[GADering WID Boserup]
Three perspectives on women and the gender impasse in the Mozambican district of Nacala Porto.

Master Thesis in Peace and Development Studies
Spring 2008

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to understand the situation concerning women and gender in relation to development, in the Mozambican district of Nacala Porto. The ambition is to identify present theoretical feminist perspectives in terms of perceived problems for women, their ability to solve them, focus areas for improvement and strategies for reaching development aims.

To enable an understanding of the situation concerning women and gender in relation to development, we have conducted an analytical framework consisting of three main theoretical feminist perspectives in international development policies. These were applied as analytical tools, which consisted of Ester Boserups perspective of Women’s role in economic development, Women In Development (WID) and Gender And Development (GAD).

The study displayed a discrepancy between the powerful women in the Mozambican parliament and the lack of social power described by the women in Nacala Porto. At the district level the results showed a dominating modernistic paradigm, similar to the situation identified by Boserup, who emphasised that the economical development did not benefit women equally. The subordination of women has been apparent in the district. The long-term strategy of transforming the gender structure has been met with support as well as resistance. The GAD-aim of mainstreaming gender showed a gap between international policy and practise in the district. The interventions that were WID-oriented have on the other hand shown progress regarding female representation, non-discriminatory legislation and increase of girls starting primary school. However, the WID-progress is limited without a gender perspective.

Three main areas were continuously discussed as means having to change, to potentially alleviate poverty and include women in the development process. These areas were the access to employment, sustainable education and functioning family relations. The interdependence of these areas also seemed to require an integration of the three theoretical feminist perspectives of Boserup, WID and GAD.

Key words: Boserup, WID, GAD, women, gender, development, Nacala Porto, Mozambique
Acknowledgements
We would like to express our gratitude to the women and men in Maputo, Nampula and especially Nacala Porto who enabled this thesis with generosity and candour. Your knowledge, experience and opinion have been indispensable. We are also deeply thankful to Anders Nilsson, Armando Ali and Louis Camillo who interpreted Nacala Porto to us in innumerable ways. Our sincere gratitude particularly concerns the unceasing wisdom, commitment and encouragement from our tutor Anders Nilsson.
We are further thankful to Gunilla Åkeson, Nelia Taimo and Kajsa Johansson for contributing with your gender expertise, local experiences and language translations. Finally we would like to express our thankfulness to our classmates and companions on this grand journey.

It has been a truly insightful process to be inspired by and cooperate with all of you.
**Abbreviations**

- **ADB**: African Development Bank
- **AIDS**: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
- **ADPP**: Development Aid from People to People
- **AMODER**: Associação Moçambicana Para o Desenvolvimento Rural
- **BIM**: Banco Internacional de Moçambique
- **Comutra**: Comité de Mulher Trabalhadora
- **DFID**: Department For International Development
- **FRELIMO**: The Liberation Front of Mozambique
- **GAD**: Gender And Development
- **GDI**: Gender Development Index
- **HDR**: Human Development Report
- **HIPC**: Heavily Indebted Poor Country
- **HIV**: Human Immunodeficiency Virus
- **INAS**: Instituto Nacional de Acção Social
- **NDC**: Nacala Development Corridor
- **NGO**: Non-Governmental Organisation
- **OMM**: Organizaçao da Mulher Moçambicana
- **OTM**: Organizaçao dos Trabalhadores de Moçambique
- **RENAMO**: The Mozambican National Resistance
- **SARDC**: Southern African Research and Development Centre
- **UNESCO**: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
- **UNDP**: United Nations Development Program
- **WID**: Women In Development
- **WIDSAA**: Women In Development Southern African Awareness
- **WLSA**: Women and Law in Southern Africa
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1. Introduction

This chapter contains the problem definition of this master thesis that evolves into the purpose of the study. The delimitation is explained to enable a clear and explicit approach, which is further facilitated by a description of the researchers and an outline of the study.

1.1 Problem definition

Mozambique is a country that is experiencing great inequality between its female and male inhabitants and is ranked at the 149th place in the Gender-related Development Index (GDI) out of 165 countries (UNDP, 2005). Concurrently, Mozambique is one of the most aid dependent countries in the world, qualifying as a Heavily Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) according to the World Bank (2006). The international debate regarding aid has since the 1970s been characterised by policy attempts to improve the situation and position of women. Female representation in the administration at central, provincial and partially at district level statistically shows progress. There are 35 percent of parliament members that are women (HDR, 2007/2008).

However, during our field research, in the semi-industrial district of Nacala Porto, we identified several problematic relations that concern men and women. The women we have met and observed experienced hardship, discrimination, abandonment, powerlessness and limited alternatives for their livelihood. It seemed like public representation of women was existing simultaneously with cultural forces that are preserving women’s subordinate position in society, instead of redefining them (WLSA, 2007:17-19). These forces may explain why the results of the GDI of Mozambique have improved, with the increased numbers of girls starting school (HDR, 2007/2008, Table 4. in appendix 2). However, according to our findings it actually had a small impact on the lives of girls or women, because most of them never graduated. This indicated a gap between the external perspectives on women in Mozambique with signified positive progress, in GDI and parliament representation, compared to the actual access to development for the majority of women in the country.

1.2 Purpose of study

We found it intriguing to study the situation of a country that is influenced by aid dependency and gender inequality related to the recent development debate regarding
women and gender. Adding our experiences, interviews and observations in Nacala Porto, it raised the question weather the transformation in the theoretical debate regarding women and gender was out of pace with the essential changes of life for Mozambican women and men. A presentation of three main feminist perspectives of development resulted in an analytical framework. The framework was applied as an analytical tool to enable a greater understanding and insight towards the implementation of the policy formulations. These contained the perspectives of Women’s role in economic development (Boserup, 2007), Women In Development (WID) and Gender And Development (GAD). The analytical framework enabled us to contemplate the reality of Nacala Porto and gather understanding of the process towards gender equality. In the concluding discussion reasoning regarding policy formulations was attempted. This was based on our findings in Nacala Porto, relating to the perspectives of Ester Boserup, WID and GAD.

Hence, the purpose of this study is to understand the situation for women and gender in relation to development. Which theoretical feminist perspectives were present in order to identify problems for women, their ability to solve problems, focus areas for improvement and strategies for reaching development aims? This subsequently served as a base to identify what kind of theoretical policy and implementation that may be appropriate and beneficial for the women in Nacala Porto.

1.3 The researchers

Lina Danielsson and Hanna Jakobson have composed this thesis based on field research in Mozambique. We were accompanied by twelve fellow students, two tutors and one assistant from the University of Växjö, as well as four locally based assistants. This study is our own, but we have collected, shared, discussed and analysed part of our material with our companions. The two of us are both Swedish women in our twenties with Bachelor education. Our mutual pre-understanding stems from our cultural background with the western media framing format of Africa and the educational information at the masters program in peace- and development studies. Except for our educational variation, with journalism and economics as main subjects, differences of personal character exist. In terms of local experiences, none of us had previously been to Mozambique. For one of us, the field research was the first journey to Africa, for the other one it was a return trip to the continent.
Except for the various perspectives that our individual lives have brought us, we shared a common interest for the situation and position of women, being influenced by the western feminism in our culture. Our ambition though, was to experience Mozambique with openness to new perspectives and conduct an analysis with a reflective mind. However, the thematic outset of the thesis has been to study the situation for and position of women in relation to men. The terms of reference are attached in Appendix 1, for further information.

1.4 Delimitation and scope

Time, geographic limitation and the local political situation influenced our experiences in the Mozambican society, which previously only had been present in books and lectures. The country of focus was suggested by our tutor due to his extensive experience in Mozambique. The period of field research, from the 28th of March to the 30th of April 2008, was planned according to the university curriculum. The writing process was completed the 9th of June the same year. Three out of the five weeks in the field was spent in Nacala Porto in the northern province of Nampula. The district choice of Nacala Porto was made by the provincial administration, possibly due to the unstable and polarised political situation, which occasionally have restricted our research. The situation may in general be described as a territorial struggle for power between the governmental party of FRELIMO, which is represented in the district administration, and the opposition party of RENAMO that directs the City Municipality. The political tension in Nacala Porto has limited our possibility of independent observations and access to respondents.

Considering that our field research could be counted in weeks, we have experienced many different levels of society. Waving to the Mozambican president in a street filled with celebration on one day and having dinner with young prostitutes in an isolated part of a restaurant the following evening. Semi-structured interviews served as the base of our empirical data, amounting to 50 interview occasions. Out of these occasions we have interviewed 141 respondents, whence 71 were women and 70 were men. Additionally we have conducted an uncounted amount of informal interviews and attended 12 meetings with Mozambican persons with expertise in politics, journalism, economics, women’s rights etc. Due to the complexity of our chosen area of study,
certain aspects of influence or importance were not included in our analysis. This regarded aspects such as the impact of religion and HIV/AIDS.

1.5 Outline of the study

The division of chapters is separated in to six sections. This chapter (1) introduces the thesis and its authors followed by a description of methods used in the process (2). The background chapter (3) indicates the situation for and position of women in Nacala Porto, based on previous reports and statistics. The theoretical chapter (4) shapes the prerequisite for an analysis of our empirical findings in Nacala Porto. In the analysis chapter (5) the analytical framework is applied to the empirical findings, by using the three different feminist theoretical perspectives, further divided into different policy aspects. The discussion chapter (6) is the final section of our process of study, it reflects the potential process of bringing about social change for women and men in development. It contains reasoning regarding the previously documented background, empirical findings and analysis is presented with the purpose of formulating a policy based on the perspectives of Boserup, WID and GAD.
2. Methodology

This chapter shapes the prerequisite for conducting an analysis of our empirical findings. Handling aspects like the livelihood strategies of Mozambican women in the countryside, the perception of female labour at the factory director’s office and the effect of girl’s education in the household, require systematic and honest methods that are described in this section. Methodological considerations and practical methods are further accounted for related to the creditability and dependability of the thesis.

2.1 Hermeneutic theory of science

The thesis was based upon a hermeneutic theory of science, which takes interest in the knowledge of humans and their relations to each other. The hermeneutic approach is especially suitable for studies regarding social situations and individual problems. Where it is suitable to apply empathy, strive for new knowledge and the relation between the part and the whole to the subject of study. The hermeneutic theory is characterised by the interpretation and understanding, which is corresponding with the methodological aim of our thesis. (Helenius, 1990:64)

2.1.1 Abductive approach

The abductive approach, methodologically used as a model to understand the situation/position of women in Nacala Porto, is partially a combination between induction and deduction. Rather than using an inductive approach based on empirical observations, or applying a deductive procedure that is theory based, abduction moves between the two. New features are also added to the approach. For this study an analytical framework was created that functioned as an instrument to review the subject of research. During the process, the empirical area of application gradually evolved while the theory was adjusted and sharpened. The abductive approach also distinguishes itself by implicating understanding as a central concept. (Alvesson et al. 1994:41-43)

2.1.2 Interpretative society research

The hermeneutic tradition of interpretative research implicates the concepts of interpretation/understanding, rather than applying an ambition to reach absolute
explanations or causes for a specific phenomenon or studied situation. (Helenius, 1990:24) Paradoxically, explanation and understanding are partially the bipolar opposites while working in conjunction. A process of interpretation and understanding will in practice contain both explanations and understanding, but it is still dominated by the hermeneutic interest of understanding. (Helenius, 1990:84, 280-281) It is, according to Helenius (1990:21), in the nature of interpretative society research to experience commitment for the subject of study and the task of research. This was in line with the attitudes and aspirations we had for the subject, process and particularly for the district and the persons that were taking part in the study.

2.1.3 Reflective understanding
As the researches become an instrument of interpretation themselves, a reflective way of thinking is significant. To consider the tendencies by looking at the world, while also exploring the criticism of the predominating world-view. Reflective research is also directed inwards, to the researchers own position in relation to theory, concepts, approach and methods of choice. Understanding may therefore be separated into subjective understanding grounded in the researcher and external understanding based on knowledge that concerns how the society works as a whole. (Helenius, 1990:246, 264-275) Another characteristic that is applied to reflective understanding is the aspect of social criticism. The concept of society thereby covers the process within individuals and their collective surroundings, which in someway affect their thoughts and actions. (Helenius, 1990:273) Hence, it was important for us to reflect on our own theoretical positions in regard to feminism and western world ethnocentrism. Perceptiveness towards unfamiliar perspectives and knowledge that was unfamiliar to us was also of importance.

2.2 Field research
The field research has been conducted in the Mozambican district of Nacala Porto, subsequent to entering a society that was previously unfamiliar to us. The empirical findings gradually took shape through interviews from semi-structured to informal sorts, in combination with meetings, observations, experiences and statistics. In line with Britha Mikkelsen (2005:180) we would also like to emphasise that interviews and observations always will contain an element of interpretation and we did not have the ambition to declare our empirical findings as facts.
2.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

In qualitative interviews only some of the questions and topics are predetermined, leaving others to be formulated during the interaction between the researcher and the respondent. (Mikkelsen, 2005:169-172) The qualitative and semi-structured interview has been our main tool for collecting data in the field. The interviews have been undertaken with individuals and groups. Ranging from individual interviews underneath a mango tree and meetings with key informants at their office, to group interviews in a secondary school classroom.

The framing of our interviews have also been diversified regarding the open or closed approach of asking questions. When viewing the respondents through a family perspective, regardless if the family currently contained all the original members, we used pre-determined interview guides. However, the semi-structured interview remained by being flexible with the sequence of questions, while allowing additional follow-up questions. The majority of our interviews were conducted without the family interview guide, with a variety of questions depending on the situation and position of the respondent. Due to logistical reasons the interviewers also varied, in numbers and constellations. Some of the respondents were of interest to other researchers in our group, which resulted in a larger amount of interviewers. Another continuous occurrence was the need to separate the two of us due to simultaneous interviews with different respondents.

2.2.2 Informal interviews

The process of informal interviews is described to emerge from the immediate context. Questions are thereby asked without the predetermination of topics, taking a participatory form that is characterised as a conversation. (Mikkelsen, 2005:169-171) Our informal interviews have proved to be essential in contributing to the understanding of men’s and women’s experiences, behaviours and feelings regarding their situation and position in the society of Nacala Porto. For instance, this appeared when spending an evening with three women at a bar, discussing the personal relationships with men and the treatment of women who chose to live without. Or through individual conversations with men who were in our sphere of friends, where
they expressed the aspects and expectations of male-hood in the Nampula province and Mozambique.

2.2.3 Observations and experiences
Observations of physical structures, social differences, behaviour, action and symbols provide important information for posing central questions. (Mikkelsen 2005:88)
Our experiences and observations have been significant in our analysis. However, they never came from within the society, due to our outsider perspective and privileged situation. When we observed the rows of men that shouldered themselves forward to the best view of the performance on the national celebration of women, we were ourselves placed at the elevated podium. Similar situations constituted a certain perspective that was different, but still significant in our understanding.

2.2.4 Statistical data
Statistical data was used in two separate ways. In the first section of the thesis statistical data was applied to present an indication of the situation for and position of women in Mozambique, and more specifically in Nacala Porto. In the second section, statistics was used to reinforce and substantiate the interviews and observations. The data was thereby also part of our empirical findings that was gathered during our field research in the district. We generally valued documented statistics collected from organisations and departments as reliable.

2.2.5 Criticism of the sources
All our interviews have been conducted with the assistance of translators, in the national language Portuguese and/or the local language Mawkua. Our main translators consisted of our Swedish tutor and a Mozambican NGO-worker, whom we placed our full confidence in. On occasion, due to logistical reasons, other translators collaborated with us and we had no apparent reasons to question their competence. However, when persons with political, economical or social interest actively translated or took part in our interviews, these were removed or more critically reflected upon. Considering the translation as a hole, there was also a risk that linguistic and/or cultural understanding has been lost or misinterpreted. But we perceived this risk as minimised due to the vast local knowledge of our translators.
Mikkelsen (2005:177-178) emphasised the importance of qualifications of the researchers in qualitative interviewing. Persons respond differently depending on how they perceive the interviewer. This regards improvable factors such as the attitude and knowledge of the interviewer, as well as immutable factors such as sex, age and ethnic origins. We were aware of the involuntary appearance and consequential preconception of being two young, western women. And the appearance and conception continually changed due to our different constellation of interviewers. Having this said, we did not take this into consideration during the analysis of our interview material in the sense that we had any reason to doubt the knowledge expressed by the respondents. Our distinguished appearance occasionally increased our understanding, as we took note of reactions as a part of our observations. Another aspect of the qualification of the interviewers regarded the procedure of asking questions. We have tried to avoid leading questions during our interviews, but might in other ways have influenced the responses by taking examples from our own experiences and/or opening up for reversed interviewing. In this way we could achieve a more dynamic, explanatory and participatory interaction during some of the interviews.

