SITUATION ANALYSIS ON ADOLESCENT GIRLS

This situational analysis was developed by Catherine Hill, Consultant, based on a review of available documentation as well as stakeholder consultations undertaken in Maputo in May, 2012.
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Executive summary

This situation analysis for CARE’s impact group, adolescent girls’ ages 10-14, builds on the outputs of CARE Mozambique’s February 2012 program design workshop and is based on a literature review of available documentation as well as stakeholder consultations held in Maputo in May 2012. It is by no means intended to be an authoritative or complete overview of adolescent girls’ lives. Rather, it is intended to provide an overview of the key issues and challenges facing adolescent girls, thus informing CARE’s new program strategy. The situation analysis draws from the most recent information and data on adolescent girls although much of the data often focuses on older adolescents and younger children than CARE’s specific impact group, “adolescent girls aged 10-14”. This is also because many of the indicators and the data available are collected and analysed in age groupings (e.g. 15-24 years, 15-49 years, over and under 18 years) that are not specifically that of CARE’s impact group (10-14).

In the process of developing its new program strategy, CARE identified adolescent girls aged 10-14 as a key Impact Group (IG) whose particular challenges must be addressed to ensure sustainable and equitable development in Mozambique. In Mozambique, girls become women at a very young age -- as early as between 10 and 14 years of age, with all the responsibilities that being an adult entails – including marriage, child-bearing, managing a household, and feeding a family. This blurring between childhood and adulthood makes the challenges of responding adequately and appropriately to the needs and interests of adolescent girls all that more urgent.

Gender inequalities are evident throughout all stages of a woman’s life, but perhaps have the most impact on younger girls as they are socialized into inequitable relations and structures. Experiences in girls’ early years inform their life chances and opportunities in their adult years. Efforts to reach pre-pubescent and adolescent girls are therefore crucial for ensuring gender equality and reducing poverty in Mozambique. This means addressing the multiple challenges facing these girls including their socialized submission to men through initiation rites and early marriage (to often much-older men) as well as the generally unequal power dynamics between women and men across all ages and at different levels including within the household. It also means tackling gender-based violence in the household and elsewhere in the community including in schools. Adolescent girls still suffer a greater lack of access to education, particularly secondary and tertiary education as well as access to health (including sexual and reproductive health) and social support services and information. Finally, girls are challenged by a lack of options and economic opportunities as they move into adulthood.

Key findings

Health

- Delaying adolescent girls’ sexual debut and increasing the use of contraceptives is key to saving their lives.\(^1\)
- Adolescent girls across Mozambique often have babies at an early age and young, first-time adolescent mothers and their children are especially vulnerable to death and disability related to early pregnancy and childbirth.\(^2\)
- A mother’s age at birth and early pregnancy is crucial. There is a systematically worse nutrition incidence - except for severe wasting- among children whose mother is younger than 19 years old at the time her child is born.\(^3\)
- There is a lack of data on adolescent girls’ own nutritional status.\(^4\)

\(^3\) From Population Council 2009 (2003 Data).
\(^4\) Azzari et al. July 14, 2012
\(^5\) Personal correspondence, UNICEF.
Girls with more schooling are more likely to have more knowledge of health issues affecting their lives (such as HIV transmission) than those without any or little schooling.

Education and literacy

According to MICS 2008 data, the literacy rate of 15-24 year-old women is higher in the southern regions, especially in Maputo City, Maputo Province, Gaza, and Inhambane. The literacy rates for 15-24 year-old females in rural areas is 31.3% while in the urban areas, it is 70.1%. The national average for this age group of females is 47.2%.

Educational opportunities are lacking across the country, limiting the life choices for both girls and boys. Although the gap in accessing education in Mozambique is narrowing between boys and girls, two-thirds of those who have never been to school or are currently out of school are girls.

The Population Council notes that the most deprived sector across all provinces is rural girls. The persistence of gender inequality in access to education is pronounced in Tete (GPI 0.53), Manica (GPI 0.55), Cabo Delgado (GPI 0.72), Zambézia (GPI 0.75) and Niassa (GPI 0.78).

Decision-making

Women experience high visibility in Mozambique’s political environment, and while Mozambique’s constitution goes far in supporting equal rights for women and girls, women’s and girls’ engagement in decisions at the provincial, district, community and household level, particularly in poor and rural areas, is quite a different reality.

Gender-based violence

A study conducted by the Ministry of Women and Social Action (MMAS) in 2004 indicated that as many as 54 per cent of women surveyed reported having been beaten, while 23 per cent of respondents reported having been subjected to some form of sexual abuse. There are higher reported levels of domestic violence in rural areas. Most of this abuse is perpetrated by someone close to the woman such as a family member or friend.

The proportion of women who feel that men have the right to beat them under certain circumstances has dropped from 54 per cent in 2003 to 36 per cent in 2008. While this is a positive change, acceptance by women still remains high. Fifty eight (58) percent of rural women and 48% of urban women agreed that men have the right to beat women under certain circumstances.

Initiation rites are used to socialize girls to be submissive to their husbands and to men in general. Many girls are brought to the rites of initiation as early as 12 or 13 and deemed ready for marriage afterwards. Such rites often keep girls away from school for 3-4 weeks or even permanently. Girls are also often kept away from school after they have their first period so that they are kept away from older boys in order to obtain a higher bride price. The proportion of girls who have had sex by the age of 15 is particularly high in the northern provinces as well as the lowest levels of contraception use and therefore the highest proportions of adolescent mothers.

The data on early marriage indicates that the level of education of the head of household is inversely correlated with spousal age difference – the higher the level of education attained by the head of

7 From footnote 1, Naila Kabeer Only 1% of rural households and 15% of urban live close to a secondary school (World Bank, 2007), p. 9-10.
8 Gender parity index for education is ratio of girls to boys attending primary and secondary education, MICS, 2008, p. 95.
9 Kabeer, N. p. 1 Women have seen a steady rise in their share of parliamentary seats from 28% in 2003 to 39.2% in 2010.
10 Kabeer, N. p. 1 Women represent just 18% in provincial governments and 5% at district levels (NORAD Report).
12 Ibid
13 MICS 2008.
15 UNFPA Website http://unfpa.org/public/home/news/pid/8711
16 MICS, 2008
household, the lower the percentage of women who are ten years or more younger than their husbands or partners.17 This finding is valid both for women aged 15–19 and those aged 20–24.

- Girls are also often at increased risk of HIV infection compared to unmarried sexually active girls as they typically have less decision-making power and autonomy within the confines of marriage, particularly to a much older man.18
- Poorer households often seek to marry off daughters early in order to access much-needed resources both through bride wealth known as “lobolo” and/or the support of the new husband and his family.19 While economic status is a factor in early marriage, there are other motivations including the cultural practices of specific populations. The percentage of men who marry early is considerably lower than for girls, suggesting that young girls tend to marry older men.20

**Economic opportunities and challenges**

- Mozambique’s laws prohibit forced or compulsory labour, including for children. The minimum age for employment without restrictions is 18 years of age although there are exceptions for children between 15 and 18 years provided that employers provide education and professional training and decent working conditions.21 By law children must receive at least the minimum wage or a minimum of two thirds of the adult wage, whichever is higher.22 Laws are violated however, particularly in rural areas -- in great part because of chronic poverty, unemployment of parents and adult relatives, and the overall instability of the economy as well as a lack of education opportunities.
- Facing far fewer work opportunities, adolescent (and even younger) girls often find alternative ways to access money. They often must depend on marrying someone who has an income to ensure greater chances of economic security.23 They can also gain access to money through transactional sex -- either through commercial sex work or through longer term sexual relations with older, more affluent men.

