique faces today is the idea that social policies must reflect the cost/benefit approach. This way of conceiving development, which puts excessive stress on the economic vision of efficient allocation and the optimal use of resources, while marginalising social justice, may result in worsening inequality between the sexes.

Indeed, the struggle for gender equity and equality faces conditionalities which range from the contradiction between the huge scale of the tasks to be undertaken and the scarcity of existing resources, to different conceptions with sectors of the state, linked to the fact that the behaviour of institutions is not in line with policies.

Gender equality requires combining political will, reflected in drawing up public policies expressed in concrete plans of action, with specific programmes that lead to gradual alterations in social practices. This strategy allows gender issues to be tackled in the policies of all institutions. However, it should be recognised that the government's actions are limited by conditionalities imposed from outside which sometimes make impossible activities aimed at specific social groups such as women.

The debate on gender policies implies the definition of strategies that reflect a common agenda in all sectors. The government programme and the sectoral plans show the lack of a philosophy of institutionalising gender issues. For example, the programmes of sectors such as health, education and agriculture reveal, not only different conceptions of the promotion of women, but also show the lack of a national agenda that contains the intentions and strategies of the state.

This does not mean that the state can draw up in isolation policies covering all the activities that should be undertaken to diminish gender imbalances. Such a procedure would be neither practical nor feasible. What is both possible and desirable is the establishment of social consensus that makes it possible to create a perception of gender inequality as a public problem, and which results in a common, wide-ranging strategy that would influence the initiatives of the main players.

A first step in promoting a policy of equality in Mozambique could consist of ensuring that gender strategies developed in women's organisations are closely coordinated with the general objectives of the state.

It would also be holistic and advantageous, if the integration of gender into government policies were to result from permanent dialogue on the major questions that currently mobilise society, such as the reform of the public sector, or how to expand the exercise of citizenship.

Institutions such as the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Social Welfare (MMCAS) can and should take a leadership role, both in identifying

the gender reality in the country, and in drawing up strategies and activities in the field of public policies, in, for example, education, health and labour, regarded as key areas in the struggle against inequality.

However, drafting a gender policy in Mozambique implies improving the ability of the MMCAS to intervene, both in terms of the resources allocated to it, and in terms of its influence in the state hierarchy. At the same time, there should be stronger coordination between the state and civil society networks, thus creating a dialogue between political decisions and society so that the cultural constraints that promote discrimination may eventually be overcome.

The definition of effective strategies and actions, such as the drafting of legal provisions and access of women to the public arena, can only occur if there is a constant movement between society and state, which ensures the visibility of gender issues so that they can be understood and dealt with in an integrated manner.

It is thus that legislative reforms, in public policies and in the area of discriminatory social practices, become spheres of intervention where priority should be given to permanent interaction.

This means, for example, that the social impact of the approval of the Family Law, and of the drafting of a law against domestic violence, that are challenges today in the struggle for equality between men and women, will be much more positive when accompanied by sectoral plans allowing women access to more resources and the enjoyment of more rights. This should be accompanied by concrete actions that allow men and women to create a positive representation of the social role of women.

But, in order to reach a situation of equality and equity, the priority challenge posed is the struggle against poverty. The increase in female poverty in Mozambique has strengthened discrimination against women, and only an effective policy can reverse women's current situation.

The struggle against poverty is also a struggle for greater access by Mozambican women to resources, to job opportunities, to participation in all fields of political, economic and social life, and to the full exercise of citizenship and of their human dignity.

When it is not enough to be the majority...

In politics, the political force that wins 52% of the votes in an election, would be victorious, and would have a mandate to form a government, in the name of the majority, to design and develop policies, to represent the country, to lay down the conditions under which people could be deprived of their freedom or their lives, to distribute wealth, to declare war and sign peace treaties.

But this political rule cannot be extended, by analogy, to the situation of women in the world. Although they constitute the majority of the planet's population, women are also, paradoxically, the majority of the illiterate and of the poor, their work is not valued, they are not properly represented in political and administrative decision-making bodies, they do not have access to opportunities on a footing of equality, and they are often victims of gender violence which is often legitimised by cultural practices.

