

Being a Man in Maputo:

# Masculinities, Poverty and Violence in Mozambique

Results from the International  
Men and Gender Equality Survey  
(IMAGES)





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Equality Survey (IMAGES)

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COORDINATOR



PARTNERS



WITH SUPPORT FROM





## About this Study

The IMAGES study in Mozambique was led by Promundo and the Eduardo Mondlane University in collaboration with the Centre for Social Studies (University of Coimbra, Portugal), CESAB, CÁ-PAZ, and Sonke Gender Justice. Funding for the study was provided by Safe and Inclusive Cities (SAIC), an initiative of Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC), and the United Kingdom's Department for International Development. Funding also came from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) via Sonke Gender Justice and MenEngage Africa.

## About IMAGES

The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) is a comprehensive, multi-country study on men's realities, practices, and attitudes toward gender norms, gender equality policies, household dynamics, caregiving and involvement as fathers, intimate partner violence, sexual diversity, and health and economic stress, among other topics.<sup>1</sup> Promundo and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) created IMAGES, which has been carried out in more than 30 countries as of 2016, including this study in Maputo, Mozambique. Additional partner studies inspired by IMAGES have been carried out in Asia by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).<sup>2</sup>

The survey includes both women and men and is generally carried out with respondents aged 18 to 59. Women are asked both about their own realities and about their male partners, as appropriate. In keeping with World Health Organization recommendations for survey research about sexual and gender-based violence, the survey is carried out with men and women in the same communities but not in the same households. All other relevant ethical procedures are followed. The survey is carried out together with qualitative research to map masculinities, contextualize the survey results, and provide detailed life histories that illuminate key quantitative findings. In the case of conflict-affected and post-conflict settings and settings of high urban violence, the IMAGES questionnaire includes additional questions on the effects of conflict, urban violence, and displacement on gender relations.

## Promundo

Founded in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1997, Promundo works to promote gender equality and create a world free from violence by engaging men and boys in partnership with women and girls. Promundo is a global consortium with members in the United States, Brazil, Portugal, and Democratic Republic of the Congo that collaborate to achieve this mission by conducting applied research that builds the knowledge base on masculinities and gender equality; developing, evaluating, and scaling-up gender-transformative interventions and programs; and carrying out national and international advocacy to achieve gender equality and social justice.

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<sup>1</sup> For more information on IMAGES, see Barker, et al. (2011). *Evolving Men: Initial Results from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)*. Washington, DC: International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Promundo. Available at: <http://promundoglobal.org/programs/international-men-and-gender-equality-survey-images>

<sup>2</sup> For more information on the studies inspired by IMAGES in Asia, see <http://www.partners4prevention.org/>

## Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM)

UEM assisted in the design and implementation of the survey through its Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Department of Archeology and Anthropology. Data collectors for the survey were recruited and trained at UEM. The second round of qualitative research was carried out by UEM's local research staff.

## Centro de Estudos Sociais – CES (Centre for Social Studies)

Based at the University of Coimbra in Portugal, the Centre for Social Studies (CES) is a private non-profit institution devoted to social sciences and humanities research. Founded in 1978, CES includes 96 researchers, 19 associate researchers, and 28 junior researchers – including sociologists, economists, jurists, anthropologists, historians, international relations specialists, and geographers, among others. CES promotes new epistemologies and stimulates cultural interaction of ideas and innovative research, with a special focus on cooperation with Portuguese-speaking countries in North–South relations and in Europe. It also supports the development of progressive human rights concessions and the deepening of democracy worldwide.

## CESAB

CESAB is a local NGO in Mozambique, associated with the Centre for Social Studies (CES) at the University of Coimbra in Portugal. CESAB helped to organize the first meetings with stakeholders in Maputo and discussed the design of the study. The staff helped to develop the qualitative research guide and conducted the first round of focus group discussions.

## CÁ-PAZ

CÁ-PAZ is a local NGO based in Matola, Mozambique, that provides psychosocial support to women, men, and families that are exposed to domestic violence. The staff helped to identify participants in the focus groups, supervised the implementation of the survey, and facilitated access to the participating neighborhoods in Matola and Maputo for the survey.

## Acknowledgements and Authorship

Instituto Promundo (Brazil) and Promundo-US (United States) coordinated the study in collaboration with the Eduardo Mondlane University, C  -PAZ, and CESAB, with support from Sonke Gender Justice. The researchers included:

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- Alice Taylor: General cross-country project coordination, Instituto Promundo
- Gary Barker: Principal investigator; technical assistance in data analysis and report writing and overall supervision, Promundo  -US
- Tatiana Moura: Principal investigator; technical assistance and overall supervision, Instituto Promundo

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## List of Acronyms:

GBV	Gender-based violence
GEM	Gender-Equitable Men (Scale)
DHS	Demographic Health Survey
FRELIMO	Mozambique Liberation Front
IDP	Internally displaced persons
IMAGES	International Men and Gender Equality Survey
IPV	Intimate partner violence
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex
RENAMO	Mozambican National Resistance
STI	Sexually transmitted infection
VAW	Violence against women
WHO	World Health Organization

# Executive Summary

Being a man in low-income settings in Maputo brings numerous challenges: lack of employment, exposure to war and urban violence, and social and economic pressures to subscribe to culturally reinforced and traditional notions of manhood. Understanding men's attitudes and practices in terms of gender relations is thus a key component of promoting gender equality, ending violence, and achieving recovery from conflict. The IMAGES–Maputo study, conducted in 2015, provides insights into the dynamics of men and women from low-income urban communities in Maputo and Matola. In total, 1006 men and 503 women completed interviews in household surveys. In addition, 10 men were interviewed through in-depth, individual interviews, and 46 men and 33 women participated in focus group discussions. The following are some of the key findings.

**Economic hardship** hinders men's ability to achieve socially recognized manhood.

- 32 percent of men in the study were formally employed – three times more than women (9.6 percent) but still at low rates compared to the social expectation that men should be providers.
- 63 percent of men felt stressed or preoccupied because of their precarious income.
- 52 percent of men felt ashamed to face their families when their income was insufficient.
- Unmarried men could not “become men” because they could not pay the bride price.
- Men said they lost “rightful respect” and “authority” at home when unemployed. Some said that “no work means no woman.”

**Cultural traditions**, including the perceived role of ancestors, impact gender relations in the home.

- 65 percent of men and 55 percent of women agreed that “*lobolo* (paying the bride price) makes men more responsible for their wives and children.”

- Most women said men need a second woman (or additional sexual partner) and a “good” woman will have patience with this.
- 29 percent of men participated in traditional initiation rites to “become men.”
- At the same time, many question some cultural traditions: 67 percent of women and 64 percent of men said *levirate*, the mourning tradition of male family members “inheriting” a wife after her husband's death, should be abolished.
- The qualitative data revealed that men and women think that women generally cause “problems in families” because they possess “bad powers.”
- Belief in spirits afforded women some autonomy to express anger or refuse sex.

**Gender dynamics in the home** are largely traditional, though cooperation and equality are valued, especially among younger couples. Women consistently reported that men were less involved in caregiving, in childbirth, and as fathers than men themselves said they were.

- 54 percent of men and 59 percent of women agreed a woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook.
- 70 percent of men earned more than their female partner, 60 percent had more education, and men were at least 5 years older in 60 percent of couples.
- Only 15 percent of men said that when they were children, their parents made decisions jointly.
- 20 percent of women said their male partner decided if she could go to a health center, and 40 percent said that their husband decided if she could work outside the home.
- 48 percent of men said they participated in daily care of their children, although only 8 percent of women reported this was the case.

- Men over 35 years old said they can only do “women’s work” when the wife is ill.
- 69 percent of men said they accompanied their partner to a prenatal visit, but only 41 percent of women said this was the case.

Regarding **sexual and reproductive health practices**, men and women show a mixture of equitable attitudes and practices alongside traditional and repressive views – as with gender norms and household decision-making.

- 36 percent of men and 56 percent of women said men need more sex than women.
- 53 percent of women and 29 percent of men said that women are responsible for contraception.
- 68 percent of men said they had been tested for HIV, with half of them (49 percent) reporting being tested within the past year.
- Both men and women – younger and older – showed little acceptance of same-sex relationships and homosexual individuals.
- Women underlined the importance of women’s so-called “good” behaviors: to clean, to cook, to prepare the man’s bath at the end of the day, and to have sex when he wants.

The study also looked at links between constructions of **violent and nonviolent masculinities and urban violence**. Women were asked if they had experienced violence in partner relations. Though civil war ended in 1992 and the country is proud of its peace, decades of violence continue to make an impact, in particular on how men relate to women and cope with stress.

- 14 percent of men said they participated in the 16-year-long civil war as a combatant, and most were forced into that role.
- 26 percent of men and 24 percent of women experienced a form of extreme physical torture and/or sexual violence (rape, or witnessing rape) during the war.
- 25 percent of men and 29 percent of women continued to have negative thoughts or dreams about the war.

- Men affected by traumatic events were more likely to use alcohol and more likely to say war made them feel powerless, although many also said that the war gave them strength to live.

Men reported high levels of **exposure to and experiences of violence at home**, at school, and in their neighborhood.

- 53 percent of men witnessed their siblings being beaten and 30 percent said they witnessed violence between their parents.
- 49 percent of men experienced situations of threat, intimidation, or harassment in their schools, and 42 percent reported these in their neighborhood.
- Men who experienced such violence in childhood had less equitable attitudes.
- Experiences of violence at an early age were statistically associated with perpetrating violence later in life.

In terms of factors associated with **intimate partner violence**, witnessing violence between one’s parents, experiencing psychological or physical violence at home as children, and experiencing violence at school were all significantly associated with later perpetration of physical intimate partner violence.

- 44 percent of women had experienced physical violence from a male partner and 45 percent had experienced psychological violence.
- 40 percent of men and 13 percent of women said there are times a woman deserves to be beaten.
- “Spirits” were said to play a role in provoking intimate partner violence, in a way offering men an excuse for using violence and offering women a reason to “forgive” the male partner who used violence.

**Sexual violence** and **urban and public violence** were also commonplace, participants reported.

- 40 percent of men and 34 percent of women agreed that a woman who did not dress “decently” was asking to be raped.
- 57 percent of men and 51 percent of women had witnessed someone being physically assaulted in the street, and 42 percent men and 25 percent of women had witnessed attacks by the police in the past year.
- 80 percent of men reported witnessing some form of urban/public violence before the age of 18.
- A major concern was youth criminality, which qualitative data suggested was related to young men’s need for income, their desire to have relationships with young women (and demonstrate their prowess), and their desire to achieve a sense of manhood.

The study also examined other risk-taking behaviors, namely **substance abuse and**

**transactional sex.** Men who reported paying for or exchanging goods for sex were more likely to have perpetrated physical, psychological, or sexual violence, and to have witnessed, experienced, or participated in urban violence in the last year, compared with men who did not report engaging in transactional sex.

- 47 percent of men had given money or a gift in exchange for sex, while only about 10 percent of women said they had ever accepted a gift or money in return for sex.
- 37 percent of men had paid for sex or had sex with a sex worker.
- About one in five men (21 percent) felt remorse or regret after consuming too much alcohol.
- 16 percent of men reported using violence of some kind after consuming alcohol.

## Definitions and Key Concepts

A number of key concepts related to gender and violence informed the creation of the IMAGES study and the present report.

**Gender** is understood as the social construction of the differences between men and women. Gender differences are defined by socially ascribed assumptions and not by biologically determined differences between men and women. Gender includes masculinity (male roles) and femininity (female roles).

**Gender equality** refers to equality in rights, opportunities, and responsibilities for women, men, girls, and boys. The term “equal rights” refers to equality of rights under the law. “Equality of opportunities” refers to equality in access to employment, land, education, health, and other resources. “Equal responsibilities” refers to equality in tasks and contributions to the development of society.

**Masculinity** is defined as the perceptions of men and women about the role of men in society. These perceptions are socially constructed expectations associated with what it means to “be a man” and are not determined by biological characteristics. In its plural form – masculinities – it refers to the multiple ways manhood is expressed and the power dimensions that exist between different groups of men.

The following definitions refer to central concepts related to the experience of violence:

**Gender-based violence (GBV)** is violence that targets people on the basis of their gender (the roles associated with males and females), along with unequal power relationships between the two genders. Women, girls, men, and boys can be victims of gender-based violence; however, most victims are female.

**Violence against women (VAW)** is one of the most prevalent human rights violations in the world. VAW is a form of gender-based violence. VAW is defined as any manifestation of physical, sexual, psychological, or economic violence against women and girls occurring in the family and in the general community, including battering, sexual abuse of children, rape, female genital mutilation, non-partner violence, and violence related to exploitation.

**Intimate partner violence (IPV)** refers to violence carried out by one partner against the other in the course of a married, cohabitating, or intimate/romantic relationship. It includes physical, sexual, economic, or psychological violence in the context of partner or couple relationships. The IMAGES questionnaire asks only about men’s use of this type of violence.

The types of violence against women in this study include the following acts and behaviors:

**Physical violence:** slapping, beating with or without an object, threatening with a weapon, attempts to strangle or murder, locking a person in or preventing a person from going out, etc.

**Psychological violence:** controlling behavior, imposing specific behavior, denigrating, isolating, or undermining the value of a person, bullying, threatening, blackmailing, insulting, etc.

**Sexual violence:** rape, being forced to have intercourse with other people, imposing unwanted sexual practices or touching without consent, child marriage, forcing someone to witness acts of rape, etc.

**Economic violence:** controlling someone’s income or preventing someone from having access to recourse, refusing to share the income or means necessary to meet basic needs such as food, clothes, housing, etc.

# 1. The Context of Post-Conflict Mozambique

## 1.1 Characteristics of the Study Area

Mozambique lies in southeast Africa, covering a total land area of 800,000 square kilometers. It is bordered by the Indian Ocean to the east, Tanzania to the north, Malawi and Zambia to the northwest, Zimbabwe to the west, and South Africa and Swaziland to the southwest. Mozambique is ethnically and linguistically diverse, mixing indigenous languages of Bantu origin together with Portuguese and other foreign languages. Portuguese, adopted as an official language after independence in 1975, is used mainly in cities and rarely in rural areas.<sup>3</sup>

Mozambique is characterized by considerable religious diversity, merging imported religions (namely Christianity and Islam) together with traditional religious beliefs that are focused on the veneration of ancestors. For many Mozambicans, including those who are Christian or Muslim, ancestral spirits are traditionally seen as the main sources for restoring health and well-being, with implications for gender relations.

Mozambique has 11 provinces, including the city of Maputo. This study was conducted in Mozambique's national capital city, Maputo, and in Matola, the capital city of Maputo province. Maputo city comprises seven municipal districts: KaMpumo, KaNhlamankulu, KaMaxakeni, KaMavota, KaMubukwana, KaTembe and KaNyaka. Among these, three – KaNhlamankulu, KaMaxakeni, and KaMubukwana – were selected for the sample, as indicated in Table 2. The population of Maputo city is estimated at 1,178,116 inhabitants. The population of Maputo city is young, with 37 percent under 15 years of age. Matola is adjacent to Maputo city to the west and covers an area of 368.4 square kilometers and has 672,508 inhabitants, representing

56 percent of the total population of Maputo province (INE, 2009).

Mozambique has an unemployment rate of 22 percent and an extremely high underemployment rate affecting more than 87 percent of the labor force (Santos, Roffarello, & Manuel, 2015). Although recent years have been positive for Mozambique's economy – the GDP grew 7.6 percent in 2014 and 7.5 percent in 2015 with a forecast of 8 percent growth in 2016 – the majority of Mozambicans still live below the poverty line. Some 55 percent have an income below US\$.60 per day, which is below internationally accepted livelihood parameters of US\$1 and US\$2 per day. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR) 2015 ranked Mozambique 180th out of 188 countries, with a Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.416. Low levels of education, high rates of unemployment, and high levels of participation in the informal economy characterize the work experiences of most men and women in Maputo and Matola. The country continues to be one of the poorest in the world, with some of the worst social indicators in terms of education and health, as shown in Table 1.

After Mozambique gained independence in 1975, the exodus of a majority of Portuguese settlers and Asian traders, the adoption of central planning and nationalization of major enterprises, and civil war from the late 1970s to the early 1990s resulted in a near collapse in production and public services, as well as the destruction of significant portions of the public infrastructure. High rates of migration by men to work in South Africa's mining industry complicated gender relations and labor in Mozambique. Such migration has occurred consistently for more than a century and a half and is reinforced today

<sup>3</sup> According to the Mozambique Population and Housing Census 1997, the Portuguese language was used by 40 percent of the population.

by the lack of job opportunities — not only for men but also for women. Large numbers of women, young people, and children cross the border to South Africa in search of better opportunities

to support themselves and their families, often using illegal channels of migration that leave them vulnerable to multiple forms of exploitation (Mariano, Braga, & Moreira, 2016).

**Table 1: Key development indicators for Mozambique**

Population, 2015	26.5 million
Under-5 mortality rate (deaths per 1,000 live births)	87.2
Life expectancy at birth	55.1 years
Mean years of schooling	3.2
Gross national income (GNI) per capita	US\$1,123
Population living below poverty level	55%
Maternal mortality rate (maternal deaths per 100,000 births)	480
Contraceptive prevalence rate, modern methods	11.6%
Adolescent birth rate (births per 1,000 women age 15-19)	137.8
HIV prevalence rate (age 15-49) (UNAIDS, 2014)	10.6%

Sources: UNDP, Human Development Report 2015; INE 2011

## Maputo City

The municipality of Maputo is the country's largest urban cluster (INE, 2015). Maputo city is divided into two cores according to its spatial and infrastructural features: (1) the "cement city," with masonry constructions, asphalt streets, running water, electricity, and a significant number of social services; and (2) the "reed neighborhoods," called *bairros de caniço*, in which houses have been primarily built with reed but, over time, have been replaced with brick and zinc. Most of these "reed neighborhoods" were the result of unplanned urbanization processes and have few formal social support services or paved roads. Sanitation is poor, and most homes do not have electricity or piped water.

Today, in *bairros* like Chamankulo, Xipamanine, Polana Caniço, and others where this study was carried out, there is high population density. Situations in which three or more families share a small area (around 15m<sup>2</sup>) have become the norm (Barros, Chivangane and Samagaio, 2014). Residents of these areas perceive their neighborhoods as being congested, hectic, and at times dangerous places (Bertelsen, Tvedten and Roque, 2014). These neighborhoods are also often the site of multiple forms of violent crime, including car hijackings, armed assaults, and robberies of houses, banks, and commercial stores (Shabangu, 2013). These crimes often involve urban youth living in impoverished areas, where they themselves are also subjected to high rates of structural and interpersonal violence.

## 1.2 Conflict and Violence in Mozambique

Mozambique is marked by a history of political violence that includes colonial oppression, the struggle for independence from Portugal, and violent post-colonial conflicts. From 1976 to 1992, war between the dominant political force in the country, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), and the largest opposition and former rebel group, the Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO), ravaged the country. The movements of displaced persons and refugees in and outside the country were immense, and significantly altered living conditions. Maputo, as the capital and largest urban center, experienced a drastic increase in its population during the period of civil war due to internal migration of refugees (Espling, 1999; Bénard da Costa, 2002). Extreme violence during the conflict included kidnappings, forced recruitment, rape, and mutilation, all of which has contributed to lingering trauma (Braga, 2012).

War, trauma, and multiple forms of disempowerment interact with gender inequality and gender-based violence in context-specific ways in Mozambique. In 2011, the Demographic Health Survey (DHS) included for the first time questions about experiences of domestic violence. Results from the DHS found that 33 percent of women and 25 percent of men had been victims of some form of physical violence since the age of 15, and 25 percent of women and 11 percent of men reported having been victims of physical violence in the past 12 months. For those who ever experienced violence, the most common perpetrators of physical violence were intimate partners: approximately 85 percent of women and 40 percent of men were victims of physical violence committed by a current or former partner. In total, the DHS found that 46 percent of women and 48 percent of men had been victims of physical, sexual, or emotional violence committed by partners or ex-partners (INE, 2011).

Post-conflict stress, poverty, and economic inequalities contribute to gender-based violence and other forms of violence. Mozambique is currently experiencing an increase of organized criminal groups that are seen as a “parallel

power” to the state (Shabangu, 2012). A recent wave of kidnappings targeting wealthy and affluent persons (particularly of South Asian descent) is an indication both of the weakness of the state to respond to urban criminality and of the ongoing social and economic inequity. The country’s criminal justice and public security systems are in general weak and lack sufficient resources and well-trained personnel (Shabangu, 2012; Goredema, 2013).

Similarly, despite some improvements regarding legal and psychosocial support to survivors of gender-based violence (GBV) in recent years, GBV remains relatively high in prevalence and is often normalized in Mozambique (Zacarias *et al*, 2012; INE, 2011). Understanding the roots of such violence is crucial to ending the cycle of violence.

## 1.3 Research Questions and Objectives

In this context, IMAGES research sought to understand the connections between masculinities, gender norms, violent and nonviolent practices, and urban violence in Maputo and Matola. The study seeks to inform governmental and non-governmental actors in the areas of health, education, and social justice on issues related to gender equality and the prevention of violence. IMAGES examined research questions specific to gender and violence, including:

- What is the impact of multiple forms of violence over the life cycle for men and women?
- What is the impact of economic stress on men, masculinities, and gender relations?
- What is the prevalence of men’s use of violence against female partners and what factors are associated with this violence?
- What are the links between violence in the private sphere and violence in the public sphere?
- What social dynamics emerge in coping with various stress factors and how do those influence gender relations?



## 2. Methodology

### 2.1 Research Sites and Sample

The survey was carried out in June and July 2015 with data from 1006 men and 503 women between the ages of 18 and 65 in the cities of Maputo and Matola. The sample was selected in collaboration with the National Statistics Institute (INE) and stratified for age and to be representative of selected municipal districts and *bairros* of Maputo and Matola. (Due to budget constraints, the original sample of 3200 people made by INE was reduced, and four municipal districts that are characterized by higher criminality and violence rates were selected.) The selected areas and the distribution of surveys are presented in Table 2.

A multi-stage sampling strategy was applied for the survey. The sample was stratified by sex and age to be evenly comprised of the two age

groups 18 to 35 and 36 to 65. More men were sampled because IMAGES aims to fill a gap in research on men's practices and attitudes and to have greater statistical power in the analysis of men's responses. Each neighborhood was divided into three sectors radiating out from the geographic center, usually defined as being the office of the community leader. Equal numbers of houses were then randomly selected from each of the three areas. In each selected household, data collectors asked if they could speak to one person and randomly selected among eligible male and female adult residents who were present in the household. Male data collectors interviewed men, and female data collectors interviewed women. In addition, data collectors below age 35 interviewed younger participants and data collectors above age 35 interviewed the older group.

**Table 2: IMAGES Mozambique data collection details**

Municipal districts of Maputo city	<i>Bairros</i> (neighborhoods)	Number of surveys	
		Women	Men
KaMubukwana	George Dimitrov Luis Cabral	56 64	96 96
KaNIhamankulu	Chamanculo (C) Xipamanine	64 64	96 96
KaMaxakeni	Polana Caniço (A, B)	64	224
<b>Municipal districts of Matola city</b>			
Machava-Sede	Machava (B) Machava (C) Machava (D,H)	52 69 77	90 158 158
		<b>510</b>	<b>1014</b>

Note: Seven women and eight men completed only a small part of the survey and were therefore excluded from analysis.

**Table 3: Qualitative research sites**

Place	Group characteristics	Number of participants
<i>Bairro Trevo, Matola</i>	Men over 35 years old	10
<i>Bairro Trevo, Matola</i>	Women over 35 years old	10
Machava-Sede, Matola	Men, former combatants, over 50 years old	8
Machava-Sede, Matola	Wives of former combatants over 50 years old	4
Mafalala, Maputo	Men under 35 years old (21-32)	10
Polana-Caniço, Maputo	Men under 35 years old (16-18)	5
T3, Matola (2014)	Men under 35 years old (20-30)	6
T3, Matola (2015)	Men under 35 years old (18-33)	7
Polana-Caniço, Maputo	Women under 35 years old (20-30)	10
Chamanculo, Maputo	Women over 35 years old	9
<b>Total</b>		<b>79</b>

In addition to the survey, 10 focus groups were carried out with a total of 79 participants, and 10 individual interviews were carried out with men. These discussions sought to provide an understanding of gender dynamics in communities and specific households in which local NGOs reported a high probability of having experienced family or community violence. The neighborhoods were selected in collaboration with local NGO partners, and participants were identified using a purpose sampling method. One of the groups included ex-combatants and wives of ex-combatants from the civil war. The focus groups were carried out in different neighborhoods in Matola and Maputo and segregated by sex and age (with under 35 and over 35 in separate groups), as presented in Table 3. In addition to the focus groups, 10 individual interviews were carried out with participants from a mix of these sites.

## 2.2 Research Methods

The questionnaire administered in Matola and Maputo was an adapted version of the IMAGES questionnaire originally designed by Promundo and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW). The IMAGES research team invited local experts from Mozambique to discuss the design of the study and the adaptation of the survey to the local context. The Mozambican version was developed together with local advisors who have extensive experience working directly in these neighborhoods. It was revised to include issues specific to the current context of people living in Maputo and Matola; for example, the questionnaire included an expanded number of items on exposure to urban violence (some of which were previously tested in Brazil by Promundo). The questionnaire was translated into Portuguese and Xichangana,<sup>4</sup> and pre-tested in Maputo. The IMAGES research team trained 60 local interviewers on the application of the

<sup>4</sup> According to the INE (2007) Portuguese is the language that people most often speak at home (55.2%), followed by Xichangana (31.4%) and Xironga (8.4%).

survey as well as on ethical procedures. The interviews took approximately 45 minutes and were paper-administered. A team of eight local team leaders and four supervisors monitored the field implementation.

Qualitative research was carried out in two phases: a first round in 2014 and a second round in 2015. The first round explored topics related to perceptions of masculinity, gender relations, and experiences of gender-based violence among youth and ex-combatants. The second round explored in more depth topics that emerged in the first round, namely the role of traditional religious practices and “spirits” in understanding intimate partner violence and recovery for individuals who have experienced violence. The qualitative research also sought to understand the linkages between young men’s sense of marginalization and criminality. Five local researchers carried out the two rounds of focus group discussions as well as individual interviews.

## 2.3 Ethical Considerations

All appropriate ethical procedures, including confidentiality, informed consent, anonymity, and “do no harm” procedures were followed in interviews. Data collection also followed World Health Organization (WHO) ethical procedures for carrying out research on intimate partner violence, involving specific recommendations for research in post-conflict settings. Ethical approval was obtained through the Ethics Commission for Health Research in Mozambique, at the national Ministry of Health. Ethical considerations included asking respondents at the end of the interview about how they perceived the process. In general, the respondents reported a positive experience of participating in the survey: 87 percent of men and 94 percent of women said the interview made them feel good, while less than 2 percent of men and less than 1 percent of women said it made them feel bad.

## 2.4 Data Analysis

This report focuses on descriptive statistics and

bivariate analyses of survey data along with relevant qualitative findings on the same topics. Using Stata statistical software, the IMAGES research team generated descriptive tables and figures and used t-tests and Chi-square tests to analyze associations between variables of interest. Where statistically significant differences are reported, these are at the  $p < .05$  level, unless otherwise noted. In general, “don’t know” or “not available” responses were coded as missing and omitted from the analyses underlying the figures presented in the tables.

Qualitative data were analyzed using content frame analysis. Findings from analyses of qualitative data were used to complement and contextualize quantitative data. The combined research approach allowed for a holistic understanding of social and cultural dynamics underlying the problems of violence and gender in the urban context of Maputo.

## 2.5 Study Scope and Limitations

The key limitation is that the sample is not fully representative of the population in Maputo. Nonetheless, a review of equivalent findings from the Mozambique 2011 Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) suggests that IMAGES data on items for which there are similar questions showed results that are consistent with DHS. In addition, asking questions about sexuality, experiences during the wars in Mozambique, and topics that represent socially “undesirable” behaviors – namely IPV and urban violence – represents a major challenge in Mozambique, as in many parts of the world. And while the research team preferred using handheld electronic data collection, this turned out to be unfeasible in Mozambique for a variety of reasons. The fact that the survey oversampled in the most violence-affected communities in Maputo and Matola meant that researchers often could not return to households a second time and were only able to carry out interviews during daylight hours. Thus, some questionnaire items show relatively high rates of missing data, which reflect these challenges.



## 3. Research Findings

### 3.1 Sample Characteristics

As presented in Table 4, approximately 30 percent of the men and 25 percent of women were between the ages of 18 to 25. Men generally had higher levels of education: nearly twice as many women as men had no education, and 60 percent of men had attended secondary or technical education (*ensino superior*) compared with only 43 percent of women. The pattern was consistent with DHS 2011 findings showing that men have more education than women, though rates of education in the IMAGES sample were somewhat higher than the population as a whole. About half of the IMAGES sample reported being in partnered relationships: 48 percent of men and 56 percent of women were currently married or cohabitating.

Mozambique has three forms of legal marriage: civil, religious, and traditional marriage. The findings show that 33.8 percent of men and 39.5 percent of women reported that they live together but never formalized the union. In Mozambique, as in some other countries, legal marriage generally gives women more access to their legal rights in case of intimate partner

violence and divorce; low rates of legal marriage likely represent a vulnerability for women. In general, reliable marital status data are difficult to obtain in Mozambique because of the prevalence of informal unions. Though only “official” or legal marriages are considered to be formal marriages, in practice many couples refer to themselves as husband and wife regardless of their official marital status.

The majority of respondents reported some religious affiliation. In general, women more often reported belonging to evangelical churches, while men were more likely to report being Catholic. The evangelical churches are often more focused on “controlling bad spirits,” which are typically used as cultural explanations of health and well-being, as well as explanations for conflicts between partners and families — issues that women are more likely than men to discuss and report.

In regard to place of birth, 37 percent of women and 42 percent of men in the sample were *not* born in Maputo, probably reflecting high rates of internal migration both during the civil war and afterwards, in addition to more recent economic migration.

**Table 4: Demographic characteristics of the sample**

	Men		Women	
	n	%	n	%
<b>Age</b>				
18-24	303	30.1	125	24.9
25-34	237	23.6	133	26.4
35-49	280	27.8	139	27.6
50-65	186	18.5	106	21.1
<b>Residence</b>				
Maputo	713	70.9	296	58.8
Matola	293	29.1	207	41.2
<b>Place of birth</b>				
Maputo city	402	40.0	206	41.0
Maputo province	177	17.6	113	22.5
Elsewhere/other provinces	427	42.4	184	36.6
<b>Education</b>				
None	45	4.5	41	8.2
Primary	323	32.2	234	46.6
Secondary (including technical)	531	52.9	205	40.8
Higher than secondary	77	7.7	12	2.4
Other (unspecified)	27	2.7	10	2.0
<b>Marital status</b>				
Legally married and living together	139	14.2	81	16.5
Single, but living with a partner	332	33.8	194	39.5
Widowed	27	2.7	46	9.4
Separated/divorced	39	4.0	39	7.9
Single, but has a partner	223	22.7	65	13.2
Single, without a stable partner	183	18.6	63	12.8
Never partnered	39	4.0	3	0.6
<b>Religion</b>				
Zionist (evangelical)	107	10.7	107	21.3
Catholic	267	26.6	79	15.7
Evangelical (Pentecostal, Assembly of God)	216	21.5	138	27.4
Other Protestant	117	11.7	67	13.3
Muslim	58	5.8	14	2.8
Traditional religion	19	1.9	4	0.8
Other	62	6.2	67	13.3
No religion	131	13.0	13	2.6
More than one religion	27	2.7	14	2.8

### 3.2 Socioeconomic Conditions, Employment Status, and Gender Dynamics

The mean monthly income of participants in the survey was higher than national statistics (which include rural areas as well), but the income levels were still low compared to the cost of living in Maputo. Men's average monthly income was US\$164 compared with US\$102 for women. Many respondents had trouble estimating their monthly earnings due to the irregularity of their income. More than 50 percent of men and women with an income did not consider their income to be stable – a reality that brings considerable stress to men, women, and households. Qualitative results confirmed that the cost of living in Maputo meant that nearly all the respondents faced considerable economic hardship.

Both women and men overwhelmingly responded affirmatively to the statement: "The man is the most important source of income in the house." However, 50 percent of men said that they were the main income providers, while only 37 percent of women reported that men were the

most important source for financial support in their households. Fewer than 2 percent of men reported that their female partners were the main income providers in their household, while 23 percent of women said they (the women) were the main income providers. The findings illustrate that men and women have different perceptions about who is the income provider. This is potentially related to the finding that men think they should be the sole provider, but in reality, more women are earning.

Gendered differences in perceptions about the "main income provider" have also been found in other countries where IMAGES has been carried out. This suggests a gap between the reality – that women's incomes are increasingly important in households – and a sense of lost identity or status that some men may face in acknowledging that they are not the sole or main providers of income in their household. Most women reported that they financially support their husbands and children, as well as supporting extended family members. As another indicator of men's economic stress, nearly a quarter of men (23.6 percent) said that their parents were the main source of income.

**Table 5: Employment and household poverty**

	Men		Women	
	n	%	n	%
<b>Employment status</b>				
Unemployed or never worked	272	27.1	290	57.8
Informally employed	342	34.0	141	28.1
Formally employed	320	31.8	48	9.6
Retired or other	71	7.1	23	4.6
<b>How frequently does someone in your household go without food because of lack of money?</b>				
Every week	39	3.9	22	4.4
Every month, but not every week	64	6.4	77	15.4
It happens, but not all months	206	20.6	165	33.0
Never	691	69.1	236	47.2

As shown in Table 5, male respondents were approximately twice as likely as women to be employed, and three times more likely to be formally employed, although only 32 percent of men were formally employed. Women reported higher rates of poverty in their households (in terms of food scarcity): 53 percent of women compared to 31 percent of men reported that someone in their household went without food some months or more often. This could reflect the daily realities of women, who are expected to be more concerned about the lack of food in the household, while men are supposed to be more concerned with providing income. These dire employment conditions result in considerable stress for households, as seen in Figure 1 and in the qualitative data presented in Box 1.

More than 60 percent of men report feeling stressed or preoccupied because of their precarious income, and more than 50 percent of men said they feel ashamed to face their families when their income is insufficient. Women's reports of their male partners' work and income-related stress were similar to men's, with one exception: women were more likely to report that their partners drank a lot because they were not able to meet the family's needs (14 percent reported by men compared to 24 percent reported by women). This suggests that men may feel further ashamed to report that they resort to alcohol use because of work — or income-related stress.

## BOX 1

### No Work, No Money, No Woman: Definitions of Manhood in Maputo

Men and women who participated in focus groups and individual interviews had an essentialist view that men were rightfully heads of households and smarter than women. Some respondents invoked biological or religious explanations to justify these norms. Most respondents normalized the division that men provide financially for households and women care for the house. This perceived division did not reflect the reality of women's financial contribution in many households in the survey nor in Mozambican society at large, where the division has been changing rapidly. In terms of the markers of manhood, men and women said that having income and children were essential, and older men emphasized the importance of having sons in particular.

Older respondents said that a woman who gives birth only to girls can be rejected and humiliated by her husband and family. In this context, infertility for women and for men was seen as a major source of stress. *"In our culture, you only count as a man when you can reproduce yourself,"* said a man in a focus group discussion in the *Bairro Trevo*. Infertility was considered a stigma to the point that one man said you would resort to asking your brother to secretly have sex with your wife in order to produce a child.

Though manhood and gender relations were largely defined in traditional terms, there were some exceptions and reports of change. A woman in a *Bairro Trevo* focus group noted this change:

*"There are men who don't use their wives as slaves anymore, and they would even share the best part of the meat and make jokes together."*

Unemployment was perceived as the most urgent problem among men in low-income areas of Maputo, and perhaps the key determinant in terms of whether they achieve socially recognized manhood. Qualitative results affirmed the questionnaire data. Married men reported that they could not sustain their families, and younger, unmarried men said they could not "become men" because they were not able to pay the bride price required to marry. In the face of this reality, some young men navigate their lives searching for short-term work in both legal and illegal activities, as seen in some of the survey results showing men's participation in criminal activities.

Men in every focus group discussion said they had lost traditional "authority" in the home because their wives no longer respected them when they were unemployed. Other men reported rejection and stigmatization in their extended families. Some men said they are not able to become community leaders, such as the *chefe de quarteirão* (a small-scale administrative leader in the neighborhood), if they are unemployed. One man in a focus group discussion in *Bairro Polana Caniço* stated, *"I feel very ashamed when my wife says that she is sustaining her children and husband, or when she says to me: 'You are eating on my expense.'"* Other men and women explained how unemployed men "become women" and how they sit around the house like a "CD" (which stands for *comer e dormir*, meaning they only eat and sleep). *"We are nothing and have no value anymore for the community,"* said a man in a focus group discussion with young men in *Bairro Trevo*.

Unemployment is also said to create tensions and conflicts between partners. Women were worried because their children cannot go to school and because there was not enough food for everyone. According to women who were interviewed, their husbands often hung out with male friends who gave them drinks in the bar to forget "their sorrows." As a result, there was mistrust and conflict between the couples about how the men's limited income was being spent. Several women accused their husbands of spending their money on other women. However, some women saw a positive side to unemployed husbands, as a woman in a *Bairro Trevo* focus group discussion explained:

*"Since he has no money anymore, he is very sweet to me and he has less money to go out, drink, and have other women."*

Some ex-combatant men said they felt particularly humiliated and frustrated in the face of unemployment. They believed that since they fought for the freedom of their country, employment opportunities should be their right. Other men expressed anger toward foreigners who they perceived as taking their jobs and women.

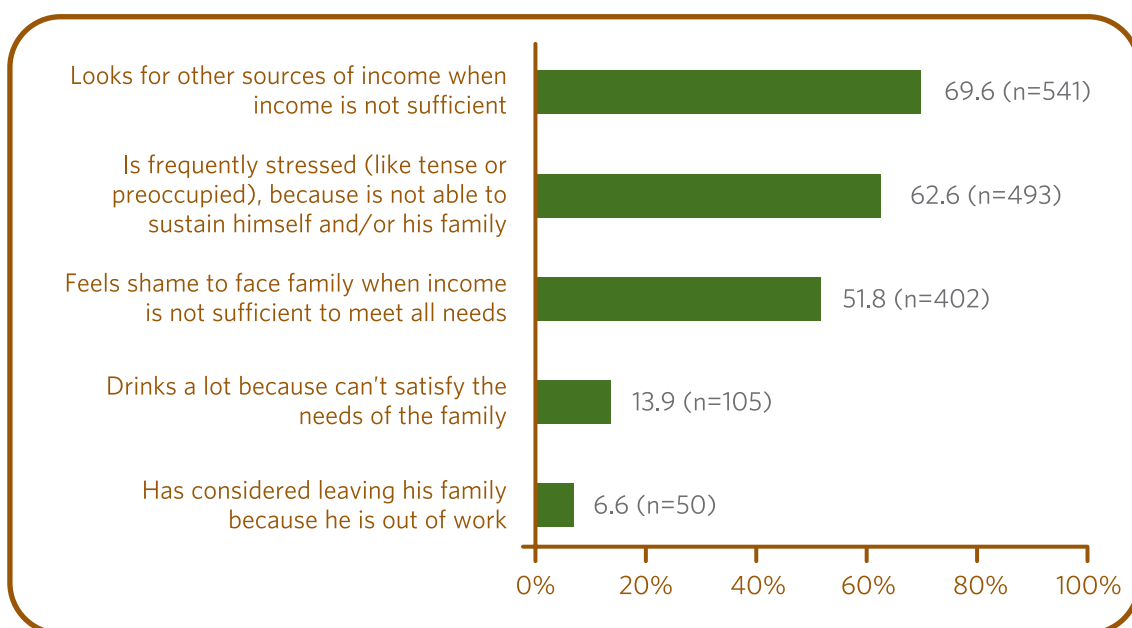
Young men without jobs or education said they face the challenge of being unable to get married, saying they are not able to approach their girlfriends' families to seek permission

to marry. One young man in *Bairro T3* (a neighborhood) asked, “How will her family look at me when they find out that I have no work?” Other young men explained that girls only want boyfriends with a good education and money: “Girls have fewer problems than us, they chose men with money and they don’t see us,” a young man in *Bairro T3* said.

Unemployed young men reported that they, like men in the older generation, lose their status in the household if they are out of work. They may not be able to act as leaders of family ceremonies or as household decision makers. These expected or “rightful” roles, they said, will be taken on by younger brothers who have a job and income. One man in *Bairro Mafalala* described how his sisters did not serve him food anymore in the house because he had not contributed financially and thus was obliged to prepare his own food. These trends were perceived by unemployed men as being emasculating, even as their comments and these same trends point to changing social norms and work-life realities that may also empower women.

Frustration over unemployment also contributed to men’s participation in illegal activities. “We are searching [for] ways to survive and [we get] get addicted to drugs and alcohol,” said one of the men individually interviewed. Some men said that money gives more value and status than an academic background, increasing the lure of criminal activities even for young men with education. Older men and women confirmed that the dire economic situation is driving their children to migrate to South Africa for jobs or to participate in criminal activities and substance abuse.

**Figure 1: Percent of men reporting work-related and income-related stress**



Note: Approximately 20 percent of the sample reported that these questions were not applicable to them.

### 3.3 Gender Norms and Attitudes Toward Traditional Practices, Culture, and Violence Against Women

#### 3.3.1 Cultural Practices and Gender Relations

The influence of sociocultural traditions in Mozambique, including strong beliefs in the role of ancestors and spirits, shape gender norms, practices, and relationship dynamics. This is evident despite modernization and the promotion of gender equality as a norm and, to some extent, in laws and policies in Mozambique. Both the survey results from the questionnaires and the qualitative results from the focus group discussions and individual interviews show the influence of traditional values, including the perceived role of ancestors, on current perceptions of gender and gender relations.

One of the strongest traditional practices affecting gender relations in Mozambique is the paying of the bride price, or *lobolo*, whereby the husband pays money and/or goods to the family of the future wife. After the wife is "*lobolada*" she is fully integrated into the in-law's family, who in turn assumes the responsibility of caring for her and any children resulting from the union. Approximately 30 percent of ever-partnered men and women had practiced *lobolo*. Almost all said the practice was important: it was seen as giving security and social recognition to the marriage. Many young men interviewed in focus groups criticized the inflation of the cost of the bride price; they perceived it as unreachable or unnecessarily high. Despite this complaint, most men and women had positive attitudes towards *lobolo*. Among survey respondents, 65 percent of men and 55 percent of women agreed that "*lobolo* makes men more responsible for their wives and children," while only 14 percent of men and 11 percent of women agreed that "*lobolo* gives men the right to do what they want with their wives."

Polygamy is another important cultural practice that influences and structures gender relations in Mozambique. According to DHS 2011, polygamy

is mostly, formally speaking, practiced in rural areas, but the DHS revealed that one in four married women in the city of Maputo *does not* know if her husband has another wife or not. This finding suggests the widespread practice of men having unofficial second wives or partners, a practice known as having a "*casa um, casa dois, casa tres...*" (a first, second, or third house). In the qualitative research for IMAGES, the term "polygamy," traditionally seen as an accepted form of a man having multiple wives, was also used when men had sexual affairs with younger girls and women.

Many respondents saw polygamy, when men have additional informal intimate partners, as common and normal. According to most female respondents in the qualitative research, men need a second woman and a "good" woman will have patience with this situation. A woman in a *Bairro Trevo* focus group discussion said "good" women follow men. She explained:

*"Women are the car behind the locomotive. If he pulls me to turn to one side, to go and visit a member of his family, I have to follow him. And if he is turning to the other side, you follow again. A woman of quality is following him."*

Another woman said:

*"A man will not rest in terms of his biological needs. I am a grown up woman, not selling cabbage anymore [a young woman's activity], so who am I to prevent my husband to 'tocar sua viola' [play his guitar, referring to having outside sexual partners]?"*

Opinions about other cultural practices in Mozambique were mixed. Approximately 30 percent of men reported participating in some traditional initiation rite (the question was not asked of women). These ceremonies mark the passage from childhood to adulthood and often include socially recognized rite of passage practices, including a period of time when young men are separated from their families, spending time in the "bush" to learn survival skills and participate in culturally sanctioned training to

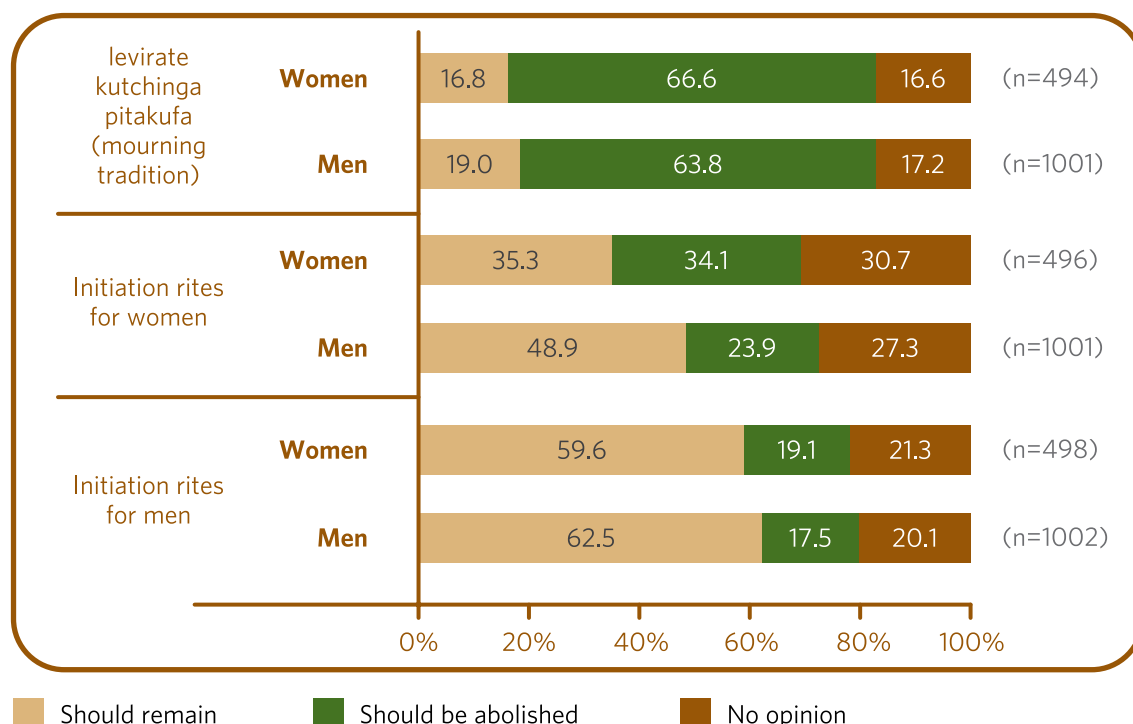
“become men.” Other ceremonies include the teaching of traditional gender and family norms, such as how to relate to a woman or a man. While these rituals are practiced more often in rural parts of Mozambique, the high percentage of respondents who are from other parts of the country might explain why many men reported having gone through them. Figure 2 presents data on opinions about traditional practices.

Survey respondents were also asked their opinions about the practice of *levirate* (*kutchinga* or *pitakufa* in different local languages), the mourning tradition in which if a husband dies, a male family member will take (or “inherit”) the deceased man’s wife as his own and maintain sexual relations with her. This practice serves to provide some degree of social protection of the widow and children, as they will be supported by

the husband’s family. Several women referred to this practice as a form of violence. Though the responses in the survey show that relatively low rates of men and women practiced this tradition, in the interviews some men referred to the importance of these practices in ensuring their family lineage.

Approximately 10 percent of women reported any form of vaginal treatment related to sexual pleasure. Studies in central and northern Mozambique show that women use intra-vaginal practices to increase sexual pleasure, mostly for the partner. These practices include stretching of the vaginal labia for aesthetic reasons and to enhance men’s sexual pleasure (Bagnol & Mariano, 2009).

**Figure 2: Men’s and women’s opinions about traditional practices**



## BOX 2

### “Husbands of the Night”: Spirits and Gender Relations in Mozambique

The culture of ancestors and “spiritual management” of the forces of good and evil is deeply ingrained in Mozambican culture. It plays a major role both in controlling negative behaviors as well as helping individuals make sense of good and bad, health and disease, and good luck or misfortune. Despite many efforts to abolish these practices by missionaries during colonial times and by FRELIMO since independence in the 1990s, the culture of belief in ancestor spirits and spiritual powers continues to serve as important recourses for many Mozambicans in regard to coping with problems, managing conflicts, and explaining bad luck, unfavorable life circumstances, and health problems. The qualitative research found that virtually all respondents believe in the existence of spirits and the need to control or manage them. Some respondents said that spirits do not exist but nonetheless viewed them as a form of social power that some people can use to have control over others.