Using an interview guide increased the comprehensiveness of the data in a systematic way, but it was not undertaken in a consequent manner. The reason was the time aspect in combination with our ambition to use the specific knowledge of each individual and group. This has resulted in an expanding understanding, at the expense of low comparability. According to Mikkelsen (2005:171), different information from different people amounts into a reduction in comparability of the responses. Adding the informal interviews further complicated the ambition of a systematic and comprehensible analysis. This critique was taken into account and was partly counterbalanced by attempting a transparency of method.

A transparent mode of procedure was also attempted in terms of gathered statistics. The collection of statistical data has been uneven in both a geographical and thematic sense. Due to unreliable and sometimes non-existing sources, we have not reinforced some of our focus areas with statistics. In the specific areas of health and politics the inability or perceived reluctance to provide assistance, due to the respondent’s position and/or presumptions regarding our research, has played a significant part. Hence, our statistics
are used with precaution in a manner of transparency. Additionally, statistics that are national rather than local was applied in some circumstances to increase the credibility of the statistics.

2.3 Analytical procedure

An analytical process was partially present during the collection of data. However, following our experiences in Mozambique, our material and understanding was thoroughly reviewed to regain an overall view subsequent to our return at the University of Växjö. Discussions regarding different theoretical perspectives were present throughout the process and Boserup, WID and GAD were chosen as they were internationally recognised in the recent development paradigms. The three of them have all been present in the policies of international institutions and organisations in different extents, during different eras. They thereby qualified as the main theoretical perspectives regarding women and/or gender, according to our understanding. By shaping an analytical framework out of the principal similarities and differences between the perspectives of Boserup, WID and GAD, enabled us to sort the empirical findings in an analytical and systematic procedure. This is further explained in relation to the framework model (4.5) in the theory section.

2.4 Credibility and dependability

In qualitative research such as this thesis, validity and reliability requires a partially different way of valuation compared to quantitative studies. We have applied concepts that are more suitable for qualitative studies, where the validity is expressed in creditability and the reliability is formulated as dependability. Qualitative alignments consider a clear description regarding the collecting and processing of the empirical data in a systematic and honest way. The credibility of the thesis was viewed through the criteria documented by Ronny Gunnarsson (2002) regarding communicative validity, triangulation and participatory control. The dependability was also reviewed by the criteria of Gunnarsson, by evaluating the quality of technical equipment and ourselves as researchers.

2.4.1 Communicative validity

Communicative validity comprises the ability to communicate how the process of research affects the validity of attained knowledge. A description of the researchers
pre-understanding, background, education and personal experiences is an influencing part of the communicative validity (Gunnarsson, 2002), which is dealt with in the introduction chapter (1.3). In this chapter we have also given a detailed description of our gathering of data, taking the limited time of field research into account. Our weeks on location may in regard to the scientific field of peace and development, be seen as a short time that decreases credibility. But we have used the time efficiently, with a leading edge due to preparation, a competent tutor and a vast national network.

Events and occurrences have been plentiful during our field research and have expanded a general gender perspective to three main feminist perspectives. Decisions of direction were made when we met several abandoned mothers that indicated a phenomenon where fathers left their responsibility behind. Or during the visits to factories were the male employees were counted in hundreds and the female workers on one hand. Or looking at the improved representation of women in parliament, realising that the percentage of female ministers in parliament was more than the percentage of girls finishing secondary school in Nacala Porto\(^1\). Family relations, the labour market and girl’s education thereby became prioritised interests for our interviews towards the end.

The perceived absence of a gender perspective at the district level, and disinterest of implementing one at provincial and central level were concerning. The complexity of applying a gender perspective to our findings made us question our own points of departure. This resulted in taking two steps back from the present discussion of GAD-policies, to the predecessor perspective of WID, and finally the origin of emphasising women in development through the findings of Ester Boserup (2007). In this way we could place the situations, positions and opinions of women and men in different or several perspectives. For instance, this included the gender knowledge of the director in a women’s organisation in Maputo, as well as the personal experiences of women from a divorced man in Nacala Porto. Due to our interpretative approach we have also attained transparency regarding the source and reliability without jeopardising the ethics of confidentiality for the respondents. An exception is the identification by title,

\(^1\) There are 34,8 percent women in parliament (DFID, 2007:12) and 23 percent of the pupils in twelfth grade at secondary school in Nacala Porto are girls (District Educational Department in Nacala Porto, 2008)
concerning official persons in the Mozambican administration or organisation, as their specific position was of importance to the study.

### 2.4.2 Triangulation

Triangulation has been present throughout the process. The triangulation of sources was continuously used, where several different persons with varied relations to the problem were asked of their perceptions. The respondents belonged to a range of different levels of society, gender and the polarisation of political views. More importantly we have used theory triangulation in the process, by analysing the attained material with differing theoretical perspectives. The critique of the triangulation may concern the mutual interests in the theoretical perspectives that are all grounded in feminist ideologies. The observatory triangulation could also be criticised with similar arguments, since a feminist interest intrigued us to choose the present field of study. On the contrary, as previously mentioned, it is in the nature of interpretative society research to experience commitment for the subject of study and the tasks of research (Helenius 1990:21).

### 2.4.3 Participatory control

Participatory control was only present in a minimal extent through occasional clarification methods during the interviews. Besides three exceptions, the informants were not given the opportunity to correct misinterpretations or add clarification to the material after the interviews.

### 2.4.4 Quality of technical equipment

No technical equipment was used during the interviews, from where the majority of the data was gathered. Rather than using recorded material to double-check the accuracy of the perceived material, we were systematically more than one person taking extensive notes, in addition to the translator that was used. In this way the interview material we received was filtrated through several recipients, even if it may not be as dependable as a recording.
2.4.5 Quality of researchers

The quality of researchers regards the ability to conduct good observations and interviews. (Gunnarsson, 2002) Interview technique has been part of our university education, with practical implementation that took place before our journey to Mozambique. For further insight we have described the different interview strategies and structure in this chapter. Our adaptability has gradually increased throughout the process and has affected the remaining gathering of data, by narrowing down the focus after identifying certain patterns or problems previously described. The quality of tutorial supervision and translation has been high. Anders Nilsson, a scientist in peace-and development with Mozambique as a special country of interest and experience, worked as a credible factor of quality control. A panel of Swedish persons with additional expertise regarding Mozambique also contributed to quality control by participating in the examination of the thesis.
3. The situation for and position of women

This chapter aims to describe the situation for women in Mozambique with a special focus on our chosen district Nacala Porto and the Northern Province of Nampula. Looking at issues regarding survival strategies for women and the inter-human relationships between men and women will increase the basis of understanding for our analysis.

3.1 The female labour market in transition

Livelihood strategies for women have changed and are continuing to change from the local to the global level, for instance in terms of urbanisation and economy. (Espling, 1999:51) Due to the multiple roles and responsibilities for women, several strategies have to be developed. (Espling, 1999:32) One identified change for women in urban areas are an increased need for money income. Women now have to work in the formal sector like their husbands to contribute to the household economy. (Espling, 1999:230-245)

In the central and northern parts of Mozambique, women are working less in the formal sector than men in both urban and rural areas. In the southern part however, women are more economically active compared to the men in urban areas, whereas women in rural areas are slightly less active.\(^2\) (Appendix 2, table 1) In urban areas agriculture and fisheries are female dominated sectors and have 57 percent of women living in cities employed, trade respectively has 23 percent. In rural areas the majority of both men and women work in the agriculture and fishing sector, consisting of 98 percent women and 88 percent men of the rural population in Mozambique. Both men and women in rural areas are therefore not available for work in other sectors at a large extent. (Appendix 2, table 2) In labour sectors that are common for women, although at a lower rate than men, women usually have lower wages with smaller opportunities to advance in comparison. (ADB 2004:22-23) In times of unemployment women are pushed into the informal sector with low wages. Additionally, Mozambican women often have responsibilities in several areas like the household, agriculture, childcare and community work. (Espling, 1999:230-245)

Due to the definition of economically active persons it seems like a large part of the population is excluded in the statistics because of self employment in agriculture and the informal sector. (HDR, 2006)
3.2 Formal and informal education for girls and boys

Education is a recognised necessity and tool to expand the possibilities and alternatives for women and girls in Mozambique. The country has been successful in increasing the numbers of girls starting primary school. The difficulty is to increase the rate of graduation. Ratio of enrolled girls in primary education was in 2005, 83 girls for every 100 boys. This gap becomes larger when girls reach secondary school with 76 girls for every 100. These statistics are national, but there are fewer girls attending school in the northern parts compared to the southern parts of Mozambique. According to a study from three leading women organisations in Mozambique, Forum Mulher, WIDSAA and SARDC, one reason for the geographical differences is that the girls have less motivation in the northern region due to cultural reasons. (da Silva et al, 2006:14-17)

Illiteracy rates are decreasing for both girls and boys between 15-19 years, but for higher education in secondary schools it is 53 percent of the girls who need to repeat secondary school. This number is slightly lower for boys at 48 percent. In adult education women are on the contrary the majority. Adult and literacy education is widespread in Mozambique and in 2006 there were 2371 literacy centres in 133 districts, out of 148 districts in total. The amount of Mozambicans that are able to read and write is 32 percent in urban areas and approximately 16 percent in rural areas. The illiteracy rate for women in northern parts is greater than in the central and southern parts. Four times more women in urban areas are literate compared to rural areas. Advancing in the educational level has beneficiary effects. Increasing the education for women, additionally improves their children’s health and nutritional balance. (da Silva et al, 2006:14-17)

To encourage girls to become educated, different actors are involved. To enable as many girls as possible to start school, the timetable of the classes needs to be adjusted. This especially concerns the countryside, in order to make the school a secure place with a schedule that do not compete too much with the domestic duties. Other important aspects are access to school materials, sanitation facilities and penalties for improper behaviour. The decision of parents to send their children, and especially their daughters, to school depends on its reputation. The school repute is reinforced by different legitimate actors in the community, such as religious groups, NGOs, women’s groups or other traditional or local actors. (Casas et al, 1998:110-111)
The informal education, or the more common term which is initiation rites, is taught to boys and girls separately. The majority of inhabitants in the Nampula province are of Makhuwa origin and their boys usually participate in the informal education between the ages of six to ten. They usually leave their family to be with other boys that are going through the same process of initiation. During this time it is common that they undergo a circumcision, while learning about how to behave as a man. The knowledge that is passed on concerns the traditional lifestyle in a social and productive context. The social knowledge for instance regards different taboos and local history. The productive knowledge implies keeping an ecological balance in nature, for example by learning the rotation of crop or fishing. (Casas et al, 1998:101-104)

The initiation rite for girls is called *Imwali* and is performed when their menstruation starts. In comparison, the girls spend less time away from the household during their informal education, because they already started their socialisation process. In the process they continuously learn how to become a woman from their mother or grandmother while taking care of younger siblings, carrying water and cooking for the family. The knowledge that girls are taught in the initiation rite concerns how to behave socially and sexually, combined with traditional taboos, religious rules, conflict resolution and their role in agricultural production. Important differences between the male and female initiation rites are the division of labour and behaviour, concerning productive activities as well as the relation in society between men and women. (Casas et al, 1998:101-104)

### 3.3 Women in marriage and abandonment

Marriage or remarriage is a female strategy for increasing income and security. The Mozambican women that have fewer possibilities to remarry may for example resort to strategies where they use younger relatives to help in the household. (Espling, 1999:37) The female strategy of marriage continues to exist in the country while the inter-human relationships are transforming. According to the Makhuwa family structures, marriage is matrilineal that obliges men to live in the household of their wife headed by her brother or a close male relative.
A major transformation of the family structure in the Nampula province occurred with the development and marketing of household cashew planting during the 1960s. The plots of land where the cashew trees were planted came to be controlled by the men, which gave them a new position within the domestic unit and lineage’s of their wives. The marital unit became more individualised. Additionally, there was a current struggle between various social forces between those who attempted to preserve interests that were guaranteed by tradition, and those who tried to expand the new rights attained by the new social and economic model. Urbanisation and the money economy are still factors for the transition that impose new customs while changing the traditional life in Makuwha society. The traditional family is tending to dissolve, especially in the urban areas, consequently eradicating some of the principles of traditional solidarity. This affects the mothers, that often are young, unemployed and without means of providing for the children that they are left with, lacking the support of their relatives. (Casas et al, 1998:4-7)

In 2005 Mozambique adopted a new family law, giving male and female inhabitants equal status within the law. The law also has a protective function for unmarried couples, for example it enables them to inherit or share the household property if separating. The need for these improvements was necessary, considering the high occurrence of separations in the country. (da Silva et al, 2006:44) Women’s increased access to money and managing time away from the household is a transformation between the roles of men and women, which sometimes leads to conflicts between them. Issues of conflict concern the division of scarce resources in the household, criminal behaviour and drug or alcohol abuse. This can be explained by gender roles that are not adapting to a more modernistic way of living (Espling, 1999:230-245). An example of the gender roles is the notion that men are viewed as productive agents/subjects while women are perceived to be reproductive receivers/objects in society. (UNDP post 2000:13)

3.4 Sexual and reproductive responsibilities
In Nampula province women’s position in society, possibilities to remain in school and access the labour market are influenced by issues concerning the private sphere of life, like sexuality, reproduction and domestic violence. Both men and women are expected to follow traditional norms and rules maintained by traditional healers and initiation
rites. According to traditional actors in society, some of the present problems in Mozambique, concerning sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS, are a consequence of being adherent towards tradition, norms and culture. But the disrespect regarding the same aspects is also a risk in concern to adultery, prostitution and multiple sexual relations at a younger age. (Casas et al 1998:138)

In addition, the knowledge of contraception is very limited. There is a degree of awareness but unprotected relations occur nevertheless. Consequently, unwanted pregnancies are frequent and many girls end up with resorting to abortion. (da Silva, 2005:36) The operation is illegal, which results in widespread incidents of unsafe abortion and it is estimated that approximately 16 percent of these abortions in Mozambique results in female deaths. (Forum Mulher, post 2005). Women are to some extent concerned to exist for men, which is reflected in the sexual behaviour between women and men. During initiation rites girls are explicitly taught that married girls do not have the right to decide over her sexuality. They learn that they have to please the husband by using their sexual attractiveness. This is also considered a surviving strategy for women, as it may increase their future possibilities of achieving a better life. (Casas et al, 1998:11, 114)

3.5 Prostitution for women in poverty
For women, their sexual attractiveness can also be used as a survival strategy. Women and men engage in prostitution as clients or providers for different individual and structural reasons. The groups in high risk of involvement are persons with a high mobility or women living at places where many persons often stop for shorter time periods. It is important to keep in mind that these groups also are vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS. According to a study that partly was conducted in Nacala Porto, the use of condoms is inconsistent and not the norm, which can be explained by a low level of education and potentially higher profits in the sex trade. (Taimo et al, 2006:6-7)

By exploring some of the reasons for women in Nacala Porto to engage in prostitution, informal female trade, school children and sex workers will be discussed. Women in informal trade meet obstacles that can direct them towards prostitution. They are often away from the household, travelling on their own with a small starting capital. Their
products are likely to give a low profit and high difficulty in selling due to high competition. As a mean of coping, they can trade sexual favours for reduced transport costs or customs officers may more easily clear their goods at borders, which is defined as transactional sex. School children may also engage in transactional as well as non-transactional sexual relations. (Taimo et al, 2006:48-57) These school children are in the risk zone, for example if they have to get to school by covering long distances, since there is no organised transportation for pupils. Children at boarding school are especially vulnerable since they are young, unsupervised and far away from home. Many children that are engaged in transactional sex live on the poverty line.

The sex workers, who are women that regularly use sex to earn an income, usually work in the area or town where they live and with a high level of mobility as the trading and transportation areas in Nacala Porto. Lack of financial income or consumer goods is a reason for girls/women to turn to prostitution. These three groups mentioned have different clients and reasons for transactional or regular prostitution. But they all have some level of poverty in common. (Taimo et al, 2006:48, 59, 62, 80-82)

3.6 Inter human relationships with domestic violence
The task for women in the Nampula province to please their husbands, mentioned in the subchapter regarding sexuality (3.4), is also linked to the threat of domestic violence. The attitudes towards domestic violence changed in Mozambique during the 1990s. It was previously considered a private matter, but became more visible after a debate at a national and international level. But only the extremely violent cases are considered domestic violence and psychological violence is rarely included. There is also a social acceptance where women or relatives consider it as a duty for women to accept physical, psychological and sexual violence. (da Silva et al, 2006:45-51, 159)

However, the Mozambican government has increased resources to train policewomen and introduced separate police divisions in the district police stations. They were installed to be able to address domestic violence, but the actions do not concentrate upon the roots of the abuse. One important factor in this kind of violence is the unequal relationship between men and women, where women are subordinate. (da Silva et al, 2006:45-51, 159)
4. Feminist theoretical frameworks

In order to approach the complex reality for women in Nacala Porto, we have developed a framework of analysis. The framework stretches from the investigations of development projects on women in developing countries by Ester Boserup in 1970, to the two main feminist development frameworks of WID and GAD. Additionally, by identifying the variations and mutual perceptions in the different theoretical perspectives our analytical framework has taken shape.

