

EVALUATION DEPARTMENT

REPORT 2/2015



Evaluation of Norway's support to women's rights and gender equality in development cooperation

Mozambique case study report

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Commissioned by
the Evaluation Department

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Swedish Institute for Public Administration (SIPU) in cooperation with
Overseas Development Institute (ODI) and the Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI)

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This report is the product of its authors,
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interpretations, and conclusions presented
in this report do not necessarily reflect the views
of the Norad Evaluation Department.

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1. Introduction

The Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad) commissioned the Swedish Institute of Public Administration (SIPU) in Sweden, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in the UK and Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) in Norway to undertake a results-based evaluation on the effects Norwegian aid is having in terms of enhancing women's rights and gender equality (WRGE) in Southern partner countries. The evaluation also assesses the extent to which the results of Norway's gender programming have been in line with goals set out in the Action Plan for Women's Rights and Gender Equality in Development Cooperation (MFA 2007) and its four main thematic priorities: political empowerment; economic empowerment; sexual and reproductive health rights (SRHR); and violence against women (VAW). The evaluation's ultimate aim is to identify lessons learnt to inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' (MFA's) future efforts to strengthen its planning, organisation and implementation of interventions to promote WRGE.

The study covers all Norwegian support to WRGE in development cooperation in the period 2007-2013, whether directly targeted

or gender-mainstreamed (see main report, page 10, for full definition). The evaluation includes a desk review, which aims to assess the global dimension of Norway's gendered aid, as well as three in-depth country case studies, conducted in Ethiopia, Mozambique and Nepal (all gender pilot embassies) and two remote case studies of non-pilot embassies (Tanzania and Zambia). This report constitutes the in-depth case study for Mozambique.

The evaluation combines a gendered political economy approach, to understand the structural and institutional dynamics shaping Norway's relative efficiency in promoting WRGE, and an anthropological evaluation approach, assessing gender dynamics 'from below' in order to understand effects on locally embedded institutions and on poor individual women, men, girls and boys as the ultimate target group of all Norwegian aid. The evaluation also links quantitative data on the position of men and women in Mozambique and on programme outputs and outcomes with qualitative data and interpretive analysis to assess harder-to-measure results such as issues of identity formation and

social relations and distribution of power between men and women.

EMPOWERMENT:

The process of becoming stronger and more confident, especially in controlling one's life and claiming one's rights. (Oxford Dictionary)

The specific evaluation questions underpinning the case study focus on the *effectiveness*, *relevance* and *sustainability* of Norwegian development cooperation support to WRGE, defined as:

- 1. Effectiveness:** To what degree has Norwegian support to WRGE led to the intended results?
- 2. Relevance:** To what degree is Norwegian support to WRGE aligned with the Action Plan and to what extent is it relevant in view of national priorities, needs and possibilities?
- 3. Sustainability:** To what degree has Norwegian support influenced, positively or negatively,

national processes to improve WRGE, including influencing national ownership of the issues or the capacity of national institutions and implementing partners?

Each country case study treats different thematic pillars of the Action Plan. This case study of Mozambique focuses on gender equality and economic empowerment of women in energy and agriculture. In addition, we assess women-focused projects through the Gender Grant that have played an important role in Mozambique. The projects were selected on the basis of thematic area of economic empowerment, source of funding (Budget chapter 168.70 Women and gender equality, or Women and Gender Equality Grant, or WGE Grant for short), volume of funding, gender marking and diversity of partners. The projects selected were:

Economic empowerment

1. Energy. MOZ-04/286 The Cabo Delgado Rural Electrification Project (Cabo Delgado/Macomia) and MOZ-11/0033 Gender Mainstreaming in Energy Development Cooperation

2. Agriculture. MOZ-06/052 ProSoya Project: Expanding Soy Bean Production and Marketing in Northern Mozambique; MOZ-11/0051 Climate-Smart Agriculture in Mozambique, PROMAC; and MOZ-12/0047 NPA/UNAC 'Women Can Do It'

Women and Gender Equality Grant

3. WGE Grant. MOZ-11/0050 SRHR and Safe Abortion Pathfinder and MOZ-10/0059 HOPEM/'Men for Change'

4. Institutional Development. MOZ-09/035 Core Support to Forum Mulher (Umbrella NGO)

The country case study was carried out during a three-week period in November-December 2014, with one week in the capital Maputo and two one-week-long project site visits to the provinces of Cabo Delgado and Zambézia (see Figure 1). A total of 40 formal interviews were carried out (see Annex 2). Quantitative data were taken from relevant project documents and public sources at national and local level. Qualitative data were sought through eight focus group discussions – matrix on gender

FIGURE 1: FIELDWORK SITES, MOZAMBIQUE



Source: Derived from Economist Intelligence Unit

roles, ranking of preferred intervention, mapping of project impact on the community and most significant change from project interventions – as well as a number of in-depth interviews with project beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries.

The Country Team Lead for Mozambique is Dr Inge Tvedten, Senior Researcher at CMI in Norway. Dr Tvedten worked with Senior National Experts Carmeliza Rosário (fieldwork Cabo Delgado and Zambézia) and Sheila Faquir (interviews in Maputo), both from Cowi/Mozambique, and National Research Assistant Fumo Chacuro.

2. Country profile

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The State promotes, supports and values the development of women and encourages their growing role in society, in all spheres of political, economic and social activities in the country.

(Mozambican Constitution)

Despite impressive economic growth over the past decades in Mozambique and the fact that poverty reduction and gender equality have been high on the political agenda, standard indicators such as the UN Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index (with a ranking of 178 out of 187 countries) and the Gender-Related Development Index (also with a ranking of 178 out of 187 countries) reveal that Mozambicans remain poor overall as well as in gender equality terms. A total of 36.6 per cent of all households are female-headed, which are poorer than their male-headed counterparts, with the proportion showing an increasing trend. During the past eight years, former reductions in the poverty rate have also come to an abrupt halt: poverty stood at 54.7 per cent in 2008/09 compared with 54.1 per cent in 2002/03 and 69.4 per cent in 1996/97 (INE 2011; UNDP 2014).

Important progress for women has been made in areas including political representation (particularly at national level),¹ education (increased primary school enrolment rate) and health (reduced maternal and child mortality rates), but the socioeconomic position of women remains weak, with large variations between different parts of the country and between rural and urban social formations in key areas such as employment, agricultural productivity, income and sexual and other types of abuse. Mozambique has the eleventh highest rates of child, early and forced marriage in the world. The country also has some of the worst maternal mortality rates in the region (despite recent improvements) and a high unmet need for contraceptives. One in three women say they have suffered from gender-based violence (GBV), with social acceptance of GBV high, and highest in the poorest quintiles. In general terms, the matrilineal and Muslim north remains more 'traditional' than the patrilineal and Christian southern and central parts of the country, in

¹ Mozambique is listed as number 26 out of 136 countries on the World Economic Forum (WEF) Gender Gap Index, much thanks to its high political empowerment rank (WEF 2014).

terms of economic adaptation, sociocultural organisation and gender characteristics – including more limited economic participation, higher levels of early marriages and lower levels of literacy among women (INE 2011; MPD 2010a, see Annex 3 for more details).

2.2 GENDER HISTORY

At Independence in 1975, the socialist Frelimo government had as its explicit policy to work towards gender equality and the empowerment of women in the 'new Mozambique'. The creation of the Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM) was seen as an important vehicle for such a policy. The government *did* accomplish high political representation and employment in state cooperatives and industries, and made 'gender equality' a familiar concept among parts of the population, but for the large majority of Mozambican women the concrete implications of the socialist policies were limited. In fact, Frelimo's political decisions relating to gender equality and the empowerment of women were never really intended to change basic relations of provisioning and influence at the private and domestic level (Sheldon 2002). Since the early 1990s, Mozambique has

followed a liberal line in its political economy, emphasising the facilitating role of the state and the importance of the market. At the same time, gender equality has been put on the political map. Mozambique is the signatory of all regional and international initiatives aimed at promoting equal rights for men and women.² Important vehicles for gender equality have included the establishment of a separate Ministry for Women and Social Affairs in 2000; the establishment of gender focal points and gender units to promote gender equality in public institutions; the approval of the Family Law of 2002 and the Law Against Domestic Violence of 2009; and relatively strong gender-based non-governmental organisations (NGOs) headed by Forum de Mulher in an otherwise relatively weak civil society context (Hanlon and Smart 2008).

² These include the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women from 1993; the Solemn Declaration of Gender Equality in Africa from 1994; the Southern African Development Community's Gender Declaration from 1997; and the Optional Protocol to the African Charter on Human Rights and Peoples' Rights and the Rights of Women from 2005.

2.3 WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

Despite the emphasis on women's empowerment by the government (five out of 13 ministers and four out of 11 governors are women) and high female representation in parliament (38 per cent), key gender-related policies are not yet having significant impacts on gender relations and the position of women in Mozambique. At one level, there is no *necessary* link between women's representation and women-friendly policy decisions. It has, for example, been argued that female members of parliament were no more eager than their male counterparts to push for the Law Against Domestic Violence because they were afraid it would jeopardise the family as an institution (www.wlsa.org.mz). Moreover, law-makers in Mozambique have tended to follow feminist arguments and international conventions rather than relate actively to the situation in their own country. By making polygamy illegal with the new Family Law, for example, they have effectively made it impossible for the approximately 22.5 per cent of Mozambican women finding themselves in *de jure* or *de facto* polygamous relationships to take their husbands to court (Arnfred 2011).

At the same time, representation of women is weaker at the lower levels of decision-making, where policies are to be implemented. Concerted efforts have been made to enhance women's representation in the new institutions for community participation and consultation by defining a minimum representation of either sex at 30 per cent, but the proportion of women in these institutions is still considerably lower, as public authorities continue to appoint the better-off and influential, who tend to be men. Finally, largely hereditary traditional leaders (chiefs, headmen and sub-headmen) and religious institutions (be they Christian, Muslim or other) are stubbornly male in their representation in all parts of the country, despite the dominance of women in the congregations (Tvedten *et al.* 2009, 2010).

Women are more prominent at the very lowest levels of representation in rural villages and urban neighbourhoods, where they are elected by their communities rather than appointed to office. Having said this, the problem is still that too few gender-related policy and legislative reforms, including the Family Law and the Law

Against Domestic Violence, actually reach down to the local level, where traditional authorities have a strong impact. There are cases of local NGOs and community-based organisations promoting awareness of such legal instruments and other gender issues in local communities, but their coverage is still limited and they often meet resistance in local (male-dominated) community courts. The most important victory for WRGE in the past few years – namely, the dismissal of a proposed law to criminalise abortion – was driven largely by civil society (*ibid.*).

2.4 GENDER ECONOMICS

Mozambique's poverty reduction strategy papers make explicit references to gender, recognising that empowerment of women is a 'decisive factor in endeavours to eradicate poverty' (MPD 2010b). The more concrete gender policy measures advocate the importance of getting the economic 'framework' right, in the form of, for example, the establishment of gender focal units in economic entities, gender-sensitive budgeting and revision of all legislation that is discriminatory towards the participation of women in economic life. However, this 'frame-

work' has been only partially achieved: the impact of the gender focal units at different levels is generally limited; gender-sensitive budgeting is still in its infancy; and, while there is an ongoing legal reform process, it does not explicitly review laws that are discriminatory from a gender point of view (*ibid.*).

Economic sectors of particular importance for women, such as agriculture and informal trade, have hitherto largely been left to 'the market', with limited budget allocations and very few direct interventions aimed explicitly at women and female-headed households. Partial exceptions are interventions to support women through agricultural extension services and microcredit schemes. The former has not been particularly successful, as female-headed households are characterised by having a very low rate of absorption of new agricultural technologies. Data are still limited from the District Development Fund (FDD), which was initiated in 2006 and is the country's most important microcredit scheme, but women represent a clear minority of borrowers, even though they are best at honouring their loan obligations (Jones and Tarp 2013).

In addition to agriculture, the informal sector is most important for the wellbeing of the Mozambican population in both rural and urban areas (see Annex 3). The sector is affected by macroeconomic developments such as exchange rates, the dominance of goods imported from South Africa and consumer price inflation. Otherwise, it has largely been left to its own 'destiny', with the involvement and role of women showing considerable variations in different parts of the country and in rural and urban areas. In Maputo, it forms the basis for a remarkable development whereby the level of poverty among female-headed households is now lower than that among male-headed households; in the urban north women are still virtually absent in large informal markets (Tvedten 2009 and 2015).

2.5 AID AND GENDER

Official development assistance (ODA) has played an important part in the economic development of Mozambique, representing an average of around 50 per cent of government expenditure since Independence, with peaks at the end of the civil war in 1992 and during the devastating floods in 2000. In 2013, 90 per cent of all ODA to Mozambique was channelled through government institutions and 10 per cent through NGOs. According to Arndt *et al.* (2009), aid has made an ‘unambiguous positive contribution’ in the conflict, post-conflict and reconstruction period, even though the authors also acknowledge that the large influx of aid has tended to tilt the government’s attention in the direction of donors rather than towards the population. However, this seems to be changing rapidly with the current gas, oil and extractive industry boom, with the ensuing appearance of alternative economic and aid partners having led to a reduction in the relative importance of ODA from 56 per cent of government expenditure in 2006 to 38 per cent in 2014 (Hanlon 2014, see also www.pap.org.mz).

TABLE 1: GENDER-MARKED PROJECTS AMONG DONORS IN MOZAMBIQUE, 2007-2013 (%)

Country/donor	2007	2010	2013
DAC (Development Assistance Committee) members, total	22	35	32
Australia	0	1	57
Canada	27	54	75
Denmark	3	66	20
Finland	91	5	77
Netherlands	1	1	22
Norway	19	22	*54
Sweden	96	100	37
Switzerland	3	12	69
UK	0	81	40

Source: OECD/DAC 2015. Note: * Temporary increase owing to a large reduction in the total aid volume in 2013.

International and national aid organisations in Mozambique have all established ‘gender equality and women’s empowerment’ as a crosscutting policy, ostensibly affecting all their development and poverty reduction initiatives. As Table 1 shows, some agencies have given more emphasis to gendered aid than others. Norway has among the lowest scores in terms of gender marks.

A Donor Gender Group was created in 1998, and transformed into a Gender Coordination Group (GCG) a few years later to involve donors, the government and civil society in Mozambique in a concerted effort to further mainstream gender issues. However, evaluations show that the idea of ‘mainstreaming’ gender (in the sense of making it part of core institutional thinking and all programmes and projects) seems to have pulverised

responsibilities and made gender into a non-issue for many government institutions as well as donors (Davids *et al.* 2013; Tvedten *et al.* 2008). Institutions that have managed to make gender an integral part of their programmes and projects include the specialised agencies the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), later UN Women, and most of our interlocutors saw bilateral donors such as the UK Department for International Development (DFID), the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida) as taking gender most seriously (see also Tvedten *et al.* 2008). As we discuss further below, the relative importance Norway has accorded to gender issues has varied throughout the period under evaluation. Important Mozambican NGOs that continue to work for gender equality are the umbrella organisation Forum de Mulher (Women's Forum), the Women and Law in Southern Africa Research and Education Trust (WLSA) and Women's Law and Development (MULEIDE).

While gender policies and interventions may be important, evidence from Mozambique suggests most profound changes in gender relations are

found in the wake of deep structural change affecting the socioeconomic context in which people find themselves, such as war, labour migration, impoverishment, urbanisation³ and economic upheavals related to mega-projects in oil, gas and extractive industries. Currently, the most significant changes in the position of women seem to take place in larger cities such as Maputo, Beira and Nampula and in the provinces of Tete (coal) and Cabo Delgado (oil and gas). It is in this context that Norwegian aid to women's rights and gender equality is being implemented.