Mozambique is no exception. Mozambican women, although they are more than 52% of the country's 17 million or so inhabitants, find themselves at the bottom of the ladder, confined to their role as mothers, and with a status in line with the generalised stereotype that pejoratively labels them "the weaker sex". Even in societies regarded as matriarchal, the influence of women in taking decisions that affect society is marginal, as eloquently illustrated by the systems for access to and control over land in different Mozambican communities.

The practices and data mentioned in the

previous chapters shows precisely that the group which is the majority of the population is relegated to a subordinate role, and is not adequately represented in the structures of power.

This group does not possess resources, its access to social services is limited, and is always less than that of men. It is prevented from using fully the opportunities that may improve its living conditions, and is often subject to social norms that not only ignore its specific interests as a group, but also offend its dignity as human beings.

In short, if human development is the broadening of the choices of all people, regardless of their sex, and not of a particular social or population group, then Mozambican society still has a long way to go. The logic which dictates that the majority wins has still not become a reality as regards the situation of women in the world, and of Mozambican women in particular.

The situation of shortfalls and deprivation is generalised in Mozambique, but the data discussed throughout this report prove that women face greater privations than men do. One cannot justify the perpetuation of a social injustice by using the argument that, in a situation of general poverty, the priority is not gender equality, but simply lifting people out of poverty. As was stressed earlier, the advancement of women and the promotion of equity do not result from a technocratic process, just as human development does not result simply from economic growth. Both depend on political will.

The marginalisation of women is not only an injustice against the majority of the population, but it also stains and could even undermine the development process. It wastes an important resource with the potential for contributing to a speedier reduction in the shortfalls and privations, and for solving the countless problems faced by contemporary societies.

TECHNICAL NOTE I

Reliable and coherent regional statistics are a very useful instrument for anyone taking decisions at regional level. They form a firm basis for analysing regional questions, and for formulating policies intended to reduce economic and social disparities between the regions of Mozambique. Only through the use of relevant and coherent statistics is it possible to identify objectively the regions which need assistance and to measure disparities. These statistics thus constitute an indispensable framework of summarised information, making it possible to assess the impact of regional development policies and to evaluate the scale of human development.

Mozambique is developing its production of statistics in order to respond to the information requirements of a variety of users.

The basis of demands for information stems from the fact that Mozambique is undergoing a process of growth where a package of policies for non-polarised growth requires real knowledge of the specific nature of growth in each region through the production of regional macro-economic indicators, both of the national accounts and of other socio-economic indicators.

This work describes the methodology used to disaggregate the value of the 2000 Gross Domestic Product by provinces/regions, and to update the previous estimates (1998-99), using the INE's National Accounts as the new basis.

But for the regional division of the income generated in the national territory in each year, it is important first to define some more concepts and establish rules.

Principles of regionalisation

This section explores the general principles to be used in disaggregating the GDP produced by the INE's Department of National Accounts by provinces/regions. Thus we start by

defining the concept of regional accounts and regional territory, and then establish rules for the provincial/regional breakdown of the GDP.

In an initial approach, the regional/provincial accounts consist of the regionalised registration of operations concerning the flow of goods and services between the residents of a region/province, and make possible the construction of a series of macro-economic indicators that facilitate comparisons of structure and evolving analyses of different regions. Thus each region is treated as a specific economic entity.

However this undertaking runs into some serious conceptual obstacles, since the regional territory is not a "closed area" from the point of view of its economy; that is the complete description of the economy of each region/province cannot be obtained with the same breadth or depth as a national economy, given the multiplicity of statistical restrictions on deeper knowledge of regional or provincial activities.