4.1 Women’s role in economic development

Ester Boserup’s book “Woman’s role in economic development” (2007) was first published in 1970 and became unique at the time due to her groundbreaking perspective, with findings and statistics that showed how women were affected by economic development.

4.1.1 Women in the paradigm of modernisation

At that time the idea of modernisation assumed that a trickle down effect of economic development would benefit all, but Boserup indicated that a possible trickle down effect of development would not benefit men and women equally. She also described the division of labour between men and women in three different development stages, the rural stage, the urban stage and the transitional stage from rural to urban society. These different environments implied a variation of possibilities and hardships for women. Boserup criticised the modernisation theory in the sense that development would not be equally beneficial. But she also lingered within the modernisation theory, which stated that a developing country’s development goal was to become an industrial country. To be able to reach the industrial stage of development it had to undergo the same stages that already had been passed by the developed countries. (Boserup 2007:v-xxvii)

4.1.2 Rural imbalance between men and women

In rural areas the agriculture life was characterised by low productivity and limited use of technology. Different parts of agricultural Africa traditionally had male or female farming systems. And according to Boserups findings the female farming systems were most common in southern Africa, including Mozambique. Women usually attended low productive fields for subsistence farming, which had historical reasons dating back to
the colonial system and foreign aid. Previously, only men had been offered training for using methods to increase productivity and had also been encouraged to start producing cash crops, aiming for the commodity market. This consequently led to an imbalance between men and women, where men received a higher income and additional knowledge that resulted in a reduction of working hours per week in agriculture. Because of the spare time that was created for men, it also became easier for men to work for wages. (Boserup 2007:3-68)

4.1.3 Development stages of agriculture
Boserup noticed that women continued to cultivate for their families need rather than producing cash crops. They continued to grow and additionally started or increased their work with other economical activities outside of the household and agricultural sector. In the modernisation perspective an increased population density was the driving force, where women’s allocation of work in farming could be transformed. In the first stage women worked more than men in agriculture, in the second stage population density was raised and new technology were needed to increase productivity, and women’s work in agriculture decreased. The third stage occurred when land scarcity made women work together with their husbands, to be able to increase productivity. In the same stage, cultural values regarding the allocation of labour between men and women had to change according to Boserup. Farmers could also be reluctant to increase their time in agriculture, which usually resulted in reduced domestic work for women or closure of additional economic generating activities for men. (Boserup 2007:3-68) One important condition to enable acceleration of economical growth in agricultural production was that the most able, young and literate rural inhabitants were prevented from migrating to the cities. Hence, restricting urban employment for women in order to make room for the rural elite was not benefitting development for urban women. (Boserup, 2007:196-197)

4.1.4 Urban division of labour
In the urban areas of Africa, Boserup identified trade, restaurant service, secretarial work and prostitution as female dominated sectors. She also noted the divide between informal work and formal work, where agricultural produce and home-made food were mainly sold by women at markets or street vendors. Men on the other hand dominated
formal work such as shop-keeping and clerical work. Boserup suggested that both formal and cultural obstacles for women like taxes or legislation should be eliminated, if it hindered women and men to compete on the same terms. It was also shown in the first stage of modernisation, a decrease in the percentage of total female labour force, while the share of men increased. This was caused by the industrial production that reduced the need for home-made commodities, which often was made by women. (Boserup 2007:73-144)

4.1.5 The effect of attitudes at the labour market
Another problem identified by Boserup, was that women were illiterate to a greater extent than men and formal work thereby became a privilege for men. Even though women were encouraged to get education, attitudes towards women prevented them from entering the labour market. The employer expressed it by discriminating women and worrying/distrusting family members did not consider the workplace safe, especially not within the industrial sector. A common reason for employers not to hire women was that they were presumed to have a lower productivity, due to parental leave and childcare. This was in Boserups perspective a result of cultural values that were lagging behind and directed women to jobs or services that required low educational level. (Boserup 2007:73-144)

4.1.6 Industrialisation as a generator for female education
A country needed to be on a course towards industrialisation to enable education for the population, according to Boserup. After the independence of some African states, the Europeans left the administrative jobs that previously had been theirs exclusively. As there were not enough men to fill the vacancies women were demanded. And if there was a lack of female job opportunities in other sectors, they settled with a medium education and a clerical job, where it was easy to get employed. For middle-class women, attaining a job of this kind meant that the woman’s position in the family could increase with her income. Boserup made a prediction that the attitudes would change at the next stage of economic development, as the literacy level for women would increase. Women would then be more educated and strive for high skilled professions, both in developed- and developing countries. (Boserup 2007:73-144)
4.1.7 Polarisation and hierchisation of male and female work

Boserups final observation, regarding women in urban societies, concerned what she defined as the polarisation and hierarchisation of men’s and women’s roles in labour. This phenomenon regarding division of labour was only found in the modern, urban economy and was rarely seen in family production (Boserup 2007:128). The polarisation and hierarchisation referred to the trend where men were dominant in skilled and supervisory work tasks in developing countries, while women were the ones being supervised as unskilled labourers in low wage jobs. This created an imbalance between men’s and women’s incomes and productivity. Discriminatory attitudes were formed, concerning the female and male ability to work, resulting in giving women lower wages because of their sex. This was identified in developing countries as well as developed ones. (Boserup 2007:73-144) In the transition from rural to urban life, men were most affected according to Boserup. The husband had to work even more than before, compared to the agriculture tasks that previously were divided between him and his wife, to ensure the food intake of the family. In urban areas the women engaged in unpaid domestic work, while men often had to seek multiple jobs to earn enough money for the family. (Boserup 2007:145-213)

4.2 Women In Development

Women in Development (WID) were based on theories of modernisation and liberal feminism that evolved into a perspective that aimed to integrate women in the development process. Following the empirical findings of Ester Boserup in the 1970s, the feministic theory embodied in the WID-perspective became widespread. The WID-theory continued to challenge the assumption that modernisation alone would increase gender equality. (Connelly et al, 2000:57)

4.2.1 Liberal feminism approach

The WID-perspective continued to exist within the modernisation paradigm, with the intention to develop countries by adopting Western technologies, institution and values. The perspective emphasised on equal opportunities for women, which originated in a liberal perspective on feminism (Connelly et al, 2000:57). The liberal conceptions agreed on the need of a defined line between the public sphere that was regulated by the government and the private sphere, which was untouchable by the government. Maintaining a clear line between the public and private sphere was according to liberal
feminism necessary, in order to preserve liberty. Policies were proposing the removal of discriminatory practices in institutions or the creation of alternative institutions that supported women. The increase of female representation in elected and appointed positions in the government was also of concern for liberal feminists. (Connelly et al, 2000:115-117)

4.2.2 Women-oriented policies
To enable the inclusion of women in the developing process, women-oriented policies were needed with the ambition to enhance women’s efficiency and consequently advance the economic development. This required improvements in the access to education, training, property and credit to be able to improve and facilitate the possibility of employment. Women were supposed to be integrated, often in activities that were specific for women. In these projects they were usually viewed as passive recipients. (Connelly et al, 2000:57)

4.2.3 Addressing practical needs
These projects were also focusing on the practical needs that were perceived as immediate necessities such as water, food, shelter, income and safety, which had the ability to improve women’s lives. The WID-approach increased women’s income, improved their health and strengthened their resources in the short-term, but the sustainability faltered because it disregarded the unequal relationship between men and women. The focus on Women In Development thereby tended to be blind to the roles and responsibilities of men regarding women’s position in society. (UNESCO, 2003:2) This conformed to the liberal feminism, which was less concerned about empowerment or changing the position of women in society. (Connelly et al, 2000:57)

4.3 Gender And Development
Gender And Development (GAD) was an approach that emerged from grass-root organisations and feminists from developing countries. It partly emerged as a critique against WID, additionally focusing on areas of interest that was not included in the previous perspectives. This was thereby a reaction to the perceived absence of what was viewed as fundamental factors that structured and maintained gender inequalities. The process of developing a new paradigm began in the early 1980s with a socialist-feminist approach that emphasised the relationship between men and women. The
GAD-focus on improving women’s position in society, thereby replaced the WID-approach. (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63)

4.3.1 Gender and global subordination
Women’s status in society was perceived to be deeply affected by material conditions and their position in the economy. A perspective on Gender And Development recognised the effect of patriarchal power in their societies at national, community and household level. Both the material conditions of women and patriarchal authority were defined and maintained by the accepted norms and values of gender relations in a specific society. This social construction of gender was viewed as socially constructed patterns of behaviour with the possibility to be transformed if desired.

The socialist anchoring of the GAD-perspective was also influenced by the envisioned society were structures of subordination were excluded. The GAD-approach thereby interconnected other forms of oppression and social constructions by involving the issues of race, class, colonial history, culture and position in the international economic order. These were key points for black- and developing world feminists, who argued that policies should be grounded in the actual context of people’s lives. They advocated a participatory process that would include all women who were concerned, converging with the socialist feminists in the GAD-perspective on development. The GAD-interventions addressed the unequal gender relations, which prevented inequitable development that usually obstructed women from full participation. (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63, 99, 128)

4.3.2 Women as agents of empowerment
The gender perspective viewed women as agents of empowerment, rather than as recipients. To become agents of change they needed to address their own needs and plan solutions where the voices of women were heard and taken into account. (Connelly et al, 2000:128, 144) The empowerment concerned both men and women in participation, decision making and the sharing of benefits. Even if no one could empower another, institutions such as international cooperation agencies were encouraged to support processes of empowerment for individuals or groups (UNESCO, 2003:1). It was thereby of importance in the perspective of GAD to increase women’s
control over their own conditions of work and transform these for instance enable reproductive choices and increase public responsibility for childcare. (Connelly et al, 2000:128)

4.3.3 Addressing strategic interests

To be able to address the subordination while empowering women, GAD-supporters advocated intervention that raised the level of consciousness, increased self-confidence, provided education and strengthened women’s organisations. (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63, 99) In this way they were seeking to promote strategic interest as well as meeting practical needs. These strategic interests were related to structural changes in society regarding women’s status and equity, including equal rights, reproductive choice and increased participation in decision making. (UNESCO, 2003:2-3) The different productive roles and responsibilities of women and men were addressed as a central aspect of gender relations, using the term gender division of labour. (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63, 144)

4.3.4 Gender Mainstreaming

In order to reach success in improving the position of women in society using the GAD-approach, a sustained and long-term commitment was considered necessary. A principal gender-tool for attending strategic interests was the effort to integrate gender into existing institutions by Gender Mainstreaming. The mainstream approach had the ambition to implement a gender focus in all areas and levels of society, to enable progress in creating equal relationship between the sexes. (UNESCO, 2003:2-3) Different institutions or organisations may have interpreted mainstreaming differently. Some examples are that organisations employed more women if there was a shortage or the introduction of gender analysis to desegregate data, to be able to identify the situation for women and men separately. (Jaquette, 2006:53-70) But according to reviews and evaluations made of development co-operation interventions, which should have revealed clear traits of gender mainstreaming, have rather shown a gap between policies and practice. (Mikkelsen, 2005:241-242)

4.4 Analytical framework

Theoretical frameworks have a positive role to play according to the theoretical gender authors Connelly, Murray, MacDonald, and Parpart (2000) in the attempt to generate a
full understanding of a problem. Frameworks are not static, but even though they shift and evolve over time, the underlying assumptions usually endure. They enable the distinction of different frameworks, even if certain elements appear in more than one framework. The identification of such assumptions ensures the examination and possible necessity of critique of these theoretical frameworks. This creates a position to propose alternative approaches based on different assumptions, concerns or social visions on which alternatives could be based. Both recognising the underlying theory of the assumptions and engaging in the researchers theorising are important to the process of bringing about social change. (Connelly et al, 2000:105-106) In comparison, Ester Boserups findings and the development frameworks of WID and GAD are all concerned with discrimination and the exclusion of women from the development process. The interventions, to various extents, are to improve the condition of their lives by attending practical needs.

4.4.1 Practical needs and strategic interests
Boserup views these practical needs as preconditions for achievable phases of development. The WID-perspective deals with meeting practical needs as a way to ensure the integration of women. The GAD-approach is differing by handling practical needs as a short-term solution, adding strategic interest as their long-term aim to improve the position of women in society. As the strategic interest involves the transformation of gender relations and attitudes, the GAD-perspective explicitly includes men, on the contrary to the WID-perspective. Boserup manages the interest of altering the gender relations, in terms of division of labour, as a way to increase productivity. But the GAD-framework is distinguished by having a perspective that is grounded in a comprehensive gender analysis. Thereby focusing on the position of women in society in relation to men, rather than limiting the strategies to only involve the conditions of women’s lives and the representation in decision making forums. All three perspectives are converging in addressing issues regarding education, the division of labour and non-discriminatory legislation to improve the situation/position of women.
4.4.2 The relation between men and women

The focus on practical needs, that dominates the two perspectives of Boserup and WID, may indirectly and implicitly affect the strategic interests and subordination of women. For Boserup this is achieved by advancing on the ladder of development and for the WID-approach by improving women’s situation. Hence, even if these perspectives explicitly lack the ambition of transforming the traditional roles and relationship, the renewed practical conditions of women lives will in consequence have an effect on the power relations between men and women (UNESCO, 2003:3). However, the WID-strategies are based on women-specific interventions, Boserup include men to enable an efficient development process and the GAD-perspective is focusing on gender activities that include men and women. The similarities between the perspectives of Boserup and GAD are thereby partially corresponding by viewing the interaction between men and women as a vital aspect. In comparison to WID, these perspectives may thereby have a more comprehensive view of the development process. On the other hand, the similarities between the approaches of Boserup and WID regards their mutual blindness towards global and gender power imbalances.

4.4.3 Development and female agency

The perspectives of Boserup and WID are both integrated in the modernisation paradigm of development, where the developing world is perceived as lagging behind the western one. This modernist perspective thereby contains universal strategies that depend on what stage of development the country or community is situated in. The GAD-perspective is deviant with the ambition to adapt the policies to the specific context while implicating other issues concerning subordination. Influenced by the socialist-feminist approach, the GAD-approach may be viewed as more concerned with what is fair and just, in a comparison. The difference in intervention deals with a uniform policy where one size fits all or an adjustable policy that is dependent on the social, political and economical context. The somewhat western view on development that characterises the perspectives of Boserup and WID is split into different views on women and aid. While WID-strategies tends to involve women as recipients or perhaps as participants, Boserup considered women to be productive agents in her critique against restricting urban employment for women in order to make room for rural men. This is an indication of her belief that women have the ability to do the same work as
men. To perceive women as agents is also coinciding with the GAD-perspective that view women as agents with the ability to empower themselves with the support of aid.

4.4.4 General comparison of the theoretical feminist perspectives

The sum of similarities and differences show that the development perspectives of Boserup and WID share fundamental common ground with the strong influence of modernistic ideas and liberal feminism. The perspectives of Boserup and GAD both have a comprehensive view of women and men in relation to development, but they still differ greatly due to the GAD-approach being gender analysis driven (UNESCO, 2003:3) on the contrary to Boserups focus on productivity and economical development. The two main feminist development frameworks of WID and GAD experience the widest gap in this comparison.

The comparability of the frameworks of WID and GAD, is more substantial than combinations that include Boserups findings. Her perspective may rather be viewed as a predecessor to the two feminist frameworks. Ester Boserup (2007) was the pioneer in recognising women as actors in the modernisation process during the 1960s. Boserups published findings in 1970 were followed by a continued acknowledgement and direct focus on women in development (WID). The lack of awareness regarding subordination in the WID-perspective consequently evolved into a discursive consideration of gender and global inequality. During the 1980s the main international feminist policy had transformed into the prevailing theory of gender and development (GAD). We have treated the predecessor and two successors’ perspectives as equal in our analysis, as the differences and coherence between them is perceived to be comparable. Even if the feminist theoretical perspectives can be placed on a timeline in an international policy perspective, our empirical data in Nacala Porto display a co-existence of the different orientations of Boserup, WID and GAD. Hence, these are the reason for placing the three perspectives at a comparable level in our analytical framework.
### 4.5 Framework model

The following analytical framework is based on a comparison of texts regarding the perspectives of Boserup, WID and GAD by Ester Boserup (2007), Connelly, Murray, MacDonald, Parpart (2000) and UNESCO (2003). Out of the material we have defined the main core and specific characteristics of the different theoretical feminist perspectives, categorising them into Development paradigm, Main focus, Female agency, Adopted strategies, and Development aim. A certain overlap applies in the different theoretical perspectives and defined categories. The categories are further explained in the following subchapter (4.5.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perspective</th>
<th>Boserup</th>
<th>WID</th>
<th>GAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Development paradigm</td>
<td>Modernism and liberal economics</td>
<td>Modernism and liberal feminism</td>
<td>Socialist feminism and gender driven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main focus</td>
<td>Female productivity</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Gender relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female agency</td>
<td>Productive agents</td>
<td>Recipients or participants</td>
<td>Empowerment agents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identified problem</td>
<td>Exclusion of women in the development stages and economy</td>
<td>Exclusion of women in the development process</td>
<td>Exclusion of women due to unequal power relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adopted strategies</td>
<td>Addressing practical needs and productive interests</td>
<td>Addressing practical needs</td>
<td>Addressing practical needs and strategic interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development aim</td>
<td>Integrate women in the economical development and improve the condition of women’s lives</td>
<td>Integrate women in the development and improve the condition of women’s lives</td>
<td>Improve the position of women in society and transform unequal power relations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.5.1 Description of framework categories

Development paradigm
The development paradigm concerns the discourse or way of looking at development and ranges from the modernistic approach with liberal tendencies to various extents, to a more gender driven perspective influenced by socialist feminism.