³ According to preliminary data from the new Census, 32 per cent of the population currently lives in cities and towns, up from 28 per cent in the 2007 Census (www.ine.gov-mz). Maputo/Matola is by far the largest city, with 1.9 million inhabitants.

3. Norwegian support to WRGE in Mozambique

3.1 OVERVIEW OF WRGE

The goal of Norwegian Development cooperation is to eradicate poverty. Because of discrimination and inequality, women are in a larger proportion than men victims of poverty. More than 80 % of the world's poor are women and their children. Women and gender equality are therefore key elements in the Norwegian development policy. The promotion and implementation of women's human rights, women's political and economic participation, control over own sexuality and fertility, as well as combating gender based violence are at [the] core of the cooperation.

(Norwegian Embassy in Maputo, Homepage <http://www.norway.org.mz>)

Mozambique has been Norway's second largest partner in bilateral development cooperation over time, with a total allocation of NOK 11,604.6 million between 1976 and 2013, trailing only that to Tanzania. Norway's part of total bilateral aid to Mozambique in the period 2007-2013 was 6 per cent – that is, 2 per cent higher than Norway's global share of bilateral aid. Total Norwegian aid to Mozambique in 2013 was NOK 298 million,

down from between NOK 552 million and NOK 445 million in the period 2007-2012.⁴ This made Norway the thirteenth largest bilateral donor in Mozambique – smaller than Sweden and Denmark but larger than Finland.

Bilateral aid to Mozambique was initiated in 1977, and built on Norwegian political contacts and assistance to the Independence struggle and Frelimo. Since the very beginning, it focused on aid to the sectors of energy and fisheries and civil society, with general budget support increasing in importance from around 2005. In this context, gender continued to be part of the political dialogue and was defined as a crosscutting issue – albeit without specific programmes and projects, except for support to the umbrella organisation Forum Mulher, which was initiated in 1989.⁵

⁴ The drop is related mainly to the discontinuation of budget support from 2012 and a reduction in the energy portfolio from 2013. It does not seem to reflect a permanent reduction, as the new Norwegian government has chosen Mozambique as one of six main countries of cooperation.

⁵ Nina Berg (married to the late investigative journalist Carlos Cardoso) from the Norwegian Embassy was part of a small group of women who managed to muster funding for such an organisation.

Norwegian gendered aid to Mozambique in energy, fisheries and other programmes has been affected by two main shifts in Norway's aid policies and management. The first was the transition from 'hands-on' programme and project aid, largely based on the use of Norwegian 'experts' and volunteers on long-term assignments in the field until the mid-1990s, to a stronger focus on recipient responsibilities and the use of a more detached institutional cooperation model involving Norwegian and Mozambican 'twinning partners' (i.e. similar public institutions in the two countries). While the first period was affected by 'solidarity' and 'feminist' thinking, at the heights/in the aftermath of the solidarity/feminist movement, the second became more affected by sector-based 'technocrats' working primarily at the institutional level – arguably with a more limited focus on gender issues.⁶

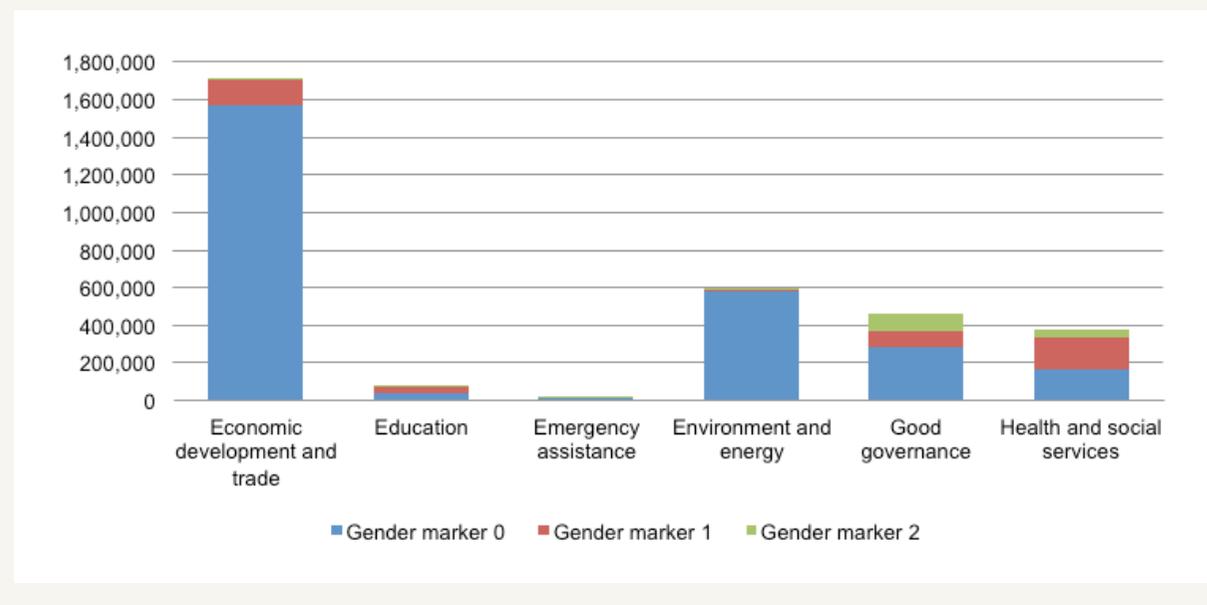
The second shift came in 2004, with the 'divorce' and transfer of money and power from

⁶ The transition coincided with the Beijing Conference in 1995 and its emphasis on 'gender mainstreaming' – which, according to some critics, actually came to pulverise responsibilities for WRGE.

Norad to MFA/the embassies. While Norad possessed most of the expertise in the field of gender at the time, the directorate saw itself with reduced impact both on policies and in project implementation (Selbervik and Østebø 2013). To re-establish the focus on what had traditionally been seen as an important Norwegian 'export article', the Gender Strategy/Action Plan of 2007-2013 was developed.⁷ The Strategy lifted gender as a crosscutting issue, but its implementation came to depend largely on the interests of people in management positions at the level of MFA and the embassies. As highlighted in the 2009 midterm review of the Action Plan (Norad 2009a), there were clear signs that gender equality and women empowerment did not receive the attention in actual programme implementation envisaged. Mozambique does not seem to have been an exception, in a portfolio where economic development has been central (Figure 2, see Annex 3 for more details).

⁷ Some would argue that this was the outcome at least partly of attempts to export Norway's own 'development model' and have an impact in the world – rather than the outcome of a dialogue with partner countries in accordance with the Paris Declaration (Østebø 2013; Tvedt 2005).

FIGURE 2: ODA IN NOK TO MOZAMBIQUE BY TARGET AREA AND GENDER MARKER, 2007-2013 (NOK '000S)



Source: MFA/Norad 2015

The proposed solutions to enhance the emphasis and options for reaching the objectives of the Gender Strategy/Action Plan were to establish (1) gender pilot embassies and (2) a special gender budget line (Budget chapter 168.70 Women and gender equality), of which MFA was to manage two-thirds and Norad one-third. Being a pilot

embassy potentially implied strengthening embassy capacity on gender, options for additional funding and stricter requirements on reporting on results. The main objectives of the WGE Grant were to fund smaller targeted and innovative projects in the area of gender equality and women's empowerment (MFA 2013).

The embassy in Mozambique worked hard to become part of both initiatives, partly out of interest from embassy management and staff, partly to accommodate political pressure from Oslo and partly to get access to the additional funding. The programme portfolio at the time, still focusing on energy and fisheries, with budget support being the third major component, was not in itself considered to invite a stronger gender focus. According to interviewees, there are also few if any traces of expressed requests from sector partner institutions for a stronger focus on gender. As a result of the increased embassy focus, however, a special gender officer was recruited in early 2009.^{8/9}

As part of the process of becoming a gender pilot embassy, Norad carried out a special gender review in 2009 (Norad 2009b), going through the total aid portfolio to assess its

8 The officer was originally recruited to a post combining health and gender, but health was taken out of the portfolio as of 2009.

9 One of her first initiatives was to commission a series of studies on gender in Mozambique, covering institutional as well as real-life issues, in order to have a better basis for programming (Tvedten *et al.* 2008, 2009, 2010).

‘gender sensitivity’. The report was critical to the ‘gender blindness’ in budget support and fisheries but positive on the ‘practical integration of women and gender issues’ in agriculture. It recommended a stronger focus in the embassy’s strategic priorities (including energy) and argued for a ‘catalytic’ approach to gender in the embassy portfolio.

At about the same time, funds from the WGE Grant were released and used to continue the support to Forum Mulher as well as to support smaller gender-targeted civil society programmes. A total of 47 projects were financed under this mechanism between 2009 and 2013, involving 20 different partners, with the bulk of projects (72 per cent) being defined under the Good Governance portfolio and only six per cent under Economic Development and Trade (see Annex 4). While these represent a broad variety of partners, sectors and approaches, the focus has increasingly been on projects that represent ‘niches’ to which Mozambican authorities and many donors do not want to openly relate. These include support to combat GBV and safe abortions through the international

NGO Pathfinder, support to gay rights through the (still illegal) NGO LAMBDA and a project on female condoms and lesbian gay bisexual transgender support implemented by Population Services International (PSI). The most pioneering project under the WGE Grant was probably the support to the then-national (now international) NGO HOPEM, focusing on men’s engagement for women’s rights and gender equality.

The apparently strong drive to make the Maputo Embassy more gender-focused culminated with the production of the embassy Gender Action Plan in 2012 (AustralCowi 2012). The Plan was developed by a local consultant, with specific ‘lines of action’ for energy and oil development; fisheries; environment and climate; economic governance; the private sector; the gender portfolio; and civil society. It also contained a critical analysis of institutional processes with ‘enabling factors’ and ‘complicating factors’. Practically all interviewees state that the process of developing the Plan was participatory and inclusive, with the final document a good and sober publication going through concrete measures to include gender in the embassy

portfolio. The new gender officer who arrived in 2012, also with a strong gender background, described it as coming to a ‘set table’ (*dekket bord*).

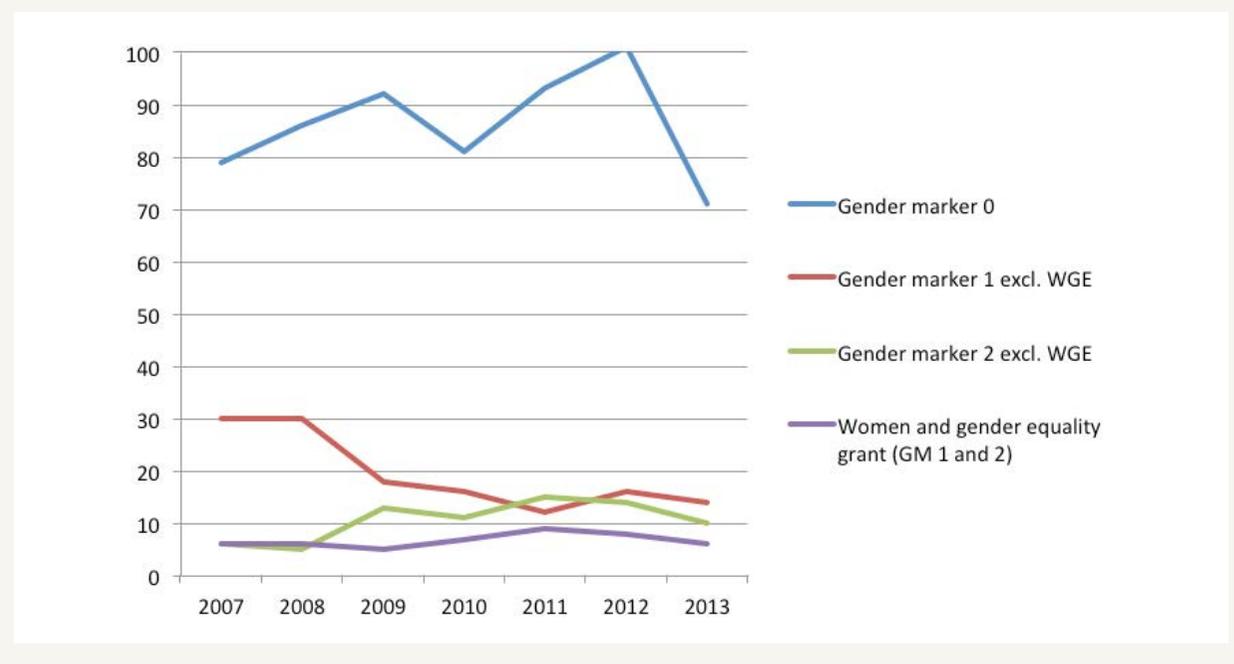
3.2 USE OF AID FOR WRGE

Despite the large number of gender-related initiatives and apparent goodwill, however, the proportion of gender-marked projects¹⁰ in Mozambique between 2007 and 2013 is exceptionally low compared with that for other donors (see Table 1) as well as other recipients of Norwegian aid, at 30 per cent of aid projects and 18 per cent of aid volume (Figure 2, see Annex 3 for more details).¹¹ Also, there was no clear change in the period 2009-2012, when the embassy’s focus on gender was at its highest. The majority of gender-marked projects are, in fact, funded through the Women and Gender Equality Grant budget line, with concomitantly few under the general budget.

¹⁰ Policy marker 2 = main objective and policy marker 1 = significant objective. Policy marker would indicate that gender has no relevance, but see below.

¹¹ The equivalent figure for the other case study countries in this evaluation is 54 per cent for Ethiopia and 68 per cent for Nepal.

FIGURE 3: PROPORTION OF GENDER-MARKED PROJECTS, 2007-2013 (%)



Source: MFA/Norad 2015

As we see it, this rests on a combination of factors in addition to the implications of having a project portfolio focussing on economic rather than social sectors. One is the tendency to disregard gender when the issue competes with heavy sector concerns and other crosscutting

issues (including the fight against corruption, the environment and vulnerability to climate change)¹² for attention in the decision document

¹² ‘Financial management and corruption are dangerous [not to include], gender is not’, as one officer put it.

(*Beslutningsdokumentet*), the PTA¹³ system of registration and other central planning and decision-making instruments. The embassy in Maputo has slowly but consistently moved towards becoming a private sector embassy (*Næringslivsambassade*), with an increasing focus on accommodating Norwegian interests in the oil and gas sector and with a de facto reduced attention to classical development aid.¹⁴ As pointed out in midterm review of the Action Plan (Norad 2009a), pressure and support from management is vital for actively including issues like gender in the portfolio.

Second, and in stark contrast with, for example, Sida and DFID, there are no compulsory loops to safeguard that gender is taken into consideration. Only projects over NOK 15 million have to be sent to Oslo for scrutiny by the relevant sector department, and it is up to the individual officer if they consider Norad's Section for Rights

13 The PTA is Norad's system for planning, monitoring and reporting on individual development cooperation activities. Through its aggregated reports, it is also the basis for planning and reporting on total, country and sector levels.