Like the national accounts, the regional accounts are governed by the principle of residency, according to which each economic or productive unit is allocated to a particular economic territory in relation to which it has a centre of economic interest. Thus the application of the principle of residency, as a general principle, in the regional/provincial accounts by area of activity means that the Gross Value Added should be allocated where the production unit resides. In the case of households, since they are single-region institutional units, it is considered that their centre of economic interest is in the region where the majority of their activities take place, which corresponds to the region where they live, but not necessarily the region where they work.

Delimiting the regional economy rests on the functional perspective, that is, the technical-economic unit of reference is the establishment whose activity in the region where it is located it is intended to capture.

Since the establishment is the unit which best represents regional activity, it is also here that one finds the greatest constraints on constructing an accounting system identical to that used for the national accounts, since the establishment, unlike the company, does not possess legal status, and has no autonomous accounting. This fact makes it difficult to individualise an important part of the flows supporting the production of regional accounts.

Methods of regionalisation

Methods for allocating the Gross Value Added to regions/provinces vary, since they are determined by the type of data available and the organisation of the national statistical system. In general there are three methods of regionalisation:

The Ascending Method which presupposes the collection and treatment of the elementary statistical units, taking into consideration local level units of economic activity (establishments) and institutional units (households and public administrations), and adding them together until reaching the desired regional level. This method, although it ensures the use of statistical data strictly linked to the variables that it is intended to measure at regional level, does not guarantee a priori consistency with national figures.

The Descending Method consists of disaggregation of the national product on the basis of a regional indicator, resulting in the utilisation of apportioning units, i.e. if a global indicator of the approximate phenomenon we intend to measure is used. The method is known as descending because the aggregate is allotted to a region and year on the basis of a local or regional unit of economic activity. However, the notion of local activity, in most cases, continues to require an accurate regional allocation. For example, the Gross Value Added of rail transport can be allocated to regions according to the number of passengers and aggregate tonnage of

cargo transported in a given period. This method has advantages over the previous one because it guarantees that the national figures and the regional figures are consistent, since the latter result from a division of the national total based on a distribution key - but it has disadvantages in that the regional valuations do not always result from data directly linked to the variables to be measured and the basic units in question. But this disadvantage can be less serious if the distribution indicator is correlated with the operation in question.

The Mixed Method, which consists in using simultaneously the ascending and descending methods. For the ascending method is rarely found in its pure form. There are always gaps in the data which have to be filled by using the descending approach. Similarly, many descending methods frequently include data from exhaustive sources, as do ascending estimates. Thus mixed methods are the norm, and their degree of reliability depends above all on the available statistical sources.

In this work, priority has been given to the descending method, where the main regional aggregate is a replica of the following aggregates in the national accounts: Production, Intermediate Consumption, Gross Value Added, and Gross Domestic Product (GDP), in the perspective that the output resulting from these estimates reflects the national accounts published by the INE.

One advantage of this method is the numerical coherence between the national accounts and the regional ones, i.e. it guarantees that the national figures and regional figures are consistent, knowing that the latter result from a division of the national total based on a distribution key. This method is cheaper to develop in that it uses existing data, and does not require new exhaustive records. It is the method most recommended in situations where there is no information from the units of local economic activity.

Sources of data

To regionalise most of the operations, priority was given to the sources and statistical indicators from the provinces/regions, while simultaneously verifying whether they admit the possibility of certain operations being multi-regional. In cases where the quality of the data was mediocre or unsatisfactory, or because it simply did not exist and hence for a particular operation it was not possible to use sources or indicators based on place of residence, the regional allocation of production was undertaken on the basis of value judgements and approximations on the knowledge of the reality of the regions.

Thus for the operations of allocating production and intermediate consumption which made it possible to calculate the regional/provincial GDP, the main statistical sources were the balance sheets for 142 products drawn up by the INE's Department of National Accounts, the State Budget, the Provincial Statistical Yearbooks, the data from the Early Warning system, the data from the General Population and Housing Census, accompanied by value judgements justified by lack of detailed information at provincial level.

More specifically, for agricultural products, the annual data from the Early Warning System was used, which provides estimates of production and cultivated area by province for seven major crops (unhusked rice, maize, sorghum, beans, fresh cassava, groundnuts and millet). Taken together, these account for about 75% of agricultural production (IAF96).

