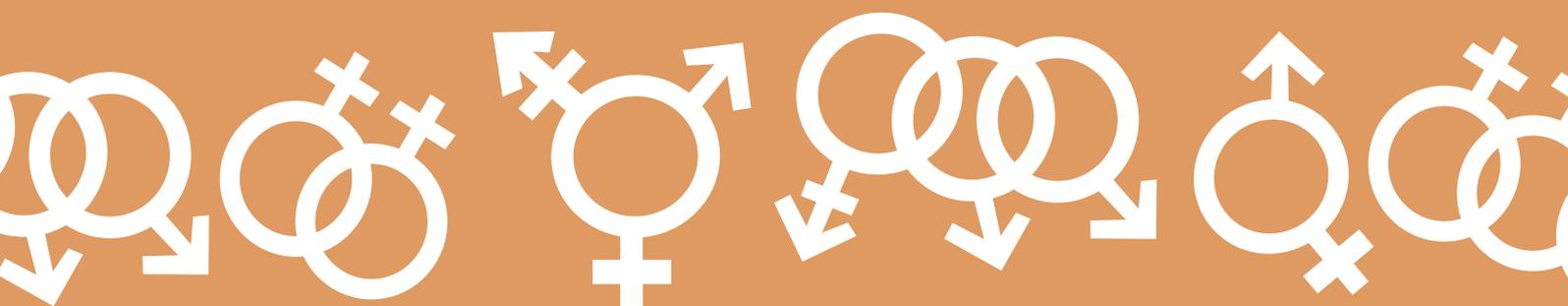


Societal Views on LGBTI people and Sex Workers Through the Eyes of Opinion Leaders in Three Cities in Mozambique



This research report was developed by HEARD, University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban and the Faculty of Medicine, Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo. The research forms part of a larger, multi-country project “Linking Policy to Programming” which seeks to strengthen legal and policy environments for reducing HIV risk and improving the sexual and reproductive health of young key populations in Southern Africa. The project is implemented together with UNDP and African Men for Sexual Health and Rights (AMSHeR) and is funded by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of The Netherlands as part of their regional HIV and AIDS and SRHR programme in Southern Africa.

Research team:

C.J. Aantjes, Principal investigator. Health Economics and AIDS Research Division (HEARD), University of Kwa-Zulu Natal

K. Munguambe, co-Principal investigator. Faculty of Medicine, Community Health Department, Sexual and Reproductive Health Unit, Eduardo Mondlane University

Rehana Capurchande, researcher. Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Department of Sociology, Eduardo Mondlane University

Vasco Muchanga, researcher. Faculty of Medicine, Community Health Department, Sexual and Reproductive Health Unit, Eduardo Mondlane University

Suggested citation: Munguambe, K., Capurchande, R., Muchanga, V., and Aantjes, C.J. (2020). Societal views on LGBTI people and sex workers in three cities in Mozambique. Durban: HEARD.

The research reported in this publication was supported by the University Eduardo Mondlane, Faculty of Medicine. The content is solely the responsibility of the authors and does not necessarily represent the official views of the University Eduardo Mondlane.

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HEALTH ECONOMICS AND HIV AND AIDS RESEARCH DIVISION
Working to advance health equity in Africa