**Recommendations**

This study found a number of data gaps, particularly around the specific age group, 10-14. To this end, CARE should consider the following recommendations for action under its new Programming Framework and Programme Strategy. Work with strategic and other partners including relevant networks to:

- Identify and develop specific age and gender specific and meaningful indicators (possibly also along lines of matrilineal/patrilineal patterns, religion, geography, etc.). This could include, for example, indicators for physical and psychological security and well-being; levels of meaningful participation, land tenure security; access to and control over resources; experience of different aspects of adolescence; prevalence of GBV and services to prevent, respond, etc.; all which could provide a deeper and more comprehensive picture of adolescent girls across different age groups in different regions of the country; and advocate for their inclusion in future studies (e.g. MICS, etc.).
- Advocate for and apply a greater age range for analysis to include information on younger adolescents, e.g. 10-14, then 15-19, etc. Much of the data collected appear to be against indicators that use ages 15-49, above 18 and under 18, etc.
- Identify and incorporate/adapt participatory, age and gender-sensitive planning, monitoring and evaluation, and advocacy approaches in programming.
- Incorporate issues of adolescent girls into gender and diversity training and capacity strengthening for CARE staff at all levels so that they can participate in and engage with CSOs, NGOs, and networks, government bodies, international (multi-lateral, bi-lateral) organizations (including donors), and

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17 MICS, 2008, p. 108
19 UNICEF.
22 Ibid, para 97.
23 In conversation with M. Muzzi, UNICEF, May 2012.
private sector to improve lives of adolescent girls and develop decent livelihoods and economic opportunities that respect the rights of these age groups.

- Engage/collaborate with (and/or provide resources and support to) partners such as HOPEM (Men Engage) and Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA), and relevant government bodies (MMAS, UNICEF, UNFPA, etc.) on research and capacity strengthening on adolescent girls’ and boys’ experiences of different issues, particularly around initiation rites and early marriage; use/management of natural resources in early married girls (is there a difference along age lines, etc.) and economic opportunities. Incorporate findings into CARE’s wider, ongoing programs and ensure broad shared learning outcomes through COSACA and other shared learning platforms in the country (could be identified also through UNFPA, UNICEF, UN Women, FAO, etc.)

- Advocate for greater access to social protection services for adolescent girls (10-14) including tailoring services to their needs and strengthening services that deal with gender-based violence (e.g. police units across the country).

- Support CSOs in their efforts to strengthen translation of relevant policies into action on the ground (e.g. paralegals with community leaders, etc. on Domestic Violence Law, Family Law, etc.) in a way that is meaningful for promoting positive change in, and increasing opportunities for adolescent girls.

- Conduct a more indepth organizational assessment of relevant organizations with which CARE could partner/collaborate on these different actions (e.g. MMAS, INAS, Ministry of the Interior, relevant CSOs at national, provincial, district level, WLSA, HOPEM, UNAC, ORAM and others specifically focused on agriculture and NRM issues), etc.)
1. Background
This situation analysis draws on recent literature and stakeholder conversations to highlight the lived reality of adolescent girls in contemporary Mozambique. The analysis is intended to support the development and implementation of CARE Mozambique’s Program Strategy.

1.1 About the Impact Group
In the process of developing its new program strategy, CARE identified adolescent girls aged 10-14 as a key Impact Group (IG) whose particular challenges must be addressed to ensure sustainable and equitable development in Mozambique. The initial formulation of this IG was originally stated as “Adolescent girls in rural areas, eligible to be in grades 5-12, under 24 years of age.” However, at the February Program Strategy workshop, this definition was discussed at length and led to the current formulation. It was felt that framing the Impact Group in this way (using school grades) possibly excludes some vulnerable adolescents and confuses the Impact Group with the issue of education. Specific issues identified included a lack of adolescent girls’ political voice, and engagement in, and influence of, all levels of civic life, formally and informally. It was agreed that the 10-15 year-old age range is closest approximation of the period of the onset of puberty through adolescence and young adulthood. The geographic focus was not discussed.

Adolescent girls and gender equality: A sound equation for development
The 2011 UNICEF report, ‘The State of the World’s Children 2011 – Adolescence: An Age of Opportunity,” suggested that “young people are the key to a more equitable and prosperous world.” Mozambique is a country of youth – of millions of boys and girls who represent the future of the country. Yet, to be ‘keys’ to greater equity and prosperity, a number of challenges must be addressed – including the inequities facing adolescent girls, particularly those living in rural areas.

In Mozambique, girls become women at a very young age -- as early as between 10 and 14 years of age, with all the responsibilities that being an adult entails – including marriage, child-bearing, managing a household, and feeding a family. This blurring between childhood and adulthood makes the challenges of responding adequately and appropriately to the needs and interests of adolescent girls all the more urgent.24 As children, they have the right to education, security, food, and health, and to all the other rights of children everywhere as agreed to in international human rights instruments.25 As they move quickly into adult roles through early marriages, girls have additional needs and interests including maternal health and nutrition services and information and economic opportunities and related training.

Gender inequalities are evident throughout all stages of a woman’s life, but perhaps have the most impact on younger girls as they are, from early on, socialized into inequitable relations and structures. Experiences in girls’ early years inform their life options and opportunities in their adult years.26 Efforts to reach pre-

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24 CARE’s program strategy workshop also recognized this. The Program Design Elements document notes that “The process of reaching adolescence is not widely understood in Mozambique. In Mozambican society girls move from being considered as children to immediately being regarded as woman when they reach puberty, especially if it is coupled with traditional initiation rites, which is very often the case. Girls thus have very little preparation within society to face adult issues of sexuality or be prepared for the future gender roles society traditional assigns to them.”


26 Naila Kabeer, p. 9 DRAFT for DFID
pubescent and adolescent girls are therefore crucial for ensuring gender equality and reducing poverty in Mozambique. This means addressing the multiple challenges facing these girls including, for example: socialized submission to men through initiation rites and early marriage (to often much-older men); gender-based violence in the household and elsewhere in the community including in schools; access to education, particularly secondary and tertiary education; access to health (including sexual and reproductive health) and social support services and information; lack of options and economic opportunities, and unequal power dynamics between women and men across all ages and at different levels including within the household.

1.2 Approach to the analysis
This situation analysis for CARE’s adolescent girls’ impact group builds on the outputs of CARE Mozambique’s February 2012 program design workshop and is based on a literature review of available documentation as well as stakeholder consultations held in Maputo in May 2012 (see Annex 4 for list of stakeholders interviewed). The analysis is intended to provide a useful synopsis of the key issues and challenges facing adolescent girls in Mozambique for the purposes of further developing CARE’s program strategy. This analysis draws from data on adolescent girls, but also from information on women and younger girls as some of the issues are relevant, particularly for adolescent girls with all the responsibilities of adult women, especially when they are married early, engaged in activities such as agricultural production and feeding and caring for their families including young children. This is also because many of the indicators and the data available are collected and analysed in age groupings (e.g. 15-24 years, 15-49 years, over and under 18 years) that are not specifically that of CARE’s impact group (10-14).

