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MOZAMBIQUE GENDER, YOUTH, AND SOCIAL INCLUSION ASSESSMENT

INTEGRATED LAND AND RESOURCE GOVERNANCE TASK ORDER UNDER THE STRENGTHENING TENURE AND RESOURCE RIGHTS II (STARR II) IDIQ

Contract Number: 7200AA18D00003/7200AA18F00015

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AJCE	Associação de Jovens Combatentes de Errego (Association of Young Combatants of Errego)
CaVaTeCo	Community Land Value Chain
DFID	Department for International Development
DUAT	<i>Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra</i> (Land Use and Benefit Right)
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front)
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
ILRG	Integrated Land and Resource Governance
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
LEGEND	Land: Enhancing Governance for Economic Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OMM	Organização da Mulher Moçambicana (Organization of Mozambican Women)
ORAM	Associação Rural de Ajuda Mútua (Organization for Rural Mutual Assistance)
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (Mozambican National Resistance)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Women's economic empowerment and removing land tenure-related obstacles to women's development is a primary focus of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)-funded Integrated Land and Resource Governance (ILRG) program. In Mozambique, the project has supported the delimitation of land parcels and the establishment of land associations in Ile District in Zambézia Province, an area dominated by a matrilineal and matrilineal social structure. The district has a very young population, with approximately half of inhabitants under 15 years old.

In Ile District, the Mozambican organization Associação Rural de Ajuda Mútua (ORAM) received a grant from ILRG in 2019 to establish community land associations and water user associations and delimit around 3,000 land parcels in five communities. Previously, in 2018, ORAM had established land associations and delimited over 10,000 land parcels in 20 communities through the Land: Enhancing Governance for Economic Development (LEGEND) project, funded by the Department for International Development (DFID). Through these projects, ORAM supported the establishment and capacity building of community land associations as legal community representatives on land and natural resource management. The projects facilitated delimitation of community boundaries and the delimitation of land parcels that had been previously acquired by families or individuals. The community land associations then provided each titleholder with a declaration of their right to occupy and use the land, called a *Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento da Terra* (DUAT).

The objective of this assessment is to address youth and gender relationships and their influence on decision-making related to land and land use within families and community land associations. This will give a better understanding of how the matrilineal context interacts with women's and men's land use and tenure, and how land delimitation and titling have affected land rights in the area in order to inform future ILRG activities.

The assessment focuses on the following key aspects:

1. Gender relationships and their influence on decision-making on land issues within households;
2. Gender relationships and their influence on decision-making on land issues in community land associations;
3. Joint titling vs. sole titling; and
4. Communications, training and implementation tools and materials.

The assessment is primarily based on qualitative field work carried out in Ile District in February 2020. The data was collected in two rural communities, and a total of 79 persons were interviewed; eight of them were technicians or local experts, and 71 were community members. Quantitative data, collected during the delimitation projects, has also been included in the analysis.

GENDER AND AGE RELATIONSHIPS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON DECISION MAKING ON LAND ISSUES WITHIN HOUSEHOLDS

Matrilineal social structures and matrilineal residence patterns are strong in Ile District, and define how land is distributed within families. Family land is inherited primarily by daughters, who stay on the land when they marry. The data from 2,915 parcels registered during the ILRG project supports the argument that most land is acquired by women based on customary practice. The database shows that 73 percent of parcels were acquired this way, with a further 26 percent acquired through good faith occupation and used for at least 10 years.

Some men also inherit land in their place of origin, but many men can only access land through marriage. Men generally accept this structure, but increasingly some men are buying land parcels to break free and have land of their own. Residents in the area clearly consider the purchase of improved land as falling within the category of customary practices. Titleholders of nearly 15 percent of parcels registered in the ILRG project, covering about nine percent of the total area, said they acquired the land based on purchase.

Despite women being the main landholders, the main decision maker on land in most families is the man, including in regard to issues such as land use, division of the harvest between consumption and marketing, and use of income. When a couple lives with the wife's family, the parents may have more decision-making power than the younger couple regarding the land. Women are the main land users, as men often leave the community to find work elsewhere, so the main people to permanently cultivate the land are the women.

Gender stereotypes are very strong in Ile. Women have very little education, a limited social life and are expected to have a passive and withdrawn role compared to men. The physical mobility of women and girls is very restricted, which constrains them from meeting people from outside the community, learning new things, and engaging in alternatives to agriculture. Men frequently leave the community to sell goods or find paid employment, while very few women have this opportunity. Only primary school is available in the communities; in order to study from the seventh grade onwards, one must travel to a larger town, which is very difficult for girls because of safety issues, traditional gender stereotypes, and financial restrictions in the families.

Women are expected to stay and cultivate the family land, and premature marriages are common, as marriage provides the family with needed labor for cultivating the land. Monogamous marriages are the norm, but there are also several examples of polygamous relationships, where men have remarried in a different place while also staying married to their first wife.

As a result of the land delimitation process, almost 70 percent of land titles went to women, because traditionally, they inherit the family land and are acknowledged as the main landowners and users. Some land was delimited to children living on the land, but many parcels were kept in the name of the mothers. While about 52 percent of the national population is under 18 years of age, land rights are clearly held by older people. Data from the LEGEND project shows that of 10,322 land parcels delimited in Ile, only 13.8 percent of these are registered to a person under 30 years of age. The land delimitation process has thus made visible that women are the main landholders and users, and that the older generation has most power over land division and control.

The principal effect of land delimitation activities has been a strong reduction in land conflicts, which were very common. This means that the land delimitation process has given many landholders a feeling of security they previously did not have. This especially benefits female heads of households, who have been especially vulnerable to land conflicts due to their weak social position in the community and limited knowledge of land rights. Increased security gives women more incentive to invest in the land; however, a lack of inputs and knowledge make it challenging to turn these opportunities into actual change, so agricultural production continues largely unchanged after the delimitation process.

Despite the positive impact of reduced conflicts between neighbors, there is no indication that land titling has given female titleholders more influence over decisions in the household related to their land. The declarations of land rights reflect who is acknowledged as the holder of rights to the land, but even if the declarations are in the name of women, the main decision makers are still usually their husbands. Titleholders are generally unaware of the transactional value of the land, apart from a few men who have themselves already purchased land. Transaction options include, for example, transferring a land declaration to others by selling assets on the land or entering into contracts with external investors about production on their land. Some men and women have information about external companies, but

they generally have little concrete knowledge of their negotiating opportunities. Women need more information if they are to benefit financially from their land titles.

Civil status has little influence on who acquires land, as land is passed from parents to children, mainly daughters, regardless of marital status. A key advantage for women in the matrilineal system is that women always stay on the family land with the children in the case of divorce or if the husband dies. The man must either return to his place of origin or marry again somewhere else; thus, women have stronger land tenure security than men in matrilineal Ile.

Divorce is becoming more common in the younger generations, but this does not mean that a divorced woman has it easy. Divorce is not socially acceptable, and has important economic implications for women, since men are often the main economic providers for families due to their mobility to sell crops and find work outside the community. Therefore, many women stay married if they can, even if the man has other relationships. It is much more socially acceptable to be widowed.

If a woman dies, the land is inherited by the children. In some cases, the man can stay on the land, but if he stays he cannot marry again. However, women have very limited options for leaving the land to find opportunities elsewhere, which is an option that benefits many men. This seems to be reflected in quantitative data from the LEGEND project. Of those registered rights holders who were widowed, 96 percent were women, and women also comprised 92 percent of all who were divorced. This is consistent with the idea that men who are widowed or divorced tend to leave the community or remarry, or at least that they do not tend to register land in their names. If a man has bought land and delimited it in his name, he has much better rights in the case of divorce.

One unanticipated result of the delimitation projects is that providing declarations to titleholders may stimulate the sale and purchase of land by men. Some men feel that titling land to women clearly demonstrates to men that they do not have the right to the land they live on. All respondents, including all men, agreed that land rights traditionally pass to women and men have poor rights to that land in case of divorce or death of the wife. Some male respondents explicitly noted that this gives men an incentive to buy land that they themselves can control, and for which they can put their own names on a declaration or title. They assume that men will increasingly buy and sell land in the future; in contrast, there were no accounts of any woman having bought land. It is the experience of ORAM in Ile that land is bought and sold between men, and that the land parcels that are sold are the men's own inherited land or land that is no longer occupied. There is no indication that women are selling their inherited family land.

GENDER AND AGE RELATIONSHIPS AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON DECISION MAKING ON LAND ISSUES IN COMMUNITY LAND ASSOCIATIONS

As in the households, men are the main decision makers in the community. Community leaders are the primary decision makers in all aspects of community life, including land issues and conflict; in almost all cases, these leaders are older men. Youth focus group participants all agreed that the main decision makers and community leaders are older; young men in the communities must respect the opinions of the older men, and some younger men find it difficult to be heard and gain influence. All community leaders interviewed for the assessment were among the older generation. It is important to acknowledge that although men are usually the ones who access information and knowledge, some men may be as marginalized from information and decisions as women.

The land associations, however, are spaces where younger community members can increase their participation, influence and access to knowledge. Active women and youth could potentially serve as role models for other less active community members. But the associations are new and relatively weak. There is little clarity about their role in the community and long-term decision-making power on land

issues vis-à-vis community leaders. General community members are relatively uninformed of the work and role of the associations, and many community members said they did not know that an association existed. This points to the challenge of maintaining the associations after the delimitation projects have ended. Without a useful purpose, they become dormant and lose the opportunity for a vibrant role in the community. Even if they have a clear and widely acknowledged sense of purpose, community associations would benefit from some ongoing support after the life of a short-term, donor-funded land rights project.

The land associations have female members, but no women serve as presidents, and few women seem to have meaningful influence in the associations, even those elected to leadership positions. Nevertheless, female association members can potentially gain important influence, knowledge and agency in community decision making if associations are strengthened and women become more active and empowered in their role as association members.

Women are generally poorly represented in community decision making, either as community leaders, or as active or leading association members. The low participation of women in community decision making is influenced by strong underlying gender stereotypes that are translated into specific constraints for women's participation, which in many cases can be intertwined. Key constraints include lack of time; lack of approval from husbands; little education and pre-existing knowledge; lack of knowledge of the opportunities and benefits of participating; and little interest in and support from communities for women's increased involvement. As summarized by one man, "The woman has to stay in the house to prepare the food; the man goes to talk to the others." Furthermore, increased participation of women and specific economic opportunities given to women often alter the power dynamics within the household, which may increase the risk of gender-based violence (GBV) and intimate partner violence (IPV). This is an issue that many informants were aware of but that is not frequently addressed in the communities. Additionally, women's lack of knowledge of the work and purpose of land associations contributes to them not prioritizing the associations, as they are busy cultivating their land and taking care of their households.

There are strong indications that older women, especially female heads of households, have more possibilities to participate in the land associations and community decision making than younger women due to their independence and smaller household work burden. However, if they are alone on their land, the pressure of maintaining the field alone can impede their ability to contribute to land associations and community decision-making.

Agricultural support and new technical skills are necessary for landowners to improve production and increase the added value to their land and related economic benefit; however, technical information, new skills, and agricultural inputs are primarily available to only a very limited and strictly male group. A key reason for this is that extension services are not gender-sensitive, and women's lack of mobility, limited time, and household burdens all limit their opportunities for acquiring new skills and knowledge.

There is a strong awareness in communities about the risks of investors from outside the community taking over people's land, but concrete knowledge of actual risks and opportunities with investors is very limited. The little available information is concentrated among a few people, and the predominantly male community leaders decide whether and how to engage with investors. The forestry company Portucel, which has a large land concession in the area, has attempted to work with women in the communities, for example as workers in their seedling production, but with little success due to gender

stereotypes, the risks of GBV for involved women, and a general difficulty in reaching women as the main community representatives are men.¹

In addition to external investments, community infrastructure such as dams, roads, and basic services must be sited somewhere, often where families have already acquired rights to the land. In one example, Portucel will support the building of a community dam in one of the visited communities, affecting 34 family land parcels. The dam and the irrigation scheme will belong to the community, managed by a community water user association. While the landholders have been identified and their assets have been itemized, it is not yet known exactly what compensation will be paid, or who will get access to how much irrigable land. The distribution of positive and negative impacts of the dam project between men and women as well as the community management strategy for the project is unclear at this point. The water user association has four women out of 11 leading members, and the president is a man. The vice president is an elderly woman; however, she is uncertain of her exact role and the work she should do in the association. It is important to ensure that women are not just represented in numbers, but that they are also able to influence the work and decisions in the associations.

ILRG implementing partner ORAM has raised gender questions in communities and has encouraged land associations to include women; however, more in-depth gender work is necessary to enhance women's qualitative participation and promote their empowerment and agency as landholders.

The focus on male control over decisions is reinforced again and again both by internal and external stakeholders. Community representatives of the national Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM) continually emphasize the role of women as home-based workers who should respond to their husbands' demands. The district agricultural extension system targets one male farmer per community, who in turn tends to work with other men. Portucel, as the major investor, works primarily with men as community representatives. The technical process of land delimitation can be done from start to finish in a few months per community; however, the social change involved in capacity building of associations and in transformative gender work requires much longer efforts and various types of support to communities.

JOINT TITLING VS. SOLE TITLING

Ninety-five percent of land declarations in Ile were produced in the names of individuals. The assessment uncovered that the main reason is that land is a family asset, usually passed on to the next generation through the daughters. Husbands can come in as land users and may also make decisions over the land, but it does not belong to the husband; the land belongs to the matrilineal family and will go to the female (and in some cases male) children. In this system, men are not permanently attached to or associated with the land, as they can move on in case of divorce or death of the woman. Therefore, men can formally get land ownership through their parents or through purchase, but not through marriage, which only gives them use rights. Another possible reason for the low number of co-titles may be limited knowledge of the co-titling option.