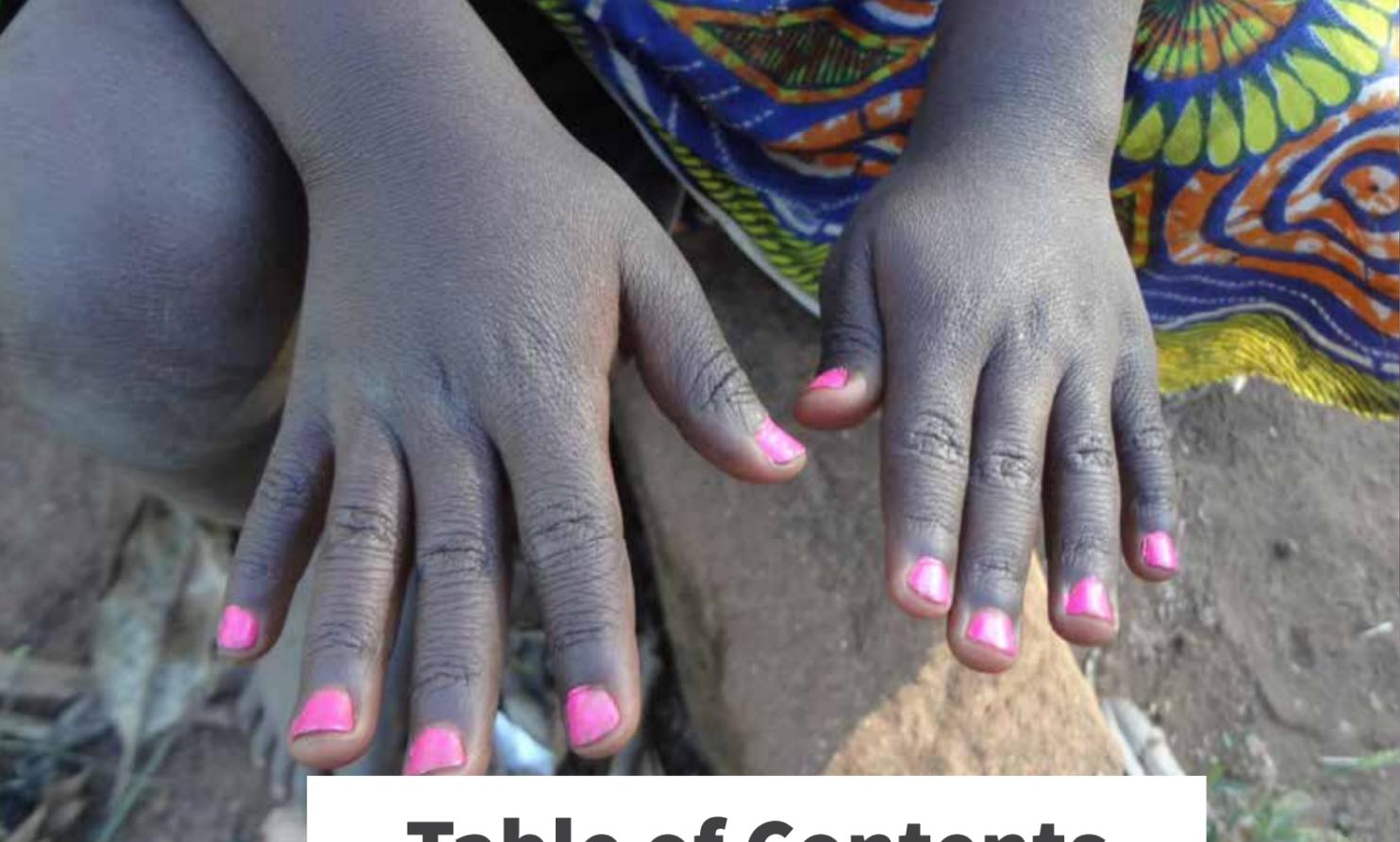
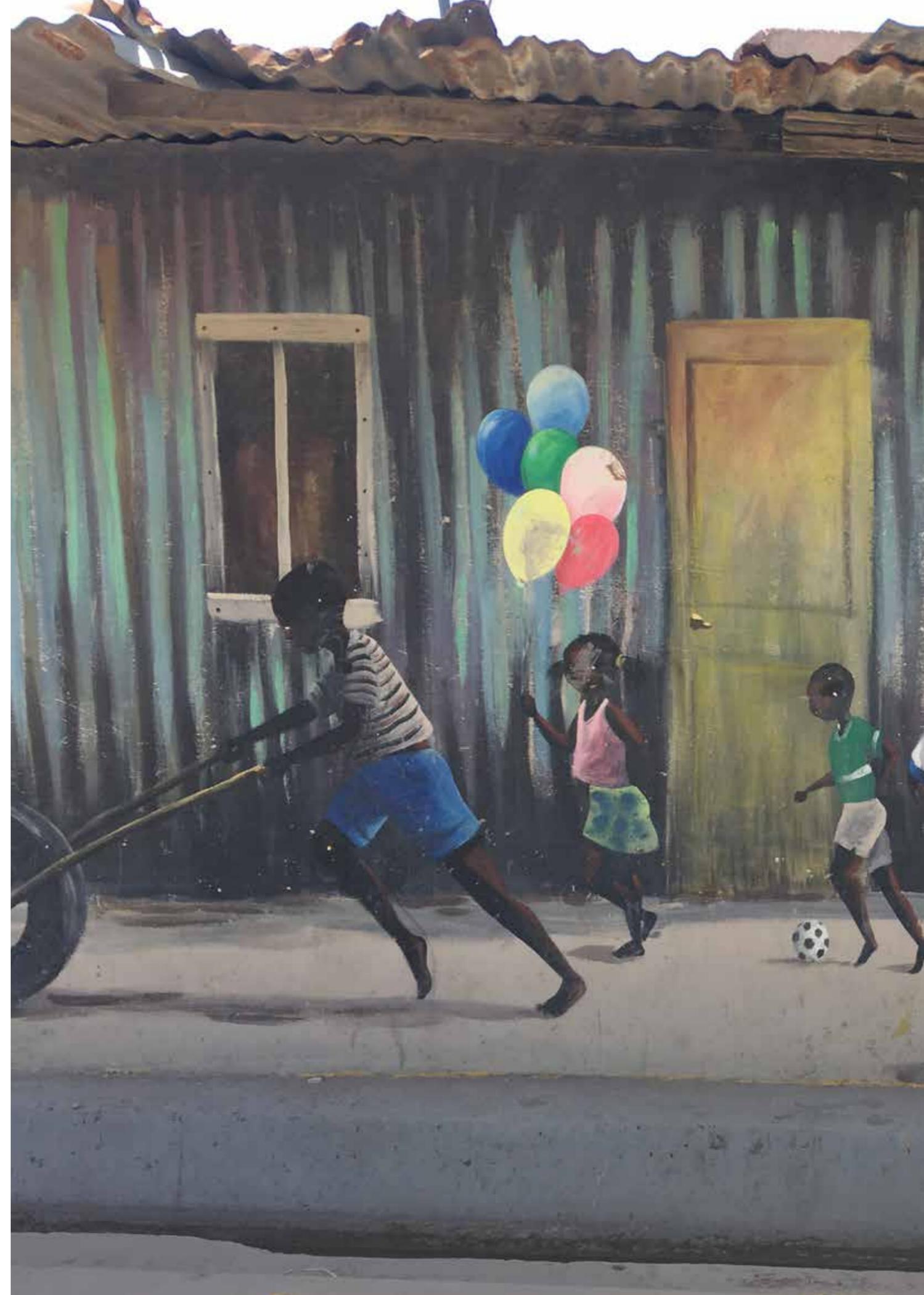


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List of acronyms and abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AMETRAMO	Associação dos Praticantes de Medicina Tradicional de Moçambique (Mozambican Traditional Medicine Practitioners' Association)
AP	Administrative Post
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front)
FDC	Fundação para o Desenvolvimento da Comunidade (Community Development Foundation)
FGH	Friends in Global Health
GBV	Gender-based violence
HEARD	Health Economics and AIDS Research Division
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IPAJ	Instituto do Patrocínio e Assistência Jurídica (Institute for Judiciary Sponsoring and Assistance)
KP	Key Populations
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex people
MD	Municipal District
OL	Opinion Leader
PLHIV	People Living with HIV
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional de Moçambique (National Resistance of Mozambique)
SW	Sex Worker
UEM	Universidade Eduardo Mondlane
YKP	Young Key Populations





Chapter 1

Introduction and objectives

1.1. Background and rationale

Mozambique, located in Southern Africa, is a country where on the surface the laws seem robust, compared to its neighbouring countries. Since the early 1990s, 15 years after independence, the country has registered a remarkable turnaround into a democratic multi-party system accompanied by a profound revision of the Constitution. Equality and non-discrimination principles feature not only in the Constitution but also in the different infra-constitutional legal instruments.

The country's legal reform is a continuous process whereby legislators hold the mandate to trigger or mediate the development of new laws, decrees or other legal pieces, in response to candescent issues. Historically, such issues have been linked to gender-based violence (GBV), child abuse and related issues (such as child trafficking and sexual exploitation), discrimination against specific groups (including people with disabilities and those living with HIV and AIDS), to name but a few.

Issues specific to Key Populations (KP) in general, and in particular to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) people and sex workers (SW), have sporadically been affected by legal reform revision processes. The joint HEARD & UEM baseline report on young key populations (YKP), with a study focus on the sexual and reproductive health and rights of YKPs, suggested that important legal reforms in the past five years, which decriminalised (yet did not legalise) some acts directly or indirectly relating to sex work and homosexuality, have been followed by the development of KP-specific policies and strategies aimed at increasing the uptake of services and removing health service barriers for key populations (Aantjes *et al*, 2018).

However, during the subsequent phase of this research, in which the legal and political framework for LGBTI people and SWs in Mozambique was further interrogated¹, it was found that most changes in the legislation were in fact not

¹ This entailed a desk review supported by key informant interviews at the national level

specific to LGBTIs or SWs, and that the protection of their rights was premised on a belief that these were secured under the general law, applicable to all citizens: the Constitution. When key informants were interviewed, during the above-mentioned piece of research, they expressed the view that the country's legal framework propitiates tolerance at the specific level of LGBTI people and SWs and promotes non-discrimination at the broader level for each Mozambican citizen, inciting also a tolerant political environment.

At ground level, however, the awareness and appropriation of those laws and their affirmation of the underlying human rights principles of equality and non-discrimination by the general public is unknown. It was therefore pertinent to continue querying the understanding of rights, knowledge and views on the laws, as well as the evidence on how these laws are being popularised and stirred in favour (or not) of LGBTI and SWs' rights and entitlements, by looking at how community members perceive and treat these groups, and how all of these elements affect the social position of LGBTI people and SWs.