1.3 Development Context
Mozambique’s development took off after civil war ended in 1992 and has been the fastest growing non-oil economy in Sub-Saharan Africa over the past 15 years.77 To date, growth has concentrated primarily on large, capital-intensive “mega-projects” which have brought relatively few jobs and little poverty reduction. This is aptly illustrated by Mozambique’s current 184th position (out of 187 countries) in the 2011 UN Human Development Index and a national stunting rate of 44% among children under the age of five.28 Moreover, in 2011, Mozambique placed 125th out of 146 countries with data on the Gender Inequality Index.70

With the growth in the economy came a growth in income inequality also; 75% of the population lives in poverty, 60% are said to be “trapped in poverty,” and 90% of the population continues to depend on the agricultural sector. Those 60% at the bottom live and work largely outside the market economy and constitute what has been referred to as “an invisible majority in Mozambique.” 30

As a recent publication, Lords of the Land, notes, “poverty is highly conditioned by the history of colonization and civil war in the country.”31 Despite the economic development and growth that has been recorded, Mozambique continues to be dependent on international funds, with close to 50% of the government’s budget made up by foreign assistance.32 Mozambique receives significantly more aid than its neighbours, Malawi and Tanzania, which both have similar HDI rankings and which only receive 60 percent per capita of the aid of Mozambique.33 It is possible the situation in Mozambique will change in the near future with the rapidly emerging and expanding private sector (e.g. increase in extractive industry and agricultural investment, etc.) and changing donor priorities in the country and elsewhere. Recently, the Economist Intelligence Unit suggested that Mozambique’s revenue is expected to rise briskly between 2012-16 because of economic

28 Cunguara, B. and J. Hanlon, p. 12
29 Source Institutions and Gender Index, http://genderindex.org/country/mozambique
30 Cunguara, B. and J. Hanlon, p. 12
31 Ibid., p.8
32 Ibid., p. 8-10.
33 Cunguara and Hanlon, p. 1
growth and growing revenues from the mining sector. They also suggest donor assistance to slow down because of budgetary constraints in donor countries.34

The population is concentrated primarily in the north in Nampula (4 million) and Zambezia (3.9 million) provinces.35 Out of a total 2007 population of 20.5 million, ten million were children under the age of eighteen years.36 This high number of youth in the country results in a high dependency ratio – approximately 85 percent in 2006.37 HIV prevalence for people 15-49 is officially at 11.5% national average with the highest number of new infections are registered among girls and young women aged 16-24.38 These values are even more striking when seen using a gender perspective since the incidence of infection in women is 3 times greater than men.39

For the most part, Mozambique’s development has been closely associated with the agricultural sector. Recent data show that 64% of the population live in rural areas and that 55% of rural people live beneath the poverty line.40 Further, the country’s smallholder sector makes up about 99 percent of all farms.41 In rural areas, agriculture employs 80% of the population, but contributes less to the GDP with about 25%, while contributing 16% of all exports.42 While agriculture provides the principal source of income for rural families, they are barely able to meet their nutritional needs. In fact, the Technical Secretariat for Food Security in Mozambique (SETSAN) estimates that close to 35% of Mozambican families find themselves in a situation of chronic food insecurity; on average, farmers only produce enough food to feed their families adequately for less than eight months of the year.43

The provinces with the highest incidence of food insecurity are Zambézia (35.6%), Tete (34.6%), Maputo (34.4%), and Inhambane (29.5).44

Among other factors, rural populations are highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change and disasters such as floods and droughts45 which Mozambique typically experiences somewhere in the country every year.46 With a population density at about 27.7 people per square kilometre47 Mozambique faces numerous challenges just providing the necessary infrastructure and services for its population, particularly in rural areas.

**Relevant international instruments**

There are a number of international human rights and other related instruments which provide a framework of values and desired actions for addressing the rights of adolescent girls in Mozambique including the Millennium Development Goals and broadly adopted Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women48 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child.49 Mozambique also ratified the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child in July 1998.50 Upon due approval and ratification,
international agreements are part of Mozambique's national legal system as provided by Mozambique's Constitution, and thus have the same weight as legal norms established by Congress and the Executive, but do not take precedence over the constitution.52

Key strategies. policies and laws
There are a number of policies and programs that are relevant to the lives of adolescent girls including the Poverty Reduction Action Plan (PARP) 2011-2014 which is the medium-term strategy of the Government of Mozambique for putting into operation the Five-Year Government Program (2010–2014), the National Plan for the Advancement of Women and MMAS’ Strategic Plan 2011 - 2015. There are also gender strategies for Education, Health, Public Administration, Agriculture, Energy and Environmental Affairs.

Besides, Mozambique has a number of good laws in place that support the rights of women and girls, but there is a gap in implementation and some legal instruments (e.g. the penal code) urgently need reform. Protective laws include the 2004 Family Law, the 2009 Domestic Violence Law, and the 1997 Land Law. For example, the 2004 Family Law is designed to protect women’s property rights. In September 2009, the Domestic Violence Bill was signed, with implementation starting in March, 2010.53

However, three years after the law passed, about 63 percent of women were found to be uninformed about it, and many were driven off their property either in retribution for their husband’s death from an AIDS-related illness or for being infected with HIV themselves (U.S. Department of State 2008). "The Constitution of 2004, the Family Law of 2004, and the Land Law of 1997 enshrined principles of gender equity in the field of property rights – but have left behind a difficult labor of implementing these principles in a system that combines civil and traditional law with customs and practices that disenfranchise women and especially AIDS widows. This is a situation of marked fragility, in that government appears unable to live up to its policy commitments, thereby leaving a large segment of the population without recourse against abuses that threaten its livelihoods."54

"Women’s equal right to hold rights of land use and benefit is a central tenet of Mozambique’s land law. The Mozambican Constitution sets out that “men and women shall be equal before the law in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life” (Constitution, art. 36). Within the text of the land law, women’s right to hold land is established three times. First, Article 10 makes clear that “National individual and corporate persons, men and women, as well as local communities may be holders of the right of land use and benefit” [Art. 10.1]. Second, in regard to individual titles, Article 13.5 asserts that: “Individual men and women who are members of a local community may request individual titles, after the particular plot of land has been partitioned from the relevant community land.” Third, Article 16.1 decrees that "The right of land use and benefit may be transferred by inheritance, without distinction by gender. Mozambique’s new family law (No 10/2004), which regulates transfers of property between spouses and their families at marriage and at death, strengthens and underlines these provisions. It recognizes not only civil marriages but also customary marriages and informal unions between men and women."55

Yet, as the recent Justica Ambiental/UNAC study on land grabs reveals, in practise few women are aware of their legal rights and these rights are therefore not exercised. The study found that out of all the communities included in the research,56 not one had a case of registration of land tenure being held by a woman.57 Yet, adolescent girls and women are actively engaged in subsistence agriculture and providing food and nutrition security for their families. Because of the lack of their inclusion in land registration, women (including adolescent girls who are married) are thus more vulnerable and dependent on men and subject to traditional rules which defend the interests of men rather than the interests of women and family.58