Main focus
The main focus manages the intervention focal point that will generate a development that also benefits women. Ranging from the focus on female productivity, to focus on women and eventually a focus regarding gender relations.

Female agency
Female agency concerns the development policy of the planned approach towards the women when supporting them. Ranging from the view on women as productive agents, to a view of women as recipients, and finally the perspective of women being perceived as agents with the ability to empower themselves.

Identified problem
The identification of a problem deals with finding the core or cause of the perceived development problem. In the three theoretical feminist perspectives they all concern the exclusion of women, but in different ways. One emphasises the exclusion from the economy, another from the development process as a whole and the final view the exclusion of women as a result of unequal power relations.

Adopted strategies
The adopted strategies distinguish the type of interventions that are perceived as necessary. The strategy of the three theoretical feminist perspectives is to address practical needs. But they differ in strategy by including productive interests or by emphasising strategic interest for women.

Development aim
The development aim for the theoretical feminist perspectives is mainly to improve the condition of women’s lives. One aim requires integration in the economical economy, in another perspective it is believed necessary to be included in the decision making, and the last perspective aims to transform unequal power relations to improve the position of women in society.
5. Empirical findings and analysis

This chapter of analysis aims to report the features described to us regarding the situation for and position of women, in comparison with the view of Boserup, WID and GAD. The three different feminist theoretical perspectives in our analytical framework will thereby be applied to the empirical findings from Nacala Porto.

5.1 Development paradigm

The development paradigm concerns the discourse or way of looking at development. It ranges from the modernistic approach with liberal tendencies, which to various extents are integrated in the perspectives of Boserup and WID, to a more gender driven perspective in the GAD-policy that is influenced by socialist feminism.

5.1.1 The provincial domination of pre-Boserup modernism

Boserup (2007:v-xxvii) conceived development to be a phased process towards becoming an industrialised country, which from our understanding coincides with the present and dominated view of the provincial administration in Nampula. The acceleration of industrialisation in Nacala Porto is described by the Provincial Coordinator of Development as part of a process that will develop the entire northern region of Mozambique. The harbour, industry, railway and airstrip are considered to be advantages that are particular for Nacala Porto. The tourism potential for the coast, which includes the district, is also taken into consideration in addition to the potentials for development through trade and industry with free zone regulations. (Provincial Coordinator of Development 31-03-08)

Modernisation is also the development paradigm for the provincial administrative colleagues, in their main ambition to develop industry and trade in both the rural and urban areas. (Provincial Director of Trade and Industry, 01-04-08, Provincial Director of Agriculture, 01-04-08) They identify the situation in Nacala Porto in a way that coincides with the findings of Boserup (2007:3-68), where the southern African agriculture was characterised by low productivity and limited use of technology. However, the modernist approach that is present in the provincial administration is rather in line with a pre-Boserup perception. The critique by Boserup (2007:v-xxvii) concerning modernisation, where the potential trickle down effect of economic
development did not benefit men and women equally, is still relevant in the Nampula province. According to the Provincial Coordinator of Development (31-03-08) it is one of their main interests to see what kind of effect economic growth has on the daily life in different districts. The Provincial Director of Trade and Industry (04-01-08) emphasises their interest in seeing how different groups in society are affected by development. But they do not specifically mention women.

5.1.2 A gender driven lane in the modernist approach

The absence of a paradigm perspective that includes women or gender in the provincial administration is compensated for in their Department of Planning for Districts in Gender Participation. The provincial representative at the department (01-04-08) expresses a GAD-view of development when stating that “the changes need to start within the family”. In her point of view it is not solely about letting women develop or become educated, but also to sensibilise their men. This is in line with the socialist feminist approach in the GAD-perspective that emphasised the relation between men and women in development (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63).

The western view of the modernistic paradigm is not as present in the department regarding gender participation, as the provincial departments that was mentioned in the previous subchapter. The representative for the Department of Planning for Districts in Gender Participation (01-04-08) refers to her work of assembling methods for increasing the local and female participation in development. According to her it is important to let women participate in the public debate, which often is a difficult place for women to be heard, and define their specific resources and hindrance in development. In this way she continues to correspond with the gender driven paradigm of the GAD-approach, which attracted attention to the unequal gender relations that usually obstructed women from full participation in development. But the modernistic influence is also present in the Department of Planning for Districts in Gender Participation. The director of the department (01-04-08) emphasises the necessity of achieving a way of living were both men and women are used as workers and contributors to society. This is similar to Boserups (2007:v-xxxii) focus regarding the necessity of giving women a role in economic development.

3 New edition of the 1970 original
5.1.3 Gender impasse and the paradigm of liberal feminism

The absence of a broad administrative awareness regarding women and gender is also evident in Nacala Porto. The Permanent Secretary in the district administration (03-04-08) does not express any specific interest in neither women nor gender, but rather repeats the pre-Boserup modernistic approach that became apparent at provincial level. This recurs in several meetings and interviews with respondents that are connected to the FRELIMO Administration as well as the RENAMO City Municipality. However, it is possible to discern a liberal feminist perspective at the district as well as provincial level by the creation of alternative institutions that supports women. The increase of female representation in elected and appointed positions in the political sphere was also of concern for the liberal feminism in the WID-approach (Connelly et al, 2000:115-117). This coincides with our interpretation of the political attitude in Nacala Porto, where the female representation in parliament or at district level, is perceived to be an indication of equality.

The effect of liberal feminism also becomes apparent during an interview with three female members in a cultural group during the celebrations of the national Women’s Day. The women tell us that they are participating in festivities as dancers, to celebrate their freedom and that women are not discriminated anymore. They mention their achieved rights to vote, pay tax and drive a car, which could be interpreted as legal rights that are more liberal in nature. But they still express that it is easier for men to get educated and refrain from getting married at a young age with the consequent responsibilities for household and children (Cultural group, 07-04-08). These aspects, that concerns the family sphere, is more in line with the socialist feminism view of development. Focusing on the relationship between men and women, to enable an improvement of women’s position in society, through a transformation of the social constructions of gender. (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63) This socialist-feminist perspective has an interest in adjusting the division of male/female roles and responsibilities (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63). The existents of unequal power relations are in this sense expressed by the three members of the cultural group (07-04-08).

The gender driven approach is present within the Maputo based Women’s organisations of *Forum Mulher* and Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA). They are
discussing gender and tradition at a meeting we are attending and address issues of subordination with GAD-oriented quotes such as “Culture is positive for men, but negative for women” (Researcher at Forum Mulher, 30-04-08). However, the liberal influence of the WID-paradigm seems to be dominating in Mozambique. This is exemplified when looking at the lobbying success of WLSA, in implementing separate units at the local police stations, with the main purpose of attending women and children that are exposed to domestic violence (Policewoman, 26-04-08). This is in accordance with the liberal feminism policy, by proposing the removal of discriminatory practises by creating alternative institutions that support women (Connelly et al, 2000:115-117). But liberalism also serves as a hindrance for women that are exposed to domestic violence. When WLSA, through their lobbying activities, argued that domestic violence should be defined as a crime according to the new family law, it was refused with the explanation that it was a family matter (National Director of WLSA, 30-04-08). This argument is also in line with liberal feminism, by maintaining a clear line between the public and private sphere in order to preserve liberty (Connelly et al, 2000:115-117). When women actually are on the agenda, the WID-paradigm seems to prevail at the expense of a gender driven approach.

5.2 Main focus
The main focus manages the intervention focal point that will generate a development that also is beneficial for women. Ranging from Boserups focus on female productivity, to the WID-focus on women and eventually the GAD-focus on gender relations.

5.2.1 Women as role models for employment
The Director of Comutra, the female section of a workers union in Nacala Porto, mentions a positive aspect for women’s situation in the labour market. Female executives starts to appear at the labour market and she says that; “they statute an example that women are able” (Director of Comutra, 04-04-08). This WID-perspective is repeated from several of our respondents when referring to the labour market and educational sphere. Another example is a female radio reporter who believes that she can serve as a positive example or inspiration for other women. Sending a message with her female voice that women are both capable and competent in producing radio programs (Female radio reporter, 10-04-08). The perceived main focus of inspiring girls/women to get educated and employed does not seem to regard the structures that
position men and women in different divisions of labour. This main focus in the WID-perspective rather wants to integrate women in the developing process by inspiring them.

Except for her work at the radio, the female radio reporter (10-04-08) has previously been active in male dominated areas where she had to demonstrate that she was competent enough as a woman. The female population in Nacala Porto seems to be in a position where they continuously need to prove their competence in education and labour. This enforces the importance of a WID-perspective of mainly focusing on women and their abilities. And this main focus of WID is the most visible one in Nacala Porto. The WID-orientation of specifically targeting women was a way to improve and facilitate the possibility of employment (Connelly et al, 2000-57). However, the Director of the female section of the workers union, who gave us the positive example of female executives, also adds that: “It is good to have a job, but it is not a total liberation” (Director of Comutra, 15-04-08).

5.2.2 Challenging the gender structures

The representative for the Department of Planning for Districts in Gender Participation (01-04-08) says that; “Some believe that gender is of no concern to us”. In this quote she expresses an opinion that we noticed in interviews with several respondents, where the gender relations were perceived to be something unalterable. But we also detected the opposite with a belief in the transformation of power structures, or at least a will for them to do so. For instance, a representative for the ADPP School (18-04-08) in Nacala Porto, tells us of the implementation of treating the female and male pupils alike, letting them complete the same tasks with no division in their boarding school work. A male reporter (10-04-08) at the community radio gives examples of subjects that are sensitive regarding men and domestic activities, which needs to be dealt with and broken in his opinion. The representative for the Department of Planning for Districts in Gender Participation (01-04-08) thinks that it is difficult to deal with attitudes, as it concerns the decrease of male power. Additionally she says that, “There is resistance, but not enough to stop the process”. This quote shows the recognition of the patriarchal power, with the aim to transform in accordance with the GAD-perspective (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63, 99, 128).
A Gender Technician in the education administration in Nacala Porto, uses the GAD-strategy of empowerment to raise the level of consciousness for the parents of girls. In each public school one teacher is responsible for gender issues and the introduction of school councils. They will serve as a forum for discussing the meeting point of the household and school. They try to encourage parents to support their children’s education. For girls they focus on the problem of early marriages, which have had good results according to the Gender Technician. For boys the male responsibility to contribute to the family economy is mentioned as a hindrance for their education (Gender Technician in the district education administration, 14-01-08). The male responsibility of financial contribution seems to be a burden for both men and women. The men have a gendered demand of providing income for their girlfriends, wives, children and parents. The women are thereby directed to reproductive and domestic activities. This represents a division of labour and responsibilities of concern for the GAD-approach (2000:62-63, 144). This is also in accordance with Boserup’s (2007:73-144) perspective on the creation of an imbalance of the income and productivity of women and men. A main focus is thereby to use increased female productivity to balance the division.

The altering of gender roles is in our understanding of concern for both perspectives of GAD and Boserup. For GAD in the strive for strategic interests for women and for Boserup as a way to counteract the perception of female inability, which is a hindrance for the female productivity and income (analytical framework model, 4.5). Several of our respondents say that there is no difference in the capacities of women and men. One example is a quote by the district Director of OMM (17-04-08), saying; “There is no difference in capacities. It is only a cultural assumption”. One woman in the informal credit networks called Xitique, speaks of the difficulty to change the behaviour of men. She mentions the informal education as a significant factor in sustaining the gender structures. (Xitique group, 12-04-08) On the other hand, the main actors in the initiation rites, Piamwene and Reguló (16-04-08), show a will to consider a discussion regarding their strategies. Their power is decreasing and it is in their interest to identify strategies that are adjusted to the modernisation. Even if the challenge of the gender structures is not a main objective for the Piamwene and Reguló, the positioning of women and men...
in society seems to be a main focus for several actors. It is also a main focus for two of the feminist theoretical perspectives, GAD and Boserup.

### 5.3 Female agency

Female agency concerns the policy of approach towards women in developing countries. The agency ranges from Boserup’s view on women as productive agents, to the WID-view of women as recipients. Finally discussing the GAD-view where women are perceived as being agents with the ability to empower themselves.

#### 5.3.1 Women as recipients in the absence of family support

The local branch of the National Institute for Social Services (INAS) is trying to address the needs of the most vulnerable inhabitants in Nacala Porto and the surrounding districts. The biggest problem for women, according to their experience, is divorce or abandonment. Most of their support concerns welfare, delivering food and providing economical support. The majority of the food support is directed to women. They are not a prioritised target group by INAS, but are recognised by them to be the most impoverished in society (Male social worker at INAS, 16-04-08). To target women for receiving food or welfare is in accordance with the WID-perspective, where women usually are viewed as passive recipients (Connelly et al, 200:57). In comparison, the INAS strategy also includes local persons as participatory or productive agents in community projects that are rehabilitating infrastructure. But when listening to the examples that we are given from the male social worker at INAS (16-04-08), such as building small bridges or renovating local health care centres, they seem to be more male-orientated. It is also men that usually qualify as productive agents when it comes to micro-credit finance, as they are the ones who have had the possibility to achieve the documented experience, which is a criterion for a loan. The only INAS project that is viewing women as active agents is the one focused on generating jobs in the public sectors. This kind of project is focusing on single mothers. This is in accordance with Boserups view (2007:73-144), where women were treated as productive agents, combined with women being referred to unskilled and low wage jobs. However, this is a job that the single mothers primarily receive due to their vulnerable situation.
The WID-perspective that regards women as recipients is also dominating in the work of the local branch of Save the Children. Even if the organisation focuses on children, mothers receive a lot of the support. Who either are recipients of mosquito nets and different types of assistance or are participants in community committees for women and children. (Representative for Save the Children, 07-04-08)) Their approach is thereby in line with the WID-approach in terms of female agency and by specifically targeting women with children in their projects (Connelly et al, 2000:57). In accordance with INAS they are addressing the children that are identified as most vulnerable, which are orphans and children in a single parent household (Representative for Save the Children, 07-04-08). This focus is repeated in one of the departments in the Nacala Porto City Municipal. The District Director for the City Municipal Department of Health, Social welfare and Women’s issues (15-04-08), tells us that they assist women in “difficult situations where they are especially vulnerable and abandoned”. The WID-approach, in terms of female agency (Connelly et al, 2000:115-117) is also dominating in the City Municipality. Due to lack of resources they do not assist these women financially or materially. Instead they approach women as recipients of psychological support. A potential approach by Boserup could for instance be the support of increased productivity or by the GAD-strategy in trying to strengthen women’s organisations.

5.3.2 Educating girls to become empowerment agents

A Catholic nun at one of the health centres in Nacala Porto describes the female agency or tasks of women as sexually and reproductively orientated. “…women wed with three duties; to have sex, give birth and work on the machamba”, she says. The Catholic nun continues to state that the women, who have succeeded and have risen out of poverty, are the ones with education and employment (Catholic nun, 16-04-08). This perception is in line with the national, provincial and district attempts to increase the enrolment of girls with lowered school fees. The importance of girl’s education is also in agreement with opinions expressed by respondents in different families and sectors. All three feminist theoretical perspectives emphasise education as a main focus and strategy. However, in terms of the active female agency that education requires, it is a matter for the perspectives of Boserup and GAD. According to Boserup (2007:73-144) the course towards industrialisation would enable education for the population. During the second

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*Machamba* is a piece of land used for subsistence farming
step of modernisation the female literacy level would increase and women would be more educated. Viewing Nacala Porto through the development steps of Boserup, the description is fairly applicable. The industrialisation in Nacala Porto is processing and the majority of persons attending the alphabetisation courses are women (District educational department, 2007).