14 In line with this, the consultant doing the embassy's own Gender Action Plan was never invited to follow this up after a year (i.e. in 2013) as originally planned.

and Gender Equality (LIRE) to be relevant. At the embassy level, new programmes and projects do not have to pass by the gender officer, and usually do so only on the initiative of the gender officer herself. In addition, there seem to be different perceptions about the status and obligations of the Action Plan. While some officers consider this to imply all programmes and projects should take gender into consideration irrespective of gender mark, others see it as one of a number of action plans that are impossible to accommodate in a hectic daily work schedule.¹⁵

Third, and more specifically related to the issue of gender marking, the system of gender policy marker 2 and 1 in PTA – where a no or 0 entry does not have to be qualified – has been seen as a vehicle to enhance a gender focus and implement the Action Plan. However, there seems to be a perception that there are limits to

15 Currently, the confusion also involves the status of the former Gender Action Plans (2007-2013 and 2013-2015) in a situation when the new government has not developed a new one. According to interviewees, the political signals given concerning the focus on gender are difficult to interpret: on the one hand the new political leadership apparently argued in favour of discontinuing the Women and Gender Equality Grant (only to be 'saved' by the permanent staff); on the other the new government has stated that girls' education will be one of its priority areas.

how many policy markers one can insert for each project (which, according to Norad, is in fact not the case), making gender easily fall out in the midst of other sector and crosscutting issues. In cases where gender was not originally marked but has received more attention at later stages in the project development cycle, it is seen as very cumbersome to go back and change the original policy markers as it has to involve headquarters in Oslo.

Having said all this, there are signs of under-reporting on gender through the gender marker system in the Mozambique project portfolio – as hypothesised for Norwegian aid in general in the midterm review of the Action Plan (Norad 2009a). In sector support to economic development in energy, agriculture and partly also fisheries, gender marks are limited (see Figure 2), but central documents such as baseline studies, appraisals, midterm reviews and to some extent also stated objectives do take gender into consideration (see below). In fact, based on the reading of a number of final programme assessments and evaluations, most programmes will in some way or another

be measured against their implications for poverty reduction and/or gender equality – including the non-marked rural electrification (MOZ-04/286) and agricultural production (MOZ-06/052) projects we assess in more detail below.

3.3 PARTNERS

The embassy relates to three main types of partners in its programme planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and result dissemination in the area of WRGE in Mozambique (see Table 2 and Figure 4). One is Mozambican public institutions, NGOs and (albeit to a lesser extent) private sector enterprises. A second is other donors, either multilateral organisations (including specialised agencies such as UNIFEM and UN Women) or other bilateral organisations working with gender and/or that are ‘like-minded’ (such as Sida, the Danish International Development Agency (Danida) and DFID). And a third are external partners either being contracted for project implementation (often Norwegian ‘twinning partners’ such as the Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate (NVE)/Statnett in energy and the Norwegian Institute of Marine

TABLE 2: GENDERED AID TO MOZAMBIQUE BY AGREEMENT PARTNER, 2007-2013

	Total		Gender marker 0		Gender marker 1		Gender marker 1	
	NOK 1,000	%	NOK 1,000	%	NOK 1,000	%	NOK 1,000	%
Consultants	17,366	1	16,064	93	431	2	870	5
Governments/ministries	2,023,038	62	1,864,941	92	15,1097	7	7,000	0
Multilateral institutions	146,417	5	30,000	20	89,217	61	27,200	19
NGO international	141,830	4	69,016	49	36,553	26	36,261	26
NGO local	160,110	5	56,438	35	36,094	23	67,578	42
NGO Norwegian	248,159	8	138,947	56	86,728	35	22,484	9
Norwegian priv. sector	7,376	0	7,033	95	343	5	0	0
Norwegian publ. sector	56,426	2	49,959	89	5,752	10	715	1
Other private sector	315,332	10	285,771	91	26,077	8	3,484	1
Publ. sector dev.countr.	58,301	2	58,222	100	0	0	79	0
Publ.sector other donor	67,642	2	67,642	100	0	0	0	0
Unknown	2,258	0	2,092	93	87	4	79	3
Total	3,244,256	100	2,646,125	82	432,380	13	16,5751	5

Source: MFA/Norad 2015

Research(IMR)/Department of Fisheries (DoF) in fisheries) or for monitoring and evaluation exercises (consulting companies or, more rarely, independent academic researchers).

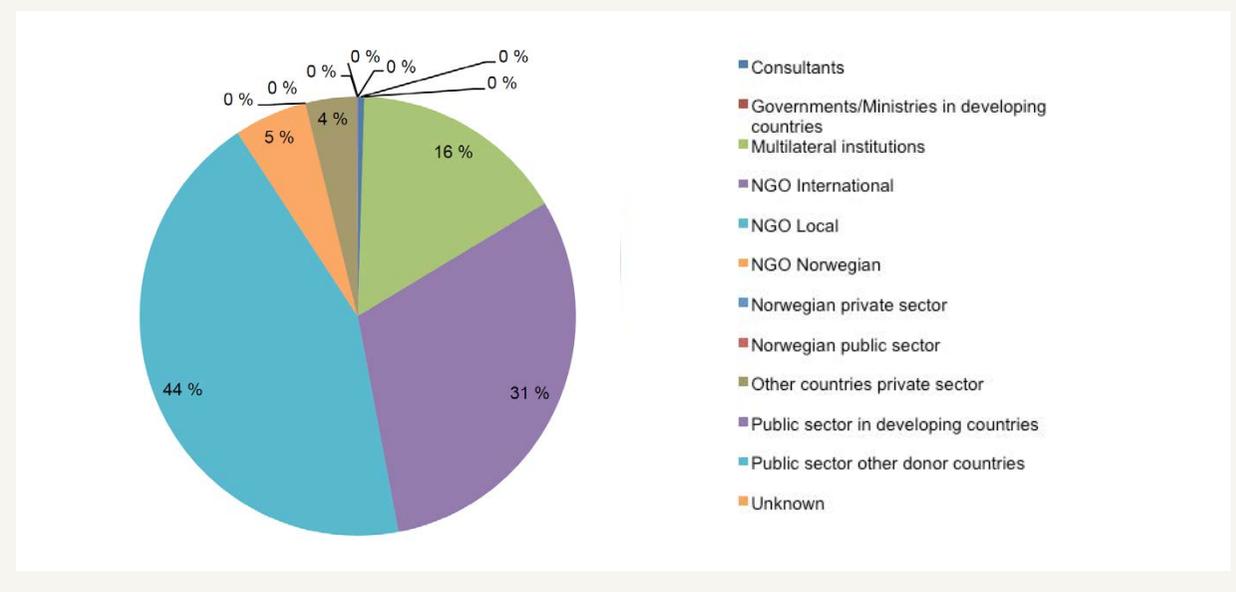
Relations with national partners follow the formal programme development cycle, initiated by a request and a programme document that in principle is to be written by the partner institution itself. In practice, however, both embassy

personnel and external partners are often involved. This is followed by the production of a platform for dialogue, an appraisal (for larger programmes) and an appropriation document. According to our interviewees, gender has very rarely been taken up as an issue by the partners themselves but rather on the initiative of the embassy. The emphasis on gender in the follow-up phase (work plan, budget, audit, financial report, progress report for the partner, mandate for annual meeting, reviews, evaluations for Norway) as well as in the completion phase (final report, completion document) depends largely on the initial emphasis given to the issue of gender – but as we see below it also depends on the evolving gender interest of embassy staff and the various partners.

Norway has not been a particularly central partner in the donor group concerning gender, and is not mentioned as a central actor by other donors in this area.¹⁶ The key institution for gender coordination between donors and partner

¹⁶ Having said this, Norway is largely considered a good partner mainly because it is seen to live up to the principle of recipient's responsibility once it has decided to fund a gender project or a gender component in a sector programme.

FIGURE 4: WOMEN AND GENDER EQUALITY GRANT BY AGREEMENT PARTNER (%)



Source: MFA/Norad 2015

institutions is the GCG. While the group has varied considerably in its size and efficiency, it has been a central source of information and coordination. Norway has never taken on a lead position, and has not been part of the group the past year (2013/14), despite what other donors claim to be a revitalisation of the GCG. Finally, Norway has had limited contact on gender

issues with the two donors largely considered to be leads in this area – Sida and DFID – except with concrete programmes.

External twinning partners have had a central role in the implementation of Norway's two largest sector agreements in energy and fisheries since the very beginning. Both NVE/Statnett and IMR/

BOX 1: THINKING BIG

The Norwegian projects assessed in this evaluation are either sector related initiatives that seek to accommodate issues of WRGE into what are primarily sector-based endeavours or projects with a primary focus on WRGE that tend to be smaller and linked to 'women' issues like SRHR. An alternative approach is to THINK BIG and combine a focus on economic empowerment and poverty reduction with a primary focus on women. DFID's planned LIGADA-project in Mozambique is based on an explicit recognition that mainstreaming gender has not delivered good results, and the importance of women for urban poverty reduction. The project will have four lines of operation: The innovative component is centred on identifying and nurturing local capacity to deliver projects/products which will increase economic empowerment among low income young women. The broker component will facilitate relationships and fund activities between private sector and other stakeholders, focused on incentives to recruit and retain young women in work. The learn component aims to establish baselines, design quantitative and qualitative research to improve the understanding of the economic situation of urban women and girls, and pathways to decent work. And the brand component involves the development of an urban 'brand platform' on women, girls and work – focussing on social norms and behaviour change, work in relation to risky behaviours, gender-based violence and women's time poverty. The project will be implemented 2015-2020, and has a total budget of approximately 150 million NOK (DFID 2015).

DoF (through the Centre for Development Cooperation in Fisheries, CDCF) are in practice strongly involved in all phases of the programme development cycle and have much of the daily communication with partners in Mozambique – often in the form of advisors stationed in the Ministry of Energy (MoE) and the Ministry of Fisheries (MoF) for periods of two to three years. One main reason for the limited attention to issues of poverty reduction and gender in the two sectors – except for interventions 'forced' on them by the embassy – is lack of such a focus and qualified personnel in these institutions that overwhelmingly (and *only* in the case of CDCF) employ people with a technical background.

By contrast, external partners involved in the monitoring (including the production of baseline studies) and evaluation of these programmes tend to give *more* emphasis to issues of poverty reduction and gender equality than what there may be a basis for in key programme documents – thereby apparently taking the overarching goals of poverty reduction and gender equality into account to a larger extent than 'the system' itself. The teams involved in this type of activity

usually include social scientists (recruited through consulting companies or universities).

3.4 RESULTS REPORTING

3.4.1 Internal

Moving on to the reporting on results of efforts to promote WRGE – that is, the central focus in this evaluation – the main system of internal result dissemination is the annual business plan (*Virksomhetsplan*).¹⁷ This is a key document primarily because it reflects the embassy's priorities and budget allocations for the following year (followed by a letter of approval from MFA, usually with only smaller amendments), but it also has special sections on results achieved. The format has successively become more limited, with less and less room for elaboration during the period 2007-2013, but a short paragraph on gender has been kept throughout.

The annual situation analysis and results (*Situasjonsbeskrivelse og resultater*) is a fuller

¹⁷ Reporting in terms of OECD/DAC standards on WRGE (and reflected in Norway's result portals) is done on the basis of entries in the PTA system.

text that contains country analyses of political and economic developments, as well as sections on results related to sector programmes and crosscutting issues – including gender. MFA is the main recipient, and uses these reports for its reporting to parliament. While the reporting tends to be modest in terms of attribution (focusing, rather, on contribution) and often self-critical in terms of achievements, results are described in a very general manner without direct references to reviews and evaluations and tangible outcomes and impacts.

The most informative result-related texts are found in programme reports such as the programme document, appraisal, progress report, reviews, evaluations and final reports (Norad 2007). These usually contain a combination of quantitative data and qualitative assessments. Such documents are rarely written with direct reference to the relevance of the programme for WRGE. Rather, they have a primary focus on sector results, with implications for women as a ‘side-effect’. The exception is similar documents for gender-targeted projects (usually through the WGE Grant), which tend to

take gender and the position of women in the relevant sector as their point of departure. This partly explains what we argue is the supremacy of women-focused projects in reaching objectives of WRGE.

The programme cycle documents mentioned above are circulated between the embassy and key stakeholders in central government and NGO headquarters, and usually discussed at a programme’s annual meeting. However, they are much more rare at the provincial and district tiers of the same institutions. This is a disadvantage in terms of grounding WRGE in the districts and communities, where the ultimate target groups find themselves. In fact, we met a number of programme-related personnel at province, district and community levels who had developed a resistance to ‘consultants’, who they claimed ‘steal our time but never tell us what they find’. In the energy sector, most documents are also in English, which is hardly understood at those levels (this is better in the agriculture sector programmes implemented by the Cooperative League of the United States of America, CLUSA).

Given Mozambique’s status of pilot embassy from 2008, a special report mechanism on gender was developed in the form of ‘templates for annual reporting on WRGE for pilot embassies’. These were organised under the headings ‘policy dialogue’, ‘gender mainstreaming’ and ‘projects targeted at WRGE’. While enhancing a focus on gender and compelling the embassy to record the extent to which gender was taken into consideration in its project portfolio, the room for recording results under each of the four gender priority areas was limited, particularly in terms of qualitative indicators. This form of reporting was discontinued when the pilot embassy system was closed in 2012.

The internal reporting on results for projects under the WGE Grant largely follows standard reporting procedures (see above), but with great variations in terms of depth and levels of detail. For some (such as Pathfinder), the complaint is that the format does not give sufficient space to get into the details they want; others (such as HOPEM) follow their own reporting format, which may be informative but difficult to systematise when reporting to MFA/Norad. These reports are

sent to responsible departments in MFA and Norad, but were not well known among other stakeholders in Oslo (including the MFA officer responsible for Mozambique) or other Mozambican stakeholders (including other NGOs).

3.4.2 External

Moving on to results reporting on WRGE accessible to the general public, the Norad homepage is considered good and informative – on both Mozambique and issues of gender. It is widely consulted, but primarily by Norwegian users. Norad's annual result report (*Resultatrapport*) was initiated in 2007, and contains a combination of quantitative data and qualitative assessments of overall trends and specific projects. Each report is based on a specific theme, such as 'human rights and democracy' (2014), 'health and education' (2013), 'aid to natural resource management' (2012) and 'aid and conflict' (2011). Aid to women rights and gender equality will as we understand it be the theme of the 2015 report. The report is in Norwegian and well written; it is available in English only in summary form.

The potentially most accessible portal for dissemination of information on Norwegian aid to WRGE in Mozambique is the embassy home page.¹⁸ For most of the period under evaluation, this option has been largely untapped, with very limited information available. However, the homepage went through a face-lift in June 2014. It now contains information on gender in Norway ('The UN gender inequality index 2013 ranks Norway at a first place worldwide. Being on the top of gender equality list does not mean that there are no challenges'), as well as brief but useful information on Norway's support to gender in Mozambique. What it does not contain (in contrast with, e.g., Sida Mozambique's homepage) is links to relevant documents that can give more profound information on results.

The potentially most important arena for Norwegian policy influence and results dissemination on gender in Mozambique has until recently been the joint review process, where the Mozambican government and donors involved in

budget support (now G19) have met to define objectives and targets for joint efforts for development and poverty reduction. Gender was for many years defined as a separate 'pillar', with preparatory work being carried out in the GCG. Norway was never a 'driver' in this process, but did participate. The real impact of government institutions/donors interested in WRGE issues was partly hampered by the limited number of targets chosen (maternal mortality and education for girls and hence no indicator directed at Norway's priority of women's economic empowerment), and the channel effectively closed when Norway discontinued its involvement in budget support in 2013.

¹⁸ www.norway.org.mz/News_and_events/Development-cooperation/Good_Governance/Women's-rights-and-gender-equality/#.VKySuUR0yso. The page had 13,000 visitors and 45,000 page views in 2014.