Before delving into the views, opinions and experiences of individual LGBTIs and SWs, as another leg to this study, it was considered critical to put a context to the day-to-day reality of these groups and engage opinion leaders (OLs) in the research as community 'spokespersons' to understand the issues queried above. These leaders, who are influential individuals or representatives of influential entities at the community level play an important role in the mobilisation of community groups and/or engagement with members of the community on issues pertaining to community life. The research's entry point was at the level of neighbourhoods and administrative posts (APs) / municipal districts (MDs) within the three cities featuring in the study from baseline: Maputo, Nampula and Quelimane (Quelimane replaced Beira as one of the study sites following the natural disaster in 2019). The current stage of the study sets out to deepen the investigation on the process of rights assimilation in law and society, by focusing on the knowledge and acceptance of the rule of law and perceptions of LGBTI people and SWs in the community.

1.2. Objectives

1.2.1. Overall objective

To explore societal views on LGBTI people and SWs and the functionality of the law in steering the social position of LGBTIs and SWs by engaging with influential community members.

1.2.2. Specific objectives

- To investigate OLs' understanding and perceptions of the Mozambican legal framework, past reforms, and the underlying human rights principles of equality and non-discrimination
- To obtain accounts from OLs regarding societal views on, and stereotypes of, LGBTI people and SWs in the community
- To assess the role of sexual, gender, socio-cultural and religious norms in the construction of LGBTI and SW stereotypes
- To improve understanding of how these stereotypes manifest in the interaction between SWs and LGBTI people and the communities in which they reside and whether support systems are in place for the protection of these groups



Chapter 2

Methods

2.1 Study site and population

This qualitative study was designed to cover one city in each region of the country: Maputo (south), Quelimane (centre) and Nampula (north). This was done with the purpose of capturing the geopolitical and cultural diversity of Mozambique as much as possible. Most cities in Mozambique are organised as municipalities, either divided into MDs or APs which tend to have marked differences among them in terms of socio-economic characteristics and are further subdivided into neighbourhoods (or in Portuguese – *bairros*). Neighbourhoods are in turn divided into blocks of houses.

a) Maputo City

Maputo City is located on the Maputo Bay (Indian Ocean), at the southern tip of the country. Administratively it is simultaneously a province and a municipality, covering a total area of 347 km² with a population of 1,094,315 inhabitants (INE, 2019). The municipality comprises seven MDs: Kampfumo at the centre (the most urban sector of the city), which is surrounded by KaMavota, KaMubukuane, KaLhamankulo, and KaMaxaqueni (considered the peri-urban areas), and separated by the ocean with KaTembe (on the opposite side of Maputo Bay, connected to the main city by a 3km long bridge) and KaNyaka (an Island standing 37km from the main city). The peri-urban districts are home to most of the population (1,058,975 inhabitants). Maputo hosts the hub of two well-known LGBTI and SW organisations respectively, Lambda and Tiyani Vavasati.

b) Nampula City

Nampula is the capital city of Nampula province and is classified as the third largest in the country, after Maputo and Matola. It has a population of 743,125 inhabitants (INE, 2019) circumscribed in an area of 330km². This landlocked city (200km from the coast) has six municipal APs: Central, Muatala, Muhala, Namicopo, Napipini, and Nakitiri, which

again are divided into a total of 18 neighbourhoods, of which six are in the Central Business District (CBD) and 12 in the peri-urban areas. The Makhuwa are the main ethnic group, and Islam is the dominant religion in the entire Nampula province. The media mentions the presence of a few organizations that support SW (such as OTHOLA, which focuses on HIV prevention and mitigation). With regards to LGBTI supporting organizations, LAMBDA has been active in Nampula since 2010, after establishing their offices in Maputo and Beira.

c) Quelimane City

Quelimane is the capital of Zambézia province (central Mozambique). The city comprises simultaneously a municipality (with an elected local government) and a district, which administers the powers of the central government, both covering the same geographical area, which is situated next to the “Bons Sinais” river, 20km from the Indian Ocean.

Quelimane has an approximate area of 117km², a population of 193,343 inhabitants (INE, 2019), and is administratively divided into four APs which in turn are divided into 55 neighbourhoods. The Lomwé and Chuabo are the main ethnic groups in the city, and the main religion is Catholicism. Different from Maputo and Nampula, Quelimane does not seem to have consolidated SW associations, apart from sporadic support received by NGOs such as Friends in Global Health (FGH) and the Foundation for Community Development (FDC) which mostly work on HIV-related interventions and initiatives aiming to ‘remove SWs from the streets’ through offering skill development on areas such as cooking and sewing.

2.2. Sampling and sample size

a) Location selection

Using a strata sampling approach, within each municipality, three APs or MDs were selected intentionally, followed by the choice of two neighbourhoods in each AP or MD. This was to ensure a fair mix of different socio-economic strata, given the expected heterogeneity of the urban population and municipalities that in turn reflect the country's diversity. The sampling was grounded on a natural trend of the country's cities' organisation, with urban hubs at the centre of the cities. Heavily populated informal settlements immediately surround the centres, which in turn are circumscribed by distant neighbourhoods, which although less developed, have more room for potentially becoming well-structured areas of urbanisation. Thus, in terms of diversity, this study took into account differentials at the level of service delivery, municipal mobility, basic infrastructure and socio-economic standing of communities. Three sets of characteristics were taken into account in order to define the inclusion of the three APs or MDs in each city:

i. Highly urbanised area – a central area, which has satisfactory infrastructure, relatively adequate urban planning, and access to and use of, adequate public and private health and other services. Although these areas are known as *cimento* neighbourhoods (*cimento* meaning the houses are made out of concrete where the Portuguese people used to live during the colonization era) nowadays they include both the *cimento* and buildings made with local traditional materials (for example, wood with mud plastering), particularly in the cities in the central and northern parts of the county. The central areas are inhabited by more people with a high socioeconomic status than in the rest of the urbanized areas, mostly by those who own the houses or can afford the rent of the houses, including foreigners from medium and high classes. Altogether, the majority are employed in the formal market or in big and medium business. Few people from lower classes live in the centre of urban cities. Those who do, rent the garages or the terrace of the buildings, while the landlords inhabit the main houses. It was expected that in these types of areas, residents would be the most economically advantaged compared to those living in other, more peripheral areas, in that they are more likely to hold formal jobs or own business ventures, and have a history of access to better education. In Maputo city, KaMpfumo MD was selected under the above criteria and the neighbourhoods Bairro Central B and Alto Maé were included; in Quelimane city, AP Urban 1 and the neighbourhoods of Kansa and Torrone Velho were selected under the same criteria; and in Nampula city, Central AP was selected with Central, Liberdade and Militar as its respective selected neighbourhoods.