The female agency of the GAD-approach is also relevant because of the treatment of women as agents, which can be empowered by girl’s- and women’s education while increasing their consciousness and self-confidence (Connelly et al 2000:62-63). One of the female pupils at the ADPP secondary school motivates her reason for studying when saying; “I want to contribute to the development of the country, but also to help myself, with a job to survive”. A majority of the school girls interviewed agree with this statement. They would like to continue studying as long as they can, determined to work as agriculture counsellors, doctors, judges or community advisors (Female pupils in ADPP secondary school class, 18-04-08 and pupils in public secondary school class, 22-04-08). They seem to see themselves as productive or empowered agents. Still, only a minority of girls that was asked if they wanted to work in the surroundings of their home, said yes. The rest of the girls would prefer to work in other districts, as they do not believe their ideas will be taken seriously by their family. (Female pupils in ADPP secondary school class, 18-04-08). They would prefer to work in a surrounding that believes in their active female agency.

Examples of female agents that empower one another are the members of the Xitique-groups. From our understanding, they view themselves and each other as participants in line with WID. Their groups usually only have female members and our respondents originally started their credit activities with the contributions from their husbands. The members meet each week to put 50 Meticais in a financial pile, which is picked up by the woman that is next in the rotation system. In this way the women have transformed their daily chores to include small informal trading. However, their activities are not expanding and their income is simply a complement to their husband’s economical sustainability. (Xitique group, 12-04-08) This WID-approach, with women-specific activities and participatory orientation is enabling a certain material upgrade, but as one woman in the Xitique group puts it; “…but actually, we are just as poor as before”. They lack the possibility of using micro-credits that could be a participatory WID-
approach or an opportunity to enter the formal labour market and be productive agents in the perspective of Boserup. One woman says that their husbands are the ones with access to financial income. They express a wish for another relation and division of labour between men and women. But the women do not see any way of altering the relation, unless it is regulated from the government. Their only visible solution is to be participatory agents, staying within the gender structures; “We feel completely powerless” says one voice with echoing agreements from her Xitique-group (12-04-08).

5.3.3 Productive female agents in subordination
The provincial view of female agency, represented by the Provincial Development Coordinator (31-03-08), is indirectly criticising both perspectives of WID and GAD by not being in favour for affirmative action towards women. This conclusion is drawn as they neither approve of the WID-approach with women specific attention, nor the GAD-recognition of a present subordination in the labour market. The view of female agency as productive is more consisting with the provincial administration, which also is in accordance with the women that have entered the labour market in Nacala Porto. Boserups findings from the 1970s involved urban women that settled with a medium education and clerical job, where it was easy to get employed (Boserup, 2007:73-144).

The findings are similar to present day Nacala Porto when taking an interview with the female members of the workers union into consideration. The nine women that are present work in clerical jobs as social assistants, cash keepers or secretaries, generally with minimum wage. The women appear to view themselves as productive agents, stating that they have the same competence as men. According to them, the working situation for women in Nacala Porto is a result of illiteracy, culture and lack of information. (Members of Comutra, 15-04-08) This continues to be in line with Boserup, as in her perspective a common reason for employers not to hire women is that they were presumed to have a lower productivity, due to parental leave and childcare. According to Boserup, this was a result of cultural values that were lagging behind (Boserup, 2007:73-144).

But it could also be viewed through the perspective of GAD and its orientation regarding female agency. If the limited access to the labour market is due to illiteracy, culture and lack of information, as the union members of Comutra (15-04-08) states,
the female agency concerns empowerment. Following the GAD-policy (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63, 99) the lack of information may be adjusted by raising the level of conciseness. Illiteracy could be counteracted by providing education, and the transformation of culture might be possible by increasing self-confidence and strengthening women’s organisations. To enable the transformation of work conditions for women, reproductive choices and increased public responsibility for childcare is also of importance according to the perspective of GAD. (Connelly et al, 2000:128) This also includes the empowerment of men. Quoting one of the policewomen (26-04-08) at the domestic violence unit; “Everyone says that it is not possible for a man to take care of a child”, which is one of many examples where men are viewed as passive agents in terms of childcare. The view on passive male agency is however contradicted by a few of our observations in public spaces in Nacala Porto. Where a new born baby rests in the lap of the father rather than in the lap of the mother beside them. Or when a single man holds his baby daughter tight to his chest instead of being nurtured by a woman who carries her customarily tied to her back.

An informal market that is available for women in Nacala Porto is prostitution. The female agency is unclear and somewhat marginalised in the theoretical perspectives. It is possible to view the sex workers as productive agents in accordance with Boserup, as participatory agents of the WID perspective in a sexual and financial transaction, or as agents with the GAD-ability to empower themselves. But our analytical framework (4.5) does not seem to be compatible in terms of female agency when including prostitutes. Hence, the GAD-perspective of subordination and opposite agency of disempowerment is more suitable. In this way, their female agency is a combination of failed support from institutions and organisations, which was supposed to nurture empowerment according to the GAD-approach (UNESCO, 2003:1).

The WID-perspective may view sex workers as recipients or passive agents. One of the sex workers, who is interviewed in Nampula, says; “We do not see any way out”. They tell us that they generally all had the same way in, prostituting themselves as the only alternative when being abandoned by their husband or getting pregnant at an early age. Still, they hope to meet a new husband through their work (Sex workers, 26-04-08). This is in accordance with a view of survival that is similar to the WID-perspective, being receiving or participatory agents in marriage. The overall interpretation is that
women in Nacala Porto are viewed as productive agents in administrative professions, as recipients in marriage and agents of empowerment when educated.

5.4 Identified problem
The identification of a problem deals with finding the core or cause of the perceived development problem. In the three theoretical feminist perspectives they all concern the exclusion of women, but in different ways. Boserup emphasised the exclusion from the economy, WID from the development process as a whole and GAD views it as a result of unequal power relations.

5.4.1 Limited access to employment for women
In urban and semi-urban areas financial income is crucial for a higher standard of living and to afford basic needs like food, clothes, housing and services. In rural areas, money is on the other hand important to diversify risks in agriculture and to enhance the production. But the rural population in agriculture has more opportunities for subsistence farming than in the urban and semi-urban areas. Therefore it is suitable to discuss the structure of the labour market and the access that women have to this market.

Job opportunities in the industrial sector of Nacala Porto consist of a few productive companies as well as the harbour and railway. According to our observations and interviews at three factories as well as the harbour, we found that out of 550 employees only 38 persons were women, amounting into 7 percent of the labour force (Representatives for a rope factory,- 08-04-12, sack factory,- 08-04-16, cement factory,- (08-04-11) and District Department of the Labour Market, 05-04-2008). Other opportunities are the trading-, public- and informal sector. The labour market appears to separate men and women. The division of labour is similar to Boserup’s description regarding polarisation and hierarchisation of male and female labour. In her observation men were dominant in skilled and supervisory work task, while women did the unskilled labour with low wage (Boserup, 73-144). For educated women, the highest female position that is common in Nacala Porto is as office assistants in the public or private sector. These professions seem to be dominated by women. Other opportunities seem to be scares, finding few women in leading positions, this specifically concerns the private sector. Since this sector is limited with few larger
productive- or service oriented companies, there is in neither a strong demand for educated women.

The industrial sector has experienced the effects from the World Bank’s structural adjustment programme with the consequence that women in both production and administration lost their job, directing them to the informal sector. This could be exemplified with the life story of a woman selling commodities in the city part of Nacala Porto. During an informal interview she tells us that she previously has been employed in the industrial sector. After the closedown of the factory, she started selling sodas and homemade goods in the shade underneath a tree. Hoping she will meet certain conditions for a micro-loan to open a shop (Female street seller, 08-04-08). Women that are working in low skilled jobs, such as street vendors, housekeepers or within other areas of the informal sector, face difficulties that men do not. Women are more concerned than men about safe transportation to and from work, because of low social acceptance and safety for women travelling alone (Representatives for AMODER, 30-04-08). Therefore it is not common for women to want to work in industries that require shift work or as traders, leaving these kinds of income opportunities to men. This is what Boserup described, where family members distrusted or worried about their wife or daughter because they did not consider the workplace safe. The overall situation of the labour market in the district coincides with Boserup description where women do not benefit from development as much as men due to the labour division in society. (2007:73-144)

5.4.2 Culture as a hindrance for generating an income

Women are also excluded from the labour market due to working conditions that are not suited for the perceived needs of women. Or with working hours that is impossible to combine with the additional responsibility for household and childcare (District Director of Comutra, 04-04-08). These responsibilities also aggravate the access to employment for women, for the same reason that Boserup (2007:73-144) mentioned in the 1970; that they are presumed to have a lower productivity as their prioritised work task is considered to be the domestic area. According to the Director of Comutra, (04-04.08) there are kindergartens available in the district, which is affordable if you are employed parents with two incomes. This makes the possibility of childcare alleviation
an issue of financial lifestyle, in accordance with the GAD-perspective that includes the subordination of class as well as sex. (Connelly et al, 62-63, 99, 128)

During a discussion with the male members of OTM (15-04-08), regarding alleviating women’s work by contributing to the domestic sphere, the Director of Comutra (15-04-08) says that, “There are cases of men who do the dishes in the evenings, but there is another general structure that exists in society”. This general structure that is mentioned could be exemplified by a quote from a representative from the district administration of Health, Social welfare and Women’s issues (17-04-08) who comments on the issue of men and domestic work: “It is impossible, the culture will not allow it”. This kind of gender division of labour, between domestic work and salaried employment, is a development problem identified by the GAD-approach (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63, 144), regarding the subordinated roles and responsibilities for women.

The low access to the labour market for women in Nacala Porto, also concerns attitudes that do not perceive women to be suitable at workplaces because of physical weakness or perceived inability. These perceptions co-exist with attitudes regarding the relation between men and women and are identified as a problem in accordance to the GAD-perspective. The attitudes are maintained by accepted norms and values of gender relations in society (Connell et al, 2000:62-63, 99, 128). The problem is further complicated as the attitudes are not solely rooted in the Mozambican and/or Mawkuan society. They also originate in countries such as India, China and Pakistan that are dominating the foreign investment and factory management in Nacala Porto. For example, a foreign Business Leader in the district expressed his view on gender roles by indicating that African men were incapable of working together with women because of their sexual instinct. Presuming that men are unable to concentrate on their work tasks with women in their surroundings. The result of this perception was that the foreign Business Leader only employed men. (16-04-08) These attitudes are widely divergent depending on who we ask, but many of the attitudes prevent able and interested women to participate in the formal labour market. A labour market that also, according to pupils in public secondary school class (22-04-08), requires family- or personal connections for young Mozambicans to receive access. Hence, it is further restrictive for a young woman to enter the labour market.
5.4.3 The exclusion and enrolment concerning girl’s education

Education is another area for development that regards both men and women in Nacala Porto. The exclusion of girls from education is an identified problem in all three of the theoretical perspectives, but it especially concerns WID. The aim of the WID-approach is to improve the access to education for girls and women, as a way to alter the exclusion of women in development (Connelly et al, 2000:57). The rates for girls starting primary school has increased in the district, with 13 000 girls that are currently in the first grade. But when comparing with the number of girls studying at the twelfth grade in secondary school, it is a significantly smaller number with 198 girls (District educational department, 2008, Table 6 in appendix 2). Hence, the identified problem is that a large amount of girls do not fulfil the primary and secondary school. The number of enrolled girls is starting to decrease as early as after the fourth grade (District educational department, 10-04-08). Statistics from Nacala Porto, also indicate that the percentage units of girls in secondary school is reduced by half, from the eight to twelfth grade (Appendix 2, table 3). This coincides with the re-insertion of school fees for girls at the ninth grade, making education a cost that is infeasible or given a low priority to, according to the Gender Technician (14-04-08) in the Educational Department of Nacala Porto.

However, there are also other factors of importance according to pupils in the public secondary school (22-04-08) and pupils in the ADPP secondary school (18-04-08), which is further reinforced by the Gender Technician (14-04-08). The reoccurring explanations for girls to disrupt their education are in addition to poverty also pregnancy and marriage. Our interview with six female prostitutes in Nampula illustrates these three aspects. Five out of the six women was enrolled in school until the grades between the fourth and tenth grade. They left school because of marriage and/or early pregnancy. They started out as single parents, or eventually turning in to one when abandoned, led to economic difficulties and consequently prostitution. This was the only alternative left when marriage, education and support from relatives failed. (Sex workers, 25-04-08) Their situation is according to Boserups perspective (2007:73-144) an identified problem, due to the exclusion from the economical development and formal market, which increases the informal market of prostitution. The GAD-approach
would rather identify the problem as an indication of the subordination of women that are involved in an unequal power relation, in marriage as well as in prostitution.

### 5.4.4 The subordination, abandonment and safety of women

A representative for the women’s organisation *Forum Mulher* (29-04-08), describes the position of women in the Mozambican society as being; “inferior to men”. This is an example of the GAD-perspective of subordination. A male social worker at INAS is reasoning regarding the cultural values in society, when saying that they are; “introduced by the socialisation and initiation rites for girls and boys”. He explains that the male initiation rites teach boys to behave like adult leaders, providers and initiators.

(Male social worker at INAS, 22-04-08) In the perspective of GAD, these gender characteristics are an example of socially constructed patterns of behaviour with the possibility of being transformed (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63, 99, 128). A female social worker at INAS (22-04-08) that also participates in the interview adds that a lot of family and relationship conflicts, deals with women who want to study and men who on the contrary do not want their women to learn. According to the female social worker, the resistant to female education and empowerment regards the risk of damaging the self confidence of the man. “They can not handle living with a woman that is equal”, she says. (Female social worker of INAS, 22-04-08) This conflict is further illustrated by a man who tells us that his marriage ended in a similar way that is described by the female social worker. As his former wife advanced in education and working career, he felt inferior to her. Her position in the relationship also led to that she sometimes went out in the evenings, which made him feel jealous and inadequate as man. “I did not know what to do, so I hit her”, says the man who eventually left her and the household behind. (Divorced man, 22-04-08)

Abandoned women and families is an identified problem in accordance with WID and GAD, but with different approaches. For the WID-approach, the female/single lead households with limited means of income is identified as a problem concerning their difficulty to address their basic needs such as water, food, shelter, income and safety (UNESCO, 2003:2). However, in the perspective of GAD it could rather be a recognised effect of patriarchal power at national, community and household level (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63, 99, 128). Gathering our observations in rural and urban
areas, with the majority of our interview answers, the male abandoning of women and children appears to be a widespread phenomenon in Nacala Porto. According to statistics, based on reported cases of men that abandoned their family, there are mainly men that leave their families. For Nampula province the numbers of men that were reported for leaving their families were 651 compared to 73 women (Gabinete de Atendimento a Mulher e Criança, 2007:2). This is also the case in Nacala Porto, a district who has the second highest amount of reported cases of abandoned families in Nampula Province\(^5\) (Gabinete de Atendimento a Mulher e Criança, 2007:3).

The division of labour, described by Boserup and the GAD-framework, becomes a problem when one parent is left with all the work. One abandoned rural woman describes the difference of being married compared to being involuntary divorced as; “desperate”. Another woman does not have the capacity to use her fields on her own. One of her two fields have thereby been neglected, as the death of a sick child required all her strength for grieving, resulting in a default of harvest. This reduction of food further endangers the health and life of the rest of her family. (Abandoned women, 11-04-08) The female pupils in the ADPP secondary school class (18-04-08) express a future worry that abandonment will happen to them. The male social worker at INAS also describes divorces and abandonment as the most substantial problem for women in Nacala Porto. He also identifies a link between families shattered due to male abandonment and deserted old men. “Maybe they did not respect their wife and children” he says and implies that the result of leaving your family is that nobody will take care of you when old. This could be a contributing reason for old deserted men, to be regarded as the most vulnerable out of the men that INAS assist in their work (Male social worker at INAS, 16-04-08). Taking the interaction between men and women into account, with the deteriorated effect of men’s behaviour, it is in accordance with the GAD-perspective where the problems are concerned to be gender related (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63).

Previous parts within this subchapter have briefly mentioned the female exposure to domestic violence. The WID- and GAD-perspectives are involved, while differing in their way of identifying the problem. The WID-approach seem to be in more concern of

\(^5\) No consideration of population size in the different districts is taken in to account in the statistics.
the safety of women (UNESCO, 2003:2) and GAD considers the unequal power relation to be the problem (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63). “There is no shortage of violence within the households”, says a Catholic nun in one of the health centres. She also adds that domestic violence usually stays within the household, being treated as a private matter (Catholic nun16-04-08). It is not considered a crime to abuse women in the household, unless it results in severe injuries (Policewoman, 26-04-08). This could be linked to the liberal aspect of the WID-policy, as it is concerned to be part of the private sphere and of no concern for the government or legislation (Connelly et al, 2000:115-117). But the domestic violence also seems to be given a lower priority to, because of attitudes in society that also is found at decision making levels in Nacala Porto. This is illustrated by a quote from a representative from the district administration of Health, Social welfare and Women’s issues (17-04-08) saying that;” This issue is difficult, because the women provoke the violence”. According to him it is a problem in the relationship that occurs when the women are violating the rights of men. Implying that rights in this respect, means to be served by the wife according to the husband’s demand. This is interpreted as an issue of subordination in accordance with the GAD-perspective.