54 USAID. AIDSTAR Case Studies: Earning their way to healthier lives. October 2011.
56 p. 123 – 124 From Rachel Knight (Section 4.4.3), FAO
57 The Justica Ambiental/UNAC study was undertaken in 9 out of the 11 provinces.
Key stakeholders
There are a number of government bodies working in relation to the promotion of gender equality and are of relevance to adolescent girls. These include the Ministry of Women and Social Action (MMAS), National Council for the Advancement of Women (CNAM), Office of Women Members of Parliament and the Social, Gender and Environmental Affairs Commission (Parliament) and Civil Society Organizations. Further, there are also Gender Units in all Provincial Directorates of Education and District Services of Education, Youth and Technology, the creation of 11 Provincial Councils for the Advancement of Women (CPAMs) and of 30 District Councils for the Advancement of Women (CDAM) in 4 provinces (Nampula, Zambézia, Tete and Niassa). A detailed stakeholder analysis was conducted, listing many more potential civil society partners and networks. Be referred to the stakeholder analysis report.

The particular challenges of a rapidly growing private sector
As noted elsewhere, Mozambique is facing a boom in the extractive industries and commercial agriculture sectors. While these potentially offer great economic benefits to the country, they also pose a number of challenges without assurance of good governance (including transparency and accountability) and respect for human rights (including land rights, workers’ rights, etc.). However, ideas are emerging on how to ensure accountability and just and equitable accrual of benefits. For example, in response to the growth in extractive industries and potential for Mozambique to become a middle income country in a relatively short time, UNICEF, together with civil society organisations, has been advocating for transparency in the extractive industry sector and for making the benefits from mineral extraction available to children, possibly through a child welfare tax imposed on mineral outputs. This could support social protection efforts, education and health and build on “children’s natural resource inheritance.” While this is an important step, other efforts are needed to stem any potentially negative impacts on adolescent girls – impacts arising from forced relocation of families and communities, of the prospects for engaging in transactional sex and other forms of exploitation in the absence of positive economic opportunities and alternatives.

2. Key issues in the lives of adolescent girls
A number of key issues and challenges facing adolescent girls, one of CARE Mozambique’s impact groups, are discussed herein in greater depth.

2.1 Health
According to Tvedten et al, there are far less gendered data available on key health indicators in Mozambique than other indicators (e.g. education). That said, there is, at the very least, data on early pregnancy, infant and under five mortality, and HIV and AIDS, some of which focuses on, or near the ages of CARE’s impact group.

Early pregnancy, nutrition, and other impacts
Mozambique’s adolescent girls face a multitude of challenges including those related to accessing health (including sexual and reproductive health) services and information. These girls’ particular vulnerabilities (as discussed in this document) increase their risk of sexual and reproductive health-related illness and mortality; delaying adolescent girls’ sexual debut and increasing the use of contraceptives is key to saving their lives.

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59 As outlined in Tvedten et al, 2008 (p. 39), CNAM is the consultative body through which MMAS carries out intersectoral coordination. Its main objective is to follow up the implementation of gender policies and programmes approved by the Government. CNAM’s main function is to promote and monitor the implementation of the government’s gender policies in all of its plans and programmes. The CNAM is presided over by the Minister of MMAS and comprises ministers from the government; two NGOs (Fórum Mulher and the Community Development Foundation); two representatives from religious groups (the Christian Council of Mozambique and the Catholic Church); a representative from the union (the Mozambican Workers Organisation, OTM) and a representative from the private sector (Confederation of Economic Associations, CTA).


62 Ibid.

Adolescent girls across Mozambique often have babies at an early age and young, first-time adolescent mothers and their children are especially vulnerable to death and disability related to early pregnancy and childbirth.64 The children of very young girls are often low weight with early pregnancies contributing to malnutrition. Moreover, children of young girls never quite catch up with the weight deficiency, leaving these girls with an extra burden of care for weak babies who are likely to become ill.65

Three indices were recently analysed (stunting, wasting, and underweights)66 and showed systematically worse nutrition incidence - except for severe wasting - among children whose mother is younger than 19 years old at the time her child is born (see Table 1).67 Unfortunately, there is not much data on adolescent girls' own nutritional status.68

### Table 1: Undernutrition indices by mother's age at birth69

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<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>severely</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wasted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>severely</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: T-test on equality of means over 19/under 19
* significant at 10%; ** significant at 5%; *** significant at 1%

**HIV/AIDS**

While Mozambique has made progress in combating some diseases, HIV/AIDS is a different story. With over half of all adults living with HIV being female, women and girls are clearly disproportionately vulnerable to infection. According to the UN Population Fund, a complex matrix of factors increases the vulnerability of women, particularly young women, to HIV infection in Mozambique.70 These include low levels of literacy and school enrollment as well as limited economic opportunities. Other factors also include early marriage and sexual initiation as well as low condom use and limited access to information on safe sex. Only only 12 per cent of women of reproductive age in Mozambique use contraception.71, 72 Widespread gender-based violence and multiple and concurrent partnerships also contribute to HIV infection.73

Given the prevalence of early marriage, younger girls are at risk of being infected by older men – many of whom are in polygamous marriages – and many who have unprotected sex with multiple partners. The percentage of women who have heard of HIV and AIDS varies significantly in relation to their level of schooling, rising from 84 per cent among women who have never been to school to almost 100 per cent among women with secondary education or more.74 Results from the MICS 2008 survey showed that only about 15 percent of 15–19 year old girls answered three questions correctly about HIV transmission, although this was slightly better than the overall average of about 13 percent for the whole range of 15-49 year old

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64 from Population Council 2009 (2003 Data).
65 Delphine Pinault, CARE Mozambique.
67 Azzari et al. July 14, 2012
68 Personal correspondence, UNICEF.
71 TrustLaw. Delaying sex to save girls’ lives in Mozambique. http://www.youtrust.org/articles/?sourceId=5ddb1543-d539-4bfe-bdac-0f8bbff9/704&sourceSite=trustlaw&livestream=1
72 On a related note, UNFPA estimated that in Mozambique only 25 percent of condoms provided by USAID and UNFPA reached end-users in 2008, and that 85 percent of the available 50 million public sector condoms sat in central warehouses in June 2009. Source: UNFPA et al. Contraceptive commodities for women’s health. Prepared for the UN Commission on Contraceptive commodities for women and children. March 2012, P. 15
74 MICS, 2008, p. 115.
women. However, geography, education and household income also made a difference; 23 percent of those with secondary education answered all three questions correctly compared to only about 12 percent for those with primary education and 10 percent for those never went to school. This would suggest that girls with more schooling are more likely to have more knowledge of health issues affecting their lives (such as HIV transmission) than those without any or little schooling.