ii. Suburban area – these are areas located in the immediate surroundings of the central area, characterised by high population density, poor housing and health conditions, unordered settling, and limited space or resources for the establishment of basic infrastructure. These areas are likely to be inhabited by people who have a lower socioeconomic status than those in highly urbanized areas. Some are employed informally while others work in small businesses, and commute daily to the main urban centres. Many who live in suburban areas are migrants (mostly from other parts of Mozambique and from neighbouring African or middle-east countries) and are not necessarily the owners of the houses where they live. In Maputo city, the Ka Maxaquene MD was selected with its neighbourhoods of Polana Caniço B and Mafalala. In Quelimane, the AP Urban 3 was selected (with the neighbourhoods of Sampene and Samungue). Nampula city is peculiar in that all the APs, besides the central one, have characteristics that fall under our description of ‘suburban’. Therefore, for this city two APs were selected: Muhala (with inclusion of the neighbourhoods of Muahivire and Namutequeliua) and Namicopo (along its respective neighbourhoods of Mutava Rex and Namutequeliua).

iii. Peri-urban area – areas which are characterised by medium population density, and a rapidly expanding area not always accompanied by adequate sanitary infrastructure and services. For example, during the rains, these areas get heavily flooded, while during the dry season some paths are difficult to pass through because the terrain is very sandy, so public transport stops are few and far between. These areas are far from the central area, where virtually all employment and business opportunities are concentrated, therefore the inhabitants have to be very mobile in all aspects of their daily lives as most of the infrastructures and services are in the urban areas. These areas are inhabited by a mixture of people: those who left the highly urbanized areas because they could not afford the lifestyle imposed by these areas; who either sold or rented out their property in the city to build their own, low-cost properties in these areas, but remain somehow linked to the main urban centres; those who were allocated land (as compensation or as a result of resettlement initiatives) with not enough means to sustain their lands; and those who have always lived there and are waiting for an opportunity to sell the land to investors, with the view to them becoming future city expansion areas. Therefore, in Maputo, this study selected KaMavota MD, which includes the neighbourhoods Hulene A and Três de Fevereiro, and in Quelimane City the AP Urban 5 was chosen (with its neighbourhoods of Namuinho and Gogone).

Table 1: Distribution of selected neighbourhoods

City	Municipal District/ Administrative Post		Neighbourhood	
	Name	Characteristics	Name	Location*
Maputo	KaMpfumo	Highly urbanised area	Central B	Central
			Alto Mae	Distal
	KaMaxaqueni	Suburban area	Mafalala	Central
			Polana Canico B	Distal
	KaMavota	Peri-urban area	Hulene A	Central
			Três de Fevereiro	Distal
Nampula	Central AP	Highly urbanised area	Central	Central
			Liberdade	Intermediate
			Militar	Intermediate
	Muhala AP	Peri-urban area	Muahivire	Central
			Namutequeliua	Intermediate
	Namicopo AP	Peri-urban area	Namicopo	Central
Mutava Rex			Distal	
Quelimane	AP of Urban 1	Highly urbanised area	Kansa	Central
			Torrone Velho	Distal
	AP of Urban 3	Suburban area	Sampene	Central
			Samungue	Distal
	AP of Urban 5	Peri-urban area	Namuinho	Central
			Gogone	Distal

* Location refers to its geographical position in relation to the central part of the Administrative post

b) Participant selection

The selection of study participants was non-probabilistic, based on a combination of intentional (purposeful), convenience and snowball sampling.

At the onset of the study, contacts were established with key civil society organisations namely Lambda (in defence of LGBT rights), as well as Tiyana Vavasati and Pathfinder (organisations which are respectively led by, and work with SWs) in order to get accurate information on who could act as potential OLs within the communities under the study.

In parallel to the above-mentioned initial contacts, the researchers compiled a list of potential participants, informed by the literature on what features or characterizes an OL² and by the researchers' own knowledge of community structures and structures of influence in the country. The list contained characteristics that would most probably fit appointed or elected leaders, such as administrative leaders and religious leaders, as well as members of the community who were perceived to be influential and played an important role in mobilising the community (panel 1).

Panel 1: Criteria for participants to qualify as 'Opinion Leaders'

- Is a male or female over the age of 18;
- Has lived in the neighbourhood for a considerable time (>10 years);
- Plays an active role in the mobilisation or engagement of people in the community's main activities;
- Is known by neighbourhood residents and through their role is recognised as an influential individual in the neighbourhood;
- Represents a local organisation or group in the neighbourhood;
- Is mentally healthy and willing to participate in the study;
- Is available to participate in the study and agrees to sign or gives written informed consent.

Because the researchers were already in the field, the first step by default was to start at the AP level, where the AP heads were specifically selected based on their role in the community. Therefore, recruitment and engagement of participants in each AP/MD followed a hierarchical sequence, starting with the *Chefe do Posto* (AP Chief) who was interviewed as an opinion leader. The interview guide was piloted (for the first few cases at the onset of the study) and the participant guided to identify other opinion leaders within the AP or at neighbourhood level.

During this exercise, the researchers verified the provisional list of characteristics of potential participants (mentioned above in panel 1) against the information they obtained from each *Chefe do Posto* on who was influential in respective neighbourhoods, prior to the continuation of the recruitment process. Then, a rapid screening process occurred, whereby the researchers checked if the suggested participants fell under the criteria stipulated on panel 1. This was aided questions to informants such as: "how long has the person you are suggesting lived in this Municipal District?"

This exercise resulted in researchers gaining some more specific characteristics of potential study participants, which evolved during the entire course of fieldwork (panel 2). The adjustments to the sample composition according to the information obtained from the AP heads resulted in some differences in the sets of participants across the different communities.

Panel 2: Position of individuals/entities potentially qualifying as 'opinion leaders'

- AP chiefs;
- Neighbourhood heads, also called *Secretários de bairro* (neighbourhood secretaries);
- Heads of neighbourhood blocks (usually responsible for a block of several households within a neighbourhood);
- Traditional authorities, such as *Régulos* (Regulators);
- Local religious leaders, such as lead priests, pastors, or *Chehes* (Muslim religious leaders at the level of their churches, temples or mosques);
- Leaders of church/ mosque sub-groups, for instance youth, women's groups within the church;
- Traditional healers' association representatives;
- Representatives of women's movements/ feminist groups;
- Representatives or active members of youth organisations, including those linked to sports, politics and religious movements;
- Community level activists and councillors working on issues of sexual reproductive health and domestic violence with women and adolescents ;
- Political party representatives.

At the neighbourhood level, neighbourhood secretaries were selected by default, based on their role as heads of the neighbourhood. From this point onwards, snowball sampling was followed, meaning that heads of neighbourhood were asked to suggest up to three people who showed the characteristics presented in panel 2, whom in turn would indicate up to one person each.

In order to reduce selection bias, besides the guidance taken from both the administrative post and neighbourhood heads, the researchers took to the neighbourhood streets and to strategic points in the community to ask purposefully selected people, who were mostly elders and youth (ranging from three to five people), who they would nominate as local influential people with a deep understanding of the community's historical and current dynamics. This information was later triangulated with the researchers' provisional list of characteristics, and the information gathered from the AP Chiefs and Neighbourhood Heads in order to ensure a comprehensive selection of participants for each neighbourhood, fitting the study selection criteria.

Minimum threshold for participant numbers was set as the criteria for sample size determinations as follows:

- At AP/MD level: one to two participants, which would include the AP Chief or a delegated participant and one additional participant if the AP Chief would not be in a position to respond to important questions from the interview guide.
- At neighbourhood level: at minimum four participants from each selected neighbourhood, including the neighbourhood head.

However, researchers agreed upon some flexibility to increase or decrease the numbers by a few, depending on logistics, time and satisfaction with completeness of interviews.

2 These included the following: OLs are the influential people in the community; OLs are regarded as having expertise and knowledge on a particular subject; OL provide information and advice; OLs established or reinforce norms and values; OLs can leverage resources

2.3. Data collection procedures

The researchers developed and used a semi-structured guide for the interviews with OLs. In all study sites, as soon as team members arrived on site, they contacted the headquarters of each AP/MD to obtain permission from the municipality to conduct the study, and to ensure an appropriate gate-keeping process to enable the interviews with OLs.

Interviews were conducted first in Nampula, followed by Quelimane and finally Maputo. They were conducted face-to-face with individual participants (although in a few cases there were two participants, on their own request), and at a location of the OL's preference, which was usually their workplace. The majority of the interviews were conducted by one researcher (either RC, KM or VM), but at the onset of data collection, they were also conducted in pairs of researchers with a view to maximise the harmonization of interview procedures and querying approaches across the team. This also served to pilot the instrument.

The interview guide consisted of open-ended questions, most of them supplemented by probing suggestions. All, but one interview, were conducted in Portuguese. The exception was an interview with an opinion leader in Maputo City which was conducted in Changana.

The interview guide was designed to focus on exploring societal views, attitudes and actions towards LGBTI and SW as well as the perceived and experienced functionality of the legal framework in protecting these groups. Specifically it touched upon perceptions and understanding of equality and non-discrimination; perceptions of vulnerable groups - particularly those vulnerable to discrimination; State, community and OL's role in protecting vulnerable groups; society constructs of LGBTI and SW; interactions between the community and LGBTIs and SWs; and opinion leaders' positioning and role when facing real issues of tension involving LGBTI or SWs requiring resolution (see Annex 1).

There was also an attempt, during the interview, particularly with AP/MD or neighbourhood heads to obtain additional data, such as district population, geographical and socio-economic characteristics, how the neighbourhood is organised, and which persons would qualify as potential participants. The aim was to triangulate this data with the official information on the features of all APs/MDs under study. Only the queries on which participants would qualify for the study was successfully done (as detailed in section 3.2.b), as APs/MDs did not have systematic information on population demographics, socioeconomic data to their disposal.

Prior to each interview, the participant was informed about the objectives of the study and signed an informed consent form. During the data collection, the researchers undertook different steps in establishing a conducive environment for the interview, for example by adapting to the participant's setting (to the point of sometimes sitting on the ground), and by engaging in informal conversations before starting the formal interview, as well as breaking the formal interview with further informal talks. This was deemed important for establishing a non-threatening atmosphere in which participants could discuss (potentially) sensitive issues, such as their own political affiliation and their perceived role of the State in enforcing laws and policies; the occurrence of non-conforming sexual behaviours; and problems of violence and discrimination in their community. This was particularly sensitive in Quelimane and Nampula, where the clashes between the ruling party and the opposition parties are stronger compared to Maputo City.

Interviews lasted between 30 minutes to 1 hour and 30 minutes. All contents of interviews were audio recorded with the permission of participants, and transcribed verbatim.

2.4. Data analysis

The study took a qualitative, thematic approach to data analysis, using NVivo12 – a qualitative data analysis platform that allows the organisation and systematic management of large qualitative data sets. Based on a combination of the study-specific objectives, research questions and interview questions, the team first created a set of broad codes outside the NVivo 12 platform. Suggestions of sub-codes (ideas steaming out of the broad codes) were created during a series of team consensus meetings giving rise to an initial coding tree.

Next the codes and sub-codes were numbered (following a hierarchical logic) and uploaded into the NVivo12 platform, alongside a couple of the first OL interviews in order to pilot and assess the stability of the coding structure. Interviews were coded through reading several passages of text and assigning one, or several, codes to each of the ideas being formulated by the participants. Existing codes were adjusted (to ensure the chosen names reflected the participants' ideas) and new codes (emerging themes) were created and added to the general coding tree, either as main codes or as sub-codes. Once the speed at which new codes were created decreased or ceased, the remaining interviews were uploaded and the coding process proceeded. Each team member coded a set number of interviews and coding stopped at the final interview.

After coding, the interviews were analysed further. This was based on queries created either to select specific single codes that would respond to each of the research questions, or to combine two codes that together would address the questions, or also to combine codes with participants' characteristics (for example: city) or agents that were subjects of the discussion (for example SW or LGBTI).

Illustrative quotes (full passages of text within the interviews) were cut from the query output and pasted into the report in order to best express the participants' take on the different issues of interest in the study in general and to this report in particular. Some variables were categorized, quantified and represented in graphics and word clouds using NVivo to answer specific objectives.



Chapter 3

Results

3.1 Participants' characteristics

Seventy-eight OLS participated in the study, of which 33 (43%) were from Nampula city, 24 (31%) from Quelimane City, and 21 (26%) from Maputo City (Figure 1). The disparity in the number of participants across the three sites depended on a number of factors. First, as seen in table 1 on page 8, three instead of two different neighbourhoods were selected to adequately cover the highly urbanised Central AP in Nampula (which increased the number of participants). Second, there were two researchers allocated for Nampula throughout the research period, which resulted in a good balance between participant availability and researchers' availability, allowing for interviews

to be conducted concurrently. This approach proved less successful in Maputo City, where participant availability was more constrained than in the other sites. This was in part due to the timing of the field work in Maputo which coincided with the Presidential elections and the direct involvement of leaders in campaign rallies.

Figure 1: Participants' distribution across study sites

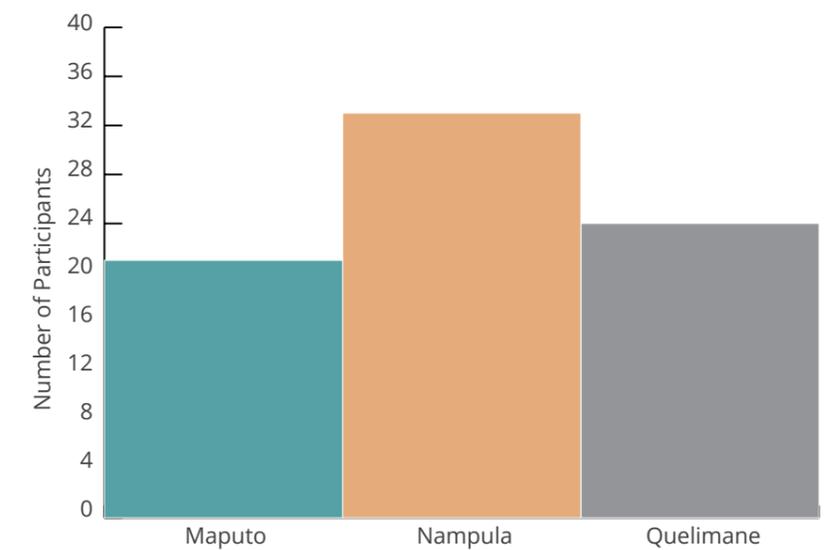
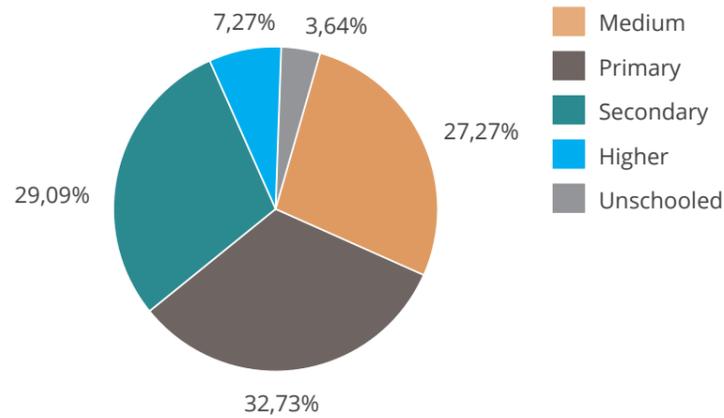


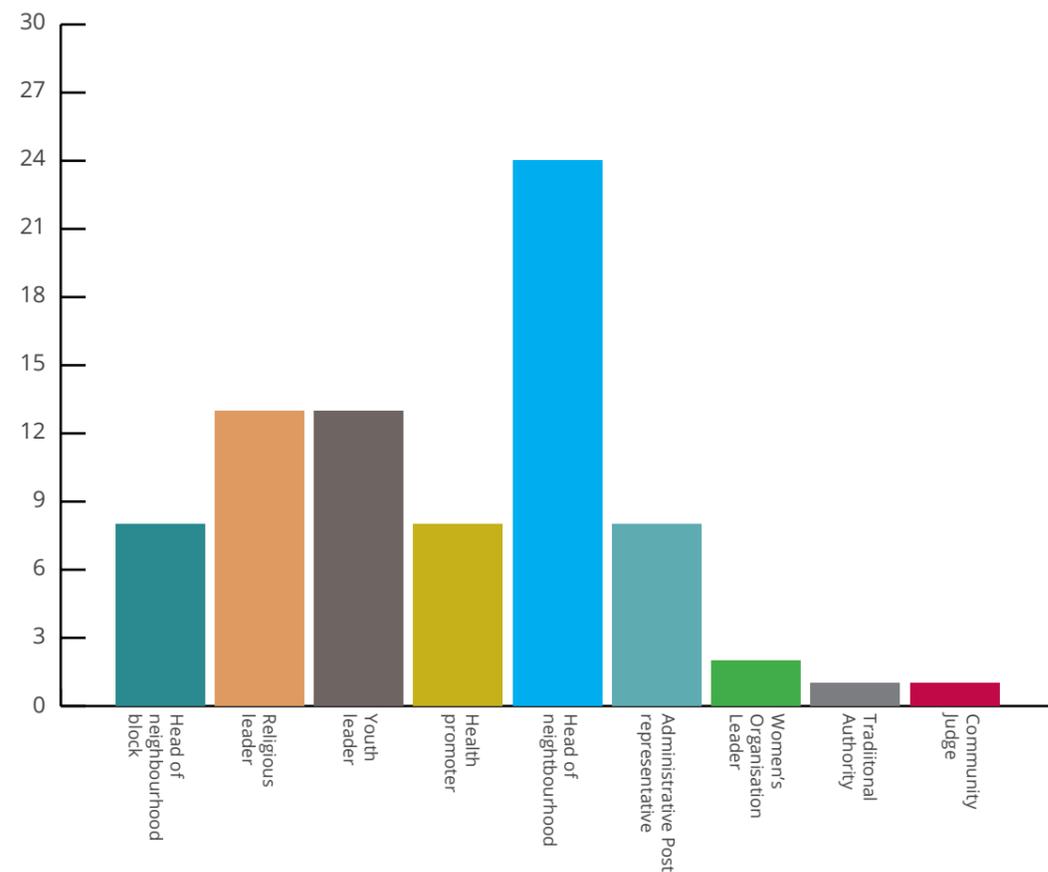
Figure 2: Study participants' educational level



Of the leaders interviewed, 74% were male and 26% were female. Their age varied between 19 and 80 years, with an average age of 48 years.

In terms of educational level, 32% of the opinion leaders had undergone primary schooling, 30% secondary, and 28% achieved a pre-university education level. Only 8% had a higher education level and 2% of leaders had never attended any formal school institution (Figure 2).

Figure 3: Role of study participants



Most of the OLs were Muslim (67%) and others Christian (33%) which is a reflection of the majority of participants being from Nampula; an area dominated by the Muslim religion. The interviewees' role and position in the community are reflected in Figure 3. Most of the leaders were neighbourhood secretaries, followed by youth leaders, religious leaders, heads of neighbourhood blocks, representatives of APs, and health promoters (which included counsellors). A smaller number of those interviewed were women's organizations leaders, traditional authorities (represented by the *Régulos*³), and community judges (Figure 3). This composition of study participants did fit to a large extent the initially predicted types of participants as presented in Panel 1 and 2 on pages 9 and 10.

³ Régulos are regulators representing the traditional authorities. They who occupy the maximum chieftom level in a determinant region.

3.2. Understanding of equality and non-discrimination as overarching principles in law and society

3.2.1. Perceptions of the principle of equality

The study sought to first explore the meanings and perceptions of OLs on the key principles of equality and non-discrimination, and then link these to our questions around the domestic legal framework, before moving into perceptions on LGBTI and SW in particular. The study found that most OLs found it difficult to define or explain those principles, and we observed that a majority of participants instead ascribed meaning by utilising different variables on the basis of which equality between citizens may be hampered or not fulfilled, such as age, race, and ethnicity as well as geographical location.

OLs were invited to reflect on or share their opinions about the implementation of the principle of equality as embodied in the Constitution, particularly with regard to the principle that all citizens are equal before the law, regardless of colour, race, sex, ethnic origin, place of birth, religion, level of education, social position, profession or political preference (Article 35). The majority of the participants were in agreement on the existence of the implicit 'game of interests' whereby each citizen, according to their specific interest(s), reaps the benefits for him or herself, creating an imbalance across different segments of society and giving rise to inequalities.