5.5 Strategies
The adopted strategies by different actors in Nacala Porto, Nampula and Maputo distinguish the type of interventions that are perceived as necessary. The strategy of all three theoretical feminist perspectives is to address practical needs. But they differ due to Boserup’s strategy of including productive interests and the GAD-strategy by emphasising strategic interest for women.

5.5.1 Strategies intervening in the inter human relationships
Mozambican women face problems that were discussed in the previous subchapter and strategies are applied to improve the situation or position for them in society. Men and women can in some respects, in accordance with the perspectives of GAD and Boserup, benefit from cooperating together to improve their life situation. However this union can be problematic when it is not agreeable for both parties. There are problems like domestic violence, old deserted men, abandoned women and prostitution that partly are contributing consequences when the union between men and women fail.
Domestic violence is approached with traditional support or with the assistant of specially trained units at the police station. The traditional strategy implies having the family as mediators between the parties, or the Reguló who the men can turn to and the Piamwene who has the function as a spokesperson for women. In Nacala Porto a Reguló and a Piamwene express that they have lost their influence in the local community, due to their inability of reforming their status to be compatible with new concepts in society. The power of the local leaders also seems to be a tool in the polarised party politics, which divide the community in two sections. (Piamwene and Reguló, 16-04-08) The alternative possibility for women is to turn to the police. Female police officers are trained to help women and men with domestic violence and other concerns in the family relation. The police unit function is both to file complaints when crime has been committed and counsel the parties when the complaint is not considered a crime. (Policewoman, 26-04-08) A police unit of this kind exists in Nacala Porto, but unfortunately we had no opportunity to interview policewomen from this section. Our observation and interview is thereby from Nampula City instead.

5.5.2 Marriage as a precarious survival strategy

In the case of marriage, family and abandonment it is clear that the life strategies of men and women often vary. The only choice of women, in order to ensure financial and social stability, is often to marry and remain a nuclear family by having many children. (Female social worker at INAS, 22-04-08) In many cases the male strategy seems to be to start relationships with more than one woman, only contributing to or providing for the family of recent choice. When women are left with the sole responsibility of children and household, often with less chances of income due to the increased workload, the situation requires strategies with a greater poverty approach (Male social worker at INAS, 16-04-08).

For women with an education and salaried employment in the city, the chances of coping are more evident than in the semi-urban and rural areas, according to our observations and the description of the situation by the male social worker (16-04-08). This is also in line with the WID-strategy of addressing basic needs such as income, while improving the access to education (Connelly et al, 2007:57). In Nacala Porto, women in rural areas seem to have minimal support from the community. But
according to the male social worker at INAS, there are no recourses available from the Mozambican state. The family previously had the function of a social security network in Nacala Porto, but this has changed according to the male social worker; “After the war, the expanded cities and new infrastructure transformed the inter human relationships”. He views this as a problem and would like to use a strategy of mediation within the family to avoid shattered families with poor mothers, deserted old men and fatherless children. (Male social worker at INAS, 16-04-08) For the urban and low educated women in poverty, it is also difficult. For young women in Nacala Porto, a common strategy is to marry another man. It is a precarious alternative but often seen as the only alternative. In the GAD-perspective the alternatives could potentially expand with the empowerment of women. By increasing women’s control over their own conditions of work and transforming these to enable reproductive choices. (Connelly et al, 2000:128)

Women’s difficulties to enter the labour market influence the relationship between men and women. As previously mentioned, a common survival strategy for women is to find a husband. This especially concerns those with minimal or no possibility to find employment besides informal- or/and sex work. The situation is in accordance with Boserup’s description of women being expelled from the formal market. Social roles are described by Boserup as preventing women from increasing their time at a salaried employment, due to the division of labour that directs women to unpaid work in the household. (Boserup, 2007:73-144) However, the potential for change is indicated by informal interviews stating that sons, brothers or husbands contribute to domestic work, even if they close the door to the public before doing the dishes. The transformation is more visible in terms of male childcare that is exposed in the street rather than hidden in the household. This indicates a social acceptance towards men caring for their children, in other ways than being the financial provider for the family.

Men are considered less vulnerable due to their ability to work even when getting older. (Male social worker, 16-04-08) But the gender constructions regarding division of labour described by the GAD-policy (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63, 144), also creates a pressure on men to provide financially. The male social worker at INAS (16-04-08) says that; “The male strategy is to contribute with material things as much as possible”. This strategy is used in starting a relationship as well as in trying to remain in one. The
female social worker next to him respectively express the female strategies by saying that; “Sometimes we do everything that is expected of us, but it is still not enough” (Female social worker at INAS, 16-04-08). If the female strategy of marriage fails, their children may be responsible for securing their mother’s livelihood. This is a life strategy for an abandoned woman in the semi-urban part of the district (15-04-08), who receives support from one of her sons. However, using family members as a social security net is not a possibility for all mothers. One example is an abandoned woman (11-04-08) in the rural areas, who tells us that she does not receive support from any of her family members; the rest of her family is just as poor as she is.

The new family law from 2005 has tried to make the marriage strategy safer for women, which is in accordance with the Boserup and WID perspective of using strategies that remove discriminatory aspects in legislation. The family law expands the right for female partners in registered marriages or unregistered household relationships, in case of separation and death of the husband. It also states equality for men and women in legal situations. (da Silva et al, 2006:44) Most of these strategies that women are currently using are in accordance with WID, by remaining within the gendered structures (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63). Women are trying to create a material wellbeing through the boyfriend or husband that will satisfy their basic needs. Women that are economically independent have expressed a few solutions or aspirations to address their own strategic interests, in accordance with the GAD-approach (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63, 144). The female opinion of being more sustainable without a husband that has too many and difficult demands to fulfil for a working woman, has been expressed across the bar tables in Nacala Porto and within the walls of a Maputo office. However, the prospects of being a sustainable urban single are also small due to the division of labour that Boserup describes (2007:73-144).

5.5.3 The strategy of education in the short and long-term

As previously mentioned in the subchapter (5.4.2), the decrease of enrolment for girls is identified as a development problem in accordance with the perspectives of Boserup, WID and GAD. The strategies for altering these trends differ between the three theoretical feminist perspectives, but the WID-perspective is predominate according to our interviews, observations and experiences. There is for example a system to increase
the incentives to start a new three-year block by reducing the school fees for girls starting fourth, seventh and tenth class. In case of pregnancy there is still a possibility for the girls to return to their studies. In a conversation with a teacher, they may come back to school just after a short period of absence, but the situation still requires encouragement from the families and relatives that are able to look after the new born baby (Gender technician in the district education administration, 14-04-08). The incentives and opportunity of continuing studying as new mothers are examples of a female oriented policy in accordance with WID. Addressing basic needs with the possibility of improving women’s lives. (Connelly et al, 2000:57).

Another option for girls or women that lack education is to enter adult education. It is conducted in two different forms, by having conventional teacher lead classes or by following radio classes individually or in a group. (Gender technician in the district education administration, 14-04-08) Statistics of Nacala Porto shows that women are the majority in adult education, which especially concerns illiteracy but is taught up to the secondary level (District educational department, 10-04-08). A Catholic nun (16-04-08) mentions the female interest in education where women actively search and apply for courses for alphabetisation. The adult education is also a long-term strategy for increasing girl’s education according to the Gender Technician; “A lot of women that take part in the alphabetisation, see the need for their daughters to be in school”. (Gender technician in the district education administration, 14-04-08) Improving the abilities to read and write for women in all ages, will also increase their access to information along with development. Women focused adult education and the increase of girl’s participation, by informing them of the benefits, are in accordance with the WID-approach, while disregarding the unequal relationship of men and women. (Connelly et al, 2000:57)

The adult classes are predominantly at evenings. Obstacles women meet by having evening classes is the access to school buildings or other locations for learning in their near proximity, due to the risk of travelling alone at evenings. (Gender technician in the district education administration, 14-04-08) Hence, additionally taking safety precautions into consideration, the incentives for continuing to higher levels of education may need improvement, if the aim is to overcome obstacles that concern the position of girls in society. In Boserup’s perspective (2007:73), these obstacles were
We have identified few indications from institutions concerning widespread strategies to address structural problems, like early marriage and pregnancy. The indications of a GAD-perspective is present in the answers of female pupils in an ADPP secondary school class (18-04-08), as they all agree that work is a priority in front of marriage. But in case of pregnancy and childcare, employment seems to be of smaller concern in comparison. The Gender Technician (14-04-08) uses a strategy to address these concerns within the families and in conversations with boys and girls in the school council. The problems that are addressed concerns marrying off the girls while they are in school and the importance of male and female avoidance from pregnancy. Addressing these strategic gender interests of empowering women and expanding their alternatives are in accordance with the GAD-strategy (Connelly et al, 62-63, 99). A representative for *Forum Mulher* expresses the view of altering the unequal power relations in a long-term perspective, saying; “Changing behaviour takes years”.

### 5.5.4 Addressing the need of access to capital and income

Increased capital may consequently improve the livelihood and access to education for women and girls. According to the WID-perspective the access to credit is a strategy for addressing practical needs. (Connelly et al, 2000:57) Alternatives for women to access credit are to enter a Xitique group or apply at a credit institution. *Xitique* groups are known to give micro credits to persons without property or other securities. It is rather your personal network of friends and neighbours that can include women in credit activity, ranging from small amounts with 5 *Meticais* and higher. The *Xitique* group we interviewed was not focused on investing the credit to continuously increase their income. Instead they practice non-expanding, small-scale business and use the income for consumption goods for the household, family or themselves. (*Xitique* group 12-04-08) The long-term strategy for their income may thereby be lost. The prerequisite to apply for a loan at a local bank in Nacala Porto is to have an employment. The most common amount to borrow is around 35000 *Meticais*, which requires an income of 3000 *Meticais* per month. According to the Manager at BIM bank, it is not unusual for women to take a loan. For mothers with employment, it is also possible to finance their
children’s or their own education through private loan. (Manager at BIM bank, 23-04-08) But for women that need to obtain initial capital, without having financial stability, the options are minimal. Hence, a WID-oriented initiative, of micro credits for women, is at the planning stages at ADPP in Nacala Porto. A strategy, that aims to contribute to an active role of women in development while attending basic needs. (de Notaris, 2008:1)

According to the District President of the City Municipal Administration (14-04-08) they are carrying out a street-cleaning project that only employs women. This kind of women’s specific project is more in the WID-tradition, of addressing women’s basic needs of financial income. At the same time it is part of the development stages of Boserup, with the strategy of letting the modernisation stages transform the position of women at the labour market, by addressing access to income. In this way women are included in the economical development, with the prediction of Boserup that the position of women will improve at a later stage. (Boserup, 2007:73-144) However, the possibilities for educated women to participate in the developing economy are not taken into consideration in these strategies. This might be of concern for the GAD-policy (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63, 99) and their strategy to address women’s strategic interests.

5.6 Development aim
The development aim for the theoretical feminist perspectives is mainly to improve the condition of women’s lives. For Boserup it required integration in the economical economy, in the perspective of WID it is necessary to be included in the decision making and the GAD-approach additionally aims to transform unequal power relations to improve the position of women in society.

5.6.1 Boserup and modernism in a free-zone labour market
As previously mentioned in the subchapter regarding the modernistic paradigm (5.1.1), the provincial administration seems to be dominated by a belief in the pre-Boserup perspective, with a trickle-down effect that will benefit the population. The development aim is to increase the productivity and achieve economic growth in the province of Nampula. The Provincial Development Coordinator (31-03-08) would like to accelerate development by expanding the use of the Nacala Development Corridor
(NDC) with the harbour, railway and airport functioning as a main junction point in Eastern Africa. The plan for Nacala Porto is to specialise in their industrial potential, directing the agricultural focus and support to the other districts in Nampula province.

The Permanent Secretary in the district administration shares the Provincial Development Coordinators perspective. But he is diverging slightly by mentioning women as a specific part of economical development. According to the Permanent Secretary, the employment of women depends on the type of industry that is practised. He adds; “Mainly women are employed today” (District Permanent Secretary, 03-04-08). That would mean that Boserup’s stages of economical development already are a success in the district. The statement of the Permanent Secretary in Nacala Porto is not in accordance with our observations of three factories with a small minority of employed women. Other interviews with male union members, worried girls in secondary school and employees in the industrial sector, show a labour market that is very limited for female employment. The potential of integrating women in economic development through the free zone initiative has not been explicit. It is possible to sense the development aim, but it does not seem to be communicated by the different administrative actors in Nacala Porto or Nampula.

One of the demands for a free zone vision to be accomplished is the education of provincial inhabitants. For Boserup (2007:196-197), the aim was to take advantage of the potential female labour force in the urban areas, rather than creating a demand for the rural elite to move in to the city. The aim may be beneficial for the urban women by opening up the formal labour market in Nacala Porto. For the rural women in the district, it may decrease the agricultural labour load for women if men stay in the rural areas. But the explicit aim expressed by the Gender Technician is to increase the amount of girls studying in higher education. She says that; “It is important to talk to the girls about their future, to benefit themselves and contribute to development” (Gender Technician in the education administration, 14-04-08). The aim in Boserup’s perspective would be to combine the education of girls and women with increased productivity and decreased urbanisation. The only interview that merged these aspects in to a whole vision was the male members of the union in Nacala Porto. They claim that the possibility of labour and education attracts rural men to the city. Being male workers, the union members view women in the labour market as competition, but add
that they actually think it would be better for women to get more access, with the consequence that the productivity would increase. (Male members of OTM, 15-04-08)

5.6.2 The women specific positions that represents WID

The WID development aim to integrate women in the development process is apparent in terms of the female representation in elected and appointed positions. (Connelly et al, 2000:115-117) A representative for the women’s organisation Forum Mulher, describes the present day representation of women as a 15 year old transformation, with origins in the civil society that has affected the decisions of the government. “It empowers women to realise that they are able and competent”, says the representative for Forum Mulher (29-04-08). At provincial level, the City Commissioner of Health, Social welfare and Women’s issues (01-04-08), describes the regulation which states that 50 per cent preferably and 30 percent definitely shall be women in the local counsellors in the districts.

The representation of women is continuously brought up during our stay in Mozambique, sometimes by emphasising their importance of role modelling in society, but mostly as an example of achieved equality. The District President of the City Municipal administration (14-04-08) addresses the female majority of employees in his municipal. In the District Presidents own opinion, women are more trustworthy and accurate than male employees. But out of the eight City Commissioners, that is his closest associates, only one is a woman. The female City Commissioner in question is in the Health- Women- and a Social issue sector and is an example of the positions in society that are assigned for women. This way the WID-approach continues to stay within the male and female structures, while trying to remove the discriminatory practises in institutions (Connelly et al, 2000:115-117).

These assigned female sectors are also of secretarial or clerical sort, according to our interview with the female members of Comutra (15-04-08), or consisting of cleaning orientated labour such as communal sanitation workers in the city and informal housekeepers in private homes. Prostitution is also a female dominated sector. This division of labour is an aspect of the WID-approach that is related to the perspective on specific female activities. For Boserup (2007:73-144) this division of labour created an imbalance between the income and productivity of women compared to men. In the
GAD-perspective the different productive roles and responsibilities of women and men, were seen as a gender division of labour that sustained the subordination of women (Connelly et al., 2000:62-63, 144). But for the WID-approach, the development aim is to integrate women in the development process and improve their conditions of life, without the emphasis on which position in development the women will achieve access to.

5.6.3 Men as partners and gender mainstreaming

The representative for *Forum Mulher* (29-04-08) describes women in Mozambique as disempowered. She advocates the empowerment of women by letting them know their rights, while the Mozambican men are sensibilised. This is in coherence with the GAD-aim for development to improve the position of women in society. The ambition is to involve both men and women in participation, decision making and the sharing of benefits. (Connelly et al., 2000:62-63. 99, 128) The representative for *Forum Mulher* (29-04-08) mentions the gender aim of including both sexes, with the campaign called “Men as partners”. The campaign focuses on men to act against male violence towards women, but also includes responsibilities regarding the care of family and precautions against sexually transmitted diseases. Taking Nacala Porto into consideration, a development aim that focuses on men as partners could also address gender issues of concern. For example the male worry of their wife entering the labour market, the needed male support in household and childcare as well as the phenomenon of men abandoning their families. The Director of Comutra, mentions the common interest for both men and women to transform the unequal gender relations. She uses an example from the new family law that enables men to stay home from work in care of a sick child. “The men consider it to be something that they never had before, they regard it as unusual, but there is no resistance neither from men nor women”, says the Director of Comutra (15-04-08). The development aim of GAD to include both men and women in the process of gender equality is a long-term aim. And from our observations and interviews we have seen expressions of both aim and resistance.