4. Results from Norwegian support to WRGE

This next section further assesses results from Norway's support to WRGE in Mozambique. With reference to the concrete projects listed in the introduction to this report, the focus is on effectiveness in reaching project goals at three broad levels:

1. Systemic change: contributions to changes in laws/regulations, funding levels, discourse, legitimacy of an issue, content of national-level dialogue processes

2. Organisational change: contributions to changes among partners – government organisations, NGOs, twinning partners

3. Project level results: changes in the position/empowerment of women and people's attitudes and behaviours towards gender equality

The assessment systematically combines a political economy approach, to understand the structural and institutional dynamics, and an anthropological approach to evaluate the projects and their results 'from below' and through human agency. The concluding

chapter presents overall conclusions in terms of relevance, effectiveness and sustainability of Norwegian aid to WRGE.

4.1 ENERGY

Oil production has great potential for stimulating employment and knowledge generation, and for financing welfare development. Energy is important for women's health, education and for reducing the time women spend on household tasks. Indoor air pollution due to the use of open fires for cooking and polluting sources of light cause considerable health damage to women and children. In oil and energy cooperation Norway will:

- *seek to ensure the participation and safeguard interests of both women and men in connection with the implementation of the Oil for Development programme;*
- *be at the forefront of efforts to ensure that both women and men participate at all levels in the management of natural resources in partner countries;*

- *take a proactive role in promoting the responsible and equitable distribution of revenues from oil and energy production so that these resources benefit all population groups, and both women's and men's needs and priorities are taken into consideration in the management of these revenues;*
- *contribute to the creation of jobs and livelihoods for both women and men in connection with the oil industry in the production and distribution of clean energy;*
- *support sustainable, safe energy solutions that ease women's burden of work and improve their access to health services and education;*
- *support the development and use of clean energy solutions, such as solar energy, that reduce indoor air pollution;*
- *promote the active participation of women in decision-making and implementation processes relating to the supply of water and energy to workplaces and households. (MFA 2007)*

Energy has been a central component of Norway's cooperation with Mozambique for nearly 40 years. The main emphasis has been on institutional development/capacity-building of the Ministry of Energy (MoE), the Ministry of Mineral Resources (MIREM), the Mozambican Electrical Utility (EDM), the National Petroleum Institute (INP) and the National Energy Fund (FUNAE). Norwegian institutions involved have been NVE, Statnett (a Norwegian state-owned enterprise responsible for owning, operating and constructing power grids) and the Norwegian Petroleum Directorate. In addition, Norway has contributed massive funds and technical expertise for the construction of transmission lines, sub-stations and distribution networks – including rural electrification.¹⁹ This usually involves Norwegian consulting companies (such as NORCONSULT), which hence find themselves on the 'front line' of interventions, with options for influence. According to the embassy itself, Norway is

19 At the same time (and controversially among some), Norway has had commercial interests in the expanding oil and gas sector Mozambique through state-owned companies such as Statoil, the Norwegian Oil Company and the (now extinct) Norsk Hydro.

the 'lead donor' in energy cooperation in Mozambique.²⁰

Throughout the period of Norwegian energy-related assistance to Mozambique under scrutiny in this evaluation, the cooperation was in principle framed within the overarching development goal of poverty reduction and (from 2007) by the Action Plan (see Box above). At the same time, however, gender has been virtually absent in Norwegian energy-based policy documents – exemplified by Norad's own 'Energy for Sustainable Development. Annual Report 2013' (Norad 2014a), which does not mention gender at all.²¹

4.1.1 Rural electrification

The Cabo Delgado Rural Electrification Project (MOZ-04/286) was initiated in 2007 and completed in 2012, for a total cost of NOK 349 million. The immediate objectives were (1)

20 Between 2007 and 2012, Norway was also the lead donor for regional/Southern African Development Community cooperation on energy with staff in Maputo.

21 A comprehensive evaluation of Norwegian power-related assistance to Mozambique (and Nepal) from 2007 concluded that (1) the priority had been on rehabilitation and expansion of transmission and distribution to support economic growth and (2) gender had been treated in a perfunctory manner – referred to in project documents but not in action plans and target setting (Norad 2007).

connect Cabo Delgado to the national electricity grid from Metoro to Chai (including Macomia), in order to improve access to electrical power supplied through the national grid; and (2) rehabilitate and improve electricity networks, thereby expanding and improving supply quality where networks are run down and at the end of the technical span. The development objectives of the project were (1) enhanced economic development by providing electric power to businesses and simplifying the establishment and/extensions; and (2) improved quality of life in local communities by providing reliable electric power supply (to public services).

The project did not formulate any explicit WRGE objectives (see Box above). As Section 2 argued, reaching such goals in a northern Mozambican context of gender inequality would necessitate targeted interventions. At the same time, gender and the project's implications for men and women was taken into consideration in the baseline study for the project (based on a terms of reference written by the embassy), were frequently referred to in relevant reviews and evaluations and were a concern for the ultimate

target group (district authorities, local businessmen/women and the local population). Also, results on poverty reduction and gender were included as a component in the recent final impact assessment of the other major rural electrification projects in Mozambique – even though these projects also lacked gender markers (Norad 2014b).²²

There are few if any indications that gender was taken into consideration during the construction phase of the Cabo Delgado rural electrification project. MoE and EDM had had their own Gender Action Plan since 2007, but interviewees suggest top management in these institutions did not see gender as part of their mandate/how it was relevant until discussions around the gender mainstreaming project from 2010 (see above). We had problems organising meetings with the top central management of MoE/EDM for this evaluation,²³ but EDM management/

22 These are Assistance to the Gurue–Cuamba–Lichinga Transmission Line Project (MOZ 0012); the Namacurra Electrification Project (MOZ 2016); and the Namacurra Electrification Project – Extension to Pebane (MOZ 2016).

23 In itself probably reflecting the continued limited interest in the issue of gender.

employees at the provincial level in Cabo Delgado clearly expressed a lack of understanding of the relevance of gender for rural electrification – or rather what they as EDM employees could do about it. The one indicator suggested was ‘number of women participating in the construction phase’, but they could not produce a specific figure. Also, no attempt was made to sex-disaggregate statistics on connected businesses and households – which otherwise seemed exemplary (updated every month).

The baseline study for the project (Scanteam 2010) – on the basis of which the development effects of the project will ultimately be measured – contains a number of quantitative and qualitative poverty and gender indicators under the heading ‘The Gender-Energy-Poverty Nexus’.^{24/25} This seems to suggest a communication gap between MoE/EDM as responsible

24 It is, as we understand it, not yet clear if the baseline study for the project will be followed up with an endline study – which ideally should be done three to five years after project completion (i.e. between 2015 and 2017).

25 Referring to current trends in the evaluation literature, the baseline should ideally have included a ‘counterfactual’ or a similar social formation not having received electricity. In addition to the costs of such an exercise, the very idea of being able to identify totally equal social formations is dubious.

institutions and Norwegian twinning partners, the external consultants carrying out the baseline and the embassy responsible for implementing Norwegian aid policies/the Action Plan. Our observations are shared by the midterm review team, who stated that the project ‘lacks a proper reporting and monitoring system, and no real results-based management has been performed’ (*ibid.: i*).

Measured by available data from project-related documents and EDM as project owner, the development results of the project are summed up in Figure 5 in the form of business (219) and private (1,445) connections (see also Annex 3). No information is available on its implications for women’s rights and gender equality, for example in the form of a separation between male and female business owners or male- and female-headed households (with the latter representing at least 25 per cent in the province as a whole).²⁶ While important in their own right, the existing data do not give an adequate

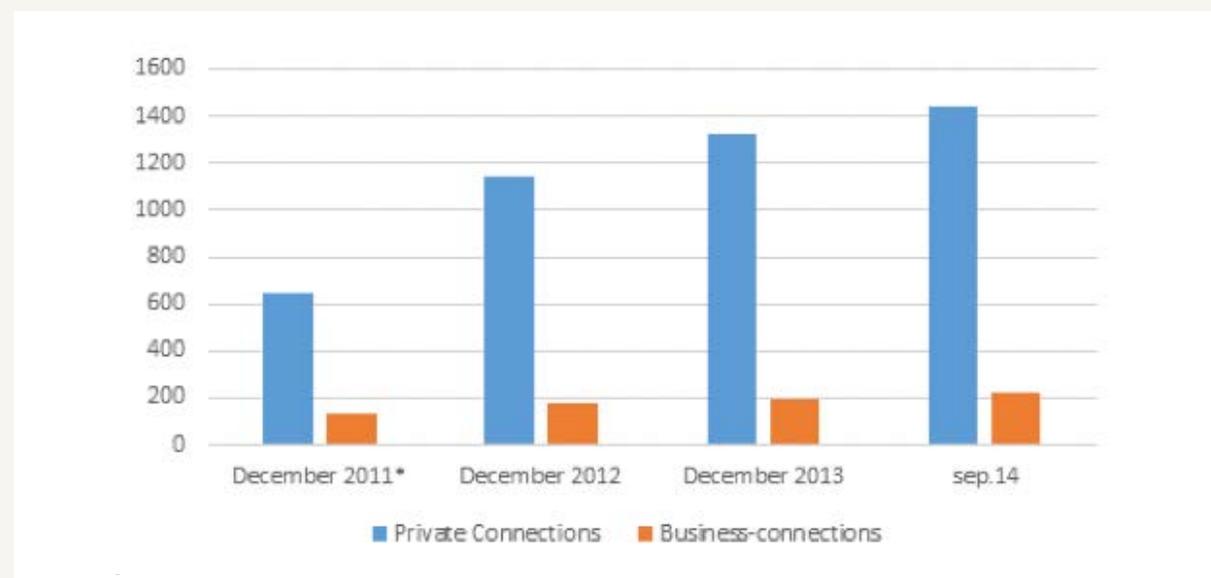
26 Being the rural north, this is most likely an underestimate, as polygamous households are counted as one even though second and third wives tend to be de facto heads of their household.

response to the extent to which the project's development objectives have been fulfilled.

Assessing the project from 'below', the district/community of Macomia is one of the three districts in Cabo Delgado receiving electricity through Norwegian support. Macomia has a total population of 89,807 (17,961 households), and has traditionally been a relatively remote district, largely depending on agriculture and fisheries. The population is primarily Muslim and matrilineal, and considered 'traditionalists'. For the position of women, this means a potential tension between conventions in Islam about men's authority and responsibility for providing for their wife (or wives) and children, and the relative independence of women in a kinship system where authority is vested in the woman's own family (usually her mother's brother or *tio*).

Between 2010 and 2012, two important changes – both related to energy – took place in Macomia. One was increasing oil- and gas-related activities in the northern district of Palma, which increased traffic significantly. And

FIGURE 5: ENERGY CONNECTIONS, MACOMIA DISTRICT, CABO DELGADO



Note: * During the first month of connection, 63 private and 30 business connections were made.

Source: EDM, Cabo Delgado

the second was the appearance of electricity from the Cabo Delgado Rural Electrification Project. According to the two most authoritative voices in the district, the district administrator and the highest traditional authority, or *régulo*, this had immediate consequences and made 'Noruega' a household name. The former

emphasised that electricity had opened up opportunities both for economic development and for improvements in social services (health and education); the latter emphasised that people could now move around at night (because of illumination) and 'Some people have access to electricity'.

FIGURE 6: COMMUNITY MAP, CABO DELGADO

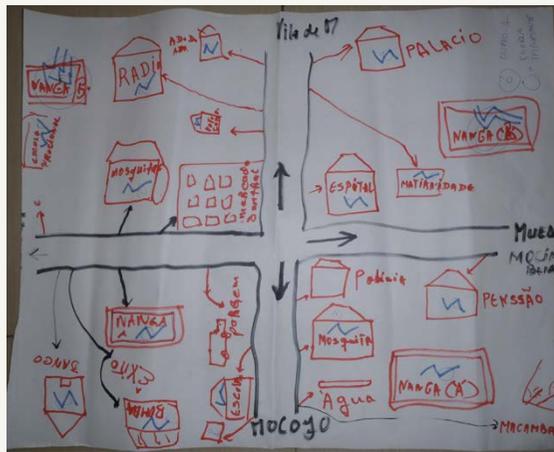


Photo: Inge Tvedten

Discussing electrification and its development implications for poor people with focus groups of men and women through a mapping exercise (see Figure 6), they emphasised how large parts of Macomia has received electricity but also how this was unequally distributed. The map shows the district centre and what the focus groups considered the most important institutions/areas in the community. Most of them had access to electricity, as indicated by the blue m (the

district administrator's *palácio*, the bank, the community radio station, the hospital, schools, mosques and restaurants/pensions), but key institutions such as the police, the central market and water points did not – with the two last mentioned as central arenas for women. In addition, the four informal settlement areas or *bairros* vary considerably in terms of access to electricity, as indicated by the number of lines drawn around Nanga A, B, C and D, respectively. The *bairro* with the largest number of public sector employees and few others with formal employment has the largest proportion of connections, whereas Nanga A and B (on the ‘poor side’ of the main road going through Macomia) has the lowest number of the total of 1,445 connections.²⁷

Private connections

Despite an overwhelmingly positive attitude towards electricity, only 8.1 per cent of households are currently connected, which is 56 percent below original plans and expectations

²⁷ Of those officially connected, EDM estimates approximately 30 per cent do not actually have electricity owing to technical problems or lack of payment.

and jeopardises the economic viability of EDM as a semi-private entity (NORPLAN 2012). The three main reasons for this seem to be as follows:

1. Electricity lines simply do not reach the majority of households, and the lines that exist are highly concentrated in the centre of the district capital. People claim to have waited more than a year to get connected. Lack of material is also a source of frustration for the District Administration.
2. EDM’s system of electricity connection is not well understood. People do not understand the basis on which some households pay 875 Mt whereas others pay 3,500 Mt for connections (the former is subsidised prices for poor households and the latter is commercial prices, but EDM could not define what this distinction was based on).²⁸ Many people do not apply because they do not know what the connection will cost.

²⁸ Reference was made to type of dwelling (shacks or *palhotas* vs. formal or brick-made dwellings) – but they acknowledged this did not necessarily distinguish the poor from the non-poor.

3. EDM's system of tariff collection is seen as highly corrupt. Prices (in some cases collected directly by EDM staff in person) often vary significantly from month to month and between neighbours who claim they use the same amount of electricity. The notion that EDM 'robs' (*roubam*) is underlined by what people claim to be an EDM decision of using a post-pay system rather than a pre-pay system ('Credilec') for electricity.²⁹

While men and women alike for the most part shared these perceptions, they differed in the way they prioritised electricity in relation to other household expenses. In a ranking exercise, men listed electricity as a second priority after employment, with the argument that this would make it possible to start smaller businesses, for children to study and to watch television. Women prioritised water, better health, better education and improved agriculture before electricity – often with the argument that they

²⁹ For public space and businesses, EDM's system for connection and charges seems even more unpredictable than for private consumers. In one case, a group of women told us they had collected money in their community to have electricity installed in public spaces, made an agreement with EDM and handed over the money – but never heard from them again.

knew they could not afford to be connected and pay EDM for consumption.

Looking at actual use of electricity for the 8 per cent of the households that have been connected, people overwhelmingly use it for illumination and electrical appliances (television, radio, freezer, charging cell phones) with very few substituting traditional modes of cooking and heating with electrical appliances (as envisaged in the Action Plan). This partly reflects the high costs of running such devices, but also a lack of knowledge about and access to alternatives to wood and charcoal. This way, private consumption seems to favour men – in a context where using electricity to ease women's workload would have had the most significant development and poverty reduction effects.