While there is no age breakdown to highlight the difference between adolescent girls and older women, only 10 percent of rural women (15-49) as compared to 17 percent of urban women could answer all three questions correctly. Health information and services are harder to access in rural areas for a number of reasons including lack of infrastructure (both education and health) as well as often diminished mobility of girls and women (for reasons such as cultural norms and/or lack of access to transport). Those at the lower end of the economic scale also had less knowledge with only 8 percent of the poorest quintile compared to 20 percent of the richest quintile able to answer all three questions correctly. 76 This is important as other evidence tell us that women and girls at the lower end of the socio-economic spectrum have few livelihood options and economic opportunities, have less decision-making and negotiating power with men – making them more apt to be exposed to unprotected sex.77

2.2 Gender-based violence

Gender-based violence affects the well-being and mental, emotional, and physical health outcomes of girls and women. In Mozambique, as elsewhere, girls are subjected to gender-based violence, including sexual abuse, in the home and in the community. A study conducted by the Ministry of Women and Social Action (MMAS) in 2004 indicated that as many as 54 per cent of women surveyed reported having been beaten, while 23 per cent of respondents reported having been subjected to some form of sexual abuse. 78 There are higher reported levels of domestic violence in rural areas. Most of this abuse is perpetrated by someone close to the woman such as a family member or friend.79

Social acceptance and tolerance of GBV

Social acceptance and tolerance for gender-based violence is fairly widespread across Mozambique, both among men and women. According to MICS, 2008 data, the proportion of women who feel that men have the right to beat them under certain circumstances has dropped from 54 per cent in 2003 to 36 per cent in 2008. While this is a positive change, acceptance by women still remains high. Fifty eight (58) percent of rural women and 48% of urban women agreed that men have the right to beat women under certain circumstances. The most commonly cited reason as justification for wife-beating is the perception by the husband that the wife is neglecting the children. Overall, poorer women had a greater tendency to accept violence. However, while a certain level of force was acceptable, brutal violence was not and was often grounds for leaving a male partner.

One study suggests that the high level of domestic violence appears to be related to a complex array of factors including “general experiences of violence from colonialism and war;” socio-cultural traditions of bringing up children “by [the] hand,” and “the increasing loss of status and social control of men who use violence as a (final) way to assert their masculinity.”80

Education may be one of the most important keys to changing the acceptance of domestic violence, as women with secondary education or higher as far less likely to consider it acceptable for a husband to beat his wife. 81 That said, there is also a high prevalence of sexual abuse in schools as shown by a 2008 Ministry of Education (MINED) survey which revealed that 70 per cent of girl respondents reported that some teachers use sexual intercourse as a condition for promotion between grades.82 Further, 50 per cent of the girls stated that boys in their peer group also abuse them sexually. 83 Actual levels of sexual abuse are possibly even higher, as one

75 MICS does not have data on this for the ages of CARE’s impact group of adolescent girls, aged 10-14.
76 MICS, 2008, p. 115.
77 From a draft paper on gender equality in Mozambique prepared by Naila Kabeer for DFID, 2012.
78 UNICEF. The consequences of violence against children. Maputo, 13 June 2011.
http://www.unicef.org/mozambique/media_8667.html
79 Ibid
81 UNICEF, 2011.
82 Ibid.
83 Ibid.
study indicated that 22 per cent of the girls interviewed did not recognise forced intercourse as abuse, and as many as 35 per cent did not consider verbal harassment as abuse. 84

The same survey found that few girls had knowledge as to whether the law protected them from sexual abuse in schools, nor any idea of how to report incidences of sexual abuse when they occur. The 2008 Mozambican Children’s Act also reaffirms the obligation of school management to report cases of mistreatment of students to the relevant authorities, yet follow-up on acts of violence in schools continues to be inadequate. 85 While the Ministry of Education officially has a ‘zero-tolerance’ policy on sexual abuse in schools, enforcement is weak. According to the UNDP MDG Report, 2010, a lack of female teachers (one in five in 2003) significantly impacts the learning environment for girls who must learn in a largely male environment that often poses great insecurity to the girls. 86

**Initiation rites and early marriage**

Initiation rites are used to socialize girls to be submissive to their husbands and to men in general. 87 Many girls are brought to the rites of initiation as early as 12 or 13 and deemed ready for marriage afterwards. 88 Such rites often keep girls away from school for 3-4 weeks or even permanently. Girls are also often kept away from school after they have their first period so that they are kept away from older boys in order to obtain a higher bride price. The proportion of girls who have had sex by the age of 15 is particularly high in the northern provinces as well as the lowest levels of contraception use and therefore the highest proportions of adolescent mothers. 89

According to a study undertaken by Tvedten et al, 2009, in the north, Muslim initiation rites are carried out for girls upon when they reach puberty to transmit gendered roles and notions of sexuality as well as their obligations towards men. Furthermore, in the north, in the Macua historical tradition, initiation ceremonies typically taught girls fitting behaviour as a wife. Such initiation rites would typically took place at age 10 when women taught them about hygiene, sexual conduct, and their duties towards future husbands. Initiation rites for boys were more towards teaching about responsibility and bravery. 90 While initiation rites are still practised in the north, they have become less common in urban Nampula and particularly in female-headed households (see Table 2). Religious leaders may be responsible for discouraging some of these rites and female-headed households may also be sceptical about such practices and their implications. Girls and boys who have gone through initiation rites are considered ready to engage in sexual relationships, and there is an emphasis on girls’ obligation not to refuse sex. These factors give explanation to the fact that the average of marriage is 16 years in Nampula and a high proportion of girls under 15 (37 percent) have engaged in sexual relationships. 91 Another partial explanation is the fact that under Macua culture, women must prove their fertility.

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84 Tvedten et al, 2008, p. 28 (which says S.C. et al, 2005 but this does not appear in the reference section of the Tvedten paper).
89 MICS, 2008
90 Sheldon, 2002 in Tvedten, Inge, Margarida Paulo, and Minna Tuominen. “If men and women were equal, we would all simply be people” Gender and Poverty in Northern Mozambique. Chr. Michelsen Institute. 2009, p. 24
Table 2 Traditional Initiation Rites among HH Members under 12 Years of Age (Percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practicing Initiation rites</th>
<th>Moxuril MHH</th>
<th>Moxuril FHH</th>
<th>Nampula MHH</th>
<th>Nampula FHH</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the south, on the other hand, traditional initiation rites have all but disappeared in Chokwe and Xai-Xai. The issues of gender and sexuality have “become less of a deep cultural responsibility in the hands of the elders, and more instilled in children through their upbringing/socialization in their own household, extended family and community.”

Table 3: Traditional Initiation Rites Among HH Members Under 16 Years of Age (Percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practicing Cult</th>
<th>Chokwé MHH</th>
<th>Chokwé FHH</th>
<th>Xai-Xai MHH</th>
<th>Xai-Xai FHH</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Early marriage is a widespread phenomenon in Mozambique which has one of the highest rates of child marriage in the world. As a Population Council briefing on early marriage states, “child marriage is a fundamental violation of human rights.” Early marriage in Mozambique erodes a woman’s right to determine her own reproductive destiny and often results in early and numerous pregnancies. Girls are also often at increased risk of HIV infection compared to unmarried sexually active girls as they typically have less decision-making power and autonomy within the confines of marriage, particularly to a much older man. Poorer households often seek to marry off daughters early in order to access much-needed resources both through bride wealth known as “lobolo” and/or the support of the new husband and his family. While economic status is a factor in early marriage, there are other motivations including the cultural practices of specific populations. The percentage of men who marry early is considerably lower than for girls, suggesting that young girls tend to marry older men.