The Maputo based women’s organisations use several networks in their gender mainstreaming. They work at a central ministered level that will mediate WLSAs gender policy to the provincial and district level, but also turn directly to the capital.
provinces like Nampula. “The quality can be discussed”, says the National Director of WLSA (30-04-08) and refers to the different perspectives of women and gender depending on the local administration. At our meetings in Nampula, the explicit awareness of gender was not found outside the Department of Planning for Districts in Gender Participation. Preserving a WID-approach where women and gender are viewed as special interests. The critique of gender mainstreaming is that there usually is a large gap between policy and practice (Mikkelsen, 2005:241-242), which also is how we perceive the situation in Nacala Porto. It seems evident when comparing the minimally explicit gender awareness found in our local interviews with the extensive gender mainstream policy expressed by the national Director of WLSA (30-04-08). In Maputo, she continues to emphasise the importance for the administrators at different levels to be aware and consider the different needs and interests for women and men. The ambition of this approach is in accordance with GAD to implement a gender focus in all areas and levels of society, to reach the aim of enabling progress in the creation of equal relationships between women and men (UNESCO, 2003:2-3). From our understanding this development aim is far from being mainstreamed in Nacala Porto and its province.

During a meeting with a Mozambican economist (28-04-08), he criticises the isolation of issues concerning women or gender from other activities. He brings up the dynamics of social diversification, which also is of concern for the GAD-policy. The GAD-approach interconnect other forms of oppression and social construction by involving the issues of race, class, colonial history, culture and position in the economical world order (Connelly et al, 2000:62-63). According to our understanding the isolation of women’s issues is a WID-phenomenon, which is persisting in Nacala Porto. The Mozambican economist (28-04-08) rather aims for a broad base for development, stating that “Poverty is not only a woman’s issue”. Similar thoughts are found at a meeting with representatives of the Swedish Embassy (29-04-08). They describe a human rights perspective in their development aim, where the issue of gender is included. According to them, a social perspective on intervention, focusing on the most vulnerable persons, will also approach the needs and interest of women (Representatives of Swedish Embassy, 29-04-08). This is in line with the development aim of GAD to transform all unequal power relations. However, the aspects of women and gender seem to be given a lower priority to with an all-inclusive perspective.
6. Concluding discussions

This chapter embodies the final section of our study and is reconnected to the potential process of bringing about social change for women and men in development. A summary of the empirical findings and analysis is presented, which serves as a basis for a discussion related to the previously documented situation for women. The discussion concludes in a formulation of policies that is based on the situation in Nacala Porto.

6.1 General conclusions

This subchapter summarises our empirical findings and analysis from the previous chapter, by presenting the concluding perspectives of the three theoretical feminist frameworks in relation to Nacala Porto.

6.1.1 Boserups perspective in Nacala Porto

Boserups description of African agriculture, which was characterised by low productivity and limited use of technology, is in accordance with the provincial administrative view of Nacala Porto. If we follow the development stages described by Boserup, the second step of modernisation is applicable, where the female literacy level would increase and women would be more educated. Still, there is no demand of educated women in the district. The overall situation of the labour market in Nacala Porto coincides with Boserup description, where women do not benefit from development as much as men, due to the labour division in society. This amount into a polarisation and hierarchisation of labour that direct women to unskilled and low wage jobs as well as the informal sector. Additionally, women are generally not viewed as productive agents, but are rather stigmatised with a perception of female inability. The limited possibilities for women at the local labour market create an imbalance of the income and productivity of women, in comparison with men. The aim of Boserups perspective would thereby be to combine the education of girls and women with increased productivity, access to the formal labour market and decreased urbanisation of men. But at the political planning stage, it does not seem to be taken into consideration that the developing economy benefit men in a larger extent than women. Hence, even if the modernisation paradigm of Boserup is present, the aspect of women in economic development is not emphasised.
6.1.2. The WID-perspective in Nacala Porto

The liberal and modernistic influence of the WID-policy, seems to be dominating when considering women in Mozambique. The aim of the WID-approach to integrate women in the development process has been successful, in terms of the female representation in elected and appointed positions. The achievement of women working in the parliament or at district level is thereby perceived, by some of our respondents, to be an indication of national equality. The continuous progresses in legislation of removing discriminatory aspects for women also indicate increased equality for men and women in legal situations.

The exclusion of girls from education is an identified problem for all three of the theoretical perspectives, but it especially concerns the perspective of WID. The amount of girls that are starting school has increased, which could be linked to the system of incentives with lowered school fees for girls and inspirational role models. However, women in Nacala Porto seem to be in a position where they continuously need to prove their competence in education and labour. And incentives and inspiration for girls does not seem to be enough for them to stay enrolled in school. The compensation is adult education and alphabetisation courses that are popular amongst the women in Nacala Porto.

Beside the political- and administration positions in Nacala Porto, the professions at the formal labour market assigned for women are of clerical kind. Other common female alternatives at the labour market are in cleaning activities in the public sector and selling commodities or sexual services at the informal market. The isolation of women’s labour is a WID-phenomenon, which is persisting in Nacala Porto. Other examples of activities that are specifically directed to women are the *Xitique* group. These women oriented professions and projects are in the WID-tradition of addressing women’s basic needs of financial income. Women are seemingly viewed as recipients. The female strategy of getting married in order to secure their livelihood is in accordance with the WID-perspective, remaining within the existing cultural structure as receiving or participatory agents.
6.1.3 The GAD-perspective in Nacala Porto

The development aim of GAD, to include both men and women in the process of gender equality is a long-term aim. And from our observations and interviews we have seen expressions of both aim and resistance. In terms of Gender Mainstreaming, there seems to be a big gap between policy and practice in Nacala Porto, when considering the minimally explicit gender awareness found in our interviews at the local and administrative level. Except for organisations or institutions that are focused on women, the recognition of women’s subordination is implicit. It is expressed in the lack of social power, absence of reproductive alternatives, domestic violence and the gender division of labour between domestic work and salaried employment.

According to GAD, it is identified as a development problem, in terms of the subordinated roles and responsibilities for women in Nacala Porto. This appears between women and men within marriage. The initiation rites for men have taught them to be leaders, providers and initiators while the informal education for women concerns domestic, reproductive and sexual knowledge. But the potential for change is indicated by social acceptance towards men caring for their children, even if they are generally viewed as passive agents in this respect. The issue regarding men and domestic work seems to be sensitive and controversial. It is common for women to experience hardship and impoverishment, due to the phenomenon of men abandoning their women and children in Nacala Porto. Some women live preferably and sustainably without a man, but it requires one or several prospects concerning education, childcare alleviation, agricultural assistance and/or access to the labour market. These aspects, and potential achievement, also address the subordination of class.

The girls that are enrolled in education seem to see themselves as productive and/or empowered agents, but they would prefer to work in a surrounding that believes in their active female agency. Poverty, pregnancy and marriage are identified as the main reasons for girls to leave school. This combination of poverty without social security nets, early pregnancy and the potential abandonment constitutes a risk for prostitution in a high mobility district like Nacala Porto. The GAD-strategies used to enable an altering of the unequal power structure, is counteracting illiteracy, transforming culture
and increasing information. However, the Gender Mainstreaming seems to remain within the women’s organisations and/or sectors.

### 6.1.4 Dominating perspective in Nacala Porto

The dominating perspective according to our empirical findings is the framework of WID, it has dominated the development approach regarding women and gender in Nacala Porto. The perspectives of Boserup and GAD have also been present at various levels in society, but the specific focus on Women in Development that exists within the gender structures has been prominent in our analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Development paradigm</th>
<th>Modernism</th>
<th>Boserup</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main focus</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>WID</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female agency</td>
<td>Recipients or participants</td>
<td>WID</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identified problem</td>
<td>Exclusion of women in the development process</td>
<td>WID</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adopted strategies</td>
<td>Addressing practical needs</td>
<td>WID</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development aim</td>
<td>Integrate women in development and improve the condition of women’s lives</td>
<td>WID</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.2 Theoretical implementation in Nacala Porto

During our analysis the complexity of the subordination of women in Nacala Porto has been apparent, displaying the discrepancy between the powerful women in parliament and the lack of social power described by the women in Nacala Porto. It seems to be a facade with girls starting school, placed in front of the female reality of never finishing. Political representation and increase of female names at the primary class list indicates progress in the GDI (Appendix 2, table 4) and displays a step towards gender equality in accordance with the UN Millennium Development Goals (UNDP, 2008). However, the lack of social power and livelihood alternatives remain for the women in Nacala
Porto. This is in our understanding a result of favouring liberal feminism, combined with the minimal emphasis on gender and economical development in relation to women. The reason for avoiding the gender approach might concern the controversy of questioning the unequal power relation between men and women. For instance, it would mean that abandonment, domestic violence and unemployment for women not only are considered to be women’s issues, but also problems created by men. Women’s role in economical development may in our understanding have been disregarded, as the female population of Nacala Porto is not perceived to be competent enough to contribute to economic growth.

According to our findings in Nacala Porto, the WID-strategy has been efficient in reaching results that consequently might alter gender inequality. This theoretical feminist perspective also seems to be accepted in the modernistic paradigm of Mozambique and have had measurable effect. But it has also created and/or sustained women specific sectors in society that consequently exclude them entering other sectors. When women actually are on the agenda, the WID-paradigm seems to prevail at the expense of a gender driven perspective. As the GAD-perspective includes some of the characteristics of the WID-perspective and additionally includes other forms of subordination, their approach should in theory be satisfactory on its own. But the mainstream approach to implement a gender focus in all areas and levels of society has not been successful according to our observations and interviews in Nacala Porto. It has rather shown a gap between theory and practice. Hence, considering the effect of the WID-approach, refraining from their strategies in favour of the GAD-approach may imply that women and gender not only results in being an isolated issue, but rather a forgotten one.

The international theoretical debate seems to be out of pace with the essentials of life for Mozambican women and men. The intention of implementing Gender Mainstreaming policies in societies like Nacala Porto, might for instance be facilitated by non-discriminatory legislation and educated women with wages. A parallel use of feminist development perspectives is thereby suitable, applying the perspectives of Boserup, WID and/or GAD for different socio-economic groups and/or in different areas of life. All three theoretical feminist perspectives have their strengths and limitations. In Nacala Porto, the approach of WID has been a legitimised and
functioning tool to increase women’s participation in development, but only to a certain extent and in a short-term perspective. Adding Boserup’s view on women in economical development would contribute with a functional orientation and economic suitability in the district. However Boserup’s stages have a tendency to weaken the family relationships and traditional structures that many women and men are dependent upon. A recognition of subordination, gender aim and awareness process is consequently necessary to understand inter-human relations, that are affected by the transformations between men and women in society. A combination of traditional and modern structures may preferably interact. It would also be beneficial to search for and address mutual interests for the different male and female actors, who have the potential of balancing the unequal relations. It is according to our understanding also vital, to create more alternatives for the livelihood of women.

A proposed approach is to apply the theoretical feminist perspectives depending on situation and suitability, letting the different perspectives complement each other rather than oppose each other. Another solution is to increase the cooperation between the different organisations and/or institutions that concern women, gender and political planning. The subordination of women contains several aspects, which seemingly require an assembly of perspectives in policy formulations, to enable equal inclusion of women and men in development.

6.3 Policy focus
Potential policy interventions can be implemented at a global, national/provincial and local level. The interventions may also consider important development focus areas that have key influence on the opportunities for men and women, using the different approaches of Boserup, WID and/or GAD. In the policy section below, we will try to suggest polices suited for national and local level. We will also discuss in what policy areas the theoretical approaches can offer suitable policy interventions.
6.3.1 Areas of interest in a development perspective

During our observations and interviews we could identify three main areas that continuously were discussed as means having to change, to be able to alleviate poverty and include women in the development process. These areas are the access to employment, sustainable education and functioning family relations. Their interdependence is illustrated in figure 1.

*Figure 1. Focus areas for development for women*
The three circles named, education, family and labour are in our understanding important areas of intervention for improvement to increase women’s possibilities and position in Nacala Porto. In our understanding, the family income, position in society and attitude influence the continual access to education for female family members. Education is another key area, for instance it may facilitate family planning and the level of employment opportunities for women. Concurrently, family relations can affect women’s level of education, work situation and the attitudes towards their non-domestic work. There are also conditions at the labour market that influence family decisions as well as increasing the purpose of education. Transforming the conditions in these areas may increase the encouragement for girls to become educated. Facilitating the female access to the formal labour sector may also have an empowering effect, potentially altering the power relations between men and women.

6.3.2 Access to employment

The current development paradigm in Mozambique at national and provincial level often concern structural adjustments of the economy assuming a trickle down effect that is equally beneficial for men and women. This situation is however not apparent and redistributive polices are therefore applicable.

Labour market adjustments are in need of structural adjustments in some cases, but it is also in need of specific labour market interventions, adjusted for the composition of sectors at local level. Nacala Porto has two environments, the agricultural and the urban setting. In agriculture, which is small-scale production, easy to use technology is required to enable achievement in the next level of development. This is emphasised by the representatives at the provincial and district level (Provincial Development Coordinator, 31-03-08 and Permanent Secretary in the District Administration, 03-04-08). It is also relevant to have a perspective on women, to ensure that men and women receive knowledge that is relevant to the division of labour. In accordance with Boserup’s findings of African agriculture, men in Nacala Porto clear the ground and harvest while women sow and nurture the crop at a larger extent. Women should therefore receive information concerning growing conditions, handling of insects etc. It
is also important for girls to be admitted to agricultural schools at the same prerequisites as boys (Boserup, 2007:69).

For single women it is especially difficult to cultivate a larger area in comparison to a household with two adults. Being a single farmer implies less food and cost more due to the necessity of hiring labour to clear land and harvest. A community help scheme could be useful for these women, enabling them to cultivate larger areas and expand their harvest. Another possible solution is to educate and involve women in other activities linked to agriculture, for example in trading and commercialisation. However, this may be problematic in Nacala Porto since it is not an established sector. According to Boserup’s predictions, this may change if development evolves into an increased mechanisation, where men are busy during the harvest season with no remaining time for other economic activities. A trading position for women to link farmers with the local markets may thereby be created. If this scenario does not occur, projects or interventions addressing gender roles according to GAD may be useful. (Boserup, 2007:3-22)

For women in urban and semi-urban areas access to financial income is crucial due to transportation distances and/or expensive cultivated land areas. Often they do not have the possibility to be self sufficient on agricultural outcome, because of land areas that are costly and scarce. Women in semi-urban areas (21-04-08), the members of Xitique (12-04-08) and a female street seller (08-04-08), with low income and minimal possibilities to get an employment, say that they lack access to capital. It would enable them to buy larger parcels of flour for selling home baked goods, rent cultivated land areas for surplus production, become agricultural traders or invest in other income generating activities. This group of women is excluded from formal labour, creating space for them and income-generating alternatives would improve their life situation. With employment the women would be able to have a retirement plan, loan from the bank or food credit at the store. Considering a female street seller (08-04-08) in Nacala Porto that previously had worked in the cashew industry, but lost her employment as the state companies closed down. This is one of several indications of women who are available for and able of entering the labour market. In similar situations, Boserup advocated to decrease the incentives for rural men to migrate to the city, which would increase the demand for female labour. This is applicable through policies that aim to
modernise rural areas (Boserup, 196-197) and is especially important to consider if the trading in the Nacala Development Corridor is increased and the free zone vision is implemented.

Another possible policy orientation is to increase the resources to the small-scale credit networks, known in Mozambique as Xitique groups. Encouragement for these groups to expand their businesses, in order to increase their income, would have a larger impact on their livelihood than using the majority of the savings for consumption. Policies may involve information and support regarding applications for permits and basic entrepreneurial skills. This policy approach might also be applied to micro-credit institutions or initiatives for women. Evolving further from WID-oriented policies to GAD-empowerment, an extension from this policy suggestion may also work as a base for women to initiate business in male dominated sectors. Potentially expanding sectors such as day-care facilities might also create alternatives and alleviation for other women in Nacala Porto. Additionally, the encouragement of women to become pioneers in their initiated business may also be attributed to GAD-policies.