The 15 percent of purchased land parcels are different; they were in some cases co-titled or delimited to the man. The only example from the assessment of a land parcel that was co-titled to a husband and wife was a land parcel that had been purchased by the man. But many of the co-titled land parcels were

¹ Throughout this assessment, it became evident that external investors in the area, and particularly Portucel, can play an important role in relation to landholders' land tenure security and productive land use. This interaction can potentially be positive, in the form of creating job opportunities or engaging landholders as producers for external companies, or negative in that there is a risk of the company taking land away from community members. These aspects are included in this assessment, as knowledge about and access to some of these opportunities are important aspects of men and women's land rights and available opportunities to benefit from land documentation. However, due to the limitations of this study, the report will not include a profound analysis of the previous, current, and potential future interaction between external companies and the communities that were included in the assessment.

delimited to several women; for example, a mother and daughter or siblings. The data from the ILRG and LEGEND projects shows that of all co-titles, 70 percent were between only female titleholders.

The experience from Ile shows that co-titling is not always the best way to ensure gender equality in land control. While some projects do strongly encourage the option of co-titling between spouses, the fact that women can retain a title in their names in matrilineal areas is a unique opportunity to enhance their control, income, and safety. In this matrilineal context, the women have much stronger land tenure security than men but have unequal opportunities for investing in their land and making decisions about land use. Co-titling of women's family land would most likely undermine women's land rights, further disadvantaging them in terms of control and decision making, and could negatively impact the matrilineal culture, if men increasingly take over land ownership, as this is a fundamental element of the social structure. It is important to acknowledge that men in Ile have insecure land tenure, but they have many alternative options that women do not have, in terms of education, work, and decision making.

COMMUNICATIONS, TRAINING, AND IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS AND MATERIALS

Materials for training and communication to communities about land rights should emphasize that family decisions concerning land rights can and should involve men, women, and youth. ILRG-supported teams should increase engagement with specialists in gender, youth, and development of community associations to review communications and training material as well as the process of using them. Some key approaches to take into consideration are:

- *Ensure everyone has access to information:* Ensure that technical training, new skills, and agricultural inputs are accessible for various types of community members, taking into account the limited availability and mobility of women and some men, as well as youth.
- *Create comfortable spaces for engagement:* Use sex- and age-specific small groups and ask women and youth to share their opinions, perceptions, and questions.
- *Address power and equity with men:* Discuss gendered division of labor with communities, and train men and community leaders in issues such as unequal gendered division of labor and GBV.
- *Produce and use materials for people with low literacy:* Images, videos, and flashcards can transfer complex messages to people with limited literacy and encourage broad participation and acknowledgement so that less literate people can also participate and make decisions.
- *Highlight existing positive female role models:* Utilize positive role models, such as female community leaders and female technical staff from ORAM, to showcase the opportunities that exist for women.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Several specific recommendations have been developed to help ILRG strengthen the gender sensitivity of its interventions and build capacity to promote gender equality and women's empowerment in Ile. The overall key recommendations include:

For work with communities:

- **Build capacity and gender equality in land associations:** Training and ongoing support can build land associations' awareness on gender equality and social inclusion and increase their capacity to represent men and women of different age groups.

- **Enhance equal access by women and men to information and other valuable inputs:** Ensure everyone gets information on land rights, land transferability, and improved agricultural production so they can better realize the potential of their land declarations, with special emphasis on reaching women.
- **Sensitize communities regarding gender stereotypes and gender/age inequalities:** Help both women and men understand how negative and unequal gender roles and differential access to opportunities of different age groups creates power imbalances and marginalization of many community members and negatively affect people's lives and the decisions made in the community.

For work with organizations:

- **Build capacity of implementing partners and external stakeholders in gender and youth sensitivity:** Implementing partners such as ORAM and other key external stakeholders and investors should be provided with tools, sensitivity, and practical approaches to take gender and age inequalities fully into account in their work, in order to enhance gender and age equity rather than maintain unhealthy gender stereotypes.
- **Incorporate long-term partnerships with specialists in social change:** Land delimitation specialists should identify and partner with specialists in the social change work of capacity building for associations and transformative gender work; these specialists should be involved with communities for extended periods and work with government and external investors who deal mostly with men in the communities.

For everyone:

- **Collect sex- and age-disaggregated data to inform strategic and efficient activities:** Collect and analyze basic data on, for example, gender balance in land associations, GBV, access to training, and knowledge of land rights.
- **Implement specific actions to increase knowledge of and reduce GBV:** Raising awareness among both implementers and beneficiaries and designing activities that include a social and cultural approach can reduce the risks of GBV while empowering female landholders.

I.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The Integrated Land and Resource Governance (ILRG) program is a United States Agency for International Development (USAID)-funded task order that develops and implements interventions in a number of countries to remove land tenure-related barriers to achieving development objectives and end poverty. ILRG has four primary objectives:

1. To increase inclusive economic growth, resilience, and food security;
2. To provide a foundation for sustainable natural resource management and biodiversity conservation;
3. To promote good governance, conflict mitigation, and disaster mitigation and relief; and,
4. To empower women and other vulnerable populations.

In Mozambique, ILRG supports a community-based land documentation methodology called the community land value chain (CaVaTeCo). The methodology was used to form land associations and delimit land parcels in two key intervention areas: Manhiça District in the southern province of Maputo, and Ile District in Zambézia Province in central Mozambique. These two intervention areas offer very different contexts in terms of gender issues, due to the traditionally patrilineal and patrilocal structure in the south and the matrilineal and matrilocal structures in Zambézia.

In Ile District, Associação Rural de Ajuda Mútua (ORAM) received a grant from ILRG to establish five community land associations and two water user associations, and to delimit around 3,000 land parcels in five communities. Before this, local service providers Terra Firma and ORAM established 20 land associations and delimited over 10,000 land parcels in 20 communities through the Land: Enhancing Governance for Economic Development (LEGEND) project, funded by the Department for International Development (DFID). All these communities are affected to some degree by large land concessions to companies; in Ile District, most notably, the Portuguese forestry plantation company Portucel.

Through the projects, ORAM first supported the establishment and capacity building of community land associations as legal entities that represent all community members on land and natural resource management. The projects then facilitated delimitation of community boundaries. This led to the subsequent delimitation of land parcels that had been previously acquired by families or individual community members, based on occupation in terms of the Land Law of 1997, resulting in Declarations of Land Rights provided by the associations. Finally, the associations reviewed current land use patterns and developed land and natural resource use plans to guide future land allocation and use.

Based on delimitation and the subsequent process of public confirmation, the community land associations provided each title holder with a *Declaração de Aquisição de Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento de Terra por Ocupação* (Declaration of Acquisition by Occupation of the Right to Use and Exploitation of Land), commonly referred to as a DUAT. In line with the Land Law, this document provides information on the rightsholders, the land parcel in question, and community witnesses and leaders who can testify that the titleholder(s) have legally acquired rights to the land through occupation.

Both the Constitution of 2007, in Article 109, and Article 3 of the Land Law note that ownership of all land in Mozambique is vested with the state, but use rights are granted to Mozambican citizens. Land is not to be sold, but in reality, there is a thriving land market in the country, and about 15 percent of those requesting land declarations under the ILRG project noted that they purchased their land. This is allowed under Article 16 of the Land Law, which provides for the transfer of buildings and improvements on the land. Most rural citizens would argue that land that has been cleared has been

“improved,” so they are buying or selling the “improvements” and not illegally buying or selling land per se.

(A) ENTIDADE EMISSORA		Associação Ouana ni Ohaua		040601010-0024	
DECLARAÇÃO DE AQUISIÇÃO DE DIREITO DE USO E APROVEITAMENTO DE TERRA POR OCUPAÇÃO					
(B) TITULARES					
NOME	GENERO	DATA NASC	TIPO DE IDENTIFICAÇÃO	#IDENTIFICAÇÃO	DATA EMISSÃO
	Feminino		Cartão de Eleitor		19-10-2007
(C) DATA DELIMITAÇÃO (D) TESTEMUNHAS (E) DATA EDITAL (F) PRAZO EDITAL Assinatura e Data					
28-08-2017		26-06-2018	30 Dias	22-11-2018	
(G) Parcela # 040601010-0024		Distrito de ILE		Posto de ILE (ERREGO)	
Área aproximada 8.4 Hectares				Bloco Cadastral de NAPARA	
ESBOÇO		PLANTA DE LOCALIZAÇÃO			
					

Example of a DUAT provided by a community land association (redacted)

The experience from the land delimitation processes shows that nearly 70 percent of land titleholders in Ile are female, and over 95 percent of the parcels are registered in the names of a single individual.

The ILRG project has a strong focus on women’s economic empowerment and removing land tenure related obstacles for women’s economic development. As a framework for gender integration in ILRG, the project has a gender integration strategy which offers guidance on how to integrate gender in the different key steps of the project. A key issue raised in the strategy is the need to carry out specific gender analysis to understand the gender-based needs and gaps in intervention areas and to inform the design of interventions.

A start-up gender assessment was completed for Mozambique and Zambia by the ILRG Gender Advisor in 2019. In Mozambique, this assessment looked mostly at the Manhiça context and recommended further study in Zambézia. Therefore, there remained a need to conduct a specific assessment of land related gender issues in Ile District in Zambézia, to understand how the matrilineal context interacts with women’s and men’s land tenure and land use.

In addition, it is important to understand that 52 percent of Mozambique’s population is under the age of 18, giving it the eleventh youngest population in the world (Burton, 2017). While this means that the youth are hugely affected by decisions regarding allocation and use of land, they tend to have very little say about land tenure issues. The assessment therefore further considers relevant age issues related to land decision making, use, and tenure.

I.1 OBJECTIVES

The objective of this assessment was to address gender and youth relationships and their influence on decision making related to land and land use within families and community land associations. The findings will lead to specific recommendations to guide ILRG's new activities in Mozambique, as well as to modify existing activities and create new communications and training materials and tools for project implementation.

The assessment focuses on answering the following key questions:

1. Gender relationships and their influence on decision making on land issues within households:
 - How do families make decisions over whose name goes onto the land declaration, including issues such as age, gender, and social status? Which family members have significant influence over these decisions and why?
 - What effect does formal title-holding have on the ability of women to make or influence decisions such as how land is used, whether to enter into contracts with investors, which agricultural products to sell, or how to use the cash income generated from land and natural resources?
2. Gender relationships and their influence on decision-making on land issues in community land associations:
 - What are the gender, age, and social status dynamics in the associations' leadership, the composition of associations, and the influence over decisions taken by associations?
3. Joint titling vs. sole titling:
 - What are the key factors influencing family decisions about sole titling versus co-titling, and what gender dynamics are involved in making these decisions?
4. Communications, training and implementation tools and materials:
 - How should ILRG's implementing partners modify existing communications and training materials or develop new materials in order to address relevant gender issues?

This assessment report will address these questions through analyzing qualitative data collected in Zambézia Province in February 2020.

I.2 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

Section 2 of the report briefly explains the methodology applied in the assessment. Section 3 offers a brief background on Ile District and key concepts used in the report, as well as a few general gender indicators for Mozambique. Section 4 presents the findings of the assessment, while Section 5 details recommendations for the future gender work of ILRG in Mozambique.

2.0 METHODOLOGY

This assessment on gender, youth, and social inclusion related to land in Ile District, Zambézia Province, was primarily based on qualitative field work carried out in February 2020. The researcher visited two communities and conducted interviews with a broad range of stakeholders in order to offer an as-deep-as-possible understanding of gender and youth-related issues as well as key differences related to marital status, origin, and other factors. The main researcher was Kira Ugaz-Simonsen, accompanied in the field by an assistant researcher, Vibe Schøler Hansen. Two ORAM staff members, Arlindo Macuva and Olinda Muquelesse, provided valuable support to the field research process in terms of logistical planning as well as translation during interviews. Throughout the planning and implementation of the assessment, the researcher coordinated on an ongoing basis with Simon Norfolk and Dan Mullins of Terra Firma, who offered valuable insights, access to project data, and recommendations for the fieldwork and data analysis.

2.1 SELECTION OF COMMUNITIES

The two communities were selected to offer insight into different contexts and different challenges and opportunities related to land issues and gender relationships:

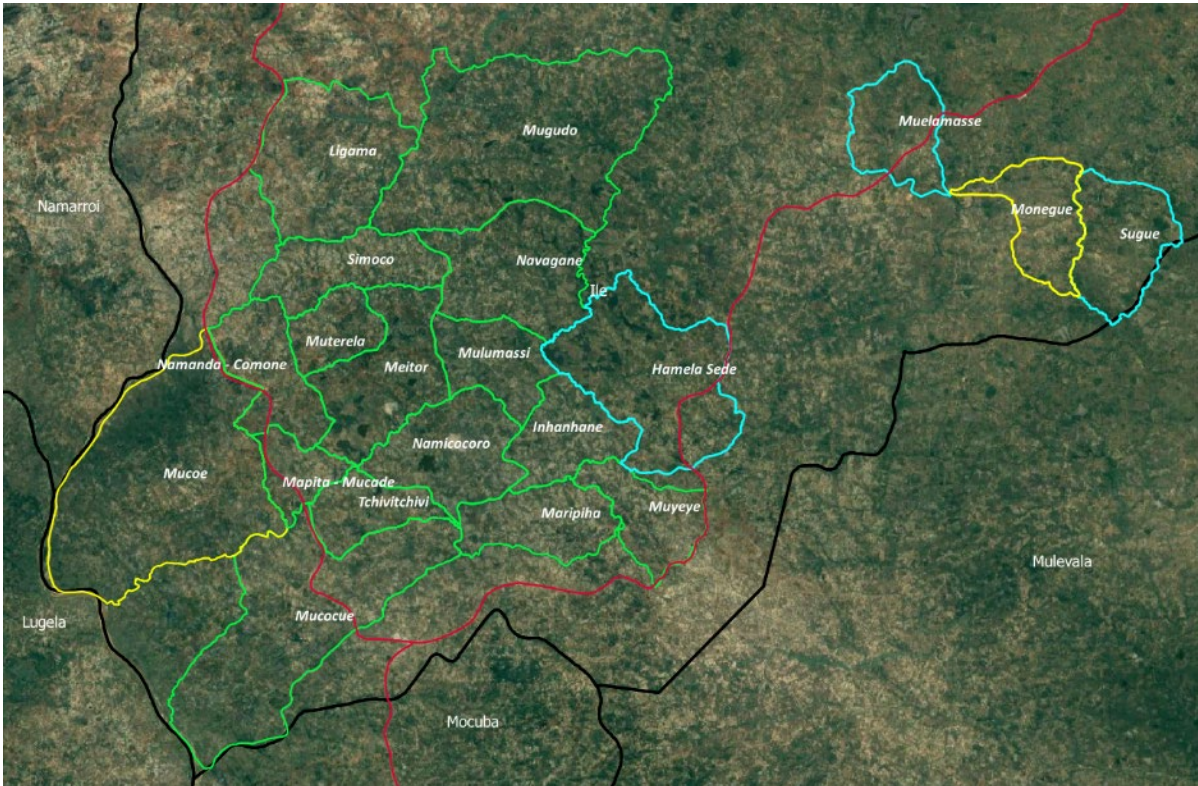
- Mucoe is situated in the southern intervention area, where 1,024 land parcels were delimited during the DFID-funded LEGEND project in 2018. The community is situated approximately 20 km from the district main town Errego and has a female leader of the second level, referred to as the *Rainha*.²
- Monegue is situated in the eastern intervention area, where 219 land parcels were delimited by USAID's ILRG program in 2019. The community is approximately 80 km away from any larger town. Here, the community leaders at all levels are men. This community also agreed to participate in a project implemented by Portucel and the World Bank to build a small-scale earthen dam and micro-irrigation scheme in part of the community.