We all want electricity in our businesses and houses, but here in our community this is only for men [if we do not get external support to get access]. (Head of 7 de Abril Association, Cabo Delgado)

Business connections

Moving on to the development objective of 'enhanced economic development by providing electric power to businesses and simplifying their establishment/extensions', large changes have taken place in Macomia. From being a place with practically no movement at night, the place now bustles with life. The bulk of the 219 businesses that have been electrified are located in the central square and along the main roads (see Map above), and electricity has also had a profound sociocultural impact: Still after three years with electricity a widescreen television placed in the window of one of the larger stores in central Macomia draws large crowds of people every night, watching images from places they did not know existed and women in situations and dresses they did not know were possible (including Brazilian soap operas, among others).

For the local hospital, electricity has implied a more steady and secure source of energy than generators could supply (with these often running out of spare parts and fuel). And for education, electricity has opened up the possibility of night classes and room for more

students – even though this has also demonstrated the potential side-effects such interventions can have. From a situation of very few people moving around at night – and even fewer women and girls – the night classes led to such an upsurge in early/unwanted pregnancies that the night school was closed for a period. Other public institutions that have benefited from electricity are the District Administration (where computers increasingly take over for typewriters), the District Directorate for Economic Activities and the Notary.

The total number of registered industrial and commercial enterprises in the district is 442 (DoM 2014), meaning around 50 per cent are electrified. Looking at types of businesses, only 62 are defined as ‘industries’ and all of these are mills (*moageiras*). In addition, we observed two larger ice-making businesses having been established as a direct result of the electrification of the district. Manufacturing industries generally have the largest employment creation potential. The remaining enterprises are 367 shops (*barracas* and *lojas*), 10 restaurants and guesthouses and three warehouses – demon-

strating the importance of commerce at the expense of productive activities. Small-scale traders (*vendedores* and *ambulantes*) on the local market are excluded from this list.

Looking at types of commercial entities, the District Administration does not register this. However, systematically going through the main commercial areas along the main roads, two main characteristics are evident: one is the concentration around a very limited variety of commercial outlets, focusing on consumer goods (soft drinks, biscuits, batteries, etc.), second-hand clothes and electrical appliances, including cell phones. The few alternative outlets include two larger stores selling more expensive electrical appliances, furniture and agriculture/fishery inputs and shops that are directed primarily towards young people, such as hairdressers, recording music for cell phones and ice cream outlets.

The second characteristic is the near-complete absence of women working in the businesses. The few (three to five) women we located and interviewed were all adamant telling us they neither owned the shop nor worked there perma-

nently – they only filled in for a father, a brother or other male relatives. Women only sell processed food in a designated space in the public market where there is no electricity – again with the few women in other spaces insisting they only ‘fill in’ for male relatives. While this may be seen as a ‘first step’ for women to ‘go public’ with economic activities, our impression is that the structural constraints on women’s economic activities are still determinant.

In conclusion, rural electrification has had widespread consequences for the district of Macomia. Given the ultimate development goal of economic development and poverty reduction, the impact on women, who have the heaviest domestic responsibilities, are most disadvantaged in terms of education and health and tend to be the poorest, should be an obvious focus. In the Cabo Delgado Rural Electrification Project, this has not been followed up on. At the same time, local authorities claim such a focus, for example by favouring female-headed households for subsidised private connections and women through the FDD to give them better access to credit and options for business establishments,

would have been possible. In this sense, the project represents a ‘lost opportunity’ both in reaching stated development goals and in reaching women (see also Riksrevisjonen 2014).

4.1.2 Gender mainstreaming

The second project is Gender Mainstreaming in Energy Development Cooperation (MOZ-11/0033), established in 2012 and implemented through a framework agreement with ENERGIA that expired in July 2014.³⁰ Total funding was NOK 7 million. The overall goal was to ‘ensure that both men and women have equal opportunities from the energy sector in order to participate in the community as well as in the country development process’. The objectives of the project were (1) capacity-building and gender mainstreaming for key energy sector actors; (2) creating electricity demand by mobilising women; (3) participatory market system development of energy for cooking; (4) capacity development and gender mainstreaming in environmental management of the petrole-

³⁰ The project will continue until mid-2015, but without the technical backstopping from Energia

TABLE 3: SUMMARY RESULTS: CABO DELGADO RURAL ELECTRIFICATION PROJECT

Rural Electrification in Cabo Delgado (EDM)	Systemic level	Organisational level	Project level
Output	Limited real attention to gender issues in national and local dialogues on rural energy provision among energy institutions. Still a very limited number of poor rural and female headed households connected.	‘Mainstreaming’ through gender courses, training of gender focal points	Electricity access, public, private and business connections
Outcome		Continued limited focus on gender, particularly at provincial and local level	Some in education and health. Otherwise men primary beneficiaries
Impact		No indications of long-term impact of WRGE issues in EDM as ‘gender mainstreaming’ has not been institutionalised	By ‘default: changes in local perceptions of the position of women through media outlets

um development; and (5) support to a World-wide Fund for Nature (WWF)-led civil society coalition for gender mainstreaming in petroleum development.

This project does have specific WRGE objectives and is gender marked, and links to the first project in two ways. One is that the ultimate objective of gender capacity-building for key

energy sector actors was to ‘mainstream’ gender in all policies and interventions in the sector, including rural electrification. The second is that both the Cabo Delgado Rural Electrification Project and the project for creating electricity demand by mobilising women were implemented in the district of Macomia. According to the midterm review of the Cabo Delgado project, ‘though not included in the original scope of the

Cabo Delgado RE project, the gender project will very likely strengthen the opportunities provided through electricity for the women in Macomia' (Norplan 2012: v).

The project is, in other words, an attempt to make gender issues more prominent in all of Norway's energy cooperation with Mozambique. To reach the goals for the project listed above, Norway contracted the international consulting company ENERGIA and its Zimbabwe-based partner Practical Action Consulting, and contributed to the recruitment of a gender and energy advisor to be posted in MoE. The project focused on a combination of capacity-building in gender mainstreaming among key energy sector actors and concrete projects on the ground to facilitate increased use of clean energy among women.

The initiative for including gender in Mozambique's institutional energy structures came from Norway. Interviewees state that there was a combination of indifference and resistance from management in the relevant Mozambican institutions in the initial phase, but also that Norway did a good job in convincing Mozam-

bican partners about its relevance.³¹ However, our findings suggest efforts to 'enlighten' (sic!) the management in MoE and its related institutions had been only partially successful at central level and not reached management at provincial and district levels, which are closer to the interface between the institutions and the population they are to serve.

Sub-project 1: Gender Mainstreaming among Key Energy Sector Actors

This part of the project was carried out by ENERGIA, in cooperation with the gender and energy advisor (who was Mozambican but recruited from outside the ministry). Interviewees were unanimous in praising ENERGIA for being professional and committed in their technical advice and guidance, training activities and reporting. The capacity-building in gender mainstreaming was done through (1) development of a group of gender mainstreaming trainers in all relevant institutions (MoE, MIREM,

31 One strategy was to include gender specialists (from MMAS, Forum Mulher, ENERGIA, etc.) in meetings with Mozambican partners about overall energy cooperation – rather than using separate 'gender meetings' that tend to be given less priority.

EDM, FUNAE, INP, the Mozambican Oil and Gas Company (ENH), the Ministry for the Coordination of Environmental Affairs (MICOA) as well as the Ministry of Women and Social Affairs (MMAS) and civil society organisations); (2) training of gender focal points and development of gender action plans in the same institutions; (3) development of gender training tool kits for MoE and MIREM; and (4) development and application of a roadmap for implementation of the gender action plans.³²

Overall, the institutional and individual training interventions had been implemented by mid-2014, which was the time of the end of the framework agreement with ENERGIA. What had not been completed at the time of our mission was the gender action plans, which were to put the acquired knowledge into concrete policies and interventions. Despite concerted effort between ENERGIA and the eager and able gender and energy advisor, then, the whole idea of mainstreaming gender thinking into energy-related

32 For a more detailed description of actual interventions, see Norconsult (2014).

public institutions was a bit in limbo by end-2014, and the situation was still largely unknown at the provincial and district level of Cabo Delgado.

The very idea of ‘mainstreaming’ gender policy goals (as opposed to reaching women through concrete and tangible programmes and projects) has been debated for some time (Davids *et al.* 2013). This project seems to have suffered from some of the most common critical points raised. First, there is inadequate understanding of *why* gender is important in energy. Most of our interlocutors primarily saw attention to gender issues as an objective in its own right, but could not explain why such attention would enhance the options for reaching the overall developmental goals of energy provision. Second, and despite an undoubtedly increased manifestation on the issue of gender among energy staff (we did not meet anybody who had not heard about it and very few who did not link the issue to Norwegian support), it is still given low priority compared with other pressing issues such as energy distribution policies, financial management, technical implementation and environmental concerns.

Third, and largely following on from the two first points, people recruited and trained to be gender focal points tend to be young and women, with very limited influence on top management and other decision-makers. Those appointed to gender-specific positions clearly did not see this as a promotion. Fourth, although national gender institutions such as MMAS and the National Council for the Advancement of Women (CNAM) were involved in ENERGIA’s training activities, they were not directly involved in project implementation – meaning no national gender institution is in position to take over when ENERGIA leaves.³³ Finally, gender-related activities have so far not been funded through the sectoral budget, which is a prerequisite for continuation post-Norwegian support. In conclusion, the current focus on gender mainstreaming in energy-related institutions in Mozambique has not given tangible results beyond training, is hardly known at provincial and district levels and will not be sustainable

³³ This point is particularly emphasised at the provincial level, where provincial directors of energy institutions underlined that the provincial directorate of MMAS took part in all regular provincial government meetings and hence should be in a good position to ‘push’ gender issues had it been more directly involved in energy and gender activities.

beyond Norwegian support unless new tangible ways of proving its relevance are found.

Sub-project 2: Creating Electricity Demand by Mobilising Women

One such effort, initiated in 2012 as a pilot project in Macomia in Cabo Delgado, is a project to ‘create electricity demand by mobilising women’³⁴ through the establishment of a demonstration project. The project consists of (1) training for community members with demonstrations of electrical appliances and equipment; (2) training in basic business development skills; and (3) setting up energy service centres operated by women. The formal owner of the project is EDM, with one responsible officer in Maputo, one in Macomia and one externally recruited project coordinator – all of whom are men. However, the project concept and training sessions have been developed and implemented by ENERGIA and Practical Action Consulting. By mid-2014, a total of 83 women

³⁴ The phrasing, taken directly from a project document, seems to imply the main objective is to increase the number of clients and income for EDM rather than contributing to gender equality and women’s empowerment. This distinction kept being missed by a number of interviewees during our fieldwork.

and 16 male community leaders had been trained as peer educators on how to use electricity for income generation and set up viable businesses, and two ‘energy service centres’ with a total of 26 women had been established.

As we have seen, the supply of energy to Macomia has opened up new opportunities for the establishment of businesses and for socioeconomic development. Practically all interviewees praised the training for having been good and inclusive. And the emphasis on selecting female community leaders for the training courses (as opposed to the poor and less resourceful) made it easier to surpass the sociocultural constraints to women’s participation in economic life. At the time of our field visit, the associations/groups linked to the two service centres had decided to pursue sales of frozen fresh fish, small containers of ice for domestic use and cold soft drinks and home-brewed *maheu*. All represent ‘niches’ in the type of economic activities women may do. Women we talked to were also clearly pleased with having been involved in this type of training,

TABLE 4: SUMMARY RESULTS: GENDER MAINSTREAMING

Gender mainstreaming (MoE, EDM)	Systemic level	Organisational level	Project level
Output	Limited awareness of gender issues in national/ local dialogues on energy provision – except for increased focus on alternative sources such as sun and wind in which Norway is hardly involved	‘Mainstreaming’ through gender courses, training of gender focal points	Few if any gender courses at provincial/ district level
Outcome		Continued limited focus on gender, particularly at management and provincial and district level	Limited focus on gender among (male) EDM employees and dearth of gender-disaggregated data
Impact		No indications of long-term impact of WRGE in MoE/EDM beyond Norwegian support	Limited, owing to central role of ENERGIA and limited role of local stakeholders in WRGE

and were proud to be seen outside the service centres as ‘economic agents’.

Still, however, it was already in November 2014 clear that the project is not sustainable in its present form. Several women are in the process of leaving the associations, and the service centres are not economically viable. The two main reasons for this are actual lack of interest in the project as a way to empower women on the part of EDM and inadequate understanding

of local socioeconomic conditions on the part of the international project designers. Overall responsibility for the project rests with EDM in Maputo, which is too far away to be able to follow daily routines and challenges. Day-to-day responsibility rests with EDM in the district, which clearly does not see it as a priority and has hardly been involved. This has also meant the (externally recruited) project coordinator, who is committed and works hard, has very limited room for manoeuvre. One concrete

example of the non-involvement is an electricity bill sent to one of the associations in October 2014 for consumption worth 4000 Mt, which is approximately four times what the association had managed to earn. The women feared not only discontinuation of the project but also they would be made personally responsible for payment.

The actual setup of the project reflects a lack of understanding of the socioeconomic context. The two associations were each given start-up capital of 1,600 Mt, meant to make the first purchase of fish. However, with the purchasing price at the coast, the market price for fresh fish in Macomia, the transportation costs and the electrical bill for running the freezer, it was impossible to make an initial surplus. The alternative sale of ice and soft drinks also has very limited potential for surpluses without much larger initial investments. With no income, women have found it increasingly difficult to spend time on the project, and, even though they have introduced a system of taking turns, the containers are frequently closed. The women also argue they were promised reduced prices for connec-

tions to their own houses, but this has not happened. After large investments in the construction of two service centres and a number of good but expensive training sessions, the results of the project can be summed up as follows.

In order to ‘ensure that both men and women have equal opportunities from the energy sector’ (see project goals), the first step should have been to leave implementation to institutions that are better positioned and qualified to run it as a project for gender equality and the empowerment of women (such as Oxfam and/or the Aga Khan Foundation in northern Mozambique) rather than as a side-line and a way to enhance income (as it *de facto* is for EDM). One obvious additional activity would have been the promotion of credit, either through an NGO or as part of the FDD. With concrete, tangible – and viable – projects of this type, both EDM and women will benefit in the longer run. As it stands, the most concrete result in terms of ‘women empowerment’ is the fact that a group of women is running an economic enterprise in a public space in a northern Mozambican context, where this is highly unusual.

Sub-Project 3: Gender Mainstreaming in Gas and Petroleum Activities³⁵

The two final components of the Gender Mainstreaming in Energy Development Cooperation project relate to Mozambique’s rapidly expanding gas and petroleum activities – in which Norway is involved both as a donor (through the Ministry of Petroleum and the Ministry of Environmental Affairs) and as a commercial actor. As shown in a study commissioned by Norway (Hirvonen 2014), there is clear evidence the local implications of rapidly expanding petroleum activities in poor contexts like Mozambique are considerable, manifested in Cabo Delgado in hectic construction activities, employment creation, price increases for land and commodities and social issues like begging and prostitution.