As for other agricultural products, for which there is no detailed provincial/regional information, the authors took the weighted average rate of production of the products in the Early Warning System, and, in some cases, the population growth rate, on the assumption that, when the market is saturated and there is no possibility of exports, production becomes stabilised at the size of the market, and its growth, in the case of perishable products, in the absence of other distorting factors,

approaches the population growth rate.

For livestock produce, the data from the lists of livestock by province, and by category and species was used, providing information on cattle, goats, pigs and other species. This was updated with the results from the Agricultural and Livestock Census.

For the fisheries sector, the allocation of production to provinces was based on the number of people employed by economic activity, in accordance with the results from IAF 96/97, and the 1997 Population Census.

For mining, the source of data was the Ministry of Mineral Resources, which possesses information broken down by provinces on quantities and prices of the main mineral products.

For manufacturing industry, the available data results from the INE's processing of the annual industrial surveys, on the information in the Provincial Statistical Yearbooks, and on the perception of the authors on the location of industrial production.

For electricity, the amount of energy invoiced by provinces, included in the EDM annual reports, was used. For piped water services, the reference data come from the water companies in each province. This information was complemented by the IAF data registering expenditure on water that is not piped. The value is updated annually by the population growth rate, with the assumption that the service bears a direct relation to the number of people who need these services.

For the construction industry, and some of the tertiary sectors (trade, banking and insurance, and real estate services) the authors created an index based on the number of workers and staff expenditure (wages and other staff costs).

For restaurants and hotels, production was allocated according to the guest-nights in hotel establishments, as registered in the Provincial Yearbooks. This criterion is more consistent with that used by the INE's department of national accounts in calculating quantitative indices for the sector.

The distribution of production in the transport and communications sector was based

on an index combining statistics of the number of vehicles, cargo handled in the ports, and the capacity used in the telephone exchanges.

Finally, for the public administration and defence services, and for health and education services, the authors used the expenditure in the state budget.

Disaggregation/regionalisation of operations

To allocate production to provinces, the reference point taken was the balance sheets for each year drawn up by the INE's Department of National Accounts for each of the 142 products, on the assumption that the sum of the production of all the provinces should be approximately equal to the value of production on the balance sheets.

At this level, one begins to have an idea of the distribution by province of the production of the main products. Once the production value was obtained, the co-efficients of intermediate consumption by activities were applied, on the assumption that the intermediate consumption and auto-consumption correspond to the same proportion of production in all provinces/regions. This hypothesis, although difficult to confirm, cannot be avoided as a result of the methodology used in this study. Finally, as the System of National Accounts (SNA93) recommends, the Value Added was estimated in residual terms, by the difference between production and intermediate consumption. Based on these criteria, the value of production, intermediate consumption and value added by provinces for 1998 and 1999 were updated, and preliminary estimates produced for 2000, both at current prices and at constant 1996 prices, which makes it possible to measure real or volume variations in production, corrected for any possible effect of price variation.

Adjustment of the provincial/regional values to the national ones

In some cases, the sum of the regional/provincial figures was not exactly the same as the national total, which meant that the regional/provincial totals had to be adjusted. These are differences that result from chance errors, from the quality of the regional/provincial data, or from specific differences in the coverage or definition of the national total. This difference was allocated proportionately to each province/region, on the basis of a single index obtained as the ratio of the national figure to the sum of the regional figures.

This same criterion was also used in the allocation of customs duties and Indirectly Measured Financial Mediation Services (SIFIM), to reach the concept of the GDP.

Quality and precision of the estimates

The quality and precision of the estimates presented here depends on the type of methodology applied, but above all on the quality of the data, a factor which is beyond our control, and necessarily involves improving the provincial statistical information. In general, the regional/provincial data are less exact than the national data, because they are based on smaller samples, and on data bases of inferior quality.