2.2 DATA COLLECTION ACTIVITIES

Key informant interviews were carried out in each community, using a semi-structured interview methodology based on specific interview guides developed for each type of informant. Through the interviews, information about the respondents' needs, knowledge, roles, responsibilities, priorities, experiences, and visions regarding land tenure and land use, as well as gender issues and relationships, was collected. When relevant, the interviews were conducted as group interviews with two or more persons with similar characteristics; for example, a group of male community leaders or several members of the same land association.

In some cases, interviews were conducted in Portuguese, while in others, and particularly with female community members, the interviews were conducted in the local language, Elomwe, with interpretation into Portuguese.

² The community leadership structure includes community leaders at various levels: 1º *escalão* (first level) who oversees a large geographical area with smaller units each managed by a leader of the 2º *escalão* (second level), each of whom in turn oversees several leaders of the 3º *escalão* (third level). Underneath these levels there are *chefes de zona* (zone leaders). These structures are complex and will be briefly discussed in Section 4 of this report.



Location of Mucocue and Monegue (yellow borders) within Ile District; other communities supported by the LEGEND project are shown with green borders, while those supported by the ILRG project are shown in blue

The following informant types were interviewed in each community:

- Male or female community leaders;
- Women with land declarations provided with support from either the LEGEND or ILRG project (a mixture of married and unmarried women);
- Women without land declarations;
- Men with and without land declarations;
- Men or women with a co-title;
- Presidents and members of land associations (and for Monegue, the irrigation association); and
- Other key community informants, such as representatives of the Organization of Mozambican Women (OMM).³

The researchers also conducted focus group discussions in each community, with specific groups of community members: young women (under 30 years); adult women (over 30 years); young men (under 30 years); and adult men (over 30 years). The expectation was to work with approximately five people per focus group, but actual numbers varied depending on availability and interest of participants. Thus, some groups had up to nine participants, while the smallest groups only included three people.

³ OMM was created in 1973 by the Mozambican ruling party Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO). It functions nationally as an organization, and has representatives at provincial, district, and community levels. However, the representatives in the communities visited for this assessment were not directly connected to the national institution and had not received training or other support.

Apart from the data collection carried out in communities, key informant interviews were also carried out with representatives of two local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working in Ile, Hand of New Hope and Associação de Jovens Combatentes de Errego (AJCE), as well as ORAM field staff, a district agriculture technician, and the director of communications from Portucel.

A total of 79 people were interviewed, of which 33 were men and 46 women. Eight people were technicians or local experts, and 71 were community members, of which 37 were in Mucoe and 34 in Monegue. Annex I has a full list of interviews carried out.

2.3 METHODOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS

The community visits had generally been well prepared by ORAM in coordination with members of the community land associations and leaders. Some challenges were encountered in reaching all the needed people, often because they were busy working in the field when the team arrived. Also, heavy rain caused the fieldwork activities to be cancelled one afternoon.

It was especially challenging to plan the focus group discussions with the planned number and type of participants. In some cases, there were far more participants than needed, and in others there were only a few available participants. It was also difficult to distinguish clearly between youths and adults when forming the groups, as the concept of youth seems to be understood differently in the community, with married individuals being perceived as adult regardless of age (an issue that will be discussed later in this report). Also, many women did not know their own age, so the age division of focus group participants required much coordination and discussion in each community.

Finally, in both communities, some informants were uncertain of the purpose of the visit and feared that the researchers represented a company that wanted to take away their land. This issue was stronger in Monegue than in Mucoe. It required ongoing explanation of the purpose of the visit to reduce some participants' distrust and engage them in the conversations. When it became clear that the research was connected to the land delimitation process, however, most respondents were open to share quite sensitive information and personal opinions.

2.4 OTHER DATA AND INFORMATION INCLUDED IN THE ASSESSMENT

This assessment is predominantly qualitative, as it is based on individual and group interviews with a relatively small sample of land holders and community members in Ile District. Nevertheless, quantitative data generated by Terra Firma from the delimitation processes under both LEGEND and ILRG, as well as baseline information collected in relation to a related Tenure Facility project, was also used in this analysis.

A number of background reports have been consulted to give an understanding of key background issues, such as gender inequality indicators in Mozambique, research from other matrilineal areas in Mozambique and Malawi, and experiences from previous gender-sensitive land projects in Mozambique. Key gender resources from the ILRG project have also been reviewed, namely the gender pre-assessment and the gender strategy.

3.0 GENDER BACKGROUND AND CONCEPTS

3.1 KEY GENDER INEQUALITY INDICATORS FOR MOZAMBIQUE

In order to understand the challenges and opportunities for gender equality in relation to land tenure and land use in Mozambique, it is necessary to understand the underlying gender inequalities that exist. Despite positive developments in recent years in aspects such as education and women's access to political decision making at the national level, Mozambique still lags on a number of key gender-related indicators. A few areas, such as education, economic participation, access to information, and premature marriages, are discussed here.

Nationally, 5.2 million men and 6.9 million women over five years of age did not conclude any formal education – this is 55 percent of the population in this age group; 50 percent of men and 59 percent of women. These numbers show generally low access to education, but with even lower access for women. This is further seen in the illiteracy rate in people over 15 years old, which is 27 percent for men and 49 percent for women nationwide. Although the percentage has decreased since 2007, the gender gap persists. Illiteracy is especially a problem for the rural population, with 77 percent of illiterate Mozambicans living in rural areas (INE, 2019). Access to lower primary school is close to equal for men and women nationwide, but the higher the educational level, the wider the gender gap. Only 31 percent of people with a master's degree are women.

In Ile District, these numbers are even more significant. The most recent numbers are from 2013 and show that 84 percent of women and 49 percent of men in the district are illiterate in any language. In the age group 15 – 19 years, the percentage is 60.1 percent of women and 36.9 percent of men, showing an improvement, but a very persistent gender gap (INE, 2013). It must be taken into account that the educational system in Mozambique has generally faced challenges throughout the colonial and post-colonial periods. The Mozambican Civil War from 1977 to 1992 took its toll on the educational system, and schools, as part of the government infrastructure, were among the targets of attacks by the military movement Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO) throughout the conflict (Newitt, 1995). Armed struggles after the end of the war in central Mozambique, including Zambézia, continuously disrupted many people's lives, including their access to education.

In 2013, Ile District had a population of 323,116 people, of which 53 percent were women and 47 percent were men. The population in the district is generally young, with approximately half of the inhabitants in the district being under 15 years old (INE, 2013).

More than half of the Mozambican population cannot speak Portuguese; 58.4 percent of those that cannot speak Portuguese are women. The vast majority of non-Portuguese speakers, 85.5 percent, live in rural areas (INE, 2019). The census data from 2017 clearly show that despite access to information being a general challenge in Mozambique, there is also a significant gender gap. Households headed by women are often poorer than male-headed households, which can be seen from their access to assets such as radio or television. Nationwide, of male-headed households, 41 percent had a radio and 23.5 percent had a television. Of female-headed households, only 22.8 percent had a radio and 18 percent had a television. In rural areas, the numbers are slightly lower, with 20 percent of female-headed households having a radio. This means that even if information is available in the local language through community radio, access is limited, especially for women.

Economic participation is a challenge for both sexes, but especially for women: only 12.2 percent of men and 6.6 percent of women have a bank account, and 2.2 percent of men had access to credit compared to one percent of women.

Mozambique is one of the countries in the world with the highest prevalence of premature marriages. Premature marriages are marriages where at least one of the partners is under 18 years old. In spite of improved policies, the issue continues to be very serious, and strongly gender-biased. Fourteen percent of girls are married before they turn 15, and 48 percent are married before they turn 18 (Girls Not Brides, n.d.); of the 15 to 19 year old age segment, approximately five times more women than men are married or live in *união de facto* (customary union), a formally recognized form of union based on continuous cohabitation of one year or more (Family Law of 2004, Article 202). Among children between 12 and 14 years old, 2,299 boys and 5,902 girls are married nationwide, while 29,922 girls and 8,481 boys live in customary union. The 2017 census even recorded 5,950 girls under 12 years old as being partners to the head of the household, compared to zero boys (INE, 2019).

Polygamy is illegal in Mozambique, and therefore there is no available official data on how many women and men live in polygamous relationships. However, a survey by the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation suggested that nearly a third of married women are thought to be in polygamous marriages (Mwareya, 2016).

3.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This section will briefly present and define key concepts used in this report.

3.2.1 GENDER EQUALITY AND GENDER EQUITY

Throughout this assessment, *gender* refers to “the economic, political, and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male or female. The social definitions of what it means to be male or female vary among cultures and change over time... Gender refers to the array of socially constructed roles and relationships, personality traits, attitudes, behaviors, values, and relative power and influence that society ascribes to the two sexes on a differential basis” (USAID, 2007, p. 1). Gender issues are often mistaken for “women’s issues,” but it should be recognized that gender concerns are related to the lives of *both* women and men as well as the interactions between them.

Gender equality involves working with men and boys, women and girls “to bring about changes in attitudes, behaviors, roles, and responsibilities at home, in the workplace, and in the community.

Genuine equality means more than parity in numbers or laws on the books; it means expanding freedoms and improving overall quality of life so that equality is achieved without sacrificing gains for males or females” (USAID, 2012, p. 3).

To achieve this goal, specific interventions that favor disadvantaged groups may be necessary. *Gender equity* is sometimes confused with gender equality, but it actually refers to the differential treatment that can be necessary in order to achieve gender equality. It is important to assess in each concrete context what the needs are in terms of relevant equity measures that can lead to equality.

Equality means that women, men, girls, and boys experience the same rights, opportunities, conditions, participation, and treatment to realize their full potential and define their lives. Equality can only work if everyone starts from the same starting point under the same pre-existing conditions.

Equity refers to differential treatment that promotes fairness and addresses biases or disadvantages due to gender roles or norms. Equity may appear to be unfair, but it actively moves everyone closer to equality by giving them the same starting point. Equity means leveling the playing field, so everyone has what they need to be successful.

3.2.2 LAND RIGHTS AND LAND TENURE SECURITY

This assessment will not enter into an in-depth discussion of interpretations and definitions of land rights; however, in order to assess the quality of land rights and land tenure security, it is useful to take into consideration that these may include different aspects. Schlager and Ostrom (1992) present a framework that identifies five elements of the bundle of land rights:

- First is the **right of access**, which is the right to be on the land, such as to walk across it;
- Second is the **right of withdrawal** or the right to take something from the land, such as firewood, water, or wild plants;
- Third is the **right of management**, which is the right to regulate use and make improvements, for example by planting crops or trees, clearing bush, or improving the soil;
- Fourth, the **right of exclusion** is the right to prevent others from using the land or resource; and
- Fifth, **transfer rights** are the rights to sell, rent, gift, or bequeath the land.

Understanding women's land tenure security involves knowing not only the rights that women hold but the extent to which these rights are secured. Tenure security has multiple dimensions, and men and women may have different personal experiences of it (Doss & Meinzen-Dick, 2018). It is important to assess what types of rights men and women have and whether formal land ownership through a DUAT changes these rights for women and men. This also includes assessing whether the landholders are aware of the land rights they have.

3.2.3 MATRILINEALITY AND MATRILocal SOCIETAL STRUCTURES

Matrilineality is the tracing of kinship through the female line, which may also involve inheritance of property and titles. A matriline is thus a line of descent from a female ancestor to a descendant that can be of either sex, in which the individuals in all intervening generations are mothers. This is different from the patrilineal structure, where kinship and inheritance are passed on through the male line.

Matrilocal residence or **matrilocal** (also called *uxorilocal residence* or *uxorilocality*) is the societal system in which a married couple resides with or near the wife's parents. In this system, the female offspring of a mother will remain living with or near the mother, and when marrying, the man will move to the birthplace of the wife to live with her family. This may result in three or four generations of a female line living in the same place. The opposite system, where a woman moves into her husband's home, is called *virilocal* residence.

Matrilineality and matrilocality are found in many societies around the world, including in Africa, but they are far less common than patrilineality and patrilocality. In Mozambique, there are matrilineal cultures in the central and northern provinces of Zambézia, Nampula, and Niassa, whereas the majority of Mozambique is patrilineal. Ile District is situated in a matrilineal and matrilocal area.

Some research has been conducted on matrilineal and matrilocal cultures in Africa and their impact on women's land use and rights. Research from Malawi suggests that independent female control over land in matrilineal areas provides a number of rights-based advantages, such as improved tenure security in the case of divorce or a husband's death, a greater voice in household and community decision making, and financial opportunities resulting from using land as collateral. It is however also found that the country's matrilineal systems of land tenure are relatively understudied and misunderstood (Djurfeldt et al., 2017).