"Humm, to say it well, we are not equal, we are not equal because each one pulls to his side because we all want to catch the same bird at the same time, that's why we are divided, each one is in its direction, the other is in your direction, (...) everyone wanted to be, we could be equal. It would be good for everyone to be on the same side ..." (Male Head of neighbourhood – Quelimane #55)

The above quote from Quelimane suggests that it is difficult for people to talk about and agree with the existence of equality if those with power are perceived to pursue individual interests or interests that only benefit certain groups and not the majority of citizens. This opinion points to the perceived lack of commitment from powerful people to reverse the inequalities rooted in the society, which becomes one of the bottlenecks for achieving and preserving equality. They also regret the fact that those in power do not appreciate that it is precisely the people whom they disregard who brought them into power positions.

"Well, we really had to be equal, but there is no equality, there is no equality because those who are rich tend to trample the poor, those who have power, who are leaders, for example, okay, are leaders but [they] are leading [the] people... if I'm a leader [it] is because of those people, because if these people didn't exist I wouldn't be a leader at all." (Male Christian Religious leader – Maputo #08)

This even reflects on the perceived mechanisms through which LGBTI people systematically do not enjoy the same benefits or privileges as the wider population, for example in the job market, unless the Job contractor is also a powerful member of the LGBTI community, as shown in the quote below:

"(...) there is no equality, for example you are applying for a job for example, so if they realize that you are gay, they will hardly get you there, unless the employer or the person who is helping your interview is in the same side... not outside of that" (Male Religious Christian leader – Maputo #08)

Particularly in Nampula, most of the interviewees were of the opinion that the practical application of the principle of equality becomes problematic and is shaken or conditioned by poverty in a context in which many people live in vulnerable situations. There is a perception that poor people do not enjoy the same rights and access to social basic services, as compared to the middle and high social classes. This finding, in conjunction with the findings touching on the presence of power relationships, suggests that the fulfilment of rights depends to a large extent on an individual's social position and connectivity to power and resources.

Participant: It [the principle of equality] does not exist. First I would say because of the corruption. I can go straight, because I am poo (...). When I go to the hospital, they will not give me medical treatment in the way they will offer to other person. He can come there [to the hospital] with his five thousand or a thousand [meticais]. And me [the one] who has nothing, will only have aspirin and return. But for those who have something [money], they will get access to special treatment. But this could not be it (this shouldn't be like that) because I am a human being and he [the other person who should be treated equally] is also a human and the right has to be the same..." (Male Head of neighbourhood – Nampula #27)

The divide between the powerless and the powerful and the respective networks they rely on does not only have an economic, but also a political connotation. The interviews intimated that political party affiliation had the potential to endanger compliance with the principle of equality. It was suggested that individuals who do not belong to the political party in power are not represented in the decision-making spheres and do not benefit in the same way in the distribution of the country's resources. A majority of participants from Nampula and Quelimane expressed feeling limited in terms of individual freedom and freedom of expression in different social spheres. Particularly around the election period, these tensions seemed to increase:

"An example, soon will be the political campaign time. [The] people who will be arrested are members of RENAMO⁴, are members of the opposition. I have never heard that a member of FRELIMO, the ruling political party, have ever imprisoned. So this is one of the mistakes from the government side. The second is that the results after the elections never are in favour of the opposition party. Always the government tries to make the opposition process unfeasible." (Male Administrative Post representative – Nampula #34)

The above-mentioned aspect of political affiliation illustrates the easy cross-over between inequality (when privileges and entitlements are not equally enjoyed based on party preferences) and discrimination (when supporters of opposition parties' voices are not being heard and they are excluded from decision-making processes). It was noted that this sense of unfairness was visible across both our Northern and Central study sites, with participants consistently expressing views of a disadvantaged position, with Maputo viewed as the centre of economic and political power where citizens were believed to benefit the most.

Linked to the inequalities perceived by the OLS, another aspect emerging from the interviews was the issue of race, and the perceived presence of racial differences in Mozambique. Particularly in Nampula city, participants felt that white people, which includes non-white people with light skin, have advantages in social and economic spheres when compared with those who have a black/dark skin. It is perceived that the public and private employment institutions seem to be silent on this, yet, involved in acts of race-based inequalities. What was interestingly captured through participants' discourses is that racial differences here go beyond race itself and may include economic and symbolic power as cues to distinguish between the "blacks" and "whites". Therefore, for example, mixed-raced people, dark-skinned people with straight hair, people from the city, may all be classified as white, regardless of their skin tone, and regarded as enjoying employment advantages as white people would.

Participants questioned, for instance, the extent to which one can talk about the principle of equality in a situation whereby the labour market still gives differential access to employment, as said by a religious leader from Nampula:

"Researcher: But can we, for example, I am black, he who is white, we work together, are we equal? Do we have the right to work together?"

4 RENAMO (Resistência Nacional de Moçambique, translated into Mozambique National Resistance) is the main opposition party which stemmed from the then rebel military movement that led the civil war against the Government of Mozambique straight after independence in 1975 and lasted for 16 years. They denominate themselves as the implanters of Democracy in Mozambique.

Participant: Eh no, we cannot say that as we work together we are equal, just work, we work together, but we are not equal." (Male Muslim Religious leader – Nampula #29)

In the interviews, we probed further to understand how participants applied the principle of equality to our study populations of interest. In the case of SWs, participants believed they should be protected by law, regardless of the kind of activity they were engaged in. Therefore as citizens of Mozambique, SWs' health should be protected, and access to health services should not be impeded.

"She can be protected, yes, because she is a citizen, yes, the regulations that exist, the rules that exist do not make exceptions for those people. (...) what happens is that they did not choose (...) Actually, people are even sensitised and no one wants to become sick" (Female organization leader – Quelimane #44)

Others were not sure if the principle of equality extends to sex workers, and questioned themselves on whether this should be the case:

"(...) the constitution says that we are all equal and no one should be discriminated against in any way regardless of race, sex, age, so I said yes it is important that we are all equal. I don't know, my question is: does this also apply to sex workers, do they also enter into these rights as well?" (Male Youth Leader – Nampula #23)

The application of the principle of equality to LGBTI people proved more challenging to articulate as the visibility of this group in the community seemed much lower than that of SWs. Many of the leaders stated that they had never seen a gay, lesbian, bisexual or transsexual individual in their neighbourhood, therefore they had difficulties in relating this issue, on non-abstract ways, to this group.