The national economy has a strong identity: the national frontiers are fixed, and cross-border flows (of people, goods, services and financial assets) are habitually measured or are even regulated. The regional economy is much more open: the regional/provincial borders vary from time to time, and the flows between regions/provinces are rarely regulated or measured. Even so, based on the available data and the criteria we have defined, it has been possible to present an estimate which, from our point of view, seems to reflect what is really happening in the Mozambican economy.

Conclusions

In this work the Descending Method has been used to disaggregate the 2000 GDP by provinces, and to update the previous estimates. For sources of data, the authors used the balance sheets, the Provincial Statistical Yearbooks, data from the Early Warning System, as well as the data from the General Population and Housing Census, accompanied by value judgements to disaggregate gross production and intermediate consumption by provinces/regions and produce estimates of Value Added at this level, in the perspective that the resulting estimates would mirror the national accounts compiled and published by the INE.

Based on these assumptions, an estimate was first made of the value of production of each of the sectors of activity, and by provinces/regions, based on a sample of 142 products regarded as representative of all economic activity. Once the production value was obtained, the co-efficients of intermediate consumption by activities were applied, on the assumption that these are the same for all provinces. Finally, the Value Added was estimated, as the difference between production and intermediate consumption. The proportional allocation of the Customs Duties and SIFIM made it possible to adjust the Gross Value Added to the concept of the Gross Domestic Product.

The precision and quality of the estimates presented here depends on the type of methodology applied, but above all on the quality of the data, a factor which is beyond the authors' control, and necessarily involves improving the provincial statistical information. Even so, based on the available data and the criteria we have defined, it has been possible to present an estimate which, from our point of view, seems to reflect what is really happening in the Mozambican economy.

TECHNICAL NOTE 2

Calculating the Gender-related Development Index (GDI)¹

The HDI, as an indicator of human development, is complemented with the Gender-related Development Index (GDI). The calculation of the GDI is based on the same variables as the HDI, with the difference that the GDI adjusts the average achievement in life expectancy, educational attainment and income in accordance with the disparity in achievement between women and men. In other words, the GDI is the HDI adjusted to take account of sexual inequality.

In this study the weighting formula was set at $e = 2$, taken from UNDP (1999), which expresses a moderate aversion to inequality (it is the harmonic mean of the male and female values).² As in the HDI, in constructing the GDI the following maximum and minimum values were established.

Life expectancy at birth: Maximum 82.5 and 87.5 years for men and women respectively; Minimum 22.5 and 27.5 years for men and women respectively. The difference reflects the fact that women tend to live longer than men, given the same care (medical care, nutrition etc.)

The same maximum and minimum values as used in calculating the HDI were maintained for the Adult Literacy Rate, the Combined Gross Enrolment Rate, and real per capita GDP, as well as the formula for calculating the individual indices.

The equally distributed life expectancy index is given by:

{[female population share x (female life expectancy index)^(1-e) + [male population share x (male life expectancy index)^(1-e)]}

¹ Based on Technical Note of GHDR 1995.

² Expresses a moderate degree of inequality aversion and it is calculated as a constant average of the male and female values.

Likewise, the equally distributed educational index is given by:

$$\{[\text{female population share x (educational attainment index)}^{(1-e)} + [\text{male population share x (educational attainment index)}^{(1-e)}]]^{(1-e)}$$

Income calculation

Values of per capita GDP (PPP US\$) for women and for men are calculated from the female share (s_f) and male share (s_m) of earned income. In an ideal situation where data on non-agricultural wages exist, UNDP recommends that these shares be estimated, successively, from the ratio of the female wage (w_f) to the male wage (w_m) and the percentage shares of women (ea_f) and men (ea_m) in the economically active population, in the following way:

$$\text{Female share of the wage bill} = \frac{(w_f/w_m) \times ea_f}{(w_f/w_m) \times ea_f + ea_m}$$

When data on the wage ratio are not available, as is the case in Mozambique, the same document suggests an estimate of 75%, the weighted average of the wage ratios for countries with wage data out of the series of countries included in the study (130 countries) of which Mozambique is part. This value means that, on average, the wages of women are 25% lower than those of men.