The Family Law, passed in 2004, raised the legal age for marriage to 18 (with parental consent) and 21 (without parental consent). As marriage under the age of 18 is forbidden under the law, many “marriages” are not officially registered and therefore are not counted. For the most part, young women in Mozambique transition out of childhood into womanhood between the ages of 10 and 14. Approximately 18 percent of girls aged 20-24 were married before the age of 15 and 56 percent before the age of 18. These percentages have decreased somewhat since 1997 (when they were 22 per cent and 57 per cent respectively). However, there has been no sizeable change in the average age at first marriage, which increased from 17.4 to 17.5 years. The average age at first marriage among girls varies from 16 years in Nampula to 20 in Maputo City although girls in the poorest quintile of the population are more likely to enter into a marriage early than girls from the better-off quintiles.

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92 Tvedten et al, 2009, p. 25
95 Detailed early marriage data from the MICS, 2008 can be found in Annex 3.
99 UNICEF.
100 (INE 2005; see also Bagnol and Ernesto 2003 In Tvedten, Inge, Margarida Paulo (UEM), and Georgina Montserrat (AustralCowi). Gender Policies and Feminisation of Poverty in Mozambique. Bergen: CMI, 2008, p. ….
101 Based on Population Council 2009 p.23
102 UNICEF. http://www.unicef.org/mozambique/protection.html
104 Ibid. in Tvedten et al, p.
The data on early marriage indicates that the level of education of the head of household is inversely correlated with spousal age difference – the higher the level of education attained by the head of household, the lower the percentage of women who are ten years or more younger than their husbands or partners. This finding is valid both for women aged 15–19 and those aged 20–24. As there is a more pronounced power imbalance between younger adolescent girls who are married to much older men, it would appear, once more, that access to education, in this case for both young men and women could be an important factor in promoting greater balance of decision-making power between men and women within a household.

Some young girls are promised to men at a very early age, but may continue living in their original household until they are 14-15 years. Others move to their husband’s house as children and adjust to a very different social environment and often heavy workload. Some fall into difficult and tense relations with other women in the household (e.g. first wife), while others are often supported into their new role by older women in the new household.

**Trafficking**

With few economic opportunities ahead of them, adolescent (and younger) girls are vulnerable to the exploits of human traffickers who lure them from rural areas to other places within the country or across the border in South Africa with promises of employment or education. They are exploited both in forced domestic service and the sex trade.

While the government does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking, it is making great efforts to do so. A 2011 Report on Trafficking in Persons indicates that during the reporting period and using a 2008 anti-trafficking law, the government had prosecuted and convicted trafficking offenders for the first time and increased prevention efforts through awareness raising billboards, posters, and training of local officials in Sofala and Nampula about legal remedies under the anti-trafficking law. Despite these efforts, the government made minimal efforts to address official complicity in human trafficking and protect trafficking victims.

As indicated during stakeholder conversations with UNFPA, UNICEF, and WLSA, and reiterated in the 2011 Report on Trafficking in Persons Report, the National Police have established a number of Women and Children’s Victim Assistance Units (GAMCs) in police stations throughout the country and provided temporary shelter for and worked with regional social workers to counsel an unknown number of trafficking victims. As of the 2011 Report on Trafficking, there were 231 of these units across the country. The Ministry of the Interior, together with the United National Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Organization, also established a “train the trainer” program, placing 20 trainers across the country to train GAMC staff on victim identification and service referral. A Child Helpline was also established in eleven provincial districts throughout the country in 2009.

**2.3 Labour**

Mozambique’s laws prohibit forced or compulsory labour, including for children. The minimum age for employment without restrictions is 18 years of age although there are exceptions for children between 15 and 18 years provided that employers provide education and professional training and decent working conditions. By law children must receive at least the minimum wage or a percentage of two thirds of the adult wage, whichever is higher. Laws are violated however, particularly in rural areas — in great part

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105 MICS, 2008, p. 108
108 Ibid.
109 According to: UNICEF Mozambique and Child Helpline International, a Child Help Line is: A child helpline is a telecommunications and outreach service for children in need of care and protection. A child helpline is an easy to access, confidential, toll-free, nationally accessible number, which focuses on children’s rights and links children to resources and emergency assistance http://www.childhelplineinternational.org/en/aboutch/whatischl
111 Ibid, para 97.
because of chronic poverty, unemployment of parents and adult relatives, and the overall instability of the economy as well as a lack of education opportunities.

According to the criteria used by the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS), 2008 in Mozambique, 22 per cent of children aged 5–14 years are involved in child labour. Most of these (16%) are involved in family businesses. A slightly higher proportion of girls (24 per cent) are involved in child labour than boys (21 per cent) with girls more frequently involved in domestic tasks. Similar proportions of boys and girls are engaged in working for small-scale family businesses, although the nature of these businesses and the type of work is undefined. There is a slight, but clear difference presented by the MICS data in terms of domestic labour; 8% girls surveyed work on domestic tasks compared to 5% of boys. In rural areas, 25 per cent of children are engaged in child labour, compared to 15 per cent in urban areas; these figures are not disaggregated in the MICS but are substantially differentiated geographically.

Faced with far fewer work opportunities, adolescent (and even younger) girls often find alternative ways to access money. They often must depend on marrying someone who has an income to ensure greater chances of economic security. They can also gain access to money through transactional sex -- either through commercial sex work or through longer term sexual relations with older, more affluent men. The exchange of sex for money or other economic benefits is so common among girls in Mozambique, they even have a special name in Portuguese for the older ones, “catorzinhas” (little fourteens). Girls of 14, 15 or 16, may have a boyfriend their same age as well as an older man – one who may be married to another woman – who will provide them with money, gifts, and some sense of security.

### 2.4 Decision-making

Women experience high visibility in Mozambique’s political environment, and while Mozambique's constitution goes far in supporting equal rights for women and girls, women’s and girls’ engagement in decisions at the provincial, district level, community and household level, particularly in poor and rural areas, is quite a different reality. Women represent just 18% in provincial governments and 5% at district levels (NORAD Report).

Tvedten et al, 2008 indicate the problem of availability of data for analysing the position and role of women within male-headed households in Mozambique, but note that in Southern Africa, the tendency in male-headed households is for women and girls: it has been asserted that in the household, women and girls often play a secondary, subordinate role and have weak negotiating power. Matrilineal households provide more negotiating power for women and girls. While this study did not find data specifically for adolescent girls, recent data (see Table 3) indicate that the large majority of women both in rural and urban areas must still consult the male heads of household around decisions regarding key aspects of their lives (e.g. education, health and, to a lesser extent, food).

#### Table 3: Decision-making responsibility in male-headed households

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112 In the MICS questionnaire, several questions deal with the issue of child labour, that is, of children aged 5–14 years involved in work activities. A child is considered to be involved in child labour if, during the week prior to the survey, the following occurred: 5–11 years old: at least an hour of economic work or 28 hours of domestic work per week 12–14 years old: at least 14 hours of economic work or 28 hours of domestic work per week.