Considering that women in Nacala Porto are directed to the informal market, an attempt to transform part of it into a formal market might be considered. An increase of low skilled employment in the private or public sector may also be beneficial for women. In order to make an industry job accessible, additional services may have to be considered. According to Boserup, women were perceived to be less productive than men, due to their additional responsibility for childcare and household, which corresponds with our findings in Nacala Porto. The Director of Comutra (04-04-08) says that the company leaders are reluctant to follow the law on maternity leave and realise that women leave work when their children are sick. Childcare is expensive in Nacala Porto and not for the low wage worker. A potential policy solution could be subsidised day care, enabling a possibility for women to work at the conditions of the formal labour market. Other cultural values or vulnerable aspects that are preventing women to participate in salaried employment to a larger extent, is shift work. Applying a WID-perspective in an effort to increase the security for women, by supplying safe transportation may improve the situation. This suggestion is in our understanding also in accordance with Boserup, addressing practical needs of financial income while increasing the female productivity, to achieve an advanced stage of economical development.
6.3.3 Sustainable education

Education serves as an entry point or process for women to be able to access employment, expand their alternatives of livelihood and become less vulnerable. According to our findings, the national enrolment of girls in education has risen, but unfortunately only 195 female students have the possibility of graduating secondary school this year. There are some possible explanations to this problem. Poverty is an aspect that makes the fees unaffordable, makes domestic work more important or makes early marriage a more rational strategy. A reason for disrupting studies that is continuously mentioned is pregnancy. That pregnancy is a recurrent reason for leaving school, maybe because of the absence of preventive measurements and/or the lack of reproductive and sexual rights for women and girls. Abuse and prostitution are also factors that result in leaving school early. In our understanding, formed by the many interviews we conducted, education in Nacala Porto is often regarded as a practical need in order to get employment and participate in the development progress. However, studying may also address gender driven strategic interests as mentioned by pupils in the ADPP secondary school class (18-04-08) “girls and boys work side by side at the fields doing the same tasks”. This GAD-approach is also important and relevant, implementing their theoretical perspective in a practical way. Unfortunately, the public education system in Nacala Porto does not seem to have the same potential, being more theoretical in nature and with a clear shortage of certified teachers. A combined strategy would be more optimal, with WID-strategies as a short-term tool for strategic needs and the GAD-approach as a long-term strategy addressing strategic interests.

Policies that focus on increasing the numbers of girls graduating from secondary school seem important. One approach in accordance with the WID-approach is to create school facilities in the local communities. Girls having to travel long distances are more vulnerable for abuse, transactional sex and prostitution (Taimo et al, 2006). Since girls in rural areas often go to school in the morning (Gender Technician, 14-01-08) or evenings, when this risk is increased, organised transportation is a potential strategy in addressing these problems. Schools or learning facilities in the proximity of the home may also facilitate for pregnant girls to return to school.
Creating community schools may not be a feasible option in all areas, boarding schools are therefore another more realistic or complementing option. Presently in Nacala Porto, boarding schools have not been an efficient method. Nationally, living conditions have been poor at the schools and the absence of security for girls has been severe. Problems of poverty and sexual abuse of young female pupils have frequently occurred, where the male teachers have been the main perpetrators. These factors also serve as explanations for the increased rate of girls at these schools that are engaged in transactional sex and prostitution. As a result of these problems, pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS interfere in the girl’s ability to graduate. (da Silva, 2005) The conditions at these schools are known and parents are reluctant to send their daughters there. For many girls this might be the only alternative of studying and achieving a degree. (Casas, 1998) However, with more resources placed in the education sector, partly targeted at an improvement of the boarding schools, with security, increase of female teachers and gender mainstreaming. The ensuring of WID-oriented safety for the students and additionally implemented GAD-strategies might alter the boarding school situation in another direction.

### 6.3.4 Functioning family relations

Issues of conflict in inter human relations in Nacala Porto especially concern the roles of men and women, when experiencing change or impasse in a society in transformation. Tensions within the families in Nacala Porto concerned subordination and the resistance of female empowerment. Some of our male respondents had limited awareness and will to adapt to the altering of cultural roles, in regard to female education and employment as well as male childcare and domestic work. The different view on development may lead to separation or increased domestic violence. However, several of our respondents have been abandoned by their men, for reasons of poverty, migration and for other women. Boserup does not discuss the family domain. In her perspective the pace of development would enable women to alter the division of labour that consequently would erase traditional behaviour. This perspective ignores the importance and strength of traditional structures, which for instance concern the social networks of security and solidarity. During our interviews we have identified strategies that are WID-orientated. One example is advising the abused wife to “please the
husband by having the dinner ready on time” (Policewoman, 26-04-08), in order for domestic violence to decrease. These strategies are short-term.

A GAD-perspective seems necessary with strategies for changing the power relations between men and women. Promoting reciprocity in the relation between them and sensibilisation of men is rather a long-term solution. It is therefore important to include men in the process concerning issues of violence, abandonment and sharing of labour. Addressing mutual interests such as a functioning relationship, the security children may provide or the financial benefit of two salaries. The WID-perspective seems to be a more legitimate tool in the modernistic paradigm that Nacala Porto belongs to. But the gender awareness and empowerment of women are more suitable concerning the transformation of inter human relationships.

To enable a change of the roles of men and women, a suggestion is to include men in child caring and parenting. A potential policy approach is to introduce parent-training in terms of both baby care and upbringing. Both parents should be included and the courses may occur combined with visits to hospitals or a midwife during the pregnancy. Gender awareness may also be included in the parent training combined with other issues of concern such as sanitation, nutrition or HIV/AIDS information. A mobile team might be more suitable that organises short courses or information campaigns. It is also possible to implement this kind of activity in present development operations. For instance, Save the Children in Nacala Porto conducts training regarding children in the rural areas, but do not appear to include a gender perspective in their local branch. The initiation rites may also have a large impact on gender roles in society in order to sensibilise men and transform traditional culture that sustain the unbalanced power relation between men and women. An attempted dialog is suggested to potentially reach a common understanding and strategy, with the ambition to reach some level of gender awareness in the initiation rites for boys and girls.

Family issues may be controversial to address, restricted by cultural taboos, norms and values. One actor in Nacala Porto that has the possibility to address such issues is the community radio, with a wide range of social subjects that address both men and women. Both male and female radio reporters- and broadcasters have mentioned sensitive subjects regarding male and female gender roles, as issues they would like to
emphasise (Female and male radio reporters, 10-04-08). Increased resources for a gender mainstreamed community radio have the potential to serve as a forum for a debate regarding issues such as access to employment, sustainable education and functioning family relations.
7. Reference

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**Respondents**

*Abandoned women* (11-04-08) 2 rural female respondents. Nacala Porto

*Abandoned women* (15-04-08) 3 semi-urban female respondents. Nacala Porto

*Catholic nun* (16-04-08) 2 female respondents at health centre. Nacala Porto

*Cultural group* (07-04-08) Three female respondents. Nacala Porto
City Commissioner Municipal department of Health, Social welfare and Women’s issues (15-04-08) Female respondent. Nacala Porto

Director of Comutra (04-04-08 and 15-04-08) Female respondent. Nacala Porto

District Director of OMM (17-04-08) Female respondent in the women’s branch of FRELIMO, Nacala Porto

District President of the City Municipal Administration (14-04-08) Male respondent. Nacala Porto

District representatives for the Educational Department (10-04-08) 3 Male respondents Nacala Porto

Divorced man (22-04-08) Male resondent. Nacala Porto

Female radio reporter (10-04-08) Female respondent. Nacala Porto

Female street seller (08-04-08) female respondent in informal interview. Nacala Porto

Foreign business leader (16-04-08) Male respondent. Nacala Porto

Gender Technician in the District Education Administration (14-01-08). Female respondent. Nacala Porto

Male members of OTM (15-04-08) 13 male respondents from the workers union. Nacala Porto

Male radio reporter (10-04-08) Male respondent. Nacala Porto

Members of Comutra (15-04-08) 9 female respondents from the workers union. Nacala Porto

Members of Xitique (12-04-08) 10 female respondents in a financial cultural group. Nacala Porto

Manager at BIM bank (23-04-08) Male respondent. Nacala Porto

Mozambican Economist (28-04-08) Male respondent. Maputo

National Director of WLSA (30-04-08) Female respondent. Maputo

Permanent Secretary in the District Administration (03-04-08) Male respondent. Nacala Porto

Piamwene and Reguló (16-04-08) 1 Female and 1 male respondents. Nacala Porto

Policewoman (26-04-08) Female respondent at domestic violence unit. Nampula

Provincial Director of Agriculture (01-04-08) Male respondent. Nampula
Provincial Development Coordinator (31-03-08 and 25-04-08) Female respondent. Nampula

Provincial Director of Trade and Industry (01-04-08) Male respondent. Nampula

Provincial representative of development coordination (25-04-08) Male respondent. Nampula

Pupils in ADPP secondary school class (18-04-08) 8 female and 10 male respondents interviewed separately. Nacala Porto

Pupils in public secondary school class (22-04-08) 5 female and 5 male respondents interviewed together. Nacala Porto

Representative for ADPP school (18-04-08) Male respondent. Nacala Porto

Representatives for AMODER (30-04-08), 2 female and 1 male respondents at micro credit institute. Maputo

Representative for cement factory (08-04-11) 1 Male respondent. Nacala Porto

Representative for Forum Mulher (29-04-08) Female respondent. Maputo

Representative for the Department of Planning for Districts in Gender Participation (01-04-08) Female respondent. Nampula

Representative for Save the Children (07-04-08) Female respondent. Nacala Porto

Representative for the District Administration of Health, Social welfare and Women’s issues (17-04-08) Male respondent. Nacala Porto

Representative for the District Department of the Labour Market (05-04-2008) 1 male respondent. Nacala Porto

Representative for rope factory (08-04-12) 1 male respondent. Nacala Porto

Representative for sack factory (08-04-16) 1 male respondent. Nacala Porto

Representatives of the Swedish Embassy (29-04-08) 2 male respondents. Maputo

Researcher at ForumMulher (30-04-08) Female respondent. Maputo

Social workers at INAS (16-04-08 and 22-04-08) 1 female and 1 male respondent. Nacala Porto

Sex workers (25-04-08) 6 female respondents. Nampula

Women in semi-urban areas (21-04-08) 3 female respondents. Nacala Porto
Appendix 1

Terms of reference

Introduction
Education for development work is an important tool for long-term international development co-operation. The School of Social Science at Växjö University, Sweden, is running a one-year Master programme in Peace and Development Work - for students, who aim at a future profession within developmental activities in organisations, institutions and social movements dealing with international peace and development issues.

One of the courses in this Master programme concentrates on practical methods in development work, and comprises a training fieldwork to be carried out in Mozambique. A group of students will, together with their teachers, carry out field-studies in the Mecuburi and Nacala-Porto districts in Nampula province. The course starts already in Sweden with an introduction to development and participatory methods, followed by fieldwork in small Swedish rural communities. The fieldwork in Sweden and Mozambique is an important part of the professional training, thus to make the students better prepared for their future tasks in the international development cooperation. A visit to Mozambique will make it possible for the students to gain a better insight into the reality outside Europe, and improve their understanding of the conditions for development.

Background
The aim is to perform socio-economic studies in order to develop skills to describe and understand the conditions under which people live, how people manage available resources in their efforts to improve their lives and how their striving for a more sustainable life is influenced by different activities in the development process.

The studies will deal with three areas, namely:

1) One baseline study with the objective of describing the current situation in the two districts, in terms of the socio-economic, politico-administrative and productive conditions.
2) One study with a special focus on the gender situation in the districts.
3) One study with a special focus on the productive structures in the districts.

Each of the studies will be conducted in both districts, thus in fact six studies will be conducted. This will permit a comparison between the districts.

Objectives
The overall objective of the studies is to analyse the social and economic situation in the local community and identify how rural electrification/agricultural commercialisation/mitigating measures on HIV/AIDS are contributing, or can contribute, to improve the living conditions for different socio-economic groups in the concerned area/district. The studies will also relate their findings to possible future actions and interventions in the sphere of international development co-operation.
The overall structure of the reports should highlight analyses at the levels of input, output, outcome and impact. As a part of the task given to the students, they should also present some conclusions and recommendations based on lessons learned from the respective study areas.

**Scope of work and methodology**

In terms of theoretical approaches, the studies will have two points of departure. On the one hand, they will follow a “Sustainable Rural Livelihood” approach, in which the actual developmental capacities in a community will be identified, described and analysed. Another and complementary model is based on an “Empowerment” approach, in which the linkages between the household economy and the societal economy are the centre of attention.

The studies will be carried out by applying a multi-level analysis, looking at the interaction between different levels of the society and between different socio-economic groups and actors. In this context, when analysing the impact of different development activities, the concept of territorial and functional development principles will also be considered and the analysis will look at both vertical and horizontal actions and interactions. To make this possible, the studies will be guided by the following model:

**Level 1. Present a general socio-economic background.**
Description of the district/society by considering social, economic, cultural and organisational aspects.

Analysis of the poverty situation: tendencies, changes, social stratification and social differentiation.

**Level 2. Different directions of the studies.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Baseline</th>
<th>Gender study</th>
<th>Production</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Existing conditions of the communities and the society in general and the analytical points of departure for developmental intervention.</td>
<td>The specific gender situation and the role of women an men in the development process.</td>
<td>Focusing both on rural development, farming systems, commercialisation, and on the local process of industrialisation.</td>
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**Level 3. Specific topics.**

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<td>This study will treat the general situation of the districts, in terms of an effort to better understand how people view their own situation in relation to possible strategic choices for economic and social development of the household economy.</td>
<td>The second study will pursue the same approach as the first one, though focusing on the gender situation. Hence, while the first approach is somewhat more general, the gender approach will try to analyse the future roles, capacities and possibilities of women and men.</td>
<td>The third study will focus the production systems in the districts. This implies an effort to describe the economic base of the two districts, in terms of agriculture, systems of commercialisation an trade in general, conditions for the creation and development of systems and structures of industrial and semi-industrial production, services etc.</td>
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Tasks
- Describe ongoing national and international developmental efforts in the respective area.
- Discuss the role of the state, civil society, private sector, and international aid organisations regarding the different directions of the studies.
- Give a general description of the district and local communities in the area, for example existing infrastructure, public service, economic actors, residence patterns, demographic statistics, migration trends and land issues.
- Describe the most important economic and social activities at individual, household, community and district level, and relate it to the prospects for poverty reduction in a gender perspective.
- Collect information, opinions, expectations and priorities expressed by women and men in different social groups and local authorities about the different aspects and activities to be studied.
- Generate information and experiences, which can be used in future planning and implementation of projects and activities in regarded areas.
- Provide input and proposals, which can help to improve impact on poverty reduction in future efforts.

Team composition
Mecuburi district
Gunilla Åkesson (team leader), Kajsa Johansson/Nélia Taimo, Anna Viktorsson, Emelie Sandberg, Claudia Wolender, Yllka Nuhiu, Anna Degerman and Angelica Jönsson

Nacala-Porto district
Anders Nilsson (team leader), Åsa Olsson, Amanda Friberg, Malin Brunelius, Hanna Jakobson, Lina Danielsson, Mikael Berglund and Ryfete Mustafa.

Time schedule
March 2008: Preparation in Sweden
28 March-27 April 2008: Field work in the province of Nampula
28-30 April 2008: Interviews and meetings in Maputo
5 May – 9 June 2008: Elaboration of data and preparation of report
9 June 2008: Submission of report
12-13 June 2008: Seminar/presentation of reports.

The final reports will be delivered to relevant partners in Mozambique; district, provincial and national authorities.
Appendix 2

Statistics and tables

Table 1. Economically active population in the formal sector aged 15 years and above

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>National %</th>
<th>Rural %</th>
<th>Urban %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Economically active population aged 15 years and above UNDP, Mozambique report PG Table 45 from INE Census 1997 - *aged 15 years and more" Source: ADB (2004:22)

Table 2. Labour activities in different sectors for women and men in Mozambique

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sectors</th>
<th>Urban %</th>
<th>Rural %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture and fisheries</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public services</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 3. Total of female pupils enrolled in secondary school in Nacala Porto 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Female pupils in % of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District educational department in Nacala Porto (2008)

Table 4. Gender development index for Mozambique 2001-2002 and 2005-2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>Increase in % 2001-2006</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GDI index value</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>0.307</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.365</td>
<td>0.387</td>
<td>48.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Enrolment in alphabetisation courses for adults, Nacala Porto district 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1st Grade</th>
<th>2nd Grade</th>
<th>3de grade</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2518</td>
<td>1213</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>4431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>2946</td>
<td>1369</td>
<td>761</td>
<td>5076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>4228</td>
<td>1498</td>
<td>1064</td>
<td>6790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>8088</td>
<td>2709</td>
<td>1102</td>
<td>11899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>5160</td>
<td>3187</td>
<td>1429</td>
<td>9776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>5410</td>
<td>3284</td>
<td>1478</td>
<td>10172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>4714</td>
<td>5109</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>11687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>5466</td>
<td>6281</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>13690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>38530</td>
<td>24650</td>
<td>10341</td>
<td>73521</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Alfabetizandos dos e educano Adultos (2008), district educational department, Nacala Porto

Table 6. Enrolment for girls and boys in grade 1-12, Nacala Porto district, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>% girls of total</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>13656</td>
<td>9389</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>23045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>15173</td>
<td>11247</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>26420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>16445</td>
<td>12613</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>29058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>18863</td>
<td>14634</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>33497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>20952</td>
<td>16775</td>
<td>44.5</td>
<td>37727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>21940</td>
<td>18149</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>40089</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ÍNDICE DOS Efectivos (2008) Comparativamente aos anos transactos, district educational department, Nacala Porto

Table 7. Number of girls enrolled in grade 1 and 12, Nacala Porto district 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Numbers of girls</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>13000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: District educational department (2008), Nacala Porto