Assuming that the total GDP (PPP US\$) of a country (Y) is divided between men and women according to s_f , then the total GDP (PPP US\$) going to women is given by ($s_f \times Y$), and the total GDP (PPP US\$) going to men is [$Y - (s_f \times Y)$].

Per capita GDP (PPP US\$) of women is $y_f = s_f \times Y/N_f$, where N_f is the total female population.

Per capita GDP (PPP US\$) of men is $y_m = [Y - (s_f \times Y)]/N_m$, where N_m is the total male population.

Treating income in the same way as in the construction of the HDI, the adjusted income for women $w(y_f)$ is given by:

$$w(y_f) = \frac{\text{Log } y_f - \text{Log } y_{min}}{\text{Log } y_{max} - \text{Log } y_{min}}$$

The adjusted income for men $w(y_m)$ is given by:

$$w(y_m) = \frac{\text{Log } y_m - \text{Log } y_{min}}{\text{Log } y_{max} - \text{Log } y_{min}}$$

The equally distributed income index is given by:

$$\{[\text{female population share x } (w(y_f)^{(1-e)} + \text{male population share x } (w(y_m)^{(1-e)})]^{(1-e)}$$

Illustration of the GDI methodology

The construction of the GDI is illustrated below with two examples, Mozambique and Cameroon. The aversion to inequality formula, e, is 2.

Population (millions)

	Mozambique	Cameroon
Total	16.841	13.924
Women	8.758	7.009
Men	8.083	6.915

Percentage share of population

	Mozambique	Cameroon
Women	52.0	50.3
Men	48.0	49.7

Step 1

Calculating the equally distributed life expectancy index

Life expectancy at birth (years)

	Mozambique	Cameroon
Women	45.3	56.0
Men	41.7	53.4

Life expectancy index

	Mozambique	Cameroon
Women	$(45.3 - 27.5)/60$ $= 0.297$	$(56.0 - 27.5)/60$ $= 0.476$
Men	$(41.7 - 22.5)/60$ $= 0.320$	$(53.4 - 22.5)/60$ $= 0.516$

Equally distributed life expectancy index

$\{[\text{female population share} \times (\text{female life expectancy index})^{-1}] + [\text{male population share} \times (\text{male life expectancy index})^{-1}]\}^{-1}$

Mozambique $\{0.520 \times (0.297)^{-1} + 0.480 \times (0.320)^{-1}\}^{-1} = 0.307$

Cameroon $\{0.503 \times (0.476)^{-1} + 0.497 \times (0.516)^{-1}\}^{-1} = 0.495$

Step 2

Calculating the equally distributed educational attainment index

Adult literacy rate (%)

	Mozambique	Cameroon
Women	25.9	64.6
Men	55.4	79.0

Adult literacy index

	Mozambique	Cameroon
Women	$(25.9 - 0)/100$ $= 0.259$	$(64.6 - 0)/100$ $= 0.646$
Men	$(55.4 - 0)/100$ $= 0.554$	$(79.0 - 0)/100$ $= 0.790$

Combined gross enrolment rate (%)

	Mozambique	Cameroon
Women	27.3	39.2
Men	38.3	47.6

Combined gross enrolment index

	Mozambique	Cameroon
Women	$(27.3 - 0)/100$ $= 0.273$	$(39.2 - 0)/100$ $= 0.392$
Men	$(38.3 - 0)/100$ $= 0.383$	$(47.6 - 0)/100$ $= 0.476$

Educational attainment index = 2/3 (adult literacy index) + 1/3 (combined gross enrolment index)

Women

Mozambique $2/3 (0.259) + 1/3 (0.273) = 0.264$

Cameroon $2/3 (0.646) + 1/3 (0.392) = 0.561$

Men

Mozambique $2/3 (0.554) + 1/3 (0.383) = 0.497$

Cameroon $2/3 (0.790) + 1/3 (0.476) = 0.685$

Equally distributed educational attainment index

$\{[\text{female population share} \times (\text{educational attainment index})^{-1}] + [\text{male population share} \times (\text{educational attainment index})^{-1}]\}^{-1}$