Historical accounts from Mozambique show that patriarchal or male-dominated culture has been prevalent across all Mozambican provinces for a long time, including in areas where matrilineal structures are predominant. Sheldon (2002) found that this situation is a combined outcome of historical and colonial influences and contemporary political and economic developments. Historically, political powerholders throughout Mozambique were men, who ruled over independent chieftainships; when the Portuguese took control over the area, this reinforced a highly male-dominated culture and structure.

In northern Mozambique, where matrilineality has been most prevalent, some researchers have found that this system has not resulted in women being more empowered or having more freedom; on the contrary, it was found that the matrilineal system defined women and their children as the “property” of her own family, as opposed to the rest of the country where a woman and her children belonged to her husband and his family (Tvedten, 2011). There are however also accounts of strong and influential women who dominated their families and societies, including in Zambézia Province, an issue that was documented by Portuguese officials during the colonial period (Tvedten, 2011; Arnfred, 2004).

This points to the fact that the matrilineal system is complex, and that the level of influence and benefits it can provide for women cannot be seen as the mirror image of patrilineality, because other important societal components also have substantial influence (Lidström, 2015).

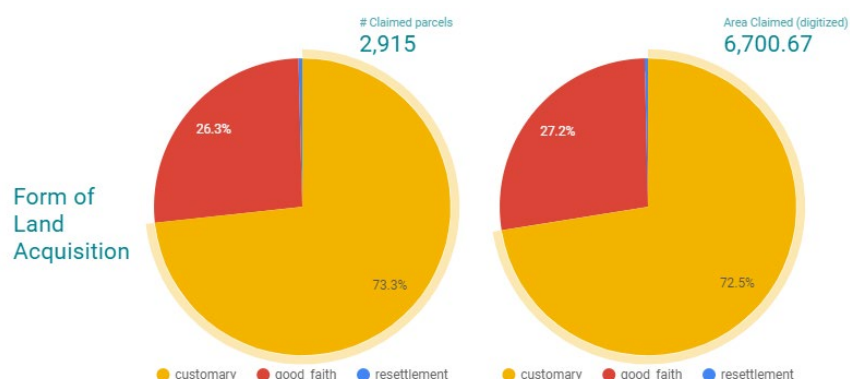
4.0 FINDINGS

4.1 LAND OWNERSHIP AND TITLING RELATED TO MATRILINEAL AND MATRILocal SOCIAL STRUCTURES

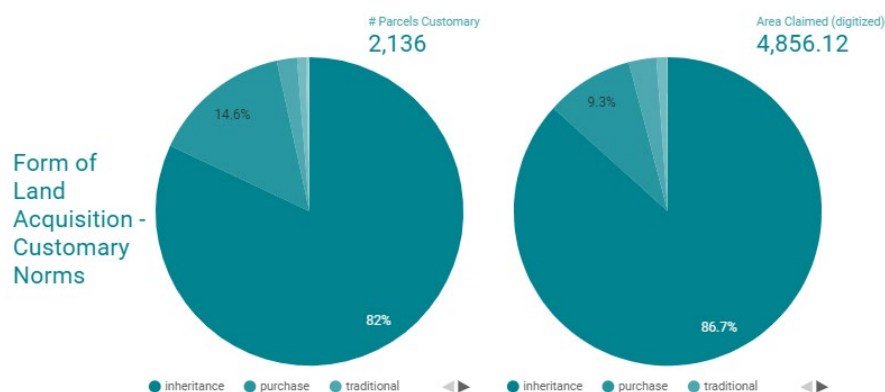
In Ile District, the matrilineal social structure and matrilineal residence pattern are strong and define how land is distributed within families. All families pass land to their daughters, who stay on the land when they marry, whereas men are expected to move to live on their wife's land upon marriage. Some families also give a land parcel to their sons, but this is not the norm; according to some informants, this is possible only for families who have a lot of land. Many men can thus only access land through marriage. It is important to note that in most cases, both the man and the woman come from the same community, and in some cases even from the same family, so the distance between their family land is not necessarily far. In some cases, the couple therefore farms both land parcels, while in other cases, the man's family farms his land for him.

4.1.1 INHERITED AND PURCHASED LAND

The data from 2,915 parcels registered during the ILRG project show that 73 percent were acquired through occupation following customary norms, with a further 26 percent acquired through good faith occupation and use for at least 10 years.



Residents in the area clearly consider purchase of land to fall within the category of customary practices. (The law forbids purchase of land per se, but allows for purchase of improvements, such as buildings or, one could argue, cutting forest areas to make agricultural fields). Titleholders of nearly 15 percent of parcels acquired through customary norms, covering about nine percent of the total area, said they acquired their land based on purchase.



Male informants generally showed acceptance of the matrilineal and matrilocal structure, but there were some examples of men who wished to break free of this system. The way for men to get their own control over land is to buy it. One male interviewee in Monegue explained why he and a fellow community member both bought land: “He wanted to avoid the family, so he did the ideal thing and bought the land to give to his wife for her to take responsibility over. I also married a woman in Mocuba⁴ and brought her here. I can get land from my family, but even if a man has land from his own family, it is not acceptable to bring the woman to live there with him; therefore, we men always worry about buying land... this is more common now than before.” A man in Mucoe said: “I bought land. The land of the in-laws is different, it is not secure for the man. Now no one can tell me to leave the land.”

While some men who have bought land will divide it between both their sons and daughters, there was also an example where the man who bought the land would only pass it on to the daughters in the future (see box at right).

Martrilocal Practices are Strong, But Men May Secure Land Through Purchase

João Albino was born in the community of Monegue and is one of the few people who brought his wife from her village to his community to live. According to the matrilocal traditions, his parents had divided their land only between their daughters, leaving him with no land to settle down on or cultivate. Therefore, he bought a land parcel in the community, and in the delimitation process he and his wife decided to co-title the land using both of their names. According to João, co-titling gives both himself and his wife full decision-making power over the land. João says that the matrilocal traditions can be complicated for men, as they have few opportunities to have land of their own and buying land can therefore be a way to avoid both families’ decision making over family land.

Even so, in the future, João intends to divide the land between his three daughters, while his three sons will not get a land parcel, since they are expected to access land through marriage.

As João’s story shows, matrilineal structures continue to be strong in Ile, even though they are partially challenged by men buying land.

Some informants state that buying land is becoming increasingly common, and the director of the local NGO AJCE described it as a pattern that goes directly against the area’s traditional culture. Many people expect that buying land will be more difficult after it is delimited, because the DUAT then has to be formally transferred, but the informants appear to have little specific knowledge about this.⁵ On the other hand, male informants in Monegue stated that the titling to women shows clearly that men do not have the right to the land they live on, and so this gives men more incentive to buy land that they themselves can control. They therefore believe that more land will be bought in the future.

There were no accounts of any woman having bought land, and ORAM’s experience in Ile is that land is bought and sold between men. According to Arlindo Macuva, the land parcels that are sold tend to be men’s own inherited land, or land that is no longer occupied and is therefore sold by other family members. Men may opt to sell the land because of financial problems or because they do not use it, due to living on and cultivating their wives’ land. ORAM has not observed any women selling their inherited family land. Two men interviewed in Mucoe said that they bought their land from the families of someone who died. Several men stated that there is not much land available to purchase, but other informants said that people who have money can find land to buy.

4.1.2 LAND USE, DIVISION OF LABOR, AND DECISION MAKING WITHIN FAMILIES

Generally, men and women cultivate the same crops and help each other in the field. In some cases, the two farm separate lands, but most informants stated that the couple farms together on the woman’s

⁴ The main town of another district in Zambézia.

⁵ According to Dan Mullins from Terra Firma, declarations issued by a land association can be transferred quite easily and locally, while government-issued titles would be much more cumbersome and expensive to transfer. The informants in this study did not reflect having this specific knowledge of the process for transferring delimited land.

family land and in some cases also on land that the man has inherited from his family. The main crops are maize, beans, cassava, and groundnuts, used both for consumption and sale. A few people produce sesame as a cash crop.

Nearly all informants in this assessment stated that the main decision maker in the family is the man. It is expected that the man will decide, for instance, how to use the land, divide the harvest between consumption and marketing, and use the income.

Some informants stated that some decisions are made together, or that women make certain decisions, such as what household items should be purchased, or when new clothes are needed for the children. However, the man would still need to accept the decision before the purchase can be made. But others said that men clearly have more decision-making power. One woman said, "In the family, the man decides; and also, in the community. He decides what to do, and the woman follows his guidance. If the woman wants to be above the man, this is not good. It creates problems in the family." And a male focus group participant said, "The man decides first in the house. Afterwards, the woman can also share her opinion."

There is also a strong indication that if a couple lives on the family land together with the woman's parents, the parents have more decision-making power than the younger couple. Several informants said that the oldest family members on the land make the decisions, with the oldest man being the most important decision maker. Male respondents expressed that when living on the wife's land, her parents make decisions over the land and control the man's access to it. However, a few men stated that they could make decisions over the land together with the wife's parents.

When markets are close by, both men and women sell crops at the market, or buyers come to the community to buy crops from the producers. But prices are better in the town markets further away, so if the family owns a bicycle or motorcycle, it is worthwhile to take the crops to these more distant markets. In this case, it is always the man who goes; there was no account of women using these means of transportation or leaving the community to sell crops.

As will be discussed further below, men are less permanent in the community. Some men stay behind and cultivate the land, but many men travel periodically and some are away much of the time. There is practically no access to paid work in the community, so it is necessary to travel away for work. This is only an option available to men, as women are bound to the land and the children and cultural norms restrict women from traveling away. Many women interviewed for this assessment said that their husbands were presently away or had recently been absent, and some grown sons had also travelled away for work. There are furthermore also a great number of divorced and widowed women, an issue that will be discussed further below.

In effect, men help cultivate the land when they are present, but the main people to permanently cultivate the land are the women. This finding was confirmed by Celda Belchior of the NGO AJCE, who said that women always go to the field, while men, even if they are in the community, go when they want to. It is also reflected by accounts of men having bought a land parcel for the wife to take responsibility over. During the delimitation process, some of these purchased land titles were given to women, as they are the main land users, even though the man had bought the land.

4.2 GENDER DYNAMICS IN LAND DELIMITATION AND TITLING

This assessment found that as a result of the land delimitation process, land declarations were given to the person who was acknowledged by the family to hold the rights to the land. Therefore, many land declarations went to women, because they traditionally inherit the family land and because they are acknowledged as the primary land users. The older generation on the land has the decision-making power over how land is divided between the children. Parents seem to have decided whether to divide

between all or some of their children. Some land is thus divided between only daughters, some between both daughters and sons. Some land has also been delimited in the parents' or mother's name, although the grown daughters farm the land with their husbands. In one case, land had been divided between the parents and only the eldest daughter.

Of the 10,322 land parcels delimited in Ile under LEGEND, only 13.8 percent (1,428 parcels) were registered to a person under 30 years of age. This indicates that the older generation has in many cases decided over delimitation and registered the DUAT in their name(s) to subsequently divide it between their children, as several interviewees also stated.

The experience from the ILRG and LEGEND projects was that less than five percent of land declarations were co-titled. Examples of the few co-titles include land that was purchased by men, as well as co-titles between a mother and daughter. Of the 606 co-titled declarations, 70 percent are exclusively in the names of women.

Interviews showed that the general idea during the delimitation process was that land titles should be individual, an idea that was promoted by local leaders. Leaders expressed that according to their tradition, it was most natural to divide land between individuals. There is an underlying and clear tradition that a woman or man only receives land in their place of origin through inheritance, and that land cannot rightfully become the property of the spouse through marriage but only be inherited through the matriline. Therefore, inherited land is not owned by a couple but is used by a woman and her family, before it will be passed on to her children. Daughters are prioritized, as they will cultivate the family land, live off it, and pass it on to the next generation. A man, on the other hand, can easily marry and then remarry in another place, or he can purchase land, and is thus not prioritized for family land. There may also have been some uncertainty about the possibility of co-titling. In one case, a man had bought a land parcel but was working outside the community at the time of delimitation; his wife received the land title in her name, because they were unaware that they could include both names.

The land delimitation process has revealed and further solidified an already existing system, where women are the main landholders and users, and where the older generation has most power over land division and control.

4.2.1 THE IMPACT OF LAND DELIMITATION ON LAND CONFLICTS AND TENURE SECURITY

All informants unanimously stated that the principal effect of land delimitation activities has been a reduction of land conflicts between neighbors, which had been very common. The most frequently mentioned types of land conflict were of someone invading the land of another person, or taking crops from someone's land because of confusion about boundaries. Other conflicts have involved family members; for example, an uncle or aunt living outside the community who returned and claimed land that younger family members were using.

Conflicts involved both men and women, but several informants mentioned that women were more often involved in the conflicts, as they are the main land users and in many cases are alone on the land. Some respondents indicated that female heads of household were most susceptible to land conflicts with neighbors, because their culturally passive role as women and the lack of men to help confront potential invaders made them "easy targets." According to ORAM, a key issue was that women had very limited knowledge of their land rights, whereas men had more access to this knowledge; but even without this knowledge, men would feel more powerful in conflicts between neighbors. When land conflicts occurred, these were solved by community leaders.

The reduction in conflicts means that the land delimitation process has given many landholders a feeling of security. Several informants mention that this security gives them an increased incentive to invest in the land, and thus the land delimitation can potentially improve agricultural production. Many female

informants state that they are very happy with having the land declaration, because they can now prove that the land belongs to them. However, they still lack inputs and knowledge to turn these opportunities into actual benefits, and practically all informants say that agricultural production continues as it did before the delimitation process.

Undelimited land can continue to be at risk of conflict. Some land parcels were not delimited because the landholders were afraid that delimiting the land would make it easier for someone to take it away from them.⁶ One of these women, from the community of Monegue, explained how she and her sisters chose not to delimit their land because they had heard stories about companies wanting to take over people's land. Now she regrets the decision to not participate in delimitation, as she can see how it has improved land rights and minimized conflict for others in the community. Instead of possibly losing land to a company, she is now afraid of losing her land to some of her own family members who are threatening to take over the land: "I feel insecure about the land. My aunts are threatening us to take the land, because it belonged to our grandmother, so I am afraid."