113 MICS, p. 103.

114 In conversation with M. Muzzi, UNICEF, May 2012.


116 Ibid

117 Kabeer, N. p. 1 Women have seen a steady rise in their share of parliamentary seats from 28% in 2003 to 39.2% in 2010.

118 Kabeer, N. p. 1 Women represent just 18% in provincial governments and 5% at district levels (NORAD Report).

119 Tvedten et al, 2009 note that these kinds of data are notoriously difficult to verify, because men and women are likely to respond in ways that agree with established social norms of male supremacy. They add that these may not reflect the actual situation in many households.

In poor households, especially, women (including adolescent girls) have little decision-making power over how many children they wish to have, when they will have them, when they wish to have sexual relations with their partner and when not. It is argued that, "to a greater or lesser degree, when it comes to the specific negotiating capacity of each woman, she is denied control over her own body. One explanation for this is that a woman has historically been regarded as an object, the property of a man (father, husband, boss, etc.), and her rights as a person and a citizen are secondary. As she is regarded as an object, the woman's desire is not respected. This is evident, for example, when a husband refuses to use a condom, to have an HIV test, or when he prevents his wife from practicing family planning. In Gaza in the south, the main contributor to persistent gender disparities is the patrilineal descent system that defines the rights and obligations of men and women, as husbands and wives and fathers and mothers even despite women's political positions and the relative economic independence of many women in Gaza.

Addressing adolescent girls' social isolation is crucial for many reasons – including building self-confidence and skills to improve their capacity to advocate on their own behalf, act together in solidarity for greater collective action, as well as access more secure economic opportunities. Married girls are particularly vulnerable. A recent study on adolescent girls and governance in southern Africa (including Mozambique) found that while boys and girls have limited decision-making power at the household level, both boys and girls felt that girls have less choice in decision-making than boys. Boys felt that while they were not currently included in important family decisions, they were encouraged to attend and learn about family matters. Adolescent girls’ lack of confidence and ability to speak out is heavily constrained by the physical constraints that girls face (and boys also, in the South African field site). The findings in both countries confirmed that girls’ movement is more restricted than boys, largely because of domestic chores in Mozambique.

The same study found that there is also a high level of distrust between women of different ages, with mention of competition and insecurity between the different groups of girls, and between young mothers and older women. Older adults were said to exclude younger mothers from group activities including livelihoods support projects. There was no information identified about peer support between girls, or between girls and boys. "Insecurity, uncertainty and fragility were three phrases that were used by the research team to describe how they felt about the adolescent girls – both the feeling obtained from the way the girls physically presented themselves, to their own observations about their lives, to the external reality that they faced."

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124 Annex 3 shows that more girls than boys spend 28 hours or more on domestic duties according to MICS, 2008 data.

2.5 Education

The importance of girls’ education for development is widely recognized by government, NGOs, and donors alike. This is backed up by the MICS Survey, 2008 which recognized that, "education is a vital prerequisite for combating poverty, empowering women, protecting children from dangerous and exploitative labour and from sexual exploitation, promoting human rights and democracy, protecting the environment and influencing population growth." It also indicated there is a positive correlation between the school attendance of six-year-old children and the education of their mothers and the household economic situation. Eighty (80) percent of the six year old children who had mothers with a secondary or higher education were attending first grade, compared with fifty four (54) per cent of those who have mothers who did not attend school. The socio-economic situation also determined attendance – in households of the richest quintile, 77 percent of children were attending first grade compared to 59 percent for those in poorest households.

Literacy

According to MICS 2008 data, the literacy rate of 15-24 year-old women is higher in the southern regions, especially in Maputo City, Maputo Province, Gaza, and Inhambane. The literacy rates for 15-24 year-old females in rural areas is 31.3% while in the urban areas, it is 70.1%. The national average for this age group of females is 47.2%.  

Primary and secondary education

Educational opportunities are lacking across the country, limiting the life choices for both girls and boys. Although the gap in accessing education in Mozambique is narrowing between boys and girls, two-thirds of those who have never been to school or are currently out of school are girls. The Population Council notes that the most deprived sector across all countries is rural girls. As outlined in the MICS, 2008, the persistence of gender inequality in access to education is pronounced in Tete (GPI 0.53), Manica (GPI 0.55), Cabo Delgado (GPI 0.72), Zambézia (GPI 0.75) and Niassa (GPI 0.78).

While the government has increased the number of schools, 70.6% of the population over the age of 15 have not completed primary education, of which 63.3% are young people between the ages of 15 and 19. Of greater concern is the fact that only 35% of those enrolled in secondary school are females. In the northern provinces, there are particular challenges where female attendance is lowest and the drop-out rate highest. Female enrolment and attendance also drop dramatically at secondary school level, where only 5 per cent of girls finish ESG1 and 0.9 per cent finish ESG2.

A number of constraints have been identified to adolescent girls’ participation in secondary schools including lack of infrastructure, distance to school, lack of mobility due to family responsibilities, fear on the part of (particularly rural) parents to send their daughters to school because of the potential for sexual harassment from male teachers. The sparse population in rural areas poses challenges for servicing the education needs of rural girls and boys. The impact of menstruation on adolescent girls’ attendance to school is critical. Girls are not only kept away from school during the first menstruation, but it also a cause of absenteeism for girls in general and throughout their education due to the lack of appropriate menstrual management in schools. Schools don’t offer enough privacy in sanitary facilities (when existing); there is often a lack of water, and when combined with a lack of access to disposal pads, presents a real (and typically unmentioned) problem for girls. Further, female students’ attendance and quality of participation is affected by their sexualisation by

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125 From Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey, 2008, p. 83
127 From footnote 1. Naila Kabeer Only 1% of rural households and 15% of urban live close to a secondary school (World Bank, 2007), p. 9-10.
128 Gender parity index for education is ratio of girls to boys attending primary and secondary education, MICS, 2008, p. 95.
130 Tvedten et al. p. 27
male teachers and students. However, a recent report notes that the government is working towards advancing women in the education sector through strengthening education support for girls through the Direct Support to Schools (ADE) Programme, especially for secondary and technical-professional schools.  

2.6 Economic opportunities

There is a challenge of balancing adolescent girls’ right to school and providing economic opportunities for girls that have been forced to leave their households and/or to seek income. Interventions with adolescents need to engage address social issues and gender norms, but also need to acknowledge the transition that adolescents are going through into adulthood and therefore need to include consideration of education and economics in the response.  

In the past few years, Mozambique has seen tremendous growth in particular sectors, primarily in the extractive industries, commercial agriculture (with a focus on specific value chains), and supporting infrastructure sectors. However, Mozambique’s growth in the past ten years has been concentrated mostly in foreign-owned, capital-intensive, and export-oriented mega-projects. While these have contributed to Mozambique’s overall economic growth and made it an “investment darling” for foreign investors, these mega-projects have also had limited impact on employment creation and productivity spillovers – particularly for women. While representing 62 percent of the production value of the manufacturing sector, mega-projects only employ 3 percent of the sector’s labor force and 2 percent of urban private sector employment. In fact, it would appear that poverty is on the increase. Evidence indicates, for example, that median rural income in 2002 was 8626 Meticais ($329) per family per year, and fell to 7815 Meticais ($298) by 2008 – less than $1 per day for an entire family.  