Mozambique $\{0.520 \times (0.264)^{-1} + 0.480 \times (0.497)^{-1}\}^{-1} = 0.340$

Cameroon $\{0.503 \times (0.561)^{-1} + 0.497 \times (0.685)^{-1}\}^{-1} = 0.616$

Step 3

Calculating the equally distributed income index

Percentage share of the economically active population

	Mozambique	Cameroon
Women (ea_f)	53.9	38.3
Men (ea_m)	46.1	61.7

Ratio of female non-agricultural wage to male non-agricultural wage: 0.750

Mozambique

Per capita GDP (\$PPP) 851.0

Total GDP (\$PPP) $851.0 \times 16.841 \times 10^6$
 $= 14.332 \times 10^6$

Cameroon

Per capita GDP (\$PPP) 1,890.0

Total GDP (\$PPP) $1,890.0 \times 13.924 \times 10^6$
 $= 26.316 \times 10^6$

Female share of income (s_f)

Mozambique $(0.750 \times 0.539)/0.750 \times 0.539 + 0.461 = 0.467$

Cameroon $(0.750 \times 38.3)/(0.750 \times 0.383 + 0.617) = 0.318$

Total female GDP (\$PPP)

Mozambique $0.467 \times 14.332 \times 10^6$ (\$PPP)
 $= 6.700 \times 10^6$ (\$PPP)

Cameroon $0.318 \times 26.31^6 \times 10^6$ (\$PPP)
 $= 8.368 \times 10^6$ (\$PPP)

Total male GDP (\$PPP)

Mozambique $14.332 \times 10^6 - 6.700 \times 10^6 =$
 7.632×10^6 (\$PPP)

Cameroon $26.316 \times 10^6 - 8,368 \times 10^6 =$
 17.948×10^6 (\$PPP)

Per capita female GDP (\$PPP)

Mozambique $6.700 \times 10^6 / 8.758 \times 10^6 =$
 765.1 (\$PPP)

Cameroon $8.368 \times 10^6 / 7.009 \times 10^6 =$
 $1,194.0$ (\$PPP)

Per capita male GDP (\$PPP)

Mozambique $7.632 \times 10^6 / 8.083 \times 10^6 =$
 944.2 (\$PPP)

Cameroon $17.948 \times 10^6 / 6.915 \times 10^6 =$
 $2.596.0$ (\$PPP)

Real per capita GDP index (\$PPP):**Women W (y_f)****Mozambique**

$$\{\log (765.1) - \log (100)\} / \{\log (40.000 - \log (100))\} = 0.340$$

Cameroon

$$\{\log (1.194.0) - \log (100)\} / \{\log (40.000 - \log (100))\} = 0.414$$

Real per capita GDP index (\$PPP): Men W (y_m)**Mozambique**

$$\{\log (944.2) - \log (100)\} / \{\log (40.000 - \log (100))\} = 0.375$$

Cameroon

$$\{\log (2.596.0) - \log (100)\} / \{\log (40.000 - \log (100))\} = 0.544$$

Equally distributed income index

$$\{[\text{female population share} \times (w(y_f)^{-1}) + \text{male population share} \times (w(y_m)^{-1})]^{-1}\}$$

Mozambique

$$\{0.520 \times (0.340)^{-1} + 0.480 \times (0.375)^{-1}\}^{-1} = 0.356$$

Cameroon

$$\{0.503 \times (0.414)^{-1} + 0.497 \times (0.544)^{-1}\}^{-1} = 0.469$$

Step 4**Calculating the GDI****Mozambique**

$$1/3 (0.307 + 0.340 + 0.356) = 0.334$$

Cameroon

$$1/3 (0.495 + 0.616 + 0.469) = 0.527$$

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