The objective of the first petroleum-related component is to provide support to MICOA to integrate gender concerns in the training programme for social impact assessment of petroleum development. After two years, practically nothing appears to have happened. The main

³⁵ This section is partly based on information from Norconsult (2014).

reason seems to be a lack of interest on the part of MICOA, combined with limited attention to such issues from MoE/INP (as regulator, INP is mandated to address social aspects of petroleum development). The responsible gender focal point at provincial level had received training from ENERGIA but appeared at odds with how to approach such a vast issue and how to relate to the many different actors involved in the gas and petroleum sector. There have been a number of different initiatives, both from Norad/LIRE and from national organisations on how to relate to the social/gender implications of petroleum activities in Cabo Delgado, but we found no clear indications that these would be acted on. There is also no established platform where the government, donors and civil society can dialogue around gender issues in petroleum development.

The second petroleum-related component is support to a WWF-led civil society coalition for gender mainstreaming in petroleum development that could have represented such a platform. The objective is to give the coalition access to gender mainstreaming materials, include them in gender mainstreaming training

TABLE 5: RESULT MATRIX, MACOMIA ENERGY SERVICE CENTRE PROJECT, OCTOBER 2014

Item	Association 1	Association 2
Number of active members	10	16
Main products	Fish, ice, soft drinks	Fish, ice, soft drinks
Monthly expenses	1,920	2,450 Mt
Monthly income	2,450	4,601 Mt
Electricity bill	1,500 Mt	1,500 Mt

Source: Monthly Project Report, EDM Macomia.

TABLE 6: SUMMARY RESULTS: CREATING ELECTRICITY DEMAND AMONG WOMEN

Creating electricity demand among women (MoE, EDM)	Systemic level	Organisational level	Project level
Output	Limited influence on systemic level, as the locally based project is largely unknown at provincial and central level	EDM/ENERGIA designed courses for increased energy consumption among women	Training of 83 women in the use of electricity for private and business consumption
Outcome		Support to two associations in establishing businesses for selling frozen products	Project results hampered by inadequate initial market analysis and income for involved women
Impact		Impact limited by inadequate involvement of local stakeholders in WRGE (including the District Administration)	Main impact is having made it possible for women to be visible as economic agents in public space

TABLE 7: SUMMARY RESULTS: GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN GAS/ PETROLEUM

Gender mainstreaming in gas/petroleum (MIREM/MICOA)	Systemic level	Organisational level	Project level
Output	Limited contributions to discourses around the social/gender implications of investments in gas and petroleum as projects have not been implemented as planned	Planned training programme on social impact assessment not developed	No training programme developed to relate to gender implications of gas/petroleum activities
Outcome		No change in the role of gender in social impact assessment as training programme has not been developed	Women suffer from lack of employment, price increases and social pressure (prostitution, etc.)
Impact		Lack of attention to social/gender issues in gas and oil exploration may affect legitimacy of industry	Without more attention to social/gender issues, Mozambique may not be able to avoid the 'resource curse'

and support WWF to undertake a study to obtain concrete sex-disaggregated data on the social and gender impacts of petroleum development in communities. However, in this case there appears to have been not even an attempt from WWF to follow up on its contractual obligations (demonstrating, again, the importance of cooperating with relevant institutions), and a resistance or fear from civil society to engage in controversial issues such as the social impact

of megaprojects (showing how aid of this nature necessitates the support of senior management/staff in the institutions involved).

While oil and gas production have a very strong impact on local communities in Mozambique, Norwegian aid to the sector has not focused on implications for poor men and women – except for the laudable funding of a study revealing the type of changes that are taking place in the

affected communities in Cabo Delgado (Hirvonen 2014). Currently women, who represent the poorest sections of local populations and have the heaviest social responsibilities, are in the process of becoming the main victims of ongoing oil and gas investments in the province with encroachment of agricultural land, price increases on essential goods – and prostitution as a new and lucrative source of income.

4.2 AGRICULTURE

Women's productivity is limited by poor access to resources in the form of tools, new technology, credit, education and training, and markets. The failure to acknowledge the part played by women and their potential as economic actors is a barrier to economic development. Measures and processes that should be promoted and supported include:

- *Gender impact assessments and measures targeting women in connection with the preparation, implementation and monitoring of national poverty reduction strategies, sector strategies and action plans;*

- *gender responsive budgeting to ensure that public resources management and services provision meet the needs of both women and men;*
- *women's entrepreneurship, including the right to advisory and financial services, such as micro-financing, insurance, pensions and money transfers;*
- *women joining forces with a view to exerting an influence on business development, trade, and employer and employee organisations;*
- *mainstreaming the gender perspective on legal reform, including women's right to inherit and own land, housing and other property regardless of marital status;*
- *development of infrastructure that makes women's household and caregiver tasks easier and improves women's income opportunities and access to markets;*
- *compilation of sex disaggregated labour and other economic statistics, and survey of women's roles, opportunities and working conditions, and efforts*

to support the development of these in the formal and informal labour markets;

- *implementation of measures and campaigns that challenge traditional male roles and give boys and men real opportunities to develop roles, attitudes and behaviour based on respect and equality between the sexes.*
(MFA 2007)

Expanding Soy Bean Production and Marketing in Northern Mozambique (PROSOYA) (MOZ-06/052) was initiated in 2007 and terminated in 2012, with Climate-Smart Agriculture in Mozambique (PROMAC) (MOZ-11/0051) initiated in 2012 with a time-frame of five years representing an expansion of the former geographically³⁶ as well as in terms of objectives. Both the PROSOYA and the PROMAC projects have been implemented by CLUSA, which has its head office in Nampula City, relatively close to the project sites in Zambézia, making close monitoring possible (see Figure 1).

³⁶ In addition to Gurue in Zambézia province, the project operates in two other districts in Zambezia (Alto Molocua, Nammarói and Milange) and the provinces of Tete and Manica.

The primary objective of PROSOYA was to bring about a more than ten-fold increase in the production and marketing of soybeans by small farmers in the Gurue area of northern Mozambique.³⁷ Three additional objectives were (1) increase the amount of cultivated land through animal traction and the use of tractors; (2) improve access to seeds and other inputs, to markets and to credit and other business services; and (3) assist in building strong farmer organisations. Additional objectives to secure land tenure for farmers, promote the use of nutritious soy protein in the diets of local families and increase literacy among farmers, especially women, were added after a 2009 review of the project. Total Norwegian aid for the project amounted to NOK 17 million. It had no gender marker.

PROMAC builds on lessons learnt from the PROSOYA project, and initially intended to assist over 50,000 small producers to adopt conservation farming practices that would simultaneously

³⁷ It was originally developed in cooperation with the Norwegian commercial farmer association Felleskjøpet and had the intension of exporting soy to Norway. However, the basis for this soon turned out to be weak and the idea was dropped.

increase their yields and protect the environment. Improved seeds and technology are available to model farmers, who are to transmit their knowledge to other interested smallholders. The PROMAC has addressed the gender dimension from its inception, and is gender-marked. An assessment commissioned in 2012 (Aune and Kaarhus 2012) seems to have sharpened the gender focus, and the project has brought farmers more directly into the planning process than its predecessor did. At the time of fieldwork (December 2014) the basic project idea was still in place but the target population had been reduced to 36,000 households.

Table 8 presents the quantitative expressions of the results of the PROSOYA project as presented in the final project evaluation (Nadeau 2012). The project increased the amount of soy produced by farmers in the region, the number of farmers growing soy and the number of hectares of soy. It also increased productivity, as well as income revenue. Availability of improved quality seeds, provision of seeds on credit and timely delivery of seeds were found to be instrumental to success. The project was

TABLE 8: PROSOYA PROJECT RESULTS

#	Indicator	Baseline	Target	Actual-12	Percent +
1	Number of soy producers	1,200	5,000	5,296	6
2	Hectares planted in soy (ha)	770	6,210	6,717	8
3	Average yield per hectare (kg)	650	1,000	1,118	12
4	Annual soybean production (kg)	500	5,500	7,510	37
5	Producer payments for soy (US\$)	150,000	3,438,960	3,893,870	13
6	Producer price per ton (US\$)	300	-	518	172
7	Average net annual earnings (US\$)	63	101	1,622	1,512

Source: Nadeau 2012

considered less successful in introducing animal traction. These data are not gender-disaggregated.

Nevertheless, the gender component of PROSOYA was considered a success (Nadeau 2012). The project assisted around 540 farmers to obtain legal ownership of their farmland, including almost 250 women. Over 6,000 people, mostly women, participated in the nutrition training, even though the evaluation recognises there are no data to measure the real impact on household food habits. It also claims

the biggest success of the project from a gender perspective was the literacy component. Almost 3,500 people graduated from the literacy programme, two-thirds of whom were women.

Assessing the project from 'below', society in the province of Zambézia and the district of Gurue is traditionally agricultural and matrilineal. The lineage consists of maternal relatives and is headed by a lineage elder, usually a maternal grandfather or maternal uncle. According to matrilineal tradition, these men hold the power to allocate land to individuals and to settle

disputes between family members. While men hold authority in the public and inter-household sphere, women have authority in private intra-household matters, particularly regarding 'female issues' such as food consumption, the upbringing of children, girls' initiation rites and health. All informants agreed male dominance was being reduced and men and women increasingly had equal possibilities both for leadership positions and in productive activities.

According to the Gurue district permanent secretary, the PROSOYA project contributed to this change in different ways. More women are members of associations, and an increasing number find themselves in managing roles. More women are also in position to do business both locally and in other districts. All interviewees, including the female programme beneficiaries, agreed the intervention with most impact in changing perceptions and opportunities was the adult literacy programme taking women up to Grade 7. Still, much remains to be done, as many women have not benefited from the programme and others want to study at higher levels.

Looking at the production part of the project, 50 per cent of women involved had primary responsibility for agricultural production in their household. Also, 26 per cent of households were female-headed. The women interviewed in Gurue preferred to own their own plot, separate from their husbands, in order to be more independent. They claimed more women were controlling their own land as a result of the project. Still, women usually invest less and have smaller fields than men. The main reason for this is that, while men invest their earnings in expanding their soy production, women simultaneously work on their food crops and spend parts of their income on their children's education and health. Among other benefits respondents noted was that an empowered woman empowers the whole household. Farmers with better income improve their livelihoods, such as through housing and transport. Female farmers with better income additionally invest in improved nutrition and education for their children. An educated mother is also able to serve as a role model. As an extension of the PROSOYA project, the Nossara Women's Cooperative was formed in 2013 with the objective of producing products

derived from soy to sell to the community. The women involved had previous experience from PROSOYA as nutrition activists for domestic soy consumption. After additional training, they now produce milk and know how to produce yoghurt. They would like to have more mentorship, especially business training. Most importantly, they understand that as a group they stand a better chance of receiving funds than they do as individuals: 'We decided to create the cooperative because when we ask for funding alone we do not get it'. They currently rotate, with three members working at the cooperative on a daily basis.

Norway also supports agriculture in Mozambique through the NGO Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), with the National Farmers Union (UNAC) and Rural Association for Mutual Support (ORAM) as main partners (MOZ-12/0047). The project deals with conservation agriculture, gender (through the component Women Can Do It) and land rights, and is gender-marked. Interestingly, interviewees in UNAC were sceptical of the PROSOYA/PROMAC projects, arguing they took women away from food production, but also saw the value of Norway supporting different aspects

of agricultural production. While still in an early phase, the project is active in several provinces. Monitoring of results will be done with reference to a baseline study aimed at reaching 2,500-3,000 women by end-2015.

For women to continue to be empowered there is a need to alphabetise them, increase their levels of literacy to Grade 8-10 and provide credits that don't harm them. (Focus group with Nossara Cooperative)

In conclusion, agriculture development through the promotion of cash crops in high demand such as soy has the potential of greatly improving farmers' lives. The PROSOYA project was successfully implemented, as it gradually changed to accommodate activities that could yield better overall results by including women. The main reasons for the success in Zambézia/Gurue in terms of women's economic empowerment were that (1) it was located in an area where women at the outset were heavily involved in agriculture and had a relatively strong position within the matrilineal kinship system; (2) it was managed by an able partner (CLUSA) that knew

the context well and was close to activities; and (3) the embassy and project staff showed capacity and interest in being flexible and changing important aspects of the project towards women as key actors in agriculture and poverty reduction.

4.3 WOMEN AND GENDER EQUALITY GRANT

Altogether 47 projects were implemented by a total of 20 institutions with funding from the Women and Gender Equality Grant between 2007 and 2013 (Annex 3). The total grant to Mozambique was NOK 91,658,000, with an average allocation of NOK 1,950,000 per project. The project with the longest history is core funding to the umbrella organisation Forum Mulher, initiated in the mid-1990s and funded under the WGE Grant since 2009. In the early phase of the period under assessment, many WGE Grant projects focused on sexual and reproductive rights; while activities later came to be more directed towards sector programmes in energy and fisheries. Other themes vary from women and land rights (through the Food and Agricultural Organization, FAO) to support to set up Ibsen's Hedda Gabler

FIGURE 7: DISCUSSING SOY BEAN PRODUCTION AND GENDER IN A MIXED FOCUS GROUP



Photo: Carmeliza Rosario

at Maputo's Teatro Avenida. Currently, the emphasis seems to be on filling open spaces in the overall aid gender aid portfolio to Mozambique, including support to men's involvement in gender issues (Men for Change, HOPEM), sexual and reproductive rights and safe abortions (Pathfinder) and gay rights (LAMBDA). The last two are particularly controversial among Mozam-

bican authorities (LAMBDA is in the middle of a battle to become legalised as an NGO).³⁸ In this evaluation, focus was given to Forum Mulher, Pathfinder and HOPEM.

Forum Mulher

Forum Mulher is a network for the promotion of gender equality and women’s human rights in Mozambique. Norway has been among the most consistent donors, together with the other Nordics. It is a non-profit NGO with around 35 civil society organisations as active members in all of the country’s provinces – even though activities have been concentrated in Maputo and its vicinity. For the period 2009-2013, its programme areas were (1) domestic violence; (2) economic empowerment; (3) sexual and reproductive rights; (4) political participation; and (5) institutional development. Total Norwegian aid to the organisation has been NOK 16 million.

From having been an organisation primarily promoting concrete tangible projects for WRGE

³⁸ This does, of course, raise issues related to the relation between adhering to the principle of recipient responsibility and influence on the one hand and global human rights on the other.

TABLE 9: SUMMARY RESULTS: AGRICULTURE/SOY BEAN PRODUCTION

Agriculture/soy bean production (Ministry of Agriculture/CLUSA)	Systemic level	Organisational level	Project level
Output	Limited national attention to gender issues in the (female-dominated) agriculture sector in general and in cash crop production in particular, except from NGOs and farmers unions	Provincial/district public entities involved in developing soy bean production	Training courses in soy bean production and adult education/nutrition for women
Outcome		Increasing involvement of women in project activities as this came to be seen as necessary to reach development goals	More women owning land and in a position to combine cash and food crop production through associations
Impact		Women more prominent in agricultural development at provincial/district level	Women empowered through soy bean production and education with positive implications for their domestic role

implemented through its member organisations, Forum Mulher has increasingly evolved into an advocacy organisation with a clear feminist agenda (*‘Our understanding of feminism provides the foundation to challenge patriarchy as a system or masculine authority that legitimates the oppression of women by social, economic, legal, cultural, religious and military institutions’*). Among the organisation’s main accomplish-

ments in the past few years are its role in the passing of the Law Against Domestic Violence and its dissemination and in the fight against the illegalisation of abortion. In the area of economic empowerment, neither the objective of contributing to land legalisation for women nor that of regularisation of domestic work has shown tangible results (Hirvonen *et al.* 2013).