Besides the issue of invisibility, there was an additional complexity in applying the concept of equality to individuals whom the leaders could not place within the traditional binary gender categories of man and woman. From the interviews, we observed that leaders found it very difficult to understand how equality could be promoted within a group of people whose gender identity did not conform to the norm. Some OLS articulated this by wondering out loud in their conversation with the researcher whether a man who expresses himself as a woman would demand to be treated as a man or demand to be treated as a woman. Their narratives pointed towards a belief that rights are tied to someone's biological sex and that rights will be different for men and women, as illustrated by the following quote of a participant from Maputo:

"Yaa, (laughs)... because even for me it makes some confusion, it is the fact that a man assumes himself, as it happens with woman. We can say he is a man, but if he assumes himself as a woman, how will he have the same rights of a woman, when we know that he is a man?" (Administrative Post Representative – Maputo #12)

3.2.2. Perceptions of the principle of non-discrimination

Participants were clearer in articulating the principle of non-discrimination than the concept of equality. However, they still showed some difficulty articulating the meaning of 'non-discrimination' and separating it from 'equality'. Expressions included: "not exclude someone based on tribe and gender", "not violate human rights", "respecting the principle of equality for all citizens regardless of their sex, tribe, gender, or geographical location" or "accept the principle of equality".

Participants also provided examples to illustrate how the principle of non-discrimination was applicable to their daily lives. For instance, it was perceived that although men and women are different in terms of sex they

should not be discriminated based on gender. Further examples included that arbitrary detention, which affects particularly vulnerable groups and persons belonging to opposition political parties, should not occur. Perceptions on discrimination were brought up to support the explanations on –non-discrimination, particularly to narrate how in daily life people from the north and central parts of Mozambique are at a disadvantage in terms of gaining access to higher levels of education .

When the participants were asked if discriminatory practices existed in their communities, the majority of them, particularly in Nampula city, responded affirmatively. These practices were not instantly linked to LGBTIs or SWs but to acts based on tribal differences and geographical disparities. Some leaders traced back to the period in which the country gained its independence⁵, to fully express their concern in this regard.

“Discrimination happens, but even here (...). Here in the neighbourhood there are problems of ethnicity, yes about tribe because in this neighbourhood there are many Makondes [ethnic group based in Cabo Delgado province]. Yaa, these Makondes, like the Makuwa’s tribe create, there are problems here, there are discrimination practices, you don’t get [penetrate] there. So they are structured in small groups, these are mostly from Makonde. Then, those groups don’t mix (...) there is tribalism” (Male Head of neighbourhood – Nampula #24)

“Eh, that has no palpable arguments (...) some talk about how they fought for the liberation struggle. They think they are more important because of that (...) and then the natives, the Makuwa’s tribe then really have a tendency to also react but in a passive way, but they react to provoke the Makonde’s tribe here in the neighbourhood. But this happens even though we are trying, we are trying to manage this situation and we are managing them [by] scheduling meetings to talk about it”. (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Nampula #24)

Clearly to the above participants, the tension between the Makonde and the Makuwa is linked to tribalism which in turn they see as an expression of discrimination.

There was also a perception that discrimination occurs along a geographical divide, with some regions of Mozambique benefiting more than others. In exploring these divides, participants from Nampula and Quelimane indicated it was the lack of basic social services, opportunities for employment, and cost of living which, compared to services delivered in the South and Centre of the country, were putting them at a disadvantage. This links back to the previous section on perceptions on equality, in which the existing inequality between citizens from different geographic locations in the country is regarded as an act of discrimination in the eyes of a number of participants because to them the State is doing this deliberately⁶.

“(…) Here in the Centre, for example we have roads, bridges, but there are policymakers [whom] are not giving [taking] the responsibility for delivering to the people (...) the time of the past president Samora, there was equality because Samora built a factory in Mocuba, but when another government came that factory was destroyed. Everything was taken to Maputo because they are saying “that factory can’t be functioning in the Centre, it would be better if it were in the South”

5 The Makonde were the majority of the freedom fighters in the war against the Portuguese, therefore they enjoyed many privileges and have a history of being protected by the South-dominated State since the time of Independence. For instance, there is a significant proportion of Makonde war veterans, who enjoy political and economic entitlements attached to their status.

6 There is a history underlying the perception of regional differences, which has been reinforced when the capitalism system was introduced in the 90’s by the ruling party Frelimo. The hubs of the concession companies in the North and part of the Central Mozambique created before Independence were to some extent untouched by the post-independence socialist system but were moved in the process of economic modernization. The reallocation of factories and projects to the South of the country is still perceived as an act of discrimination against the North and the Central Provinces.

(...) our expensive electricity is coming from abroad (...) fuel is also the same thing. When it leaves Mozambique it is cheap. Why is it expensive? Where does it go? (...) [we] have no equality.” (Male Head of Neighbourhood - Quelimane #77)

The study found that participants placed certain restrictions on the transferral of rights to LGBTI people and SWs. While a basic standpoint among all participants seemed to be that all people, as human beings, have the same rights as provided for by the Constitution, but added that LGBTIs and SWs may risk losing these rights because their behaviours do not conform to the social norm in Mozambican society. Distinctions were made by some leaders between the ‘origin’ of being gay or the ‘rationale’ behind being a sex worker. For example, it seemed to matter to participants how a person came to assume a LGBTI identity. If the person was born as a homosexual, there seemed to be more consideration for the person, as he/she was believed to be who he/she is following God’s prescription or destiny. However, this consideration dwindled if it was believed that he/she became a homosexual as a result of a social, and not a biological process. In this case, some participants believed they should be blocked from their rights and entitlements. One OL from Maputo city shared an experience regarding a child he considers to be not in control of his/her sexuality. In other words, the OL considered that a behaviour which is biologically determined (i.e., as a trait with which the individual is perceived to be born with) and not socially determined (explained by the participants as ‘purposefully’ becoming homosexual or identifying with a gender misaligned with the conventional gender linked to biological sex) should be decriminalised.

“I think it should be a crime for those who adopted the practice of homosexuality but it shouldn’t be, at the same time, for homosexuals who were born like this. There is an example of one, I don’t know if I’m going to call her a girl or a boy who lives here. So I have accompanied that child because she studied near my house at the Maxaquene Primary School and I saw that her behaviour...being homosexual.” (Male Head of Neighbourhood Block – Maputo #17)

While the reasons that lead young girls or women into selling sex played an important role in the participant perceptions on SWs, there seemed to be a general sense that SWs do not deserve to be discriminated against.

“You cannot discriminate. We are all equal, it is normal....because she is human...” (Male Youth Leader – Nampula #23)

“Because that’s what I have said in the beginning. I said, if she is there she does it for some reason. Maybe she can’t get something to eat, she cannot afford it. If she is there she is looking for something but if not, she is looking for a good life. But she has a chance to change, not being expelled from the street that she will leave that life.” (Female Youth Leader – Nampula #22)

The realities on the ground, however, suggested otherwise participants describing evictions of SWs and police using physical force against SWs, as this participant from Maputo city shared:

“There is a lack of proper space to apply these things, because for example, at four o’clock in the morning, prostitutes are on the street. They do it, I mean they do not have a place, so the police always, when they meet two men with a woman they start creating fights there. What is the police going to do? They have to say nothing. They will say: “move from here yes, and they will be arrested but not because they are doing sex, no, it is because the way they are dressed...” (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Maputo #07)

3.3. Knowledge and attitudes toward the law and law reforms

Figure 4: Awareness of the Constitution among opinion leaders