Spirits were perceived as gendered. As a young man in a *Barro* T3 focus group discussion said:

*“Bad spirits will mostly affect women, because women are vulnerable and weak; they also are too ambitious [they want too much] and they suffer from jealousy.”*

Both men and women described bad spirits primarily as negative forces that provoke bad behavior, and they said that these spirits mostly reside in women. In an interview, a man explained how the bad spirits in his wife provoked his own bad behavior: *“My wife’s spirits guided me to the bar and forced me to beat her.”* The wife asked him for forgiveness because she had not controlled her bad spirits. Indeed, many respondents referred to or blamed bad spirits in the context of household conflicts. While men frequently justify their use of violence against women as provoked by their wives’ bad spirits, women sometimes show resistance to their husbands’ demands or violent behaviors by expressing their anger and disagreement through the appearance of spirits. Women’s anger or screaming is explained as “spirits that speak,” and men and women thus show certain levels of respect for these responses.

Spirits can be used as a justification to subjugate women, yet they can also offer women a minimal amount of autonomy and control in the face of inequitable household relations. For example, when a woman refuses sex regularly it could be explained that a “spiritual husband” may have possessed her. One of the men who was interviewed individually explained:

*"When the moment of having sex has come, the wife changes her behaviors because the spiritual husband does not want to see me with her. The only way to get control over this is through church."*

In several individual interviews, men referred to the existence of this spiritual husband as the "husband of the night."

The findings suggest that, on the one hand, belief in spirits serves to stigmatize women for possessing "bad powers" and in effect allows men to blame women for being the source of men's bad behavior. At the same time, spirits give women some autonomy in dealing with their husbands. Blaming spirits can allow women to express anger toward a husband who comes home drunk, for example. Men's fear of bad spirits residing in women also offers women a modest amount of power. Similarly, invoking spiritual forces allows women to assert power without men taking offense. For example, women in a focus group discussion in *Bairro Chamanculo "B"* said some women who are financial providers in their households are seen as having the magical or spirit-based power to "put men in the bottle," which refers to the ability to control a man with unseen forces and make him do anything she wants.

Men often respect these "spirits" in women. They frequently say the best way to control bad spirits is by not spending time in bars and by respecting the presence of the "spiritual husband," in effect respecting the wife's or partner's desire not to have sex or to be alone and apart from him from time to time. In this way, women gain some autonomy over sexual relations. To openly refuse sex with her husband would be unacceptable, but a man will accept that the "spiritual husband" may not want the man to have sex with his wife at that particular moment.

Most men and women view going to Christian churches as the best way to reduce the negative consequences of bad spirits or to "manage" bad spirits. The evangelical churches in particular focus considerably on controlling and "chasing away" bad spirits and on providing spiritual treatment for those said to be possessed by spirits.

These examples illustrate some of the nuances of ancestor and spirit belief in Mozambique. While repressing such beliefs has been the subject of modernization attempts – first by Christian churches and more recently in the social reforms of the ruling FRELIMO party – they continue to thrive. While they can be harmful and often reinforce gender inequalities, ancestor and spirit beliefs also offer a source of mental support and coping. They can provide women with some means of autonomy and control in their partner relations and promote reflection by men on how they treat their female partners.

### 3.3.2 Attitudes Toward Gender Equality: Contest or Cooperation?

Attitudes toward gender equality in Maputo and Matola show a mixture of ongoing justification and support for inequitable norms along with more equitable attitudes and practices. Many men, both young and old, as well as many women, continued to see the husband/father as the undisputed head of the family who is supposed to work outside the house and provide income and food, while his wife should care for children and the house. However, this was not the case for many respondents in reality. Some represented other arrangements due to changing opportunities and shifting societal norms, such as when both partners worked or when women worked and men were unemployed.

Shifts toward shared household management, particularly among some younger respondents, were observed in focus group discussions and interviews. However, in other households there were ongoing power struggles about who was the real head of the family.

Many men struggled with a sense of emasculation and a loss of self-esteem, especially when the wife was the main financial provider. Wives perceived as having too much authority over household decision-making were said to “talk too much.” As noted earlier, female financial providers for households (particularly when the woman earned more income than her husband) were sometimes accused of controlling men with the use of spirits. However, some younger men showed more equitable attitudes and said that both men and women should work and provide household income. For younger men and women, gender equality meant making an equal contribution to family income and being somewhat more equal in terms of household tasks. Even in these more equitable households, however, both men and women in focus groups at all sites agreed, “The man will still stay the man and natural leader.”

Data from the surveys echoed this apparent trend of gender attitudes in flux. Respondents were asked a series of questions related to gender attitudes across a variety of domains (e.g., gender roles, violence, sexuality, and reproductive health), adapted from the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) Scale, which has been validated and widely used in more than 20 countries. Table 6 shows the proportion of men and women who agreed or partially agreed with individual items on the scale.

The findings reveal a complex mix of equitable and inequitable views. A majority of men and women (54 percent and 59 percent, respectively) agreed that a woman’s most important role is to take care of her home and cook. Yet there seems to be little resistance to women working outside the home: only 13 percent of both men and women agreed that a woman working outside the home is neglecting her role as a wife and mother. Men and women with higher levels of education or who were formally employed had more equitable attitudes. Younger women (but not consistently younger men) also showed more equitable attitudes than older women.

The qualitative data provide further insights into what respondents consider to be gender equality. Rather than valuing equality per se, most respondents seek solidarity and collaboration while continuing to see men as having the final say in household decision-making. In other words, cooperation is generally valued over a contest of who is in charge. Numerous examples were given in which women were equal providers in the household. They would often be involved in street selling, cultivating their *machamba* (small vegetable garden), and carrying out the majority of the unpaid domestic work, but would still see their husbands as the main provider. The overall attitude that emerges is that husbands and wives should help each other but each should keep their traditional gender role.

**Table 6: Men's and women's gender attitudes (GEM Scale)**

(Percent agree or partially agree)

	Men		Women	
	n	%	n	%
<b>Household roles</b>				
A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook	543	54.1	296	59.1
Changing diapers, bathing, and feeding children are the mother's responsibility	281	28.0	200	40.2
A man should have the final word about decisions in his home	511	50.9	227	45.5
A woman who works outside the house is neglecting her role as a wife and mother	132	13.2	65	13.1
<b>Violence</b>				
A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together	127	12.8	92	18.7
There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten	402	40.1	64	12.9
<b>Sexuality and reproductive health</b>				
Men need sex more than women do	355	36.0	274	56.1
Men don't talk about sex, they just do it	281	28.4	236	48.4
Men are always ready to have sex	296	29.7	236	48.5
It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant	292	29.2	264	53.0
A man should be embarrassed if he is unable to get an erection	610	61.6	215	43.7

### 3.3.3 Attitudes Toward Men's Use of Violence Against Women

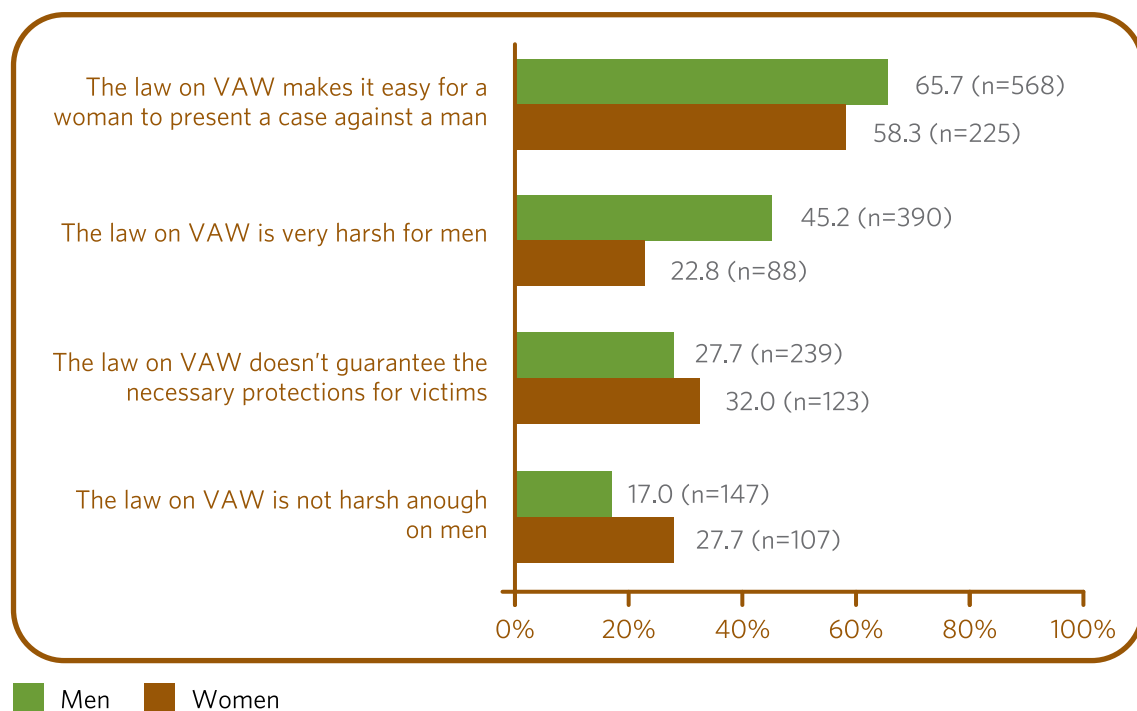
Like views on gender equality, attitudes about gender-based violence – specifically in this case referring to violence by men against women – are similarly complex. While relatively few men agreed that a woman should tolerate violence to keep her family together (13 percent), a much larger proportion agreed that there are times when a woman deserves to be beaten (40 percent). In the qualitative findings, many men and women did not consider men's use of violence against their wives to be violence in itself. Rather, they viewed it as "punishment" or "education." Moreover, because violence in partner conflict is perceived as controlled by bad spirits, men are not held responsible for their violent actions.

Ambivalence toward and acceptance of violence against women shows up as well in men's attitudes toward existing laws related to violence

against women in Mozambique. As seen in Figure 3, women generally support such laws while men perceive these laws to be stricter or harsher than women do, and as such oppose them.

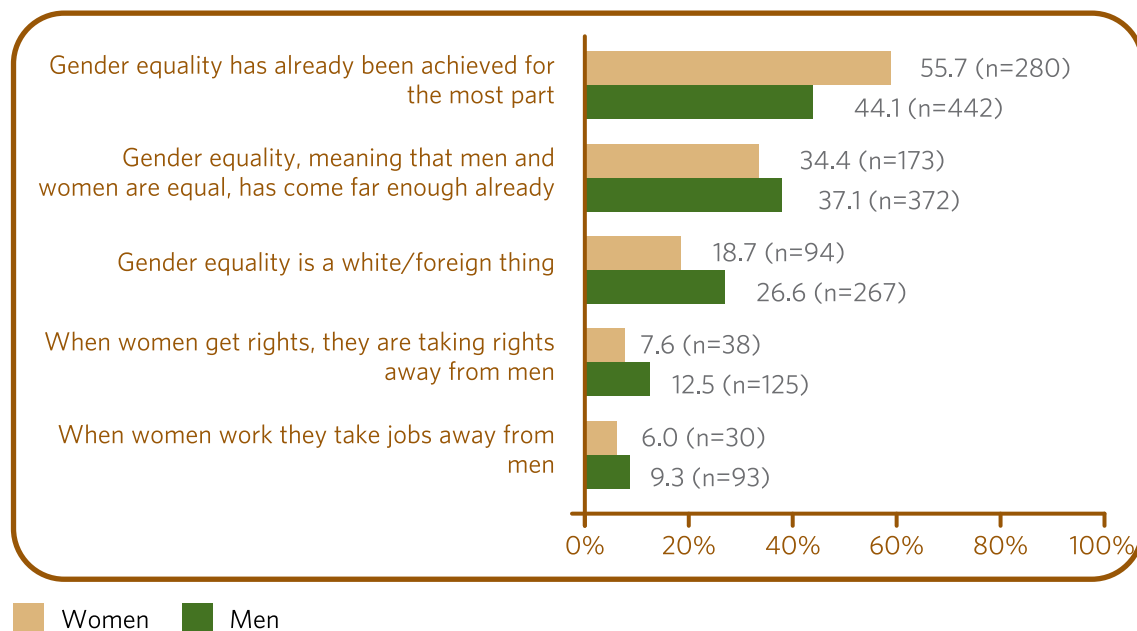
Respondents were also asked a series of questions about whether they view gender equality as a zero-sum issue in which women's gains are men's losses (Figure 4). While relatively few men and women felt that women's rights take rights away from men, more than a third – a substantial portion – said it has come far enough already. An even greater proportion (56 percent of women and 44 percent of men) said that gender equality has already been achieved. Again, these findings can be understood to suggest that men and women do not necessarily perceive gender equality as an urgent need; they have internalized or accepted as normal various forms of gender inequality; and/or they regard gender equality as being about solidarity and cooperation rather than objective equality.

**Figure 3: Men's and women's attitudes about violence against women (VAW) laws**  
(Percent completely agree)



**Figure 4: Attitudes about gender equality as zero-sum: Are women's gains men's losses?**

(Percent agree or partially agree)



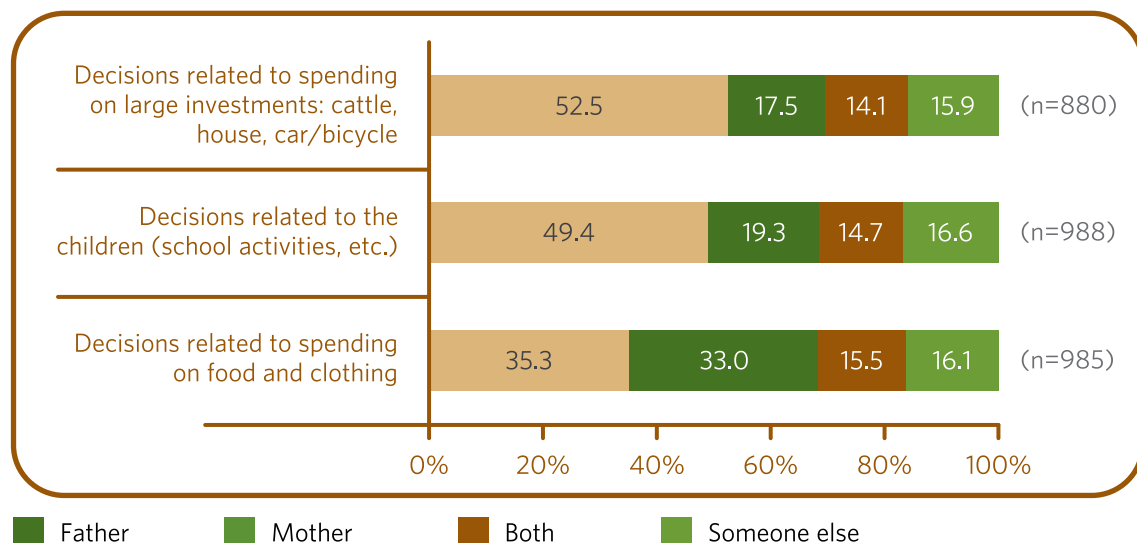
### 3.4 Gender Dynamics in the Home

#### 3.4.1 Gender Dynamics in the Childhood Home

Most men interviewed were raised in households with fairly traditional patterns of decision-making, norms they often carried with them to their adult households. As shown in Figure 5, most men reported that their fathers were the pri-

mary decision makers in the family with regard to spending on large investments, decisions related to children, and even spending on food and clothing (though only slightly higher than mothers). Only about 15 percent reported that their parents made these decisions together. Regarding men's involvement in domestic life, 57 percent of men reported that their father participated in one or more domestic duties.

**Figure 5: Reports by men on who made decisions in their childhood home**



Note: n represents all valid responses. Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

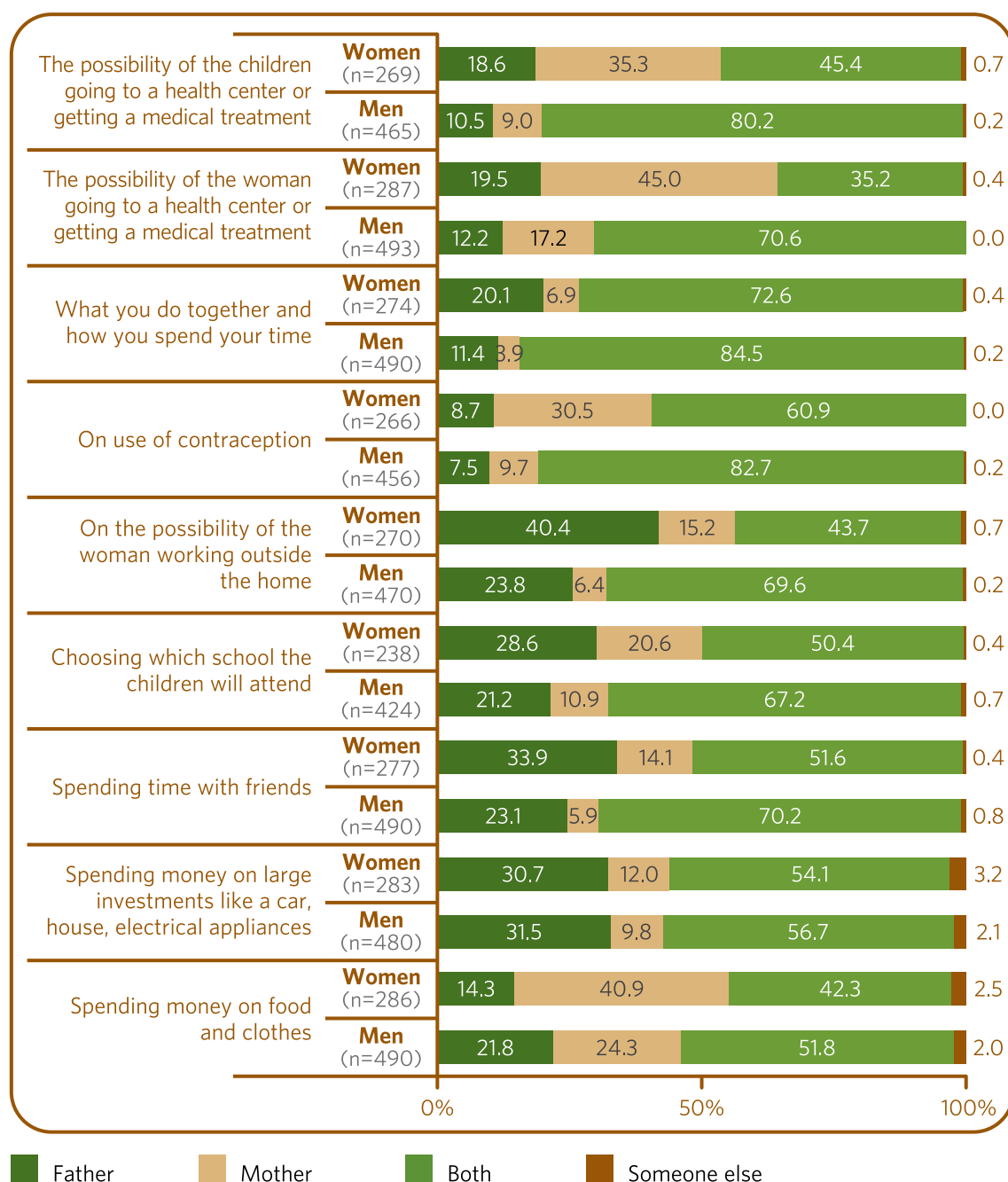
### 3.4.2 Gender Dynamics in the Current Home

Approximately half of the respondents (48 percent of men and 56 percent of women) reported that they were married or cohabitating and described relationships that could be characterized as “unequal” in terms of resources. About 70 percent of men earned more than their female partner and nearly 60 percent had more

education. In 60 percent of couples, men were at least 5 years older than their partner.

Figure 6 presents reports from both men and women on decision-making in the household across a variety of areas, e.g. when to seek healthcare for women and for children, how to spend time, and how to spend money on large and small items. On nearly all topics, the highest

**Figure 6: Reports on who makes decisions in the current household**



Note: n represents all valid responses. Percentages may not total 100 due to rounding.

proportion of respondents said that decisions were made by both partners. Men were more likely than women to report joint decision-making. Women were more likely than men to say that they (women) were the ones making the decisions. On the other hand, a significant proportion of women said men made decisions about important aspects of women's lives: 20 percent of women reported that their partner made the decision about when and whether women received health services (12 percent of men also said they as men made this decision), and 40 percent of women said their partner made the decision about whether they could work outside the home.

Fifteen percent of women compared to 42 percent of men reported that the man participated equally or more often in one or more domestic tasks. Similarly, 48 percent of men said they participated in the daily care of their children, though only 8 percent of women reported that this was the case. Nevertheless, nearly all men (93 percent) and women (87 percent) reported that they were satisfied with the division of domestic duties, suggesting that women and men have largely internalized this inequitable division and simply do not expect that men will do more. Men with more equitable attitudes (according to the GEM Scale) were more likely to participate equally in domestic tasks and in the daily care of children.

Some sharing of household duties such as cooking and cleaning was accepted, with men doing at least part of these tasks. The qualitative responses suggested, however, that it was still fairly rare for men to carry out such tasks, and they only did so under special circumstances. Older men said they can only do "women's work" when their wife is ill. Younger men supported shared household work when both partners are working outside the house. Men tended to do more "educational" and caregiving activities such as playing with children and helping with schoolwork, while women did the majority of the domestic work and hands-on caregiving.

Additionally, both men and women said that women should never demand that men carry out such tasks; he should do them of his own volition. Several older and younger men affirmed that they have no problem "helping their wives" but see it as an act of generosity (and humility) on their part, not as a matter of equal obligations. Again, this suggests that men and women more often view gender equality as a question of solidarity; the voluntary sharing of burdens takes place within traditional power positions and traditional gender roles.

### 3.5 Men's Participation in Caregiving, Childbirth, and as Fathers

As shown in the survey data in Figure 7, women consistently reported that men were less involved in the care of children than men said they were, though they generally agreed on the types of involvement by men in their children's lives: primarily, the provision of money or resources, and playing with the child. In the qualitative research, younger men and women also highlighted the importance of the father in playing with children, giving love, and raising children in an open and nonviolent way. A young man in a focus group discussion in *Bairro T3* noted a generational difference:

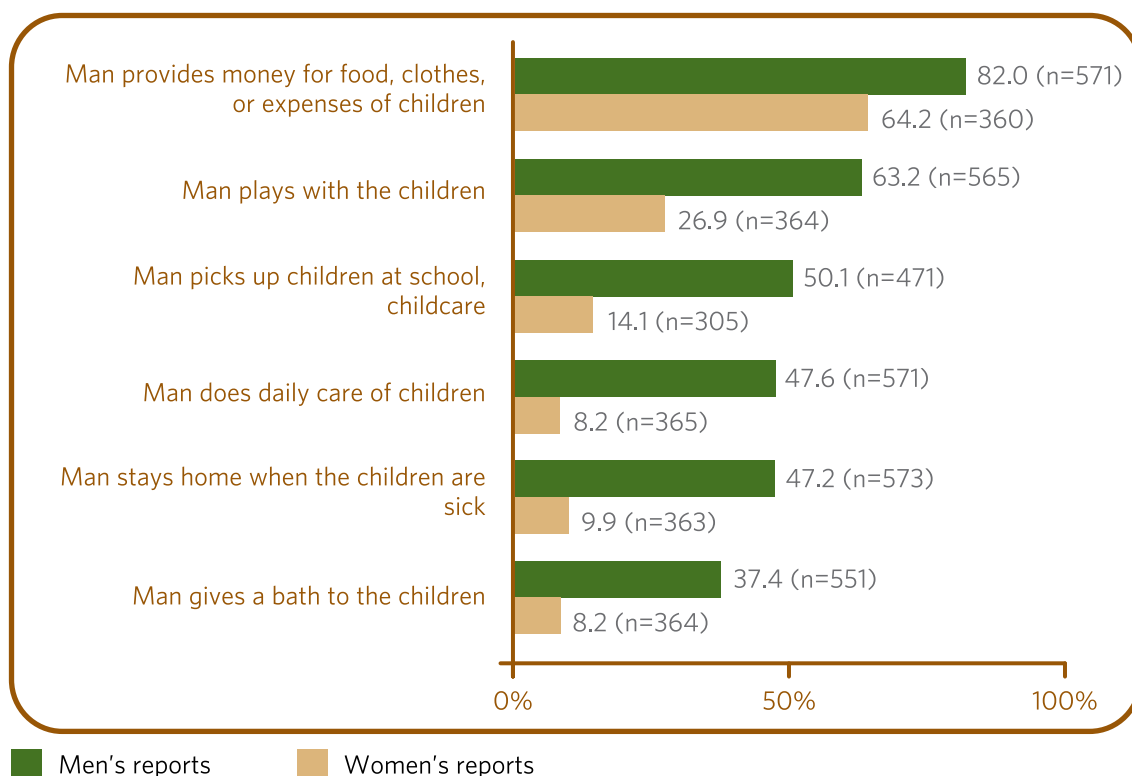
*"Our generation changed: we are more friends of our children and wives, our women are not treated anymore as slaves, doing all the household tasks alone, as it was in the old times. The man can also help on the weekend to cook and to clean the house. He has to be present as a father."*

Such findings suggest a trend toward changing perceptions among the younger generation in terms of the father's more hands-on role in caregiving and household work.

Older women underlined the importance of hierarchical and gendered relations in the

**Figure 7: Men's and women's reports on men's participation in caregiving**

(Percent reporting that the man always or usually did this task, or that it was done together)



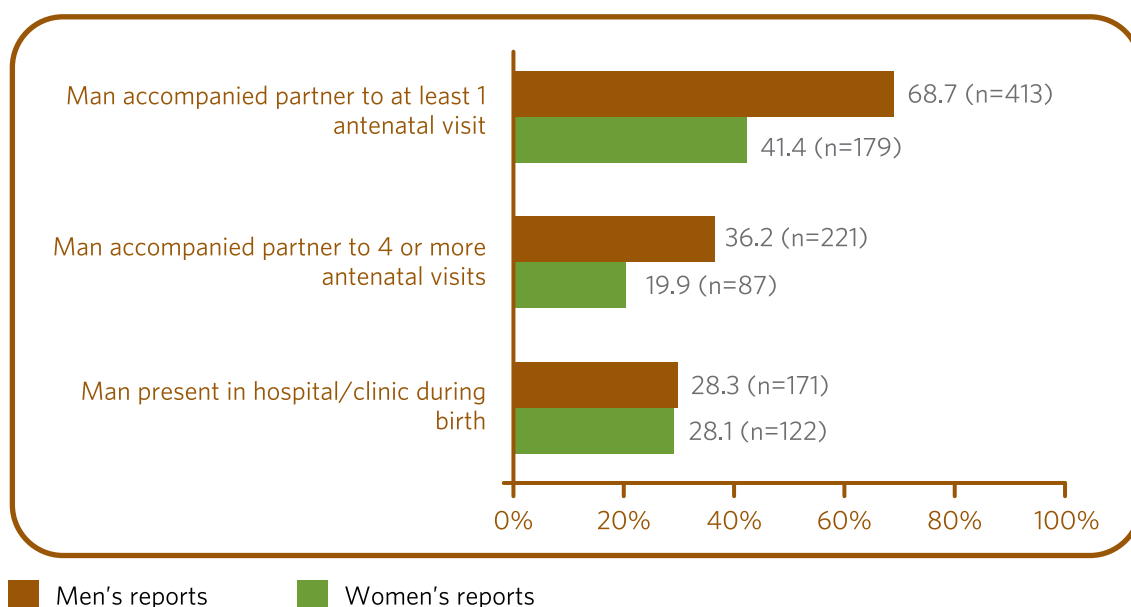
education of children, saying fathers should be responsible, provide income, solve problems, set limits, and serve as role models to inculcate respect in children. Many respondents, both younger and older, said fathers who are absent and do not take this traditional and authoritative role in their children's education are perceived as creating conflicts: *"Children don't listen anymore, they have no respect for parents, they are leaving school and live as they want,"* said women in a *Bairro Chamanculo "B"* focus group.

In Maputo city, most births occur in clinics (91.8 percent) while only 5.5 percent occur at home (INE 2011). Men reported higher rates of participation in antenatal visits than women reported of men, as shown in Figure 8. More than two-thirds of men who had children reported that they accompanied their partner to at least one prenatal visit, and more than one-third reported they attended four or more visits. In contrast, women's reports were substantially lower: 41

percent and 20 percent, respectively. Men and women both reported that work was the primary reason why men did not attend more prenatal visits. Approximately 28 percent of both men and women reported that the man was present at the hospital or clinic during the birth of the child (though only 2 percent were actually in the delivery room). While men have been officially allowed to be present in the delivery room in recent years in Mozambique, in practice it is still widely regarded as taboo. Health professionals may resist, and many women do not want to have their partner present during labor.

Finally, only about one-third of all men were aware of Mozambique's paternity leave policy (which is one day, according to ILO 2014), but three-quarters thought it should be guaranteed by law. Only about 16 percent of men took leave when their child was born (13.2 percent were paid, 2.6 percent were not), mostly because their work did not allow for it.

**Figure 8: Reports on men's participation in antenatal visits**



### 3.6 Sexuality and Sexual and Reproductive Health

As with gender norms and household decision-making, men and women in Maputo show a mix of equitable attitudes and practices related to sexuality, along with traditional and repressive views. Among women who use a modern method of contraception, however, most are unmarried and live in urban areas (INE, 2011). This suggests that traditional cultural norms, religious taboos, and gender norms that discourage the use of contraception still dominate practices between married couples.

The IMAGES results suggest that sexual activity is an important characteristic associated with manhood: between 40 and 50 percent of men stated that “men need more sex than women do,” and a high proportion said men “men are always ready for sex” and “don’t talk about sex, just do it.” Regarding contraception, 53 percent of women said that they (women) are responsible for it, though only one-third of men said contraception is solely a woman’s responsibility.

Survey results showed a combination of concern and risk regarding sexual health. Men reported

high rates of HIV testing: 68 percent of men had ever been tested for HIV and 49 percent of those said they had been tested in the past year. This finding suggests a level of concern and may reflect the effectiveness of government and civil society HIV prevention efforts. In contrast, sexually transmitted infections (STIs) were an indicator of sexual health risk: 29 percent of men had ever had symptoms of an STI or were told by a health provider or a traditional healer that they had an STI.

IMAGES focuses mostly on the relationships between men and women; when culturally possible, questions are asked about sexual diversity, both in terms of sexual and relationship experiences and of attitudes by heterosexual individuals toward individuals who identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, transgender, or intersex (LGBTI). In Mozambique, as discussed with partner organizations and as demonstrated in the qualitative research, homosexuality is widely seen as abnormal and unacceptable. Both men and women, younger and older, showed little acceptance of same-sex relationships and homosexual individuals, though some young women showed more flexible attitudes. Much of the qualitative discussions focused on whether

homosexual men were really women or felt like women, and whether homosexual women were really men or felt like men. In other qualitative interviews, participants mentioned that sometimes a young man might have sex with another man for money but that this was not a question of him being homosexual.

Survey findings also confirmed discrimination toward individuals attracted to the same-sex: 48 percent of men agreed completely or partially with the statement: "I would never have a gay friend." At the same time, 54 percent of men thought there should be laws protecting homosexuals from discrimination.

## BOX 3

### Keeping the Husband at Home: Sexual Relations

#### Communication and dialogue

Both men and women in qualitative interviews said that good sexual relations are important for a couple. They also highlighted the need for good communication, respect, and dialogue. Some men regarded the bedroom as the place where men and women meet, have sex, and discuss problems and misunderstandings that otherwise could create conflicts. They said sexual relations could become problematic when there was no communication and dialogue. Many younger men indicated, however, that sex cannot solve other relationship problems; rather, respect and communication begin outside the bedroom. Most women in the qualitative research similarly said that sex could not bring peace to the relationship if there was no respect between partners outside the bedroom.

#### Cooking and good sex to keep the husband at home

Women underlined the importance of their "good" behaviors in relation to men: to clean, cook, prepare his bath at the end of the day, and have sex when he wants. *"If you do not know how to cook well, your husband will not like you,"* said a woman in the Chamanculo "B" focus group discussion. Women regarded these household activities as expressions of love for their husband, and most women agreed that if they (the women) do not show this love, there was a risk that their husbands would seek another wife or partner. At focus group discussions in Chamanculo "B," the women described coping strategies they used to keep their husbands at home. The women started clapping and laughing when one woman said:

*"If husband and wife are not having a good relation and there is no sexual satisfaction, you will have many problems. But if you are able to resolve this [and give him sexual satisfaction] then you will also be happy outside the bedroom. This is how God has created things."*

Another woman agreed, saying:

*"Yes, this is very important. You have to help him, so that he will not flee. Because otherwise he will find another (woman) who knows how to do it, and then he will let you fall."*

### **Changing norms among youth**

Older men and women were concerned about the sexual behavior of young men in Maputo. They criticized the lack of traditional "moral" education and the changing norms of the younger generation, which they ascribe to poverty and unemployment as well as to the "bad" influence of TV and modernization. The lack of traditional education through initiation ceremonies was also said to be causing problems, according to older respondents. Through these ceremonies, young men and women learned how to respect their fathers, and learned about traditional gender norms around how men and women are supposed to live together. An older man in the *Bairro Trevo* focus group discussion asked:

*"They [young men] can have more than one girl at the same time. They make one pregnant and he continues his affairs with others: what is he going to do with all those namoradas [girlfriends]?"*

Older men discussed the differences in norms between themselves and younger men, and the shifting expectations. In the past, women were said to know how to be the moral authority to keep their husbands from "straying." One member of the ex-combatants focus group said:

*"When a man was 'playing outside his marriage,' a wife would set limits. We had women who knew how to stop the husband from doing this, but nowadays, women respond differently. Women also are leaving the house and having affairs with other men."*

Older women said that younger men are now seeking relationships with women who are older, because these women have houses and money. Some women said that young men started relationships with older women not because they loved them but because they wanted to become the managers of the women's resources. In the Chamanculo "B" focus group, a woman shared her story:

*"My children married and left the house, then I was seduced by a young man who considered himself as the Papa [big man] of the house. He does not love me, because he goes out with other young people. He does not yet know that I can no longer stand 'to satisfy his body' [have sex with him]. He is a 'false Papa.' He waits until I die and he thinks that my family knows I was with him and then he will own all my properties."*

These changing sexual dynamics suggest that the declining economic power of men relative to women, and high rates of unemployment and poverty, are leading some young men to seek women because of their money and assets, a practice that has more historically and traditionally been associated with young women.

### 3.7 Linkages Between War, Public Violence, and Private Violence

This section presents findings related to multiple forms of exposure to or victimization from violence in the home, violence outside the home, and violence related to armed conflict. Questions about experiences of urban violence and war-related violence were the same for men and women. Only men were asked questions about exposure to violence as children and use of violence against intimate partners, because the focus of the research is on links between constructions of violent and nonviolent masculinities and urban violence. Women were asked if they had experienced violence in partner relations, though it should be noted that women also commit violence toward men in partner relations, but in lower levels and different types (and with different power implications) than men's violence against women

(INE, 2011).

#### 3.7.1 Violence and Trauma in Armed Conflict

Large proportions of the survey sample experienced or witnessed violence during the long years of conflict in Mozambique, or experienced other forms of trauma from the wars. Among both men and women, nearly one in five reported having seen someone killed, having lived in a refugee or internally displaced person (IDP) camp, and having seen someone tortured during the war. Nearly one in three was forced to abandon their family home. Among men, 14 percent reported having participated in the war as a combatant, and 12 percent of men reported being forced to participate as combatants, suggesting that nearly all men who participated were forced. Among women, approximately 1 percent participated as combatants. Overall,

**Table 7: Exposure to traumatic events in war for independence (1964-1974) and civil war (1977-1992)**

	Men		Women	
	n	%	n	%
Had to drop out of school because of the wars	142	20.1	55	14.8
Had one or more children taken away during the wars	22	3.1	8	2.2
Was displaced or made a refugee during one of the wars	119	16.9	83	22.3
Was forced to leave home during one of the wars	194	27.5	101	27.2
Was wounded during one of the wars	48	6.8	12	3.2
Was disabled due to the wars	26	3.7	4	1.1
Lost land or property during the wars	105	14.9	50	13.4
Lost work because of the wars	33	4.7	7	1.9
Lost spouse in the wars	16	2.3	5	1.4
*Was captured during the wars	42	6.0	35	9.4
*Witnessed someone being tortured during the wars	131	18.6	59	15.9
*Was tortured during the wars	55	7.8	28	7.5
*Saw people being killed during the wars	147	20.9	62	16.7
*Was forced to kill someone during the wars	26	3.7	4	1.1
*Was forced to see someone raped during the wars	17	2.4	12	3.2
*Was forced to rape a woman during the wars	8	1.1	NA	NA
*Was forced to have sex or raped by a man during the wars	8	1.1	5	1.3

\*Indicates experiences of severe war-related sexual and/or physical violence.

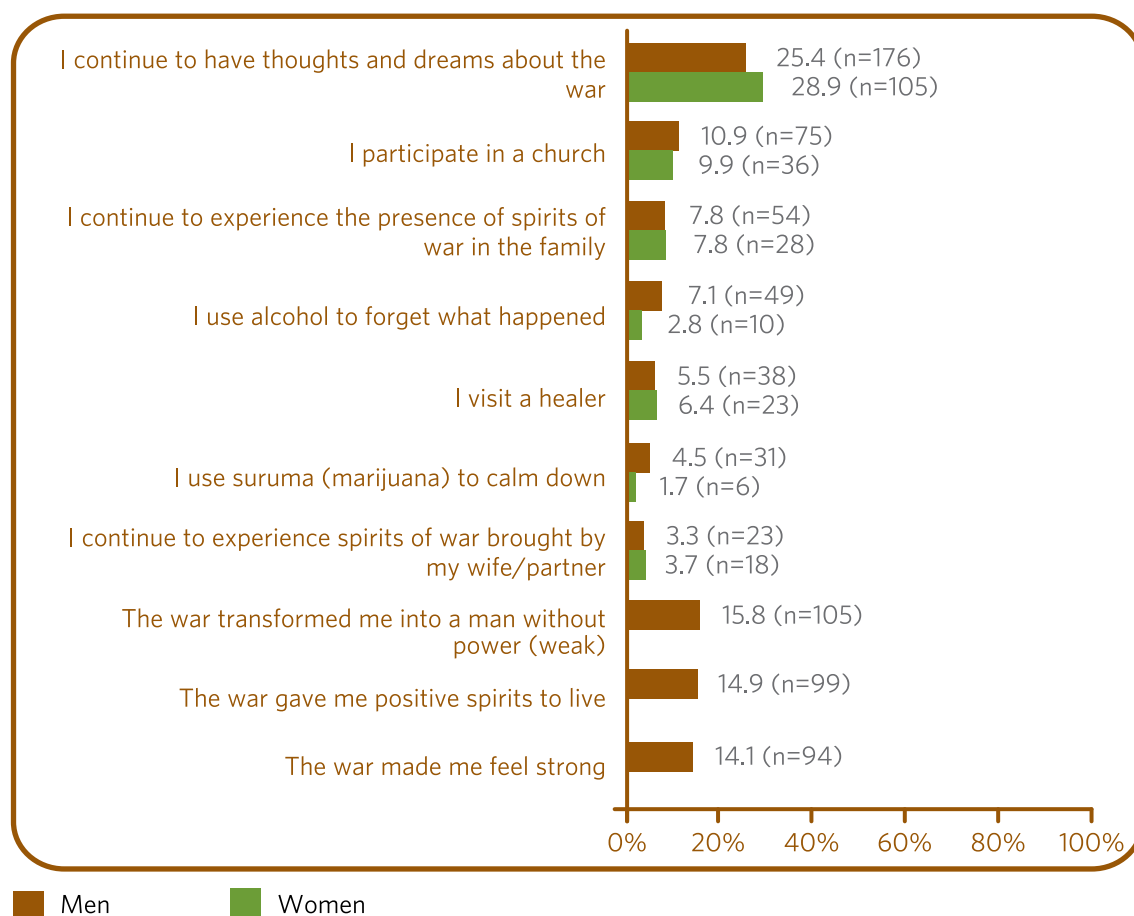
approximately one-quarter of men and women (26 percent of men, 24 percent of women) experienced a form of extreme physical or sexual violence during the war (indicated in Table 7 by an asterisk).

While recognizing that assessing the impact of trauma is complex, the study included questions about consequences of war-related experiences in their current life. Twenty-five percent of men and 29 percent of women still had thoughts and dreams about the war, as shown in Figure 9. The presence of spirits caused by the war was reported by 8 percent of men and women; 3 percent of men and women report that a “war spirit” possesses the woman herself or that the woman brought the spirit into the house or relationship. As explained earlier in the report, the belief in spirits is common in Mozambique; these spirits are said to be the source of severe mental or psychosocial problems at the individual level

and to affect families and communities. Figure 9 also shows the ways men and women cope with problems caused by “war spirits”: approximately 6 percent sought treatment with a traditional healer (*curandeiro*) and around 10 percent participated in religious activities to deal with these traumas. Evangelical churches often offer “treatment” for evil spirits by chasing them away or exorcizing. In addition, about 7 percent of men reported using alcohol to forget their experiences, and about 5 percent said they use marijuana to forget about the war.

Approximately 16 percent of men reported that the war made them feel powerless; however, a similar proportion said war gave them the strength to continue living. As seen in other conflict-affected countries where IMAGES has been carried out, surviving conflict and escaping death can generate complicated combinations of strength, resolve, and happiness as well as

**Figure 9: Psychological consequences of war\***



\*The first seven statements refer to the percent reporting that they sometimes or often had these experiences. The last three statements refer to the percent reporting they completely or partially agree.

weakness and a sense of loss.

Bivariate analysis shows that men who had one or more experiences of severe war-related violence were more likely to respond in certain ways than men who lived through the war but did not experience severe violence. Men affected by experiences of severe violence during war were more likely to use alcohol to forget than other men were (19.7 percent compared to 2.6 percent), and they were more likely to say the war made them feel powerless (25.7 percent compared to 12.1 percent). Overall, men were also more likely to say that the war gave them strength to live compared to women (27.6 percent versus 9.6 percent).

Men exposed to severe experiences of violence in the war – like sexual violence, physical violence, or the witnessing of such acts – had less equi-

table gender attitudes (assessed by the GEM Scale), and were slightly but significantly more likely to use physical violence against an intimate partner (39.6 percent versus 29.7 percent). These men are also of the older generation, however, which could explain their less gender-equitable attitudes. Several other associations were *not* significant: men who were affected by conflict or war were not more likely to use sexual violence, nor to participate in urban violence in the last year, nor to be part of a gang.<sup>5</sup>

### 3.7.2 Violence in Childhood

Men reported high levels of exposure to and experiences of violence at home, at school, and in their neighborhood, as shown in Table 8.

**Table 8: Men's experiences of violence in childhood**

	n	%
<b>Violence in the childhood home</b>		
Witnessed father beat mother	267	30.1
Witnessed siblings being beaten at home	509	53.1
Experienced physical violence at home	461	46.3
Experienced psychological violence at home	607	59.7
Experienced sexual violence at home	121	12.2
<b>Violence in school</b>		
At school there were situations of threat, intimidation, or harassment	475	48.9
I was the target of intimidation or harassment at school	337	34.8
I intimidated or harassed others at school	191	19.8
I experienced physical violence at school by a teacher	554	57.2
My friends from school and I fought with rival groups in school	343	35.4
<b>Violence in the neighborhood</b>		
In my neighborhood there were situations of threat, intimidation, or harassment	417	42.2
I was the target of intimidation or harassment	300	30.2
I intimidated or harassed others	158	15.9

<sup>5</sup> All differences and associations, when confirmed, are significant at the  $p < .05$  value.

More than half of the men said they witnessed their siblings being beaten, and 30 percent said they witnessed violence between their parents. Nearly half reported situations of threat, intimidation, or harassment in their schools, and 42 percent reported these in their neighborhood. Physical violence, whether at home or at school, was commonplace, as was psychological violence. Men frequently reported experiencing violence in more than one setting: 30 percent reported situations of intimidation both at school and in their neighborhood. Among those who grew up in settings with high rates of community violence, 71 percent said the school was violent as well.

Experiences of harassment and the perpetration of harassment overlapped. Among those who reported intimidating or harassing others at school, 84 percent also reported being a target. Among those who reported intimidating or harassing others in their neighborhoods, 78 percent also reported being a target. Men who reported experiencing physical or psychological violence at home as children, who witnessed their mother being beaten, or who experienced physical violence from a teacher had less equitable attitudes, as measured by the GEM Scale, compared to children who did not – indicating a likely consequence of childhood violence.

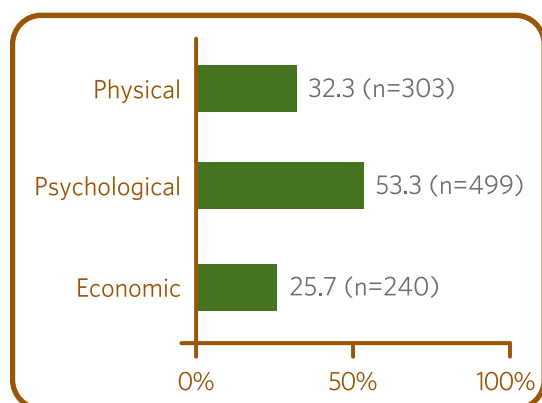
Some respondents blamed their mothers for

the violence at home, saying their mothers were not respecting the husbands (fathers). Men also said that when they were children they became involved in conflicts between their parents (for example, when their mother or father drew them into the parental conflict). Survey results show that experiences of violence at an early age were associated with later violence, including adult men's use of violence against female partners. Also, men exposed to violence at home and in the community were more likely to be involved in urban violence later in life.

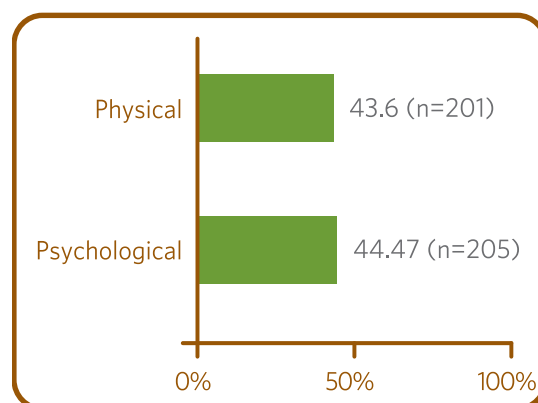
### 3.7.3 Intimate Partner Violence

Both men and women reported high levels of men's use of violence against female partners, as shown in Figure 10 and Figure 11. More than half of the men reported ever using psychological violence against a female partner, a third reported ever using physical violence against a female partner, and a quarter reported ever using economic violence. Nearly half of women in the study said they experienced physical or psychological violence by a male partner: 44 percent of women reported having ever experienced physical violence from a male partner, while 45 percent reported experiencing psychological violence. The study used slightly different items to measure violence for men and women, so the rates are not strictly comparable.

**Figure 10: Men's perpetration of intimate partner violence, by type**



**Figure 11: Women's experiences of intimate partner violence, by type**



## BOX 4

### The Dynamics of Couple Violence

Both women and men considered intimate partner violence (IPV) to be a **problem** and reported **negative** consequences. In focus groups, men said IPV stems from a lack of communication and dialogue between the partners. Other men explained the problem of intimate partner violence as a lack of leadership by men in the house: *“Those violent men do not know how to be ‘a head of the family’ and how to appreciate a woman,”* said a man in a men’s focus group in *Bairro Trevo*. The dominant position of the husband as head of the family, who sits “on his throne” (as women described in a *Bairro Trevo* focus group), was seen as a key cause of conflict and men’s use of violence. For women, traditional practices such as *levirate* (when the widow has sexual relations with the dead husband’s relatives) were also considered to be a form of violence.

Women said that such violence is complicated by the fact that **most women depend on their husbands** for financial and social survival. If a husband rejects a wife, she will have no social protection from her family-in-law. Though laws on domestic violence exist, many women said they were reluctant to seek legal recourse because of this fear of financial and social rejection. In addition, many women said they know that their husbands have sex with other women, without using condoms, and that they run the risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections, including HIV, from their husbands. They said they cannot ask their husbands to use condoms; some women described this risk of infection with HIV as a form of violence against them.

Men and women both regarded men’s **other sexual partners** (also referred to as polygamy by some respondents) as a form of violence and a cause of many intimate partner conflicts. As described earlier, many men and women think that men have other girls or women as sexual partners, and jealousy and suspiciousness is a major source of conflicts.

Both men and women used various **strategies to attempt to control** their partner. Men more frequently resorted to physical violence, while women were more likely to use emotional or psychological violence or coercion. In focus groups, many women discussed the best tactics for dealing with the problem of jealousy. Most older women said the best approach was to keep silent (even when they suspected their husband had another partner); in contrast, younger women said they should always discuss this issue: *“If not, he will feel that his wife is not setting limits for him. If you ask, he may think twice before he betrays you,”* explained a young woman in a *Bairro Polana Caniço* focus group.

Young men said that **women provoke violence** and are responsible for pushing a man to the point where he will react violently. Additionally, they argue that women may not use physical violence; rather, they may use other forms of abuse, such as seducing a man and then rejecting him.

Most women said that **disagreements about money** and salaries were a frequent source of conflict between partners. In particular, older women explained that husbands do not want to show nor share their salaries, saying that men only allocate a small amount of their salary for uses related to the home. Many women said that this amount is often not enough, sometimes not even sufficient to pay the school fees of the children, and women suspect that men keep money for themselves to spend in bars and on other women.

On the other hand, men said they were **justified in not sharing** the whole salary with their wife, and in giving them an amount barely sufficient to run the household. Men said having their own salaries in effect gives them their “power” as men. At the same time, some men saw the negative effects of this economic power: by only focusing on income and relegating child care to women, they perceived that children showed more respect for the mother. Young men defended the practice of keeping the salary for themselves, but said it should be well spent – not on “girls in the street and bars,” as stated in a focus group in *Bairro Trevo*.

Most men interviewed agreed that the **man’s principal role is to provide income** for the family. They said that men are obliged to provide for the wife, even when they (the husbands) are unemployed. They also highlighted the need to share some of their money with *namoradas* (girlfriends). A man in the *Bairro Trevo* focus group said:

*“I give most of my money to mama [his wife], because she has many expenses and as manager of the house, she knows what is needed. But I also give money to my girlfriend – around 100-200 meticaís a week – to buy soap, to do her hair to look nice.”*

Young men highlighted these dynamics. They said that they are obligated to give money to their wives, but that girlfriends should not ask for money; they just get some when there is money left over.

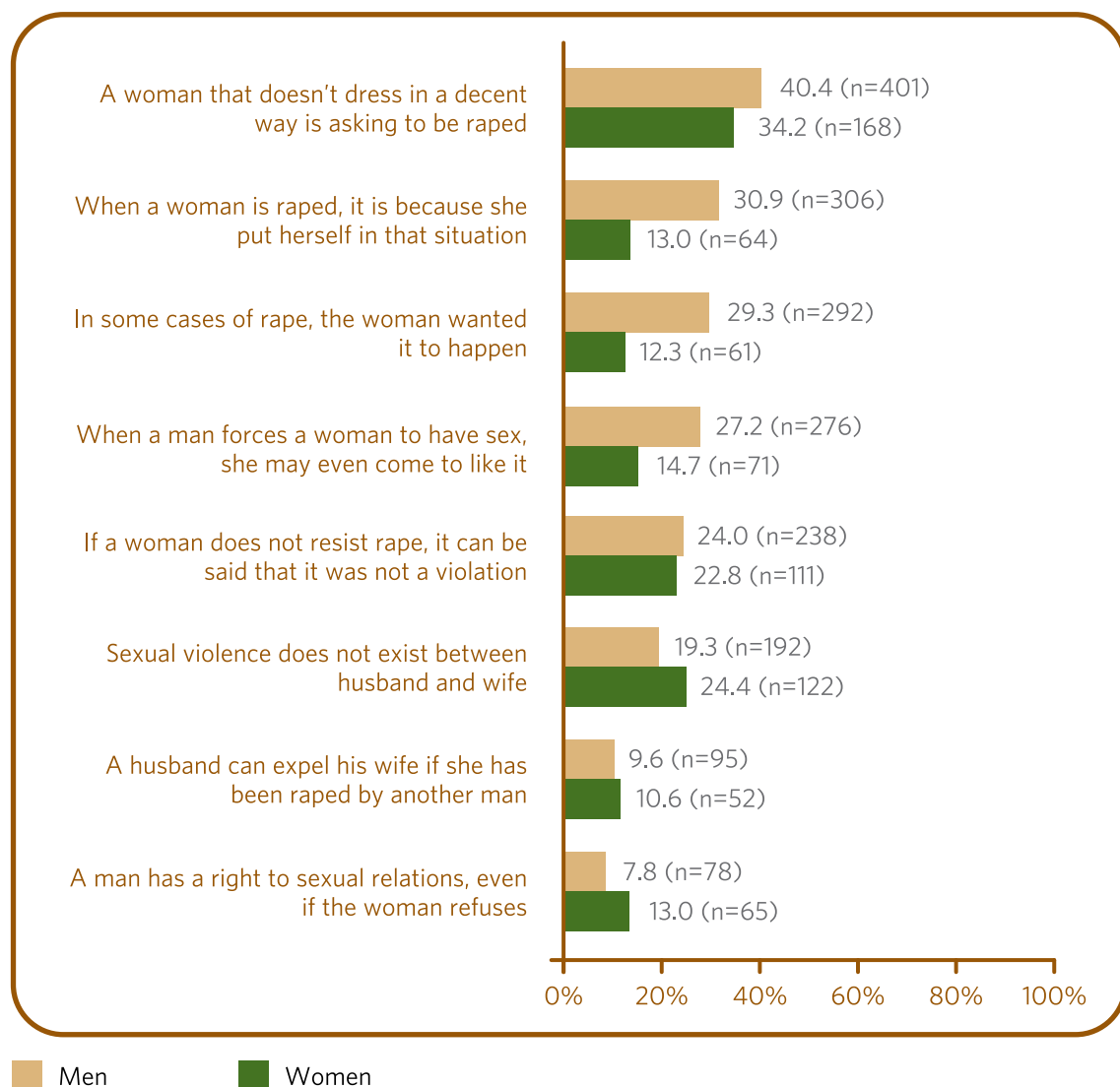
Finally, in looking at the dynamics of IPV, again, **spirits are said to play a role in provoking couple violence**. The spirits can come from deceased family members, but other people can also send bad spirits to the house, causing various forms of “bad luck” – including IPV. One woman in Chamanculo “A” explained how a member of her church brought strange objects into her house that had seriously affected her family, as four family members had become “mad.” The man who “brought” these spirits later admitted to it, and he asked the family to give him two cow heads (a delicacy in Mozambique) for him to remove the spirits. The family did so, but the problems were still not resolved so the man who brought the bad luck asked for wine – and later, money – all so that he would remove the spirits.

### 3.7.4 Sexual Violence

Twelve percent of men reported ever forcing a woman or girl to have sex when she didn't want to, or said they had sex with a woman when she was too drunk to consent. Figure 12 presents men's and women's attitudes related to sexual violence. Substantial proportions of both men and women agreed with rape myths, which hold victims responsible for rape: 40 percent of men and 34 percent of women agreed that a woman who did not dress decently was asking to be raped. Additionally, 31 percent of men and 13 percent of women said when a woman was raped she did something to put herself in that situation, or she wanted it to happen.

Generally, men were more likely than women to agree with statements that supported violence. However, women were somewhat more likely to accept sexual violence within marriage: 24 percent of women agreed that sexual violence does not exist between a husband and a wife, compared to 19 percent of men. These violence-supportive attitudes prevail despite of high levels of awareness of laws related to violence: 86 percent of men and 77 percent of women were aware of the law against violence against women, and 83 percent of men and 79 percent of women agreed that a man who forces his wife to have sex is committing a crime.

**Figure 12: Men's and women's attitudes about sexual violence**  
(Percent agree or partially agree)



### 3.7.5 Urban or Public Violence

Respondents were asked about violence they had witnessed, experienced, or carried out in public spaces, either as adults or children. The data, presented in Table 9, show that exposure to acts of violence in the public sphere is high, both before the age of 18 and in the past year. In the past year, more than half of men and women witnessed someone being physically assaulted in the street, and more than 40 percent witnessed attacks by the police. About 17 percent of men

and 8 percent of women were themselves physically assaulted. Women generally reported lower rates of exposure to urban violence, possibly because they are less likely to be in public spaces. In addition, 4 percent of men reported participating in a gang. Almost no men or women reported owning a firearm. In total, 80 percent of men reported witnessing some form of urban/public violence, as did 75 percent of women. About 45 percent of men and 29 percent of women reported having experienced urban/public violence before the age of 18 years old.

**Table 9: Exposure to urban violence**

	Before the age of 18 (Percent reporting a few or many times)				In the last year (Percent reporting yes)			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
Witnessed	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Saw someone assaulted or robbed with a firearm	198	20.0	73	15.0	152	15.5	51	10.2
Saw someone treated violently by police	502	51.3	150	30.5	389	42.2	123	24.7
Saw someone beaten or assaulted in the street	656	66.7	274	56.0	517	56.5	250	50.9
Heard or saw gunshots	497	50.6	277	57.2	387	41.7	233	47.3
Saw someone threatened with being killed	390	39.5	116	23.8	285	29.8	106	21.3
Saw someone shot in the streets	160	16.4	45	9.2	91	9.5	35	7.0
<i>Witnessed at least one of the above</i>	751	80.0	355	74.9	636	75.4	333	70.7

**Table 9: Continued**

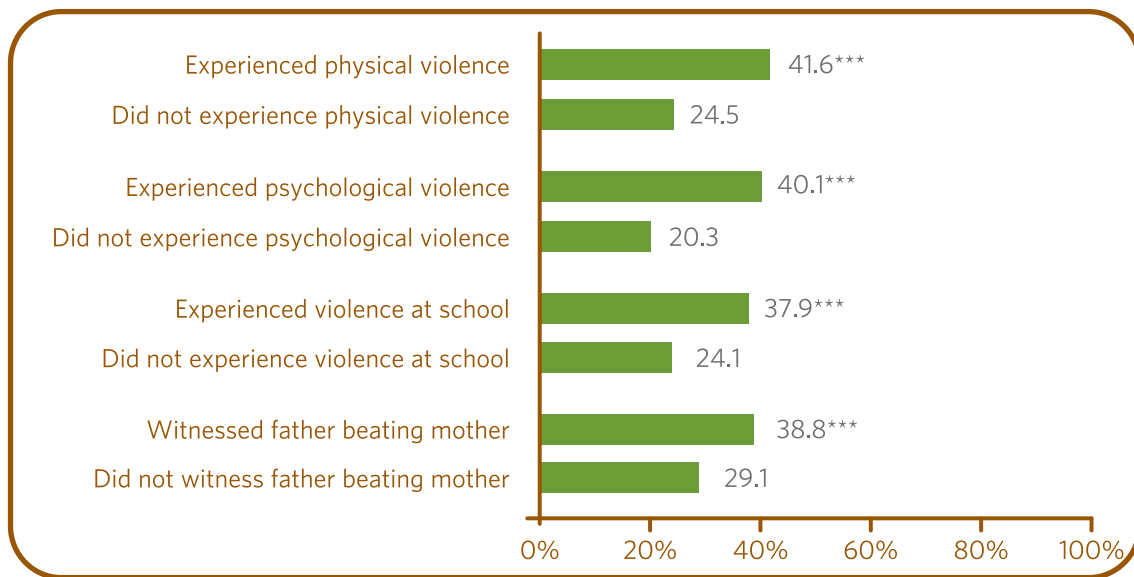
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
<b>Experienced</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
Was attacked by someone with a gun	62	6.3	40	8.2	55	5.6	24	4.8
Was treated violently by police	208	21.0	41	8.4	127	13.2	37	7.4
Was assaulted or beaten in the street	234	23.7	58	12.0	168	17.4	40	8.0
Home or workplace was hit by gunshots	52	5.3	21	4.3	49	5.0	19	3.8
Was threatened with death	147	14.9	48	9.8	118	12.1	43	8.6
Was hit by gunshot	15	1.5	7	1.4	16	1.6	7	1.4
<i>Experienced at least one of the above</i>	<i>425</i>	<i>44.5</i>	<i>140</i>	<i>29.4</i>	<i>307</i>	<i>33.5</i>	<i>128</i>	<i>25.9</i>
<b>Participated</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
Participated in a fight using a weapon other than a gun	116	11.7	34	6.9	67	6.9	10	2.0
Was involved in a fight using a gun	27	2.7	7	1.4	29	2.9	2	0.4
Threatened to kill someone	62	6.3	16	3.3	51	5.2	15	3.0
Participated in beating someone	87	8.9	21	4.3	42	4.3	19	3.8
<i>Participated in at least one of the above</i>	<i>198</i>	<i>20.5</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>11.8</i>	<i>123</i>	<i>13.0</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>7.5</i>

### 3.7.6 Violence Inside and Outside the Home: Associations and Trajectories

Numerous studies (including other IMAGES country reports) have documented the cycle of violence whereby men who experience violence in the childhood home and other spaces are more likely to use violence against an intimate partner

as adults. This study found similar patterns, as shown in Figure 13. Witnessing violence between one's parents, experiencing psychological or physical violence at home, and experiencing violence at school are all significantly associated with perpetration of physical intimate partner violence.

**Figure 13: Percentage of men who reported physical IPV perpetration, by experiences of violence in childhood**



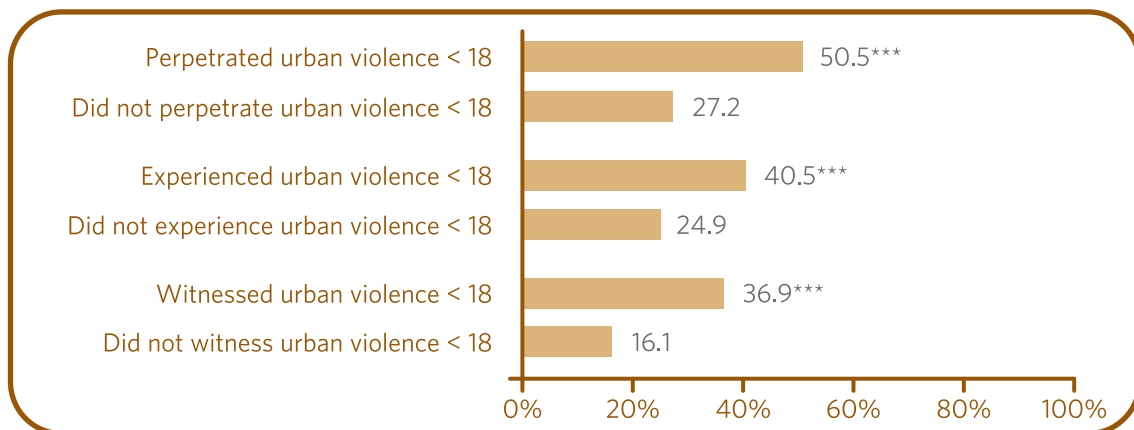
Note: Statistically significant differences at \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

Exposure to urban violence before age 18 – witnessing, experiencing, or participating in it – was associated with perpetration of physical intimate partner violence (IPV), as shown in Figure 14. Men exposed to violence as children and men involved in urban violence before the age of 18 were more likely to report having used violence against partners. Our cross-sectional data do not allow us to conclude whether the early experiences of violence in childhood drive young men to urban violence or if such violence is a factor of precarious living conditions and the ongoing household stress related to having enough income, or an interaction of all of these

factors. Further research is needed to explore the relation between early childhood experiences of urban violence and later perpetration of IPV.

Men who witnessed or perpetrated urban violence before the age of 18 or in the last year were less likely to be involved in the daily care of their children (at statistically significant levels), as shown in Figure 15. However, causality should not be simplistically attributed to these associations. It may be that use of and exposure to violence is higher in households where the men's own fathers were not involved in their care, for example. Or it may be that young men involved in urban violence

**Figure 14: Percentage of men who reported physical IPV perpetration, by experiences of urban violence before the age of 18**



Note: Statistically significant differences at \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

before the age of 18 years old never were able to leave certain scenes of criminality and violence. However, it can be concluded that cycles of violence were affirmed in Mozambique, as in other countries where IMAGES has been carried out. Furthermore, there is at least some reason to

believe that violent male practices are antithetical to men's supportive practices of caregiving. The findings suggest that experiencing violence at a young age likely contributes to violent, non-caring practices as adult men.

**Figure 15: Percentage of men who participate in daily care of children, by experiences of urban violence**



Note: Statistically significant differences at \*p<.05, \*\*p<.01, \*\*\*p<.001

## BOX 5

### “To be a Man You Need Money”: Masculinity, Youth, and Criminality

Criminality, mostly young men's criminality, was identified as a major concern and was said to be directly related to young men's desire for relationships with young women and with achieving a sense of manhood, according to qualitative research with men and women. Older men and women reported that their children abuse both alcohol and *suruma* (local cannabis), spend their time being idle, and often become violent toward their parents. One woman said that she had to sleep outside the house after her son had kicked her out when he was drunk; she wondered if her son was bewitched or possessed by spirits. An older man in *Bairro Machava-Sede* said his son left three small children with their grandparents while he drank alcohol and smoked marijuana.

Respondents attributed the causes of violence and criminality to various problems in society. First, they said that youth lack work and face hunger. Second, the “laziness” of youth was seen as a driver of violence: *“They want work, but do not want to work,”* said a woman in a Chamanculo “B” focus group discussion. Older men and women said that youth want an “an easy life” – they want to do nothing yet expect their parents to buy them nice clothes and mobile phones. Third, respondents said abuse of alcohol and drugs is a huge problem, and is believed to drive youth to violent behaviors. Lastly, respondents mentioned parental neglect and lack of education as other problems that drive young men’s violence and criminality.

Young men and women made the connection between men’s participation in criminal activity and their loss of status. A young woman in a focus group discussion in Polana Caniço “A” said:

*“Criminality is a form of machismo, showing others that he is a man. He will have more money; he can kill someone. That makes him feel more powerful and like a man.”*

Younger men said that a man must have power over other men because this is what women expect from them. Young men in the T3 focus group agreed that *“Women love criminals, because they will give them money.”* The social pressure and fear of not being able to get married or form a stable relationship with a woman was frequently invoked as a driver of men’s criminal activities: *“Women only want a boyfriend with a car, who can give them presents,”* several young men said.

In general, women agreed that a man needs to have some money to pay for her beauty products because that is the only way he can compete with other men to show that “his girl” is the most beautiful. This was said to be important during dating but not as important once a couple is married. Men were highly aware of these expectations. Though they argued that “good character” is more important than money, they also affirmed that they cannot be perceived as adult men, and be desirable to women, if they are not able to sustain themselves financially and provides gifts for their girlfriends.

Smoking cannabis (*suruma*) was seen as a way for men to have more courage to do what is required of them as men. Traditionally, *suruma* was seen as a “manly drug” that gave men the strength to do hard work in the fields, but now young men say that they consume *suruma* to increase their capacity to perform other tasks, such as passing exams at school, or more modern and urban tasks.

### 3.8 Other Risk-Taking Practices: Substance Use and Transactional Sex

#### 3.8.1 Substance Use

As seen in the previous box, alcohol and substance use were described as men’s practices, associated both with projecting a sense of masculinity and serving as a source of solace when they could not achieve a sense

of publicly recognized manhood. Indicators of alcohol abuse used in IMAGES are drinking to the point of doing something one regrets, using violence as a result of alcohol consumption, and binge drinking. Close to one in five men felt remorseful or regretful after getting drunk, or felt they did something they should not have as a result, as shown in Table 10. Nearly one in five men reported having used violence of some kind after consuming alcohol, including what may be considered binge or excessive drinking.

**Table 10: Men's reports of behavior related to alcohol use**  
(Percent reporting certain behaviors once or more often)

	n	%
In the past month, did you not do something you were supposed to because you were drunk?	164	16.4
In the past month, did you feel guilty or remorseful after you drank?	207	20.6
Do you remember a time when you drank and used violence?	162	16.4

### 3.8.2 Transactional Sex and Sex with Sex Workers

Nearly half of the men reported ever having given money or a gift in exchange for sex, while only about 10 percent of women said they ever accepted a gift or money in return for sex, as shown in Table 11. This substantial difference in reporting may be related to a sense of stigma for women regarding trading sex for money or goods, whereas for men it can be considered fairly common and even a sign of "manhood." Men who reported exchanging money or goods for sex were more likely to have perpetrated physical, psychological, or sexual violence, and

to have witnessed, experienced, or participated in urban violence in the last year, compared with men who did not report engaging in transactional sex.

Thirty-seven percent of men reported they had paid for sex or had sex with a sex worker; among them, 12 percent reported paying for sex with a sex worker who they believed was under 18 years old. As in the case of other forms of transactional sex, men who paid for sex with a sex worker were substantially more likely to have used physical violence against an intimate partner, and to have forced or raped a woman.

**Table 11: Reports of transactional sex**

Type of gift	Men who reported giving gifts in exchange for sex		Women who reported receiving gifts in exchange for sex	
	n	%	n	%
Clothes, telephone, transportation, or something else she couldn't buy on her own	343	34.4	29	5.9
School fees or household expenses	196	19.7	21	4.2
Found her a place to live	135	13.5	20	4.1
Cosmetic products or money for beauty products	297	29.9	25	5.1
Gifts for her children or other family members	143	14.4	21	4.3
Money or paid her bills	333	33.4	33	6.7
Gave her something she otherwise couldn't buy	337	33.8	33	6.7
Fixed her house or car for her	85	8.5	9	1.8
<b>Composite: Gave something in exchange for sex (includes any of the above)</b>	<b>469</b>	<b>47.3</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>10.3</b>



## 4. Conclusions

### **A. Multiple forms of violence over the life cycle for men and women are linked to violence in private and public spaces.**

**Wars, conflicts, and childhood violence contribute to cycles of violence in the home and in the public sphere.**

Mozambique's past conflicts continue to have an impact in the daily lives of women and men, and the study found many ways in which this violence continues to intersect with urban poverty, unemployment, and unequal household relations. Nearly one in five respondents lived in a refugee or IDP camp, nearly one in three was forced to abandon their family home, and nearly one in five reported that they saw someone tortured during the war. Fourteen percent of men reported participating in the war as a combatant, most of them forced to do so. Overall, one-quarter of men and women experienced a form of extreme physical or sexual violence (rape or forced to commit rape) during one of the wars.

This reality has left some men — particularly male combatants who feel they are owed something for their sacrifices for the country — with a deep sense of frustration. In addition, those individuals who experienced the conflict most directly are also more likely to report using violence in the home, confirming the complex dynamics of violence between the public domain, private lives, and society as a whole. In some ways, exposure to conflict-related violence creates ongoing cycles of violence in the home, manifested in the form of poverty, missing or absent fathers, and violence by men against children and female partners. In addition, men who experienced violence in childhood and men who were involved in urban violence before the age of 18 years old are more likely to repeat this violence in their partner relations.

### **B. Men's economic stress is linked to the use of violence in private and public spaces.**

**Urban poverty complicates gender relations with the struggle for money.**

Life in Maputo and Matola is extremely expensive for the majority of its residents and high unemployment and underemployment confirm that jobs are scarce. This scarcity in turn drives social dynamics between men and women as they endeavor to find opportunities to survive and mitigate the challenges of unemployment and poverty. These dynamics influence perceptions and practices of gender relations at home and in the public spheres.

Young women and young men cope with economic stress in different ways. The former navigate poverty by searching for a future husband with money, and some engage in transactional sex as a way to generate income. For young men, unemployment and poverty present many challenges to their efforts to seek the elusive respect of "being a real man." They explore various ways to cope with the lack of employment opportunities and to become "a man" — some seek older women with a family and resources; others seek income through criminal activities. Criminality is frequently associated with positive images of manhood for men and women: "real men" and men desired by women are seen as being courageous, being powerful, and knowing how to get money.

The study found that the older generation of men and women is worried about young men — about their lack of work opportunities, the supposedly corrupting influence of modernization, and drug abuse. All of these factors are seen as leading young men astray. The perceived lack of moral education and the absence of a stable father

figure were frequently invoked as causes of the errant behavior of young men.

In the context of urban poverty, couple relations are often tense as women seek income from their male partners, and men often hide their earnings and, in many cases, give income to a second household. Income constraints likely also drive the decision by couples to remain in unofficial unions rather than formalize their unions. This situation creates ongoing vulnerabilities for women in particular, given that legally recognized marriages provide women greater legal protection.

### **C. Intimate partner violence is associated with traditional perceptions of gender relations and interacts with multiple factors.**

#### **Traditional gender relations perpetuate inequality, but norms are changing.**

The findings of IMAGES–Mozambique suggest a dynamic mix of practices in terms of gender relations. Perceptions of power division between men and women are sometimes based in religion, sometimes explained as biologically determined, and sometimes ascribed to culturally recognized spirits that both reinforce inequality and provide women with some, albeit limited, autonomy.

Urban life and economic circumstances drive men and women to find new ways to provide for their families, which can also contribute to the transformation of traditional norms. These dynamics lead to household relations where hierarchy and roles become more flexible.

Many households find ways to cope with urban poverty and scarcity, and most couples show active cooperation and solidarity while, however, also maintaining traditional gender hierarchies

in which men are seen as the “natural” or rightful heads of households. To some extent, women are allowed to work and contribute to family income, and men are willing to share some household work, but traditional gender roles continue to dominate the daily lives of most couples. The younger generation in Maputo and Matola shows slightly more equitable attitudes and practices concerning women’s employment and household management, and they reject men’s use of violence against women. On the other hand, they continue to replicate and reinvent aspects of traditional attitudes in gender relations, in which men are supposed to be the head of the family.

#### **IPV is often normalized, and multiple forms of violence interact.**

Intimate partner violence is common: nearly one-third of men reported ever using physical violence against their wives or partners. IPV is often explained by cultural and religious beliefs. Most often, a woman copes with violence by staying silent in order to keep her husband at home, as this provides the best chance to remain socially and financially included in the family – an important support network in the face of urban poverty. Frequently, women navigate submissive roles while men – unemployed and unable to live up to societal expectations – face a sense of emasculation and act out in violent and nonviolent ways.

It is also important to note that women are not passive victims of IPV, but rather are active agents searching for opportunities to deal with power inequalities at home and outside the home. Similarly, men are not solely perpetrators but also victims of various forms of violence during childhood, and do not merely repeat violence but face complex feelings of disempowerment in conjunction with abuses of power. The interactions between couples and the dynamics of navigating scarcity and stress produce violence at home.

## 5. Recommendations

A number of key policy recommendations emerge from the qualitative and quantitative research findings in Mozambique:

- Implement **community-based programs** to restore social support systems built on cultural resources for coping with conflict, scarcity, and stress, while using gender-transformative approaches.
- Implement **psychosocial programs targeting those most affected by violence** that seek to break cycles of violence, given the association between childhood experiences of violence and later adult use of IPV and violence in public spaces.
- Expand programs and policies to enhance **men's involvement in caregiving** in order to reach national scale.
- Implement and bring to scale **school- and community-based interventions with youth** to address children's experiences with gender-based violence using gender-transformative approaches.
- **Include young people in developing these new initiatives**, particularly those focusing on reducing poverty, unemployment, and urban violence.
- Promote and expand **mass media campaigns** showing models of gender relations that include nonviolent men and empowered women.
- **Build on the existing, creative NGO efforts** that already seek to change discourses related to masculinities, including those implemented by HOPEM, Fanela Ya Mina, and many others, by identifying strategies to take those efforts to scale.

As Mozambique continues to recover from two decades of war, and works to maintain its many years of peace since the civil war ended in 1992, future action must incorporate an understanding of the effects of armed conflict on gender relations. Furthermore, high levels of exposure to violence during childhood require serious attention at individual and community levels. Gender identity and practices in gender relations are strongly connected to the way men and women cope with stressors and navigate their lives in the Mozambican urban context. Therefore, community-based programs and interventions seeking to change gender norms and relations at the community level should include psychosocial approaches and build on existing cultural perceptions related to health and coping with threats, stresses, and health problems.

The majority of the Maputo population supports the belief that ancestral spirits can control behavior; and, while they sometimes reinforce gender inequalities, such beliefs also offer some autonomy for women. Public service providers in communities, including police, health professionals, and psychosocial support providers, should be trained to recognize and acknowledge these culturally relevant gendered responses to traumatic experiences and develop culturally embedded responses that promote gender equality. Building on local perceptions of gender relations may also help to mitigate challenging dynamics and resistance to the promotion of gender equality when it is perceived as an externally imposed, Western issue. By building on positive local forces of social change in gender relations, these responses will be more authentic, more effective, and more community-owned.



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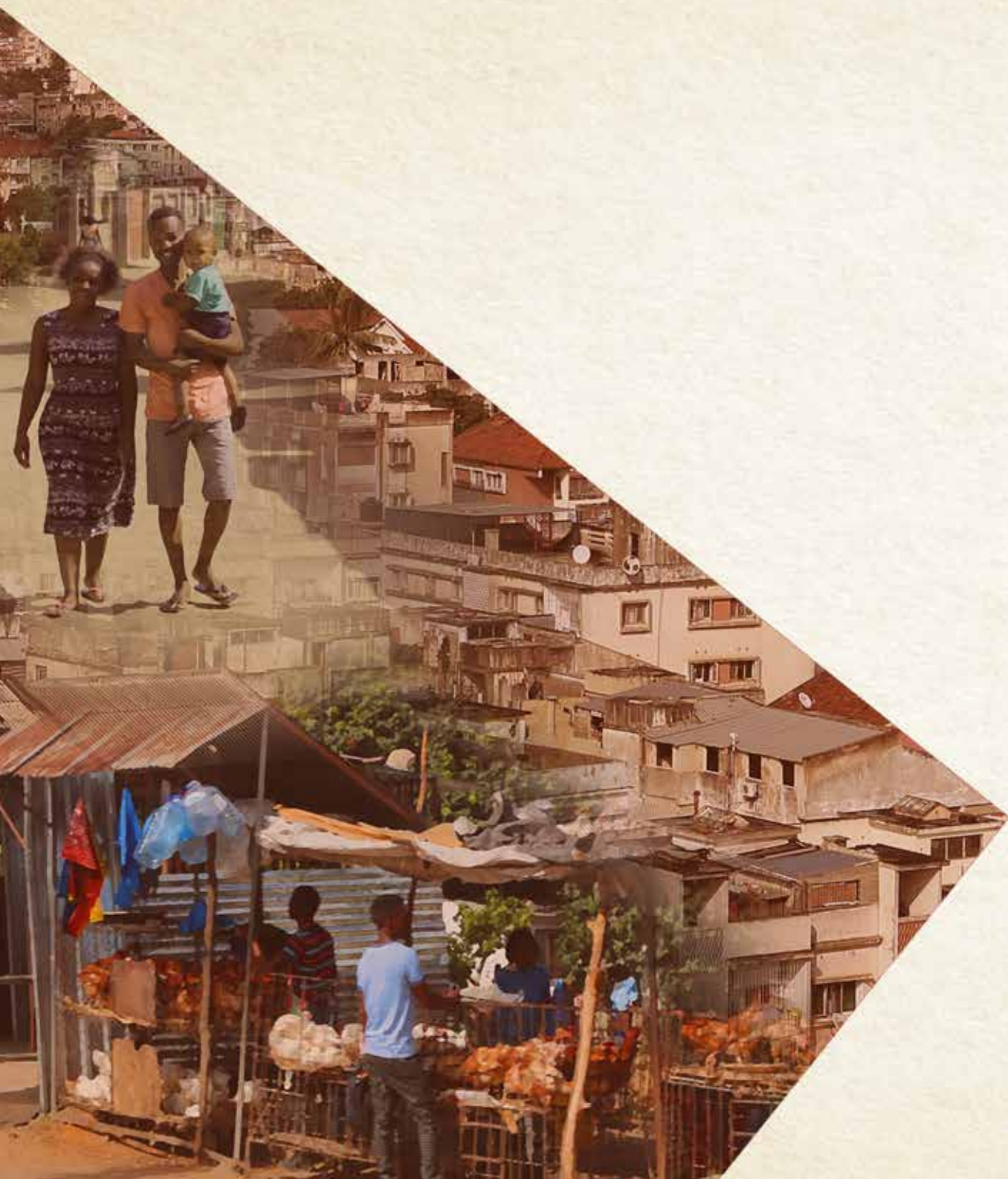
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