Also, the increasing politicisation of its work and language and the de facto continued centralisation of its activities have reduced its impact in the provinces and among ordinary men and women.³⁹ According to one interlocutor, ‘People in the villages don’t think like them [i.e. Forum Mulher]’. In terms of concrete tangible results for the period 2009-2013 – beyond influencing the public discourse on gender – a recent evaluation points out that the lack of clear measurable baselines makes this very difficult to assess (Hirvonen *et al.* 2013).

With reduced funding from its main donors (Norway temporarily discontinued its core funding in 2013 but will continue to fund ‘strategic activities’ through the AGIR or “Action Programme for Inclusive and Responsible Governance” mechanism, see below), Forum Mulher currently seems to be in a critical phase of its existence. At the same time, practically all stakeholders we interviewed emphasised the importance of having an umbrella organisation

39 Parallel with this, Forum Mulher has intensified its presence in international gender relations with considerable success.

that both has the strength to take on political challenges/fights and can act as a catalyst for the large number of smaller NGOs focusing on gender issues.

Pathfinder International

Pathfinder’s mission is to ‘advance sexual and reproductive rights by catalysing change locally’, and the organisation has been active in Mozambique since 1997. Its point of departure is that Mozambique has one of the highest fertility rates in Sub-Saharan Africa, at 6.6 births per woman, while maternal mortality remains high largely as a result of unsafe abortions. The reported use of modern contraceptive methods remains low at 11.3 per cent. A key component of Pathfinder Mozambique’s work in HIV and AIDS includes support for marginalised groups, including men who have sex with men and female sex workers, as these groups are not only at higher risk of HIV infection but also experience the most stigma in seeking services.

The two projects funded by Norway and the WGE Grant are Enhancing Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights of Women and Youth in

Mozambique (MOZ 11/0050) and Bolstering Multi-Sectoral Action to Address Gender-Based Violence and Advance Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (MOZ 13/0018), both working primarily in the provinces of Maputo, Inhambane, Gaza and Cabo Delgado. Total funding has been NOK 5.3 million.

The organisation puts great emphasis on data collection and monitoring, and has a separate ‘research and metrics team’. This is reflected in its progress and final reports, with figures on and assessments of, for example, health/medical training sessions, medical packages in health, social and legal services and numbers of sites with GBV, safe abortion and post-abortion care services, in their reporting that are exemplary.⁴⁰

While being an international organisation, Pathfinder works closely with Mozambican public institutions (provincial directorates of women and social affairs, health and justice; police

40 The management complained the standard formula for reporting from Norway did not give sufficient space for elaborations.

cabinets of assistance to women and children victims of violence), organisations (local NGOs such as Vukoxa in Gaza and Malhalhe in Inhambane) and health workers.

HOPEM

HOPEM is a non-profit organisation with about 25 member organisations and activists from Mozambican civil society 'working to affirm the human rights of Mozambican men, women and children' (HOPEM 2014). Its main focus is on the involvement of men in questioning discriminatory ways to think and act related to masculinity and in building alternative identities. HOPEM aims to particularly reach young men 'who can be somehow influenced in terms of changing their future behaviour' (*ibid.*). Among concrete activities taken from its 2013 annual report with indications of numbers of people reached are interventions related to the project Homens na Cozinha (Men in the Kitchen); seminars and courses on gender equality among Mozambican artists (musicians, actors, painters); expositions of cartoons ('25&50 Pela paz em casa! Pela paz na terra!'); street festivals and performances; marches and other public demonstrations (Quinta

Marcha de Homens pela Mudança); and locally based courses among traditional leaders, religious leaders and traditional doctors on sexual and reproductive rights and family planning.

Norway has provided HOPEM with core funding of a total of NOK 5.3 million since 2010 (MOZ 10/0059). Additional donors are the US, Sweden, the Netherlands and Germany. There are challenges in terms of organisational management, reporting on results and outreach (the organisation is still very much Maputo-based) but this relates partly to the organisation's emphasis on advocacy for changing attitudes, which is difficult to measure. It has been very good at drawing attention to its work both internationally (the most recent annual report pictures Ban Ki Moon as well as Heikki Holmaas) and nationally, with numerous appearances on television and radio as well as in the written media. HOPEM is unique in its emphasis on men in a WRGE context, and, while larger outreach would be ideal, its emphasis on young, usually educated, men is defended with reference to the role these people are likely to play as opinion-makers in the future.

The AGIR mechanism

According to the embassy, one of the main challenges with the relatively small projects under the WGE Grant has been the time spent on administration at the expense of being able to follow up on actual project implementation. For this reason, initiatives are currently being taken to transfer the administration of these projects to the so-called AGIR mechanism (Sida 2014). This was established in 2009 on the initiative of Sweden, and implies that four larger international NGOs (Diakonia, Oxfam, Ibis and WE-EFFECT) are given the responsibility to manage aid to Mozambican NGOs. So far, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands have channelled their civil society support through AGIR – and Norway is considering joining in the second phase starting in 2015.

Oxfam has been given the main responsibility for gender-related NGOs and projects (some activities will also be funded through the other international NGOs). Oxfam does not implement projects itself, but builds management competence and capacity in a total of 20 local civil society organisations that to a varying degree

include gender issues in their work. These are divided into ‘key organisations’ (such as Forum Mulher, WILSA, NWETI and LAMBDA), and ‘emerging organisations’ that will need a different form of follow-up. As we understand it, Oxfam will have a strong influence on how funds earmarked for gender among the donors will be divided between the national NGOs.

While some of the NGOs that have received funding from Norway’s Women and Gender Equality Grant are sceptical and fear they will lose direct contact with Norway as a donor, the embassy argues the AGIR mechanism will make it easier to coordinate among donors, will relieve them of time-consuming micromanagement *vis-à-vis* the recipients and leave more room for following up in terms of content and results.

In sum, the project folio under the WGE Grant is diverse and has relatively small projects. At the same time, the projects are carried out by specialised agencies, targeted at key constraints related to women’s rights and gender equality and generally successful in reaching objectives and showing results. Through the grant, Norway

TABLE 10: SUMMARY RESULTS: WOMEN AND GENDER EQUALITY GRANT

Support to NGOs through the WGE Grant (Forum Mulher/ Pathfinder/HOPEM)	Systemic level	Organisational level	Project level
Output	Increased awareness of the rights of women and ‘feminism’ as a political agenda at national level (Forum Mulher)	Advocacy, training courses, projects, interventions on WRGE	Women offered services in sexual and reproductive health, men involved in ‘women activities’
Outcome	Increasing awareness of the role of men for gender equality (HOPEM) and the rights of young women/sexual minorities (Pathfinder)	A large number of courses/interventions primarily involving central areas/middle class – except work for sexual and reproductive health and rights that reach broader	Marginalised women have remedied the effects of GBV; men have come into a position to take responsibility for gender equality
Impact		NGOs in a better position to include issues of WRGE in their work – with the new AGIR mechanism likely to lead to further improvements	Longer-term impact will depend on the extent to which NGO work on WRGE will better reach rural villages and urban shantytowns

has also contributed positively to systemic, organisational and project-level results in a way that mainstreaming and sector-based approaches have found difficult.

5. Conclusions and recommendations

In summing up our analysis of Norway's support to WRGE in Mozambique between 2007 and 2013, we will apply the same distinction between the support's 'political economy', in the form of its structural and institutional dynamics, and its 'anthropology', focusing on the articulation with human agency in institutions and communities. The distinction reflects an old topic in the social sciences: it combines a focus on political, economic and sociocultural structures, with the kinds of activities people perform within these structures as determined by their status, role and dominant cultural discourses – including those of gender.

5.1 RELEVANCE

Relevance for national priorities, needs and possibilities

As part of Norway's overall development aid policy gender has been important and relevant – indicated by the numerous policy and strategy documents and the role of specialised institutions like LIRE. The emphasis was particularly strong under Minister of Development Cooperation Heikki Holmaas (2012-2014). With

Mozambique being one of the most gender-unequal countries in the world, Norwegian authorities have considered the country a natural partner in this area. The importance and relevance of gender for the new Norwegian government is still unclear, except for through an increase in aid to girls' education.

Seen from the point of view of other Norwegian development actors in Mozambique (the embassy, twinning partners, NGOs, etc.) the relevance of WRGE is less clear-cut. For the embassy, this is related to the increasing weight given to private sector cooperation, the difficulties for some staff of seeing how gender is important for their sector and because the issue tends to 'drown' in other pressing issues and a hectic daily schedule. Sector-based twinning partners (energy and fisheries) tend to not see gender as relevant (partly because of their technical background/expertise). NGOs are used to dealing with gender issues and working at local level where the relevance is more obvious.

In the Mozambican political discourse and public policy framework, gender equality is emphasised

and the need acknowledged. However, this is not equally evident in practical action, as indicated by the very low budget allocations to MMAS and unwillingness to legalise organisations working for gay rights. Also, central partners in Norway's bilateral development cooperation (energy, fisheries and, to some extent, agriculture) tend not to see gender issues as particularly relevant to their sector and rarely, if ever, push the issue themselves. The exception is NGOs working explicitly on gender issues, which tend to see it as relevant both to their own work and as a critical issue in Mozambican society.

Seen from the local level of districts and communities, WRGE is often not seen as particularly relevant to development interventions – partly based on an internalisation of deep cultural gender perceptions. Local relations of power between men and women also imply the concerns of women do not easily make their way into public discourses (which does not mean they are not discussed in the private sphere). The relevance of a focus on gender equality is more evident for people in agriculture (where women make up the majority) than in energy

(where many women know they will not be able to link up), and most evident for victims of sexual abuse and violence.

Alignment with strategic priorities in the Action Plan

The overall strategic priority of giving stronger emphasis to issues of WRGE has only partly been fulfilled in the case of Norwegian aid to Mozambique, despite concerted efforts by key actors such as the gender officers. The proportion of gender-marked projects has been low (even when acknowledging the apparent underreporting), and key recommendations in the midterm review such as stronger involvement by management and increased gender mainstreaming have not been put into practice. Considering the projects that have had a strong gender component, however, these have been based on a clear strategy of focusing on economic empowerment (through energy, fisheries and agriculture) and sexual and reproductive health and violence against women (through the Women and Gender Equality Grant). Dialogues with partners have been primarily in the form of Norway pushing for the inclusion of WRGE issues – particularly in sector programmes.

The use of the Women and Gender Equality Grant

The WGE Grant has had an important function in that it has made it possible to surpass some of the structural/institutional hindrances for a stronger WRGE focus in Norwegian aid to Mozambique. The total of 47 projects have generally been small and centralised and reached a limited number of people, but the grant has increasingly been used to focus on issues that gender specialists/activists have identified as particularly important, such as the involvement of men in gender action, safe abortions and interventions to hinder violence against women. The WGE Grant has also made Norway a more visible donor on gender issues. The AGIR mechanism for gender project coordination among donors is likely to make Norwegian gender-focused aid more effective.

5.2 EFFECTIVENESS

Systemic change

Taking Norway's (and the other Nordic countries') long-term relationship with Mozambique as a point of departure – including its support to

OMM, Forum Mulher and important events such as the Beijing Conference – it may be argued that Norway has contributed to systemic change (e.g. laws, regulations, funding, discourse) by helping put gender issues on the political map and thereby also affecting recent gender-related laws and regulations. It is more difficult to trace possible implications for gendered social norms, but, particularly in urban areas, concepts such as 'women's rights' and 'gender equality' would probably not have been so household had it not been for the long-term relationship between Mozambican champions of women empowerment and aid organisations – including Norway.

Organisational change

Looking more narrowly at the WRGE aid portfolio between 2007 and 2013, effectiveness in terms of reaching objectives of gender equality and women's empowerment in institutions of the state and society has been varied. The evidence suggests the impact on sector-based institutions in energy, fisheries and partly agriculture has been limited, owing to the chosen approach of 'mainstreaming' and the low priority given to the issue by management and at lower levels of

government that are closer to the ultimate target group. The most effective contribution has been to strengthen NGOs working directly with gender issues, even though the outreach has been too confined to Maputo to have a broader impact on relevant institutions in other parts of the country.

Project results

As argued throughout this report, results of development interventions in the area of WRGE (with its objective as well as subjective connotations) need to be measured in both quantitative and qualitative terms. Taking ‘project level’ to mean both institutions and men and women at the local level of districts and communities, there is a general problem in the bilateral as well as the civil society-based support to WRGE that too much funding and activities have remained at central level and only partially reached other parts of the country.

In energy, the idea of mainstreaming gender is known but has not really taken root in relevant public institutions at the provincial and district levels. Partly for this reason, concrete WRGE projects on the ground have been slow to

develop. Nevertheless, the power of electrification in districts like Cabo Delgado/Macomia is evident, and there are tangible (business and private electricity connections) as well as less tangible (women empowerment) outcomes. The results of the former have been below targets and largely ‘gender-blind’, while the most immediate sign of women’s empowerment is the small number of women who have become economic agents in a context where this has been very difficult.

The support to agriculture in the form of cash crop production was also initiated without an explicit gender focus/gender marker, but project interventions increasingly came to focus on women as the locally based government and aid organisations confronted realities on the ground. While production of soy has put women in the difficult situation of having to balance the need for income with the need to spend time on food production, an explicit strategy of empowering women through adult education has put women in a better position both in agricultural production and in public and domestic space.

The support to civil society organisations working for gender equality and women’s empowerment is of two types. Results from working with advocacy (Forum Mulher, HOPEM) are difficult to measure. Their impact has been strong in terms of contributing to a political focus on gender, but less strong in terms of implications in villages and shantytowns. One reason is the concentration of activity in Maputo, and another is the continued distance between the feminist approach of the relevant institutions and the type of issues deemed relevant by local women (and men). Interventions for practical support related to sexual and reproductive rights (Pathfinder) reach an increasing number of people in most parts of the country, and cover an important need.

Unintended consequences

The issue of women’s rights and gender equality is still controversial among large parts of the political establishment and in Mozambican society. There are people who see it as a new form of ‘cultural imperialism’, and people who see it as violating deep-rooted cultural rules. Largely involving women (as for example Gender

Focal Points) and supporting women in unequal relations with men, many men both in institutions and among the target group do feel that their status and role is threatened. Women empowerment in the basic meaning of *“the process of becoming stronger and more confident especially in controlling one’s life and claiming one’s rights”* should more explicitly involve men in order to be more effective.

5.3 SUSTAINABILITY

Profound changes in gender relations in Mozambique have come about as a result of deep structural change affecting the socioeconomic and cultural context in which people find themselves. Aid to WRGE is most likely to be sustainable when it works with, rather than against, the grain of such processes. Norwegian gendered aid has done well in terms of linking up to ongoing economic changes in Mozambican society (business/entrepreneurship, agricultural production, fisheries) and embryos of a stronger focus on women’s sexual and reproductive rights. However, the emphasis on mainstreaming WRGE in institutions that are at the outset focused on sector concerns and with limited

attention to issues of gender make it likely the current focus will not be sustainable beyond Norwegian support. Lessons from Mozambique indicate the impact of interventions for WRGE is stronger and more sustainable when it is (1) done through specialised government and non-governmental institutions and (2) implemented in the form of concrete tangible interventions that yield concrete outcomes as ‘lessons learnt’.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

There is a mismatch between expressed Norwegian political intentions of the importance of WRGE in development cooperation and the actual emphasis in Mozambique. The status and implications of the Action Plan for Women’s Rights and Gender Equality for programme implementation should be clarified.