Delimitation and Titling Provide Land Safety for Female Farmers, But Other Benefits Are Still Hard to Achieve

Angelina Waissone from Mucoe participated in the delimitation process; her land parcel is inherited from her parents, and she received the land title in her name. She is married, but her husband works in Quelimane, so she cultivates the land alone and takes care of her five children.

Angelina is aware of several benefits of having a land title. Before the delimitation process, there were many land conflicts between neighbors, and she was always worried about someone taking her land. Now she feels very secure and confident that no one can take her land away from her, which gives her incentive to improve her agricultural production. She produces groundnuts, cassava, beans, and maize, but based on her new feeling of security she would like to grow other higher-value crops, such as sesame, for sale. However, she lacks the skills and agricultural inputs to do so and has never received any extension training or other technical support.

4.2.2 IMPACTS OF LAND DELIMITATION ON LAND DECISION MAKING, CONTROL, AND USE

There is no indication that land titling has given the title holders more influence over their land or increased access to knowledge that can improve their agricultural production. The registered land titles reflect who already used the land, and even if the titles were often given to the women, it is still the prevalent norm for the husband to be the main decision maker.

A few informants did, however, state that the land title brings with it a new feeling of control. A participant from the adult women's focus group in Mucoe said, "The woman is stronger because of the land title, because the man cannot take the land from her." It is doubtful that a man could have taken the land from her previously, but the feeling of increased control can be an important step towards a stronger recognition by women of their own land rights. This increased awareness of ownership rights is also important for male landholders. A male informant from Monegue, who had earlier given away land to an investor without any written agreement, said that after getting a DUAT he feels he has more negotiating power; he feels that the land is his own.

No other informant mentioned the negotiating power that comes with secure land tenure. The lack of change in control, decision-making, and land use over women's family land after delimitation may have to do with the fact that few people have a deeper perception of the economic or transactional value of the land, apart from its important function of providing crops for consumption and sale. No informant

⁶ There was an active campaign by a national NGO warning people in Monegue against delimitation, claiming that the process would result in Portucel taking over their land. After ORAM met with the NGO's national leaders, they agreed to stop spreading this disinformation.

mentioned the transactional value of the land, other than the few men who had themselves already purchased land.

The main value of the declarations for titleholders at this point is that they clearly show who has the right to use and produce on the land and who does not (the neighbors or other family members), thus strengthening land rights against others outside the immediate family. But within the household, the ability to benefit from the land title appears to remain the same for both the woman who has the title and her husband, and these benefits are unchanged after delimitation. Therefore, the man can still be the main person to control and make decisions about the land and production due to the traditional household decision-making structure.

This was confirmed by Galhardo Antonio, director of the NGO Hand of New Hope in Ile. In his experience, most people in the communities do not have a sense of land ownership or the transactional value of their land. Members of these communities understand the land value as associated with its use for growing crops. He noted, however, that the delimitation and information work done by ORAM has helped provide greater access to information of these issues in the communities.

In addition to supporting associations in delimiting land and in providing declarations of land rights, ORAM also provided some training to help community associations and families prepare for potential negotiations with investors, who might be interested in buying or taking over land or engaging with landholders as outgrowers. Part of this training included helping people to understand that they can refuse offers from investors or make counterproposals. Unfortunately, the duration of the delimitation projects was too short to give community members a full understanding of their options.

It is nevertheless possible that in the future women will be better able to benefit from the value of their land and negotiation opportunities from a land declaration, provided that they gain more information and knowledge of their options. Investment, negotiation, and improved production could all be of potential value for female landholders after delimitation, but this will be difficult to realize until women farmers have better access to the needed knowledge, technical skills, and production inputs, all of which demand long-term work in the communities to develop.

This assessment found that despite the land declarations being in women's names and confirming the rights of access, withdrawal, and management, decision-making power may still belong to men. The right to exclusion is however greatly strengthened, for men as well as women, but particularly for the female titleholders. Regarding the right to transfer land, this can potentially become an important aspect of women's empowerment through land. However, at this stage, women have too little information and agency to benefit from this right, and as a result, the few people involved in transferring land continue to be men.

4.3 GENDER ROLES AND POWER RELATIONSHIPS IN COMMUNITIES

Gender stereotypes are very strong in Ile. As in the households, men are also the main decision makers in the community, which is strongly connected to their generally more active role in society. Men and boys, starting from their childhood, can move around and get work experience in other villages. Parents expect them to be more active, while women and girls are expected to take a more passive role. As mentioned above, men are able to leave the community to sell goods or find paid employment, while very few women have this opportunity. Men's general mobility means that they have experience that encourages their development, which tend to open up other opportunities. For instance, in Mucoe, most men speak Portuguese, whereas only a few women do. A male interviewee explained that, "Men speak Portuguese; they learn because they travel." Olinda Muquelesse from ORAM, who was brought up in a community in Ile, says that many adult women have never even visited the district town: "The

men get experiences in other communities or in the cities; it starts from [when] they are children. Many women who are 18 years old don't even know the Vila [the town of Errego]."

Education and Training Increase Women's Opportunities and Create Positive Gender Role Models

Olinda Muquelesse is 26 years old and comes from the community of Meitor in Ile. Olinda says that women in the communities are raised to be passive compared to men and feel embarrassed to speak out in front of other people. She says that most girls in the community marry early, because they cannot continue to study.

But Olinda's story is different. As a child, she had seen on TV how women could be more active and do things as well as men, so she wanted to study and learn more. Her parents were supportive; when Olinda was 10, she was able to go to a larger town to study, because her older brother had already travelled ahead. Olinda stayed there and continued studying until twelfth grade.

In 2018, when ORAM needed community-based auxiliary staff to facilitate the land delimitation process, she applied and was selected. The job required secondary school and Portuguese fluency, so her educational level was fundamental for her to get this opportunity. She received training and has since continued working for ORAM as a motivational technician. Olinda dreams of studying more and becoming an agronomist.

Her working experience gave Olinda the opportunity to learn new things and gain important experience, and she has combined her knowledge from her own community with her new training to become a good technician for ORAM. She feels that she can be an inspiration to other women in the community where she works. When they see her working as a technician and driving a motorcycle, some women are inspired to also become more active. In Ile district, three out of six ORAM community motivational technicians are women; according to Olinda, this is very important for the work to be successful.

Education is more available to boys and young men. Only primary school is available in or close to the community, so in order to study from seventh grade onwards, one must travel to a larger town. This is very difficult for girls as it can be unsafe, and living in the town with strangers or older relatives is generally unacceptable for girls and women. It is also costly to pay for accommodation in another town, which is a general barrier to continued education. It was clear from the sample of this assessment that women generally had very little education, some as little as one to three years. Most men had finished primary school; however, even among the men, there were few people with a higher educational level. Some informants also mentioned that the civil war had been a key obstacle to them attending school as children.

In Monegue, the primary school is very distant for many villagers and they must cross a river to get there, so many children only start school when they are around 10 years old and able to cross the river. There are, however, a few exceptions, where women have had access to further education; these examples show that education opens up many opportunities that would have otherwise been unavailable (see box at left).

Men also have an active social life in the community, while women are expected to stay home. Galhardo Antonio of Hand of New Hope says, "Men go out to drink and speak to each other. Men drink a lot together; women

do not drink much. To avoid getting beaten at home she does not drink, because she will lose her social value. She should stay at home. The woman does not have her own social life." He also added that women tend to let their husbands make the decisions in order to avoid inter-marital problems.

Some women said during focus group interviews that they meet sometimes in small groups and talk about everyday challenges, such as problems with the crops or in the house. One woman said they might speak about whether the husband slept at home that night. But these meetings remain in small and closed groups for a few women and take place close to their homes. Women in the communities seldom interact with new or different people, which men can do much more easily. Celda Belchior from AJCE said that women in the communities need to be helped to create groups to interact with each other and share experiences and problems – from her experience this does not happen automatically.

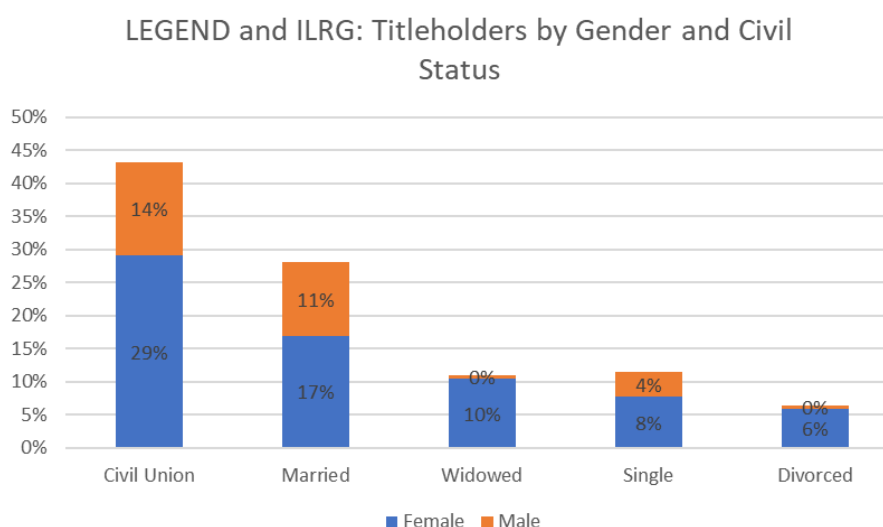
The strong gender stereotypes in Ile are confirmed by Portucel's communications director, Lucrecia Wamba, who is based in the district and works on the company's community engagement. Portucel works through community liaison agents, community members who become the company's main focal points locally. The requirements for this position are to speak and write in Portuguese as well as speak the local language. Agents must be prepared to have an active role, and receive certain benefits, such as a bicycle to get around. Ms. Wamba says that Portucel intended to have a gender balance among the community focal points, but found it difficult. They started out having 10 women out of 40 focal points, but over time most of female staff withdrew from the role. The women said that their husbands did not approve, and that they were angry with them for having an active role. Ms. Wamba says that Portucel staff tried to speak with the men, but the problems persisted. She noted that the social pressure is strong, and that a woman is not supposed to be away from home and ride a bicycle. The pressure comes not just from the women's husbands but also from other men and women in the community. As a result, at present only two of the 40 community focal points are currently women. According to Ms. Wamba, it is very difficult for a man to accept that his wife is more active or earns more money than him.



Olinda Muquelesse (at right) with female community members in Mucoe
VIBE SCHÖLER HANSEN

4.3.1 MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE PATTERNS

Respondents said that most couples in the communities are married through *união de facto* (customary union), while others are married in the church. Together, the LEGEND and ILRG projects recorded a total of 13,405 people who claimed land for delimitation in 25 communities. Of all claimants, 5,789 (43 percent) said they were in a *união de facto*, while 3,762 (28 percent) stated they were formally married. Divorces are relatively easy to obtain in the case of *união de facto*, and many informants stated that in the younger generations, divorce is becoming more common. There seem to be only very few examples of women getting pregnant



without being in some sort of marital relationship. As shown in the chart above, claimants included 791 divorced women and 1,399 widowed women, compared to only 66 divorced and 64 widowed men. This reinforces the finding from interviews that widowed and divorced men do not tend to inherit land and most move out of the community.

Polygamy occurs in the communities in Ile, but it seems to be primarily in cases where the man has moved away for work and married again somewhere else while staying married to the first wife. It is more acceptable for a woman in this situation to stay married rather than divorce her husband. There were a few accounts of polygamous men having many wives in the same community, but this was mentioned as something from the past.

Early marriages are common, but there is no data available to assess the magnitude of the issue in the district. Women are expected to stay and cultivate the family land, and through marriage they can provide their family with a man to help cultivate the land, so many families encourage premature marriages. The lack of options for education in the community greatly influences this issue as well. Olinda Muquelesse from ORAM said that after primary school, parents can choose between sending their daughters away to study or keeping them in the community to be married. They will often choose the latter, as it is the financially easiest option and parents want to avoid the possibility of a woman marrying and settling down outside the community, rather than staying and producing on the family land.

There were indications of a growing awareness that premature marriages are becoming less socially acceptable. When community members were asked about the normal marriage age, they said 18; however, they were unwilling to speak much about this issue. External informants from local NGOs, as well as Portucel and ORAM, all stated that this is not the reality and premature marriages are very common. Galhardo Antonio of Hand of New Hope said that girls often get pregnant at 15 or 16, and may need to marry (or enter into a *de facto* union) because of this rather than because of the parents' wish. Young people have limited choices after primary school and start having sexual relationships and looking for partners, even if parents are not in agreement. Olinda Muquelesse suggested that in her community, the prevalence of premature marriages is actually increasing.

There are no accounts of widespread bride price or *lobolo*, as it is known in other places in Mozambique, but there is some exchange involved in marriage. In Ile, a man who wants to marry a woman will make a formal presentation to the woman's family in the form of food and drinks. Female informants also stated that the husband must pay the community leader in order to marry and that the price is higher for a younger woman than for an older one.

Women always stay on the family land with the children in the case of the death of the husband or divorce. This is one of the principal advantages for women in the matrilineal system. The man must either return to his place of origin or marry again somewhere else, which clearly shows that women have stronger land tenure security than men in matrilineal Ile. This is supported by the LEGEND and ILRG data: just six percent of all claimants classified themselves as divorced, yet 92 percent of those were women. From this data, it can be assumed that most divorced men either left the area or remarried.

In contrast, if a man has bought land and delimited it in his name, he has much better rights in the case of divorce. There were some accounts from AJCE of men taking both the land and children and leaving the women with nothing, but there were no such accounts from the respondents in the communities.

In the case of the death of a woman, there seem to be different scenarios. The land will be inherited by the children; if the children are young, the man can in some cases stay on the land and take care of them, but he cannot marry again if he stays. If there are no children, the man can be forced to leave the land; some informants even stated that a man would always have to leave and remarry somewhere else if his wife died. Again, data supports these inputs from respondents. Combined, the LEGEND and ILRG

projects recorded 1,399 people who said they were widowed. Of these, 96 percent were women. There were only 64 widowed men out of 13,405 land claimants in 25 communities.

In spite of its increasing occurrence, divorce is not well-accepted culturally, by parents or by communities. Several informants expressed that divorced women are humiliated and called names and are seen as a threat to other women in the community. It is much more acceptable to be a widow or to stay married to an unfaithful husband than to be a divorced woman. For example, in an interview, an older lady presented herself as widowed, but it later became clear that she was actually divorced and that the ex-husband had died after the divorce.

Divorce has important economic implications for a woman. An older divorced woman explained that her daughter was also divorced, and that this was a problem for them all, as there was now no man to cultivate the land with them. Many informants explained that even though many men travel outside the community for work, they tend to do so in the low season, while they work in the fields during the busiest months of planting and harvesting. Men are therefore seen as the main providers; of labor on the land in busy months, and very importantly of capital generated from work outside the community or marketing of crops at more distant markets. Women do not have these opportunities, so being a single woman means having very little income and practically no options to diversify livelihoods.

Some women therefore need to remarry just to get extra income or have someone who can transport products to market. But finding another man is difficult; Olinda Muquelesse of ORAM explained, “The woman is trapped on the land with the children. Not many women send their man away, it is not easy to be alone and it is difficult to find another man, because she already has children with the first one.”

Still, many women in the communities are considered heads of household. In the delimitation projects, many more land parcels were delimited to women heads of households, compared to men, which indicates that more men than women remarry or leave the community upon divorce or death of a spouse. As an example, in Mucoe, of 712 female titleholders, 209 were not married, the majority of which were widows. Of 308 male titleholders, only 20 were not married.

When couples are experiencing problems, they can call on representatives of the national women’s organization, OMM. These community representatives have received no training in counseling but function as a resource to help solve family problems. While OMM representatives are seen by many community members as important support for families, there are several indications that they reinforce negative gender stereotypes and do not encourage women to be more active or claim their rights. OMM representatives in Monegue say that they always encourage the couples to stay together in spite of unfaithfulness and conflict, because life for a woman without a man to help on the land and take care of the children is just too difficult. One of the OMM representatives is herself married to a “polygamous man,” who has remarried somewhere else, and who according to her only seldom stays at her house.

Examples given of the OMM representatives’ work include convincing a husband to stay with his wife, even if he claims she is pregnant with another man’s child, and, in the words of one female informant, “correcting a woman who is creating a conflict in her home.” Community leaders in Monegue say that the main function of the OMM representatives is to help women become better at conducting their household duties, such as sweeping and cleaning the latrine. There is thus a strong need to promote alternative gender stereotypes in the communities and showing alternative options for men and women, for example by using positive role models.

4.4 GENDER AND AGE ISSUES IN LAND ASSOCIATIONS AND COMMUNITY DECISION MAKING

4.4.1 GENDER AND AGE BALANCE IN COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

Community leaders are in almost all cases older men. The database shows that of 71 leaders whose communities participated in the LEGEND project and the 13 leaders in the ILRG project, only two were women. Youth focus group participants all agreed that the main decision makers and community leaders are older, and all community leaders interviewed for the assessment were among the older generation.

Community leaders play central roles in land issues. They identify and allocate plots to those requesting land based on customary norms and practices. They are the main stakeholders involved in solving land conflicts, and are often mentioned as the ones that community members go to in the case of family disputes and even inter-marital problems. They also lead community discussions and decisions regarding how to respond to external investors. In the case of Mucoe, the community leaders denied Portucel access to the area; none of the respondents in this assessment were involved in this decision.

Community leaders are selected through complex systems; *régulos* and *rainhas* come from one specific family line that holds the power in the community, while other leaders are elected by community members. *Régulos* and *rainhas* function on three levels and follow a patrilineal system. According to ORAM's field technician in Ile, Arlindo Macuva, the leader of the first level appoints the leaders of the second and third level. Interviewees gave different answers as to the requirements to become a community leader; the most commonly mentioned requirement is to have the willingness, but some also mentioned time and knowledge. Several informants said that women have difficulties becoming leaders, both because of their lack of time and required experience, and because they do not take initiative to become leaders.

Mucoc is one of the few communities with a female leader, a *rainha* of the second level. She is a woman with practically no education who does not speak Portuguese; however, she is respected in the community⁷. When women are able to ascend to community leadership roles, they do have decision-making power. In the case of Mucoe, the leader at the first level is a man, and furthermore, there is no indication that the presence of a female leader has opened up space for more participation by women in the community generally.

4.4.2 GENDER BALANCE AND CAPACITY IN LAND ASSOCIATIONS

The establishment of community land associations is a key feature of the process to confirm land rights. In contrast to many other associations that represent self-identified members, such as farmer associations, land associations represent all members of a given community. The statutes allow them to independently document the land rights of their members, without any intervention required from state authorities. As entities with legal responsibility, associations can do things that other community bodies, such as community natural resources governance committees, cannot, such as open bank accounts and enter into contracts.

The land associations are designed to lead the initial delimitation of communities and family parcels, resulting in a formal Declaration of Community Delimitation from provincial government and in the association giving Declarations of Land Rights based on Occupation to family and individual titleholders within the community. The associations develop land use plans to guide how land and natural resources should be allocated and used in the future and can represent the community in negotiations with investors who want land. They also are responsible for enabling the updating of information on any parcels; for example, changing names of titleholders as a result of inheritance or transfer, or modifying parcel boundaries if titleholders want to subdivide a plot. In all such work, the associations would require some ongoing external technical support.

⁷ This woman was elected as *rainha* through her family lineage and appointed by the community. A woman would sometimes be selected by their families instead of men, although not very often. But once selected she would have the same influence as a man. However, these systems of election of community leaders are quite complex, and it was not possible to go into further detail during this fieldwork.

Land associations were initially designed to have some decision-making powers over land issues. However, without exception, the informants stated that the traditional community leaders continue to be the main decision makers. The ORAM team coordinator explained that some community leaders were initially opposed to the associations, which they feared would take their power away. In fact, the associations have become a support function for leaders, to help them make decisions without interfering in their leadership. Many traditional leaders are even members of the land associations.

Generally, the land associations in the two visited communities seem weak; when asked about what work or activities they have carried out after the delimitation process, the only activity mentioned is agriculture. In Monegue, the association is producing crops in a borrowed plot, and apart from this activity there have been no meetings or discussions led by the association. In Mucoe, the association had planned to begin production and sale of products in order to sustain the association through the associated income. However, the president of the association said that he had been away from the community since November 2018, and therefore the association had not been active or proceeded with these plans; now he was back and said the association would begin activities again. There seems to be little clarity among members of land associations when it comes to their role in future conflicts or processes related to land. The association president in Monegue said that the association would address such future issues together with the community leaders. There is a need to establish the role and define the activities for the associations, vis-à-vis the community leaders, in order for them to have a role in the communities and build capacity to handle land issues.

Very few interviewed persons knew the content of the Land Law, including members of land associations and community leaders. Representatives from the association in Mucoe stated that the first step for them to be able to function would be to be recognized in the community, through using hats or shirts with the association name. While this may not be the most fundamental need to get the association to start working, the issue of recognition of the association in the community appears to be an important challenge to address.

Community members generally have very little knowledge of the associations and their work, and several of them had no knowledge at all of such an association in their community. Women had heard very little of the associations; while some men were more informed of the associations, others were also equally uninformed. It is important to acknowledge that some men may be as marginalized from information and decisions as women, although the people who do access information and knowledge tend to be men.

The land associations have female members, but no women had served as president in any of the communities visited; in Monegue, the land association has three presidents for the different bodies of the association,⁸ all of whom are men. The three presidents stated that ORAM had motivated them to include women in the associations; however, they could not name any potential benefits of doing so. Thus, although ORAM has tried to facilitate gender integration in association work, the associations and the broader communities have a fundamental lack of understanding of women's rights and the potential benefits of inclusive community decision-making. This points to a serious lack of gender sensitivity in the associations and a lack of experience with discussing inclusion of women as well as other marginalized groups, such as young and elderly, in community decision making and access to information.

Most respondents, men as well as women, stated that becoming a president would be difficult for a woman, especially due to her household duties, and that women do not pursue this type of role. The presidents of the land association in Monegue said that the most important requirements to be a leader in the association is willingness to participate in meetings, as well as staying in the community. No

⁸ Legally, each association is required to have three bodies: *Assembleia Geral* (General Assembly), *Conselho de Direccao* (Leadership Council), and *Conselho Fiscal* (Financial Council), each of which has a president.

informant mentioned the potential benefit of more female members and leaders, in spite of them being the ones who predominantly stay in the communities.

In Monegue, apart from the land association that led the land delimitation, another association has been formed to manage a portion of irrigable land expected to be the result of a dam that Portucel will construct in the community. In this association, four out of 11 leading members are women. The president is a younger man, while the vice president is an elderly woman. However, when speaking to this woman, it became clear that she was primarily a figurehead and had no significant knowledge of her role in the association.

Land associations could be spaces where younger community members can increase their participation, influence, and access to knowledge. This contrasts with traditional community leadership, which is only available for the older generation, and largely for men. Currently, this opportunity for influence through associations is mostly available to men, as they hold the positions as presidents and also have more knowledge and agency in the associations. Nevertheless, female association members can also gain important influence, knowledge, and agency in community decision making, if they become more active and empowered in their role as association members. However, after the initial process of delimitation and development of land use plans, associations need to have some clear and useful purpose. Without this, they go dormant and lose the opportunity for a vibrant role in the community. Even if they have a clear and widely acknowledged sense of purpose, these community associations would benefit from some ongoing support.

4.4.3 CONSTRAINTS FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY

As discussed above, women are generally poorly represented in community decision making, as community leaders, and as active or leading association members. Underlying gender stereotypes greatly influence this situation and are translated into specific constraints for women's participation, which in many cases can be intertwined. At least five main constraints were identified:

Lack of time: Many informants expressed that women lack time to participate in the community because their gender-influenced roles means that they have many domestic tasks and responsibilities to attend. Domestic work and child care are key obstacles for women's mobility and availability of time generally. One male in Mucoe said, "The woman has to stay in the house to prepare the food. The man goes to talk to the others." Furthermore, the women are the main workers in the field. The *rainha* of Mucoe said that the reason women are not active in the land association is their inability to leave the field, while men can choose not to go if they want. There is no indication that these issues are discussed in the community, or that men are willing to share the domestic burden to free up time for women. One male informant in Monegue, when asked about a solution for women's time constraints to become an association president, said, "If a water point was installed in the community, the women would spend less time going to the river to fetch water. Then she could more quickly fix the bath and attend the husband, thus acquiring time to go and be active in a community association." This quote shows a strong stereotypical approach to women's workload and an unwillingness from men to share household work to enhance women's participation. Interestingly, however, several women said that time was not a major constraint for them, and during the assessment fieldwork many women participated in focus group meetings and interviews while caring for their smaller children.

Lack of approval from the husband: It was mentioned several times that a husband must allow his wife to participate in community decision making or project activities. In one case, ORAM mediated with the husband of a female member of the land association to allow her to continue as an active member, a case that will be discussed further below. This corresponds with the experience of Portucel in dealing with communities. In the experience of the company, it is always necessary to talk to the husband in order to work with a woman. Female focus group participants said that single women have better

opportunities for participating in the community; however, their time is more limited and they face more time constraints. It is the experience of ORAM that the issue of lack of support from husbands is a very strong deterrent to women participating more in the community. Two primary reasons why a man may not approve are that he does not want his wife to be with other men at the meetings, or the man may believe that women are not capable of carrying out this work.

Little education and pre-existing information: Women often have very little education and poor access to information. The only interviewed woman who was an active association member had studied until tenth grade and spoke Portuguese well, but she was an exception in the communities. The men who were active members of associations all spoke Portuguese and had a basic understanding of issues such as the association structure and the role of ORAM. Community leaders in Monegue said that in order to lead, you need to know things, and that this is a challenge for women, who do not already have this knowledge and do not seek it by themselves. Lucrecia Wamba of Portucel stated that when the company approaches the communities, they always meet the same small group of men, who keep informed and are used to dealing with external stakeholders; Portucel finds it difficult to engage with others in the community.

Lack of knowledge of the opportunities and benefits of participating: Even if some women are not being held back by specific constraints, they may still not have an incentive or interest in participating in community decision making. Several men complained that women are simply not interested in participating, even if pushed to do so by their husbands. This is partially due to the underlying stereotypes dictating that a woman's role is in the house, and that she should not be outspoken. Several women said that they would be afraid of speaking up in the community because they did not want to be ridiculed or told that they are wrong. However, it is also important to take into account that women have little insight into the purpose of their participation and how it can benefit them. It is likely that without more knowledge of the development opportunities of their land and the potentially positive impacts of improved community land management or negotiations with external investors, women will prioritize cultivating their land and taking care of their households. As women have multiple tasks in the household and fields, it is possible that some women choose to not pursue association work because it will increase their time and work burden and they do not think it is worth what they will lose in terms of agriculture and potential discussions with their husband or parents. The lack of knowledge of the work of the land associations may therefore add to a lack of incentive for women to invest time and effort in participating.

Little interest and support from the community for women's increased involvement: There is very little reflection among both men and women about why women do not have the preexisting knowledge or incentive to participate and the need to introduce measures to promote gender equity. There seems to be no demand or space in the communities to discuss gender issues or the questions of equal participation and rights. Furthermore, informants agreed that these issues had not been discussed at any community meetings. There were, however, several accounts of men who discourage the participation of women in community meetings, claiming that women would waste their time there.

All of the above constraints are deeply rooted in the traditional gender stereotypes that prevail in the community; most informants said that the order of things is that women do not speak up in the community or participate in meetings, but they could not really say why. Women's decision making in some homes is recognized, however.

Several women said that they would like to participate in community decisions if they could. One female informant stated that women make good decisions in the home, and therefore they could also make good decisions for the community. An understanding of how gender stereotypes and practical constraints mutually reinforce each other is important in order to plan actions that can increase women's participation in the communities.

4.4.4 RISKS OF GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE (GBV)

Several examples from the interviews show the underlying risk of GBV if a woman is very active or speaks up in the community or against her husband. This was confirmed by community members as well as by staff from AJCE and ORAM. It is not culturally acceptable for a woman to be away from home by herself, so participation in an association or in project activities easily generates mistrust and can lead to serious domestic problems, including violence. But the influx of new knowledge and income for women can also generate abuse and violence.

Portucel produces eucalyptus seedlings for its plantations, and intentionally hired many women for this work in order to create income-generating opportunities for them close to home. However, they observed that some female workers had problems with their husbands when they came home. There were examples of men beating their wives to force them to hand over the money they had earned. The approach of Portucel is therefore to always work with the families and not approach a woman without including the man, even if she is the landholder. Lucrecia Wamba said, “Portucel has a gender policy and an intention to benefit the women specifically; but we cannot go against the traditions... Even if the woman has an individual DUAT, there is always a man who has more power than her, there is always a man. Our approach is always to work with the whole family... We need to have family consensus; if not, she will have problems at home.”

Gender-based violence is not just about intimate partner violence (IPV) in the household. Another important aspect is the ridicule in society or in the home that many women mention as a principal fear that limits their incentive to participate. This attack on a person’s dignity and respect can be carried out by any member of the community, women as well as men, and is also an important issue to address if women are to enhance their participation in community decision-making over land.

It seems there are few possibilities of addressing GBV in the communities. As mentioned above, currently the primary resources to help solve inter-marital issues are community leaders, who are almost always older men, and the OMM representatives, who encourage all couples to stay together to avoid divorcing. But this will most likely lead to women being encouraged to stay in relationships, even when GBV occurs. The lack of mobility and income opportunities for women greatly reduce their options for breaking free of unhealthy marital relationships.

Young Women Can Be Important Role Models in Land Associations, But There’s a Risk of GBV

Amélia (not her real name) is 23 years old, married, and a mother of three children. She inherited land from her mother in Mucoe and received a land title in her name during the delimitation process. Amélia is an active member of the community land association and feels that she has learned a lot from her participation in trainings; she is one of the few people who knows the content of the land law and the rights of the community to negotiate with external investors.

Amélia explained that only very few women are active in community decision making; they tend to be timid and afraid of speaking up, and have limited time and sometimes little support from their husbands. It takes someone with special courage to be active in an association, she said.

Amélia also experienced resistance from her husband, who did not want her to participate in the meetings. Technical staff from ORAM, who facilitated the creation of the association, have therefore had conversations with families in the community to generate more support of women’s participation in the associations.

4.4.5 ACCESS TO AGRICULTURAL INFORMATION AND SKILLS

Apart from formal education and language abilities, there are other types of knowledge that are useful to people, both women and men, youth and adults, in the communities. Most informants thus expressed a strong wish to gain more knowledge of alternative agricultural skills that could improve their production and generate income.

There is however very little of this support available in the communities, and especially to women. An Ile District agriculture extension agent expressed that it is very difficult to transmit information to women in the communities. In his experience, they do not easily capture the information, so he feels it is easier to train men. A lack of funds also means that agricultural extension support is not given broadly in the community. The training is given to one person per community – a leading producer (*productor líder*) who is supposed to subsequently pass on the knowledge to others. The leading producers tend to be men, as a preexisting level of agricultural knowledge and the ability to travel are required for the training. They may also need to speak Portuguese, as extensionists do not necessarily speak the local language.

This official approach to extension is highly questionable, as the probability that the information reaches people broadly in the community is very small. Since men tend to socialize with other men, women are generally left out of the agricultural extension network. All informants in the two communities, male as well as female, said that they had not received any extension support or training from a leading producer. Several informants in Mucoe even explained that one person in the community had received both training and seeds in Maputo, so he was now producing sesame, but that this was not benefitting them in any way. This system reveals a lack of reflection about why women are more difficult to reach and train, and the role underlying gender inequalities play. There is currently no official approach to enhancing gender equity in the access to agricultural training.

Thus, new technical information, skills, and inputs reach a very limited and strictly male group. This is an important issue, as agricultural support is necessary for landowners to produce more cash crops and thus increase the value of their land. There is a strong interest in producing sesame, but according to the district agriculture technician, producers need both the seeds and chemicals for spraying, which they cannot afford without support.

The local extension agent acknowledges that the 13 district extensionists in Ile lack gender capacities and have little gender balance – out of the 13, only three are women. He said that women can be great role models in a job like this, as they come back to communities as skilled women and can give incentive to send more girls to secondary school: “To have female technicians is very good to give incentives in the community; they drive a motorcycle and show that this life is possible for a woman who went to school. Women do not know what the opportunities are, if a girl goes to school, so they do not prioritize this.”

ORAM also plays a key role in facilitating information and capacity building of these communities. ORAM should be commended for bringing up the issues of gender balance in land associations and more importantly, promoting women as technical community staff, of which Olinda Muquelesse is a good example. But given the fact that land delimitation projects take only a few months in each community with no long-term support on social issues, there is no indication of more systematic approaches to ensure that women get real opportunities for influence and benefits in the communities. Stronger gender capacities should be built in ORAM’s field staff in order to further promote women’s access to the benefits of their work. Just as support to capacity building of associations requires more than the few months of engagement involved in initial land delimitation in any particular community, there should also be increased efforts to link with longer-term gender work to ensure gender equality.

ORAM has materials that they use during community meetings and awareness-raising activities, as well as in establishing and building the capacity of community land associations. Major themes include land rights for men, women, and youth (including options for individual and co-titling); the establishment and functions of associations; the technical process of land delimitation and the role of declarations of land rights; and preparation for negotiations with potential investors. They have some handouts and some visual materials, and most training is conducted in the local language.

Despite these efforts, several respondents noted that they are not clear about the Land Law, or even about the purpose of the delimitation process that was carried out in their communities. Even some association members and presidents are unable to provide a clear explanation of the Land Law or of the roles of the association itself. Further, there is very little reflection in communities about women's rights and the potential benefits for women themselves, their families, and their communities of broader participation, including women and youth in community decision-making.

4.5 YOUTH ISSUES

4.5.1 MIGRATION PATTERNS AMONG YOUTH

The younger generation in the communities, both men and women, generally expresses a desire to stay and produce on the land. The senior district agricultural extensionist has observed the same, but also asserts that there are very few other options than staying and cultivating the land if one does not wish to travel far away. However, as mentioned earlier, many younger men do at least periodically leave the community to take paid work elsewhere, a decision that is becoming increasingly common.

One male informant in Monegue linked this to the lack of job opportunities in the community: "If there were job opportunities close by, the young people would stay, but because there are no jobs, they leave the community." The interviewee is one of a small group of people who gave land to Portucel some years ago because he thought it would generate jobs. However, transferring land rights did not offer the community the opportunities that had been promised. Lack of jobs remains the greatest challenge for the community, in his eyes. He is, however, still supportive of Portucel's role in the area in spite of his personal experiences, because he hopes Portucel can offer the much-needed jobs in the future.

Young Men Can Decide to Leave the Community, But Women Do Not Have the Same Option

Gerácio Jorge, a married man of 32, bought a land parcel for himself and his family, but instead of buying within his own community, he bought the land in the main district town of Errego. He and his wife still live in Mucoe, where they farm a part of the wife's family land. Gerácio is a trained carpenter but says he has no job opportunities in the village. He finds that farming for sustenance is very hard, so he would like to move to Errego to find work to better sustain his family. Although he has his piece of land in town, he has not yet been able to afford to build a house to allow the family to move.

Belita Julio is a 20-year old woman from Monegue. She studied until the third grade and would like to study further to become a nurse or a teacher. But she is divorced and has a 2-year-old child; she cultivates the family land with her mother and says that she has no opportunities to leave the community to study or work, so she sees no other future for herself than the one she has in the community.

Some young men seem to increasingly look for alternative income opportunities, an opportunity that is not available for women. As the story in the box at left shows, men may leave the community and try to build up a life for themselves elsewhere, while still farming the land in the community or while their wife takes care of the land and children. Most informants say that a married woman's only opportunity to get out of the community is if her husband finds work elsewhere and chooses to bring her with him.

Stories about young girls who leave the communities do exist but are not common. In Monegue, the focus group of female youth pointed out that a few girls had already left the community to study, and several of the young women stated that they would like to have this opportunity as well. They aspire to become a teacher or a nurse, but this is not an opportunity for them. They have a responsibility to stay on the land of their parents to help with the production on a daily basis, and they lack

financial resources. Many of the young women also have very limited education, as primary school is not easily accessible in this community, and the secondary school in Errego is even more unreachable due to

the distance, lack of public transport, and stigma against young women living in town. Thus, the young women are aware that other opportunities exist, but very few have the support and the financial capacity to break out of the role in the community already established for them.

4.5.2 THE INFLUENCE OF AGE AND GENDER ON ACCESS TO COMMUNITY DECISION MAKING

It is likely that older women have more possibilities of participating in the land associations and community decision-making than younger women. This is both due to them having more time, and because there are more widows and divorced women with their own land parcels in this age group, who thus have more independence in their lives. However, they are also alone on their land, and if they have no sons-in-law, this makes income generation difficult, which impedes their ability to benefit from their increased time and independence. Taking into account that very few older women in rural Mozambique speak Portuguese or are literate, it is furthermore important to assess whether they, if elected, have the necessary skills and capacity to influence decision making. As mentioned before, the female vice-president of the water user association in Monegue, an elderly divorced lady, was not fully aware of her role in the association and did not appear to be well prepared to contribute to the association's work.



A community member in Monegue showing her DUAT
VIBE SCHØLER HANSEN

The definition of a young person may not be understood in the same way in the community as it is formally. There is an indication that married people with children are perceived as adults regardless of age, and a person's age is likely not as important as civil status or role in the community. When the researchers asked for young people to participate in youth focus groups, the people presented as participants were in many cases schoolchildren of 15 or 16, while others were 30. Also, many informants, especially women, did not know their own age.

This points to a need to discuss and conceptualize the issue of youth and the needs of younger people in the communities. Discussions could focus on how people of different age, sex, and civil status experience opportunities for influence and decision making in the community, and what their needs and dreams are for the future.

4.6 RELATIONSHIPS WITH EXTERNAL INVESTORS

There is a very strong awareness in both communities about the risks of external investors taking away people's land. In Monegue, three people, one man and two women, had previously given land to Portucel and were unhappy as it had not benefited them as expected. According to two interviewees who had given land to Portucel, they did not have a written contract with the company, but they say they were promised that there would be work for them and other community members. In the end,

only a few people had been offered work for limited periods of time. In Mucoe, no one had given land away to external investors, but Portucel had approached the community. The community leadership had denied negotiating with Portucel, but some community members were aware that they had indeed had discussions with the company, while others were not.

The level of knowledge among general community members regarding concrete negotiations that have taken place between Portucel and the community, or Portucel's objectives in negotiating with the communities, is very limited. There are many rumors circulating, but people have no specific knowledge of what has happened or what can potentially happen. In Mucoe, many interviewed women did not know that the community leadership had talked to Portucel; they were just certain that these companies were bad for the communities. There is a lot of fear of external stakeholders, which also impacted the delimitation process. Some people believed that delimitation would result in the land rights being transferred over to Portucel, so they chose not to delimit their land. Some women in Mucoe – even after participating in the projects, receiving information about their land rights, and receiving their declarations – still feel uncertain about how the delimitation and DUAT will actually affect them and are afraid of losing their land. They have been informed that this is not the case but are not convinced, and the land associations have not been able to engage them in discussions regarding the actual benefits of delimitation. This is a stark example of how some marginalized women struggle to really understand the process and its benefits.

Several informants stated that when the companies speak with the communities, they speak with men, and most often with the community leaders. If they speak directly with landholders, according to the leaders in Monegue, they speak with the man as head of the family. This corresponds with Portucel's own account, which is that the company deals mostly with male land users or through the community focal points, who are also men. Community focal points are used to facilitate communication, translate conversations to local languages, and direct Portucel to others in the community that the company can speak to; they are thus very important gatekeepers of influence and information in the community.

A few male informants said that through the delimitation, they had their eyes opened and now better understand the economic value of the land. One man, who previously gave land to Portucel, said that if he should give land away now, he would seek help from the community leaders and the land association to better negotiate. No women had this concrete approach to negotiating with external stakeholders, but more women than men were reluctant to share information about their land and they generally seemed more concerned about their land tenure security.

In the future, it will be important to support community members to negotiate better agreements with external companies, which can actually benefit them while not jeopardizing their land tenure security. To date, investors such as Portucel and domestic investors involved in agriculture and animal husbandry have asked people to simply transfer land rights, leaving the families with less land. One of the main potential counterproposals that families or communities could suggest would involve proposing instead that the families could retain their land and produce the products that the investors want, ranging from timber to field crops. Unfortunately, the duration of the delimitation projects is so short that it is hard to help community members fully understand their options. Future projects could focus on building this understanding, focusing on female landowners, strengthening their capacity to negotiate with the investors.

4.6.1 DAM PROJECT IN MONEGUE

In Monegue, Portucel is planning to build a dam to provide irrigated land for Monegue and the neighboring community, Sugue. The dam project will potentially give the community important new agricultural opportunities through irrigated land, but the flooding of a part of the community may also

bring negative impacts for some landholders. In preparation for the project, ORAM took a number of community members on a trip to visit a similar project in Nampula Province.

Despite this effort, few people in the community feel well informed about what will happen, including the community leaders. They know that the irrigated land will enable them to cultivate new crops such as vegetables. However, there are also many other expectations, such as a water point, a school, and a clinic, although Portucel does not seem to have promised such benefits.

There is a lack of clarity regarding who will manage and benefit from the project. There were different opinions regarding whether the people with irrigated land would cultivate the new crops themselves or whether the irrigation association would manage the whole area. The members of the irrigation association were also unclear of their exact role.



President of the land association João Albino (left) and president of the water user association Florencio Alberto showing the plan for the dam project in Monegue
KIRA UGAZ-SIMONSEN

As previously noted, the water users' association created to manage the irrigated land is led by a man, but four out of 11 leading members are women. The female vice president participated in the trip with ORAM to see similar projects. She was impressed by the new crops that can be grown on irrigated land, but she did not gain more substantial knowledge of how this project would be managed, and she still appears to be marginalized in community decision-making in spite of being the vice president of the irrigation association.

Of the 34 land parcels that will be directly affected by the dam, 22 belong to women. Neither male nor female landholders seem to be aware of the concrete impact this will have on them in terms of the

necessity to move away, receive compensation, or have improved land for agriculture. It will be necessary to assess how the men and women landowners are directly or indirectly affected, when the dam becomes a reality, and the impact of it begins to be seen in the community. The irrigation association, once the dam has been built, will have a very important role, and there are potentially many resources and benefits from this opportunity, that should be distributed broadly in the community.

5.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

This section presents a number of specific recommendations for how ILRG and other donor-funded projects can strengthen the gender sensitivity of interventions, build capacity to promote gender equality and women's empowerment, and help ensure that women benefit from their improved land tenure security in Ile.

5.1 CAPACITY BUILDING AND ENHANCED GENDER SENSITIVITY OF LAND ASSOCIATIONS

Land associations can control information on key land issues and can potentially be important decision-making bodies in communities. Training and support can build their awareness on gender equality and social inclusion and increase their capacity to represent men and women in communities:

- Ensure equal gender and age representation in the associations, both in terms of active membership and in key positions such as presidents. This can be done by introducing specific requirements for the composition of the associations and adopting a minimum percentage of women in leadership and general membership, combined with facilitating discussions in the associations of the advantages of a gender and age inclusive association.
- Provide technical training to all general members of the land associations and assist them in establishing a clear role and function as well as division of responsibilities between associations and community leaders. Avoid only training leadership; prioritize women and young members for training and participation in activities. This requires skilled staff with resources who are available for longer periods of time. Land associations have little to do after initial land delimitation and need ongoing responsibilities and opportunities to develop as meaningful bodies.
- Establish methods for the associations to help guarantee women's meaningful participation; for example, targets for men and women as active members, keeping records from meetings of women's and men's inputs to discussions, and assessing the knowledge level of male and female members on key land issues. ORAM or another implementing partner should have a strong role in monitoring how the associations function and ensure the meaningful participation of men, women, and youth.
- Identify positive female and male role models to give more women incentive to be part of an association – for example, a man who supports his wife to be a member of an association, or a woman who has experienced positive benefits from being active. Make small videos of such cases in local language and share them in other communities.
- Give basic gender training to associations, including issues such as gendered division of labor, women's and men's roles in land use and decision making, and GBV.
- Improve communication about the existence and work of the land associations in the communities, for example through periodic meetings with the community, conducting home visits, or using other appropriate mechanisms to ensure that both men and women are reached with this information.
- Ensure that water associations have a clear description of their role and tasks, and equal gender representation in the association, both in numbers and in actual influence on decision-making. The distribution of benefits and impacts of the dam project between men and women in the

community should be assessed. Ensure that both women and men in the community participate in discussions of the dam project, and that possible job opportunities are made available to female landholders.

5.2 ENHANCE ACCESS TO INFORMATION ON LAND ISSUES, AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS, AND OTHER VALUABLE INPUTS

Access to the information needed to increase agricultural production and benefit more from a land title is very scarce in communities, especially among women. Increasing access to this valuable information can help female landholders better realize the potential of their land rights:

- Provide training to men and women landholders in land rights, negotiation opportunities, legal matters, etc., prioritizing getting the information to women, youth, and older people as well as non-Portuguese speakers.
- Improve the flow of information to all members of communities where land was delimited about the benefits of the land title, the increased land tenure security, and possible transactional or economic value of the land. Prioritize women and non-Portuguese speakers to access this information and participate in debates. The land associations can potentially engage in distributing and discussing land related information with community members.
- Ensure that technical training, new skills, and agricultural inputs are available to community members on their own terms, taking into account the limited availability and mobility of women and some men. For example, conduct group trainings in communities, in the local language and at times when female farmers are available.
- Train and support female heads of households in using methods that can increase their income, for example traditional methods for product processing and conservation, and help them find ways to transport crops to more profitable markets.
- Enhance access to education for women; for example, by improving access to primary school, and/or providing literacy courses and other alternative education programs that can be adjusted to women's lack of mobility.
- In all training activities and community meetings, ask women specifically to share their opinions, perceptions, and questions; for example, through gender-divided focus groups or personal interviews.
- Invite women to specific community sessions, choosing a time and place that is feasible for them, and deliver the information using easily understandable terms and local languages.
- Offer child care at community and association meetings to enhance women's opportunities for participation. But also ensure that women who feel more comfortable attending with their children be allowed to do so.
- Create youth groups in communities who can represent the specific points of view, needs, and interests of the young.
- Design and distribute simple pamphlets on relevant topics, such as land rights and agricultural techniques, prioritizing women, youth, and the elderly. The pamphlets should include very little text and many photos with men and women in non-traditional gender roles, such as a man caring for a child and a woman using a tool or speaking in the community. It is however

important that these are developed in a sensitive way that respects the local context, to avoid having the materials rejected and viewed as foreign influence.

5.3 SENSITIZATION IN COMMUNITIES REGARDING GENDER STEREOTYPES AND GENDER/AGE INEQUALITIES

There is very little reflection in communities regarding negative and unequal gender stereotypes and roles as well as differential access to opportunities of different age groups. Enhancing the understanding of how these issues negatively affect people's lives and the decisions made can improve equality in the communities:

- Discuss gendered division of labor with communities, for example by conducting interactive trainings to visualize a typical day in the life of a man and a woman in the community.
- Discuss with women and men in the communities the benefits of women's strong land tenure security in the district, taking into account issues such as improved wellbeing for children and families and sustainable agricultural productivity. This can lead to an increased awareness of both men and women of the positive aspects of the matrilineal system for families' and children's rights.
- Work with images, videos, and flash cards; these methodologies can better transfer complex messages to people with limited literacy. Using them encourages broader participation and acknowledgement that less literate people can also participate and make decisions.
- Train men in communities, as well as community leaders, in issues such as the unequal division of labor, lack of equal access to education and knowledge, positive masculinities, GBV, and unhealthy family decision-making structures.
- Use existing positive female role models, such as the *rainha* in Mucoé and female community-based technical staff from ORAM, as examples to showcase the opportunities that exist for women, educated as well as uneducated.
- Form women's groups in communities to discuss women's issues and receive basic training; combine this approach with collective community meetings where both men and women can discuss key gender issues together to avoid creating suspicion among men. It is important to open up sensitive discussions in the communities in ways that can challenge the unequal status quo while avoiding creating problems for women.
- Conduct sessions with young men and women to learn about their specific needs and visions for the future regarding issues such as agriculture, community decision making, land issues, and gender roles. Work with entire communities to discuss the different needs, realities, and visions of people of different ages, gender, and civil status to enhance inclusive community decision-making.

5.4 CAPACITY BUILDING WITH IMPLEMENTING PARTNERS AND EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS IN GENDER AND YOUTH SENSITIVITY

Implementing partners such as ORAM and other key external stakeholders such as companies and organizations may have a very good understanding of the underlying gender issues, but they often lack the tools, sensitivity, and/or practical approaches to take this into account in their work. They also rarely adequately incorporate female staff into their own organizations. They should therefore be supported to enhance gender equality internally and through their external work, rather than being allowed to maintain current unhealthy gender practices and stereotypes:

- Incorporate long-term partnerships with specialists in social change. Land delimitation specialists should identify and partner with specialists in the social change work of capacity building for associations and transformative gender work. These specialists need to be involved with communities for extended periods. This would include work with government departments such as agricultural extensionists and external investors who presently deal mostly with men in the communities.
- Train extensionists and other district technicians in gender and land issues and offer them basic gender tools to use in their work, such as flashcards, educational videos, and guidance on how to plan activities that women are able to attend. Actively recruit women extensionists and remove barriers that prevent women from following this career path.
- Enhance the availability of job opportunities for young women and men in the communities and promote the education of more female extension workers, facilitating communication about these opportunities in the communities.
- Document and build upon positive best practices, such as ORAM's focus on hiring women as community-based staff. Increase the learning from women in these roles by better capturing their experiences of challenging gender stereotypes; for example, conduct experience exchange sessions or document their experiences in reports and videos and make them available to other project staff.
- Work strategically with external investors in the district to enhance their gender and age sensitivity and provide them with specific guidelines and tools to increase women's access to job opportunities, negotiation, training, and markets without a correlated increase in GBV.
- Create employment opportunities in the community for both men and women, prioritizing female heads of households. As jobs are very scarce, creating employment only for women can create many conflicts, if it is not combined with some opportunities for men and/or other types of incentive to families.

5.5 COLLECT SEX- AND AGE-DISAGGREGATED AND GENDER SPECIFIC DATA

In order to plan and implement strategic and efficient activities, the existence of accurate sex- and age-disaggregated data is essential:

- Collect basic data in each community on, for example, the number of women in land associations, active and not active, cases of GBV related to land issues, access to training/extension, and knowledge of land rights.
- Analyze data to generate a clear picture of the primary age and gender gaps. Present this data to the communities to promote measures that promote equality.

5.6 IMPLEMENT SPECIFIC ACTIONS TO INCREASE KNOWLEDGE OF AND REDUCE GBV

Actions to change gender norms and empower women can easily lead to increased risks of GBV and other types of problems in women's lives. Raising awareness among both implementers and beneficiaries can reduce the risks:

- Train local leaders and important local role models, such as OMM representatives, in understanding the complex and sensitive aspects of GBV, men's and women's rights, and the negative effects of early marriages.

- Include a strong social perspective in projects that enhance women's job opportunities, income, or community participation to reduce the risk of domestic conflicts and GBV. When offering project opportunities to women, these should be accompanied by approaches to solve inter-household issues with families: providing other family incentives such as support to school materials or access to agricultural markets; training and sensitizing men; and monitoring social issues as part of the project.
- Identify and use locally embedded but external NGOs to facilitate training and exchange sessions in communities in a way that challenges local stereotypes while creating minimal conflicts.
- Coordinate with donor projects or government initiatives against GBV and/or early marriage to increase awareness about GBV issues related to land and natural resource rights and women's ability to participate in decision making about these issues.

ANNEX I: LIST OF INTERVIEWS

Type of Interview	Place	Date	Community/ Organization	Name and Title	Sex
Individual interview	Errego	10 Feb 2020	Hand of New Hope - NGO	Galhardo António, Director	M
Individual interview	Errego	10 Feb 2020	District of Ile	José Manuel Veloso, Agricultural Technician	M
Individual interview	Mucoc	10 Feb 2020	Community: Mucoc	Fatima Muchila, <i>Rainha</i> 2nda escalão	F
Individual interview	Mucoc	10 Feb 2020	Community: Mucoc	Angelina Waissonne, married woman with Declaration	F
Individual interview	Mucoc	10 Feb 2020	Community: Mucoc	Patricio Maiahola, president of the land association Ovucula Ohava	M
Individual interview	Mucoc	10 Feb 2020	Community: Mucoc	Lucia Alfandega, female head of household with Declaration	F
Individual interview	Mucoc	10 Feb 2020	Community: Mucoc	Rosalina Caueraiana, married woman with Declaration	F
Focus group	Mucoc	10 Feb 2020	Community: Mucoc	Seven adult men (over 30 years), all members of the land association	7xM
Focus group	Mucoc	11 Feb 2020	Community: Mucoc	Three adult women (over 30 years)	3xF
Group interview	Mucoc	11 Feb 2020	Community: Mucoc	Silva and Lucas, married men with and without Declarations	2xM
Focus group	Mucoc	11 Feb 2020	Community: Mucoc	Nine adult women (over 30 years)	9xF
Focus group	Mucoc	11 Feb 2020	Community: Mucoc	Nine young women (under 30 years)	9xF
Individual interview	Mucoc	11 Feb 2020	Community: Mucoc	Geracio Jorge, married man without Declaration	M
Individual interview	Mucoc	11 Feb 2020	Community: Mucoc	Sandra Antonio, female member of the land association	F
Group interview	Errego	11 Feb 2020	Associação de Jovens Combatentes de Errego - NGO	Celda Belchier, Noémia Agostinho, Rosita Eugenio	3xF
Group interview	Monegue	12 Feb 2020	Community: Monegue	Alfredo Impeheria, <i>Régulo</i> 2nda escalão; Bernardo Carmio, Leader; Antonio João, <i>Régulo</i> de 1ra escalão (Sugue)	3xM
Individual interview	Monegue	12 Feb 2020	Community: Monegue	Florencio Alberto, president of the water user association	M
Group interview	Monegue	12 Feb 2020	Community: Monegue	João Albino, Florêncio Domingos, Acácio Albino, presidents of the land association Wetxa Valskani	3xM

Type of Interview	Place	Date	Community/ Organization	Name and Title	Sex
Focus group	Monegue	12 Feb 2020	Community: Monegue	Seven young men (under 30 years)	7xM
Focus group	Monegue	12 Feb 2020	Community: Monegue	Five adult women (over 30 years)	5xF
Focus group	Monegue	12 Feb 2020	Community: Monegue	Five young women (under 30 years)	5xF
Individual interview	Monegue	13 Feb 2020	Community: Monegue	Alfandiga Lapisera, married man with Declaration, affected by dam project	M
Individual interview	Monegue	13 Feb 2020	Community: Monegue	Madalena Lapisera, divorced woman with Declaration, affected by dam project	F
Individual interview	Monegue	13 Feb 2020	Community: Monegue	Herminio Mongane, married man without Declaration	M
Individual interview	Monegue	13 Feb 2020	Community: Monegue	Bethania Felizario, young married woman without Declaration	F
Group interview	Monegue	13 Feb 2020	Community: Monegue	Olinda and Laminda, representative and secretary of OMM in the community	2xF
Focus group	Monegue	13 Feb 2020	Community: Monegue	Three adult men (over 30 years)	3xM
Individual interview	Monegue	13 Feb 2020	Community: Monegue	Nercia Marcario Marcelino, married woman with Declaration	F
Individual interview	Errego	13 Feb 2020	ORAM	Olinda Muquelesse, community-based technical staff	F
Individual interview	Errego	14 Feb 2020	Portucel	Lucrecia Wamba, Director of Communications	F
Individual interview	Errego	14 Feb 2020	ORAM	Arlindo Macuva, technical field staff	M

ANNEX 2: REFERENCES

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