The small-scale industry and service sector currently has a competitive formal labour market which is not always accessible to women. Twelve per cent of adult men and only one per cent of adult women in Mozambique have access to formal private-sector employment; in the public sector, this is six and two percent respectively.  

2.7 Conclusions and recommendations

This situation analysis has highlighted a number of issues facing adolescent girls. While the analysis draws, to some extent, on evidence that is beyond that age group in either direction, the implications are relevant.

Adolescent girls face great discrimination and inequities – in their life with their families, in their communities, and beyond at the national level (e.g. translation of policies and laws into action). The issues that have high visibility include the subjection of adolescent girls to initiation rites and early marriage – these stall or effectively end girls’ access to education and put them in vulnerable situations in terms of power differentials with their husbands, their in-laws, and other power holders in their contexts. While the MICS 2008 also provides information on these practices, there is little information or data by specific age groups; likewise for data on gender-based violence.  

Adolescent girls, particularly in rural areas face great challenges accessing education, particularly secondary education, and health services. They face economic insecurities in families that struggle to gain income and

Comment [DP1]: I think we can expand a bit more here. I guess a key issue is the balance between the “right to school” and providing economic opportunities to girls that have been forced to run a household. I do think we are not sufficiently articulating that here. Also this section is focusing more on what should be done but not really describing the situation. Girls are primarily dependent on agriculture or fishing in coastal communities or combine both. How are they supported to improve their skills in these economic sectors on which they depend? Maybe this is where we can speak of Junior FFS for example that combine agriculture and life skills training. Also are there economic programs at government level, specifically targeting youth and this age group? Special education programs? If we did not have time to gather information about that, which is OK, then maybe this should be an area for further information gathering and you could include it in the recommendation section.
produce enough food; insecure households force girls out of school, and often into insecure, unsafe work—often through transactional sex. They also face the reality of few economic opportunities for themselves as they grow into women.

In reviewing different data sources, it became clear that while there is data on adolescent girls, it is not always analysed and presented along the lines of the age group of CARE’s particular impact group (ages 10-14) nor are there always relevant indicators; one example being the lack of nutritional status data for this age group of girls in particular. While the MICS 2008 provided information on child labour, this was not always disaggregated by sex or by age (e.g. around domestic work and labour in ‘family businesses’).

While there are a number of ‘gender mechanisms’ and good policies and laws in place, these are often ineffectual or of minimal help on the ground.

There is clearly a substantial and urgent need to address the particular needs and interests of adolescent girls (particularly between ages 10-14) – both to empower girls themselves and to improve the lives of all communities—both urban and rural.

**Recommendations**

CARE International, through its many country offices, has gained broad experience in conceptualizing, designing, implementing, and monitoring programming on women’s empowerment and gender equality. This vast experience should be leveraged (and adapted where necessary) to improve the lives of adolescent girls in Mozambique.

This study found a number of data gaps, particularly around the specific age group, 10-14. To this end, CARE should consider the following recommendations for action under its new Programming Framework and Programme Strategy.

Work with strategic and other partners including relevant networks to:

- Identify and develop specific age and gender specific and meaningful indicators (possibly also along lines of matrilineal/patrilineal patterns, religion, geography, etc.). This could include, for example, indicators for physical and psychological security and well-being, levels of meaningful participation, women and girls’ land tenure security and participation level in accessing DUAT; access to and control over resources; experience of different aspects of adolescence; prevalence of GBV and prevention and response services. This information could provide a deeper and more comprehensive picture of adolescent girls across different age groups in different regions of the country and help advocate for the inclusion of girls between 10 and 15 in future studies and surveys (e.g. MICS, etc.).
- Advocate for and apply a greater age range for analysis (e.g. 10 – 14 years) to include information on younger adolescents, 10-14, then 15-19, etc. Much of the information collected appears to be against indicators that use ages 15-49, above 18 and under 18, etc.
- Identify and incorporate/adapt participatory, age and gender-sensitive planning, monitoring and evaluation, and advocacy approaches in programming.
- Incorporate issues of adolescent girls into gender and diversity training and capacity strengthening for CARE staff at all levels so that they can participate in and engage with CSOs, NGOs, and networks, government bodies, international (multi-lateral, bi-lateral) organizations (including donors), and private sector to improve lives of adolescent girls and develop decent livelihoods and economic opportunities that respect the rights of these age groups.
- Engage/collaborate with (and/or provide resources and support to) partners such as HOPEM (Men Engage) and Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA), and relevant government bodies (MMAS, UNICEF, UNFPA, etc.) on research and capacity strengthening on adolescent girls’ and boys’ experiences in Burundi, Rwanda, and now under Pathways in neighbouring countries such as Tanzania; VSLA programming with women across Africa and beyond.

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139 Particularly experiences from the Strategic Impact Inquiry; engaging men and boys in Burundi, Rwanda, and now under Pathways in neighbouring countries such as Tanzania; VSLA programming with women across Africa and beyond.
experiences of different issues, particularly around initiation rites and early marriage; the access to and management of natural resources by girls who are married at a young age (between 10 and 15) (is there a difference along age lines, etc.) and economic opportunities. Incorporate findings into CARE’s wider, ongoing programs and ensure broad shared learning outcomes through COSACA and other shared learning platforms in the country (could be identified also through UNFPA, UNICEF, UN Women, FAO, Rede da Criança, etc.)

- Advocate for greater access to social protection services for adolescent girls (10-14) including tailoring services to their needs and strengthening services that deal with gender-based violence (e.g. police units across the country).

- Support CSOs in their efforts to strengthen translation of relevant policies into action on the ground (e.g. paralegals with community leaders, etc. on Domestic Violence Law, Family Law, etc.) in a way that is meaningful for promoting positive change in, and increasing opportunities for adolescent girls.

- Conduct a more indepth organizational assessment of relevant organizations with which CARE could partner/collaborate on these different actions (e.g. MMAS, INAS, Ministry of the Interior, relevant CSOs at national, provincial, district level, WLSS, HOPEM, UNAC, ORAM, Forum Mulher and others specifically focused on agriculture and NRM issues), etc.).

- Explore in greater depth whether there are any economic or special education programs at government level, specifically targeting youth and adolescent girls between 10 and 15 specifically.
### Annex 1: List of organizations interviewed*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Contact</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Centro Terra Viva</td>
<td>Regina dos Santos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOPEM (Men Engage)</td>
<td>Julio Albino Langa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pathfinder International</td>
<td>Rita Badiani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women and Law in Southern Africa (WLSA)</td>
<td>Teresinha DaSilva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFID</td>
<td>Leigh Stubblefield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAO</td>
<td>Marianna Bicchieri</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>Mariana Muzzi</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>Estrella Alcade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNWomen</td>
<td>Julie Diallo</td>
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<tr>
<td>WFP</td>
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</tbody>
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*Note: A number of other organizations were visited in January for a separate USAID and EU proposal (including Forum Mulher) as well as in May (on the parallel Stakeholders Analysis).
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