The fact that a focus on gender has been maintained throughout the period 2007-2013 is much thanks to the pilot embassy programme, the WGE Grant and the presence of designated gender officers. The closure of the pilot embassy programme and the planned discontinuation of

the gender officer post is likely to reduce this focus. The latter should be re-established, if necessary in the form of a local gender specialist officer.

We have identified a discrepancy between the very low level of gender markers and the actual focus on gender in programmes and projects. There is still uncertainty among embassy staff about how to relate to gender as a ‘crosscutting issue’. To streamline such a focus, the embassy should introduce compulsory loops via the gender officer (or Norad/LIRE in Oslo) for all programmes and projects.

Another reason for the limited impact of gender on programme and project level is the number of Norwegian stakeholders (twinning partners, consultants, evaluators) who seem unfamiliar with the relevance of gender for achieving development goals. Involved partners (Norwegian public institutions, consulting companies, universities) should make more active use of social science competence.

There are strong indications that mainstreaming gender through gender focal points, and a general encouragement to include gender in all aspects of a given programme or project, does not work. The focus in sector programmes should rather be on concrete and tangible interventions that demonstrate its relevance – planned and implemented by specialists in the area.

The WGE Grant has functioned well in that it has made a clear focus on WRGE possible, it has been unbureaucratic and flexible and reporting procedures on results have been well adapted. The WGE Grant should increase substantially, and be developed into the main vehicle for gendered aid in sector as well as in targeted programmes in Mozambique.

The embassy should be encouraged to ‘think big’ about development and gender. In the aftermath of budget support and a reduction in energy projects, larger-scale projects in line with DFID’s Support to Adolescent Girls and Women initiative combining support to economic development/ entrepreneurship with a focus on women’s economic empowerment should be assessed.

Rather than mainstream gender into Norwegian sector priorities, the embassy should be encouraged to develop innovative projects based on Norwegian experiences and expertise in WRGE with a focus on economic empowerment (from women-based enterprises to creative industries) and social protection (from kindergartens to conditional cash transfers).

Reporting on results on WRGE should be based on more systematic use of baseline and endline studies combining quantitative and qualitative data. In sector programmes, monitoring and evaluation should include sector as well as social science/gender expertise.

Possible quantitative gender indicators for energy interventions include the proportion of female-headed households with private connections (usually among the poorest), the proportion of women heading connected businesses, the level of electrification in public spaces frequented by women such as informal markets and changes in women’s use of educational and health services.

In agriculture, key quantitative gender indicators include changes in the frequency of contacts with agricultural administrators and extension officers, the proportion of women owning/controlling land, the level of animal traction/mechanisation among female farmers and the relative importance of food crops and cash crops for female farmers, indicating the degree of economic independence.

To complement such data, qualitative information on changes in social relations between men and women, changes in the total workload of women and changes in the extent to which women organise themselves in associations, etc., will be important. All will require baselines with sex-disaggregated data. In most cases, interventions targeting women will be necessary.

Results on WRGE should be made more accessible to stakeholders in Mozambique by (1) more systematically disseminating results to the levels of provinces, districts and communities in languages people understand and (2) further developing the embassy homepage by including links to reports and other written outputs/results.

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Annex 2 – People interviewed

Institution	Name	Position
Norwegian Embassy	Camilla Høgberg-Hoe	Gender Advisor
Swedish Embassy	Luisa Fumo	Gender Advisor
Norwegian Embassy	Camilla Helgo Fossberg	Energy Advisor
DFID	Kate Greany	Social Development Advisor
Consultant	Soila Hirvonen	Gender Expert
Oxfam/AGIR	Antoniette Van Vugt	Programme Manager
Norwegian Embassy	Carlos Mate	Private Sector Advisor
HOPEM	Julio Langa	National Coordinator
National Farmers Union, UNAC	Flaida Macheve	Gender Advisor
Norwegian People's Aid	Frank Phiri	Programme Director
Forum Mulher	Nzira Deus	Director
Norwegian Embassy	Øyvind Udland Johansen	Head of Cooperation
Pathfinder	Rita Badiani	Director
Ministry of Energy/EDM	Gilda Monjane	Gender Advisor
Norwegian People's Aid (NPA)	Frank Phiri	Development Programme Manager
Consultant	Gerson Daniel	Former ProSoya Manager
DIPREME	Ramiro Juni Nguiraze	Provincial Director, Cabo Delgado
DPMAS	Maria Argentina Simão	Provincial Director, Cabo Delgado
Department of Women, DPMAS	Sheila Murima	Department Head
Provincial Directorate, EDM	Elder Chimo	Provincial Director

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Institution	Name	Position
Provincial Directorate, INP	Donna Manuela	Gender Advisor
Macomia Project, EDM	Eduardo Carlos Marcos	Project Coordinator
Association 7 de Abril	Joaquina Alberto Tomás	Vice President
District Administration	Francisco Chavo	District Administrator
Association 16 de Março	Mrs Quarete	President
Traditional Authority	Macomia Maronha	Régulo
Aga Khan	Mr Assuba, Mr Gune	Programme Officers
EDM	José Lone	Provincial Project Coordinator
EDM	Simão Cambaco	Technician, Statistics
DIPREME (FUNAE)	Tiago Parela	Responsible for Department of Energy
Association Muxara	Fatima Artuana, Teresa Sabibo	President, Vice-President
Department of Women, DPMAS	Aventina Cláudia Matusse	Technician, Social Action
CLUSA	Carolina Reynoso	Country Representative
SDAE Gurue	Victoria Namaquita	Extensionist/Gender FP
SDAE Gurue	Vilinho Abeque	Director
Administration Gurue	Alcides Celestino	Permanent Secretary
SDMMAS	Farias Noé Alberto	Director Education
Magigi Farmer Association	Raimundo Saraiva Maoquela	President
CLUSA	Voldemor Teones João	M&E Officer
Norad	Nina Strøm	Former Gender Advisor, Embassy

Annex 3 – Statistics

KEY STATISTICS ON WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT

Item	Women (%)	Men (%)
Political empowerment		
Members of parliament	39.2	60.8
Minsters	28.5	71.5
Governors	27.2	72.8
Social organisation		
Proportion female-headed households	36.6	63.4
Proportion women in polygamous households	22.5	-
Employment and income		
Employed people to total population	77.6	72.2
Primary employment agriculture	63.1	43.0
Informal economic activities	24.8	26.4
Proportion below national poverty line	57.8	53.9
Education		
Adult literacy	35.9	65.5
Net enrolment rate primary education	62.1	67.2
Primary education completion	74.4	79.4
Sexual and reproductive health		
Fertility rate	5.9	-
Life expectancy at birth	54.3	49.8
Maternal mortality (per 100,000 live births)	500.1	-

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Item	Women (%)	Men (%)
Under-five mortality rate (per 1,000)	138.5	155.3
Knowledge of contraceptive methods	96.3	100.0
Use of contraceptives by women	12.2	-
Prevalence of HIV/AIDS (15-49 years)	18.4	12.8
Marriage under 15 years	14.0	
Average age of first sexual contact (year)	16.1	17.1
Experience of physical violence	33.4	24.8
Experience of sexual violence	12.3	

Sources: INE (2010, 2011).

GENDER MARKERS 2007-2013

No. of projects	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2007-2013
Marker 0	79	86	92	81	93	101	71	603
Marker 1	30	31	18	16	13	16	15	139
Marker 2	12	10	18	18	23	22	15	118
Total	121	127	128	115	129	139	101	860

Source: MFA/Norad 2015

GENDER MARKERS 2007-2013, VOLUME OF FUNDING (NOK '000S)

Gendermarker	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2007-2013
0	55,041	74,713	69,456	64,367	73,424	75,355	37,841	450,197
1	23,299	19,672	7,833	3,784	4,492	5,531	9,225	73,836
2	1,762	2,280	3,117	5,539	6,226	5,654	3,674	28,252
Total	80,102	96,665	80,406	73,690	84,142	86,539	50,740	552,284

Source: MFA/Norad 2015

PROJECTS UNDER THE WOMEN AND GENDER EQUALITY GRANT 2007-2013, BY TARGET AREA

Sector	Number
Economic development and trade	3
Education	2
Emergency assistance	-
Environment and energy	4
Good governance	34
Health and social services	4
Total	47

Source: MFA/Norad 2015

PRIVATE AND BUSINESS ELECTRICITY CONNECTIONS, MACOMIA DISTRICT, CABO DELGADO

Year	Private connections	Business connections
December 2011*	646	128
December 2012	1147	177
December 2013	1321	193
September 2014	1445	219

Note: * During the first month of connection, 63 private and 30 business connections were made.

Source: EDM, Cabo Delgado.

GENDER AID BY TARGET AREA

Gendered aid by target area NOK 1,000	Total volume	Gender marker 1	Gender marker 1 proportion	Gender marker 2	Gender marker 2 proportion
Economic development and trade	1,712,186	135,955	8%	2,610	0%
Education	83,258	37,316	45%	10,438	13%
Emergency assistance	10,954	0	0%	1500	14%
Environment and energy	596,927	6,580	1%	10,384	2%
Good governance	463,617	85,678	18%	97,065	21%
Health and social services	375,183	166,851	44%	43,753	12%
In donor costs and unspecified	2,131	0	0%	0	0%

Source: MFA/Norad 2015

Annex 4 – Projects under the women and gender equality grant 2007-2013

Agreement no.	Agreement title	Agreement partner
MOZ-07/010	Development of Living Conditions, Women in Ancuabe	FDC
MOZ-07/013	SANTAC Mozambique	SANTAC
MOZ-09/035	Core Support Forum Mulher 2009-2013	Forum Mulher
MOZ-12/0007	LoC 13 – Second Roundtable Conference GM in Energy Cooperation	ETC Crystal
MOZ-13/0003	HOPEM Travel Support to CSW57	HOPEM
MOZ-07/031	SANTAC – Local Anti-Trafficking Awareness	FDC
MOZ-09/050	Save the Children Mozambique – Prevention of Trafficking in Persons 2010	Save the Children – local partner
MOZ-12/0017	Embassy Gender Action Plan for Mozambique	AustralCowi
MOZ-09/035	Core support Forum Mulher 2009-2013	Forum Mulher
MOZ-07/037	FAO/CFJJ – Women Land Rights 2009-2011	FAO
MOZ-07/037	FAO/CFJJ – Women Land Rights 2009-2011	FAO
MOZ-07/012	Poverty Research and Reduction – Institutional Cooperation	CMI
MOZ-10/0028	IBIS – Local Democracy Capacity-Building	IBIS
MOZ-07/037	FAO/CFJJ – Women Land Rights 2009-2011	FAO
MOZ-11/0014	Media Debate Woman and Equality 2011	Soico Impresa
MOZ-12/0047	Org Capacity-Building Conservation Agriculture, Gender and Land Rights	Norsk Folkehjelp
MOZ-10/0059	Men Engage in Gender Equality	HOPEM
MOZ-11/0032	Gender Theatre Support – Hedda Gabler	Teatro Avenida, Mozambique
MOZ-06/040	SP with SCN against Sexual Abuse of Young Women and Girls	Save the Children – local partner
MOZ-06/004	Castal Rural Support Programme in Cabo Delgado, Literacy	Aga Khan Foundation
MOZ-07/024	Women in Democracy	IBIS

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Agreement no.	Agreement title	Agreement partner
MOZ-12/0018	LoC 15: Backstopping Assistance to Capacity-Building Programme	ETC Crystal
MOZ-09/035	Core Support Forum Mulher 2009-2013	Forum Mulher
MOZ-09/050	Save the Children Mozambique – Prevention of Trafficking in Persons 2010	Save the Children – local partner
MOZ-10/0044	Female Condoms and LGBT Support	PSI
MOZ-10/0022	Phuka Wansati – Challenging Gender Roles and Norms	Companhia Nacional de Canto e Dança
MOZ-07/012	Poverty Research and Reduction – Institutional Cooperation	CMI
MOZ-09/035	Core Support Forum Mulher 2009-2013	Forum Mulher
MOZ-07/010	Development of Living Conditions, Women in Ancuabe	FDC
MOZ-10/0028	IBIS – Local Democracy Capacity-Building	IBIS
MOZ-06/004	Castal Rural Support Programme in Cabo Delgado, Literacy	Aga Khan Foundation
MOZ-11/0050	SRHR and Safe Abortion – Pathfinder & DKT	Pathfinder International
MOZ-07/037	FAO/CFJJ – Women Land Rights 2009-2011	FAO
MOZ-10/0059	Men Engage in Gender Equality	HOPEM
MOZ-10/0052	Seminar Women and Poverty	AustralCowi
MOZ-10/0015	Resources person Nampula 2010	Åsne Århus Botillen
MOZ-08/012	LDH (Human Rights League) 2007/Addendum No. 1	LDH
MOZ-12/0018	LoC 15: Backstopping Assistance to Capacity-Building Programme	ETC Crystal
MOZ-07/040	Revision of Strategy Plan	Forum Mulher
MOZ-10/0059	Men Engage in Gender Equality	HOPEM
MOZ-06/040	SP with SCN against Sexual Abuse of Young Women and Girls	Save the Children – local partner
MOZ-10/0044	Female Condoms and LGBT Support	PSI
MOZ-10/0028	IBIS – Local Democracy Capacity-Building	IBIS
MOZ-07/024	Women in Democracy	IBIS
MOZ-06/040	SP with SCN against Sexual Abuse of Young Women and Girls	Save the Children – local partner
MOZ-11/0002	LoC 5: Building Capacity for Gender Mainstreaming of Energy Sector	ETC Crystal

Source: MFA/Norad

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Abbreviations and acronyms

AGIR	Action Programme for Inclusive and Responsible Governance	HOPEM	Men for Change	OMM	Organisation of Mozambican Women
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome	IMR	Norwegian Institute of Marine Research	ORAM	Rural Association for Mutual Support
CDFC	Centre for Development Cooperation in Fisheries	INE	National Institute of Statistics	PROMAC	Climate-Smart Agriculture in Mozambique
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency	INP	National Petroleum Institute	PROSOYA	Expanding Soy Bean Production and Marketing in Northern Mozambique
CLUSA	Cooperative League of the United States of America	LIRE	Norad's Section for Rights and Gender Equality	PSI	Population Services International
CMI	Chr. Michelsen Institute	MICOH	Ministry for the Coordination of Environmental Affairs	Sida	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
CNAM	National Council for the Advancement of Women	MIREM	Ministry of Mineral Resources	SIPU	Swedish Institute of Public Administration
DAC	Development Assistance Committee	MMAS	Ministry of Women and Social Affairs	SRHR	Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights
Danida	Danish International Development Agency	MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	UK	United Kingdom
DFID	Department for International Development	MoE	Ministry of Energy	UN	United Nations
DoF	Directorate of Fisheries	MPD	Ministry of Planning and Development	UNAC	National Farmers Union
DoM	Distrito de Macomia	MULEIDE	Women's Law and Development	UNDP	UN Development Programme
EDM	Mozambican Electrical Utility	NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation	UNIFEM	UN Development Fund for Women
ENH	Mozambican Oil and Gas Company	Norad	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation	US	United States
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization	NPA	Norwegian People's Aid	WEF	World Economic Forum
FDD	District Development Fund	NVE	Norwegian Water Resources and Energy Directorate	WLSA	Women and Law in Southern Africa Research and Education Trust
FUNAE	National Energy Fund	ODA	Official Development Assistance	WRGE	Women's Rights and Gender Equality
GBV	Gender-Based Violence	ODI	Overseas Development Institute	WGE grant	Budget chapter 168.70 Women and gender equality
GCG	Gender Coordination Group	OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development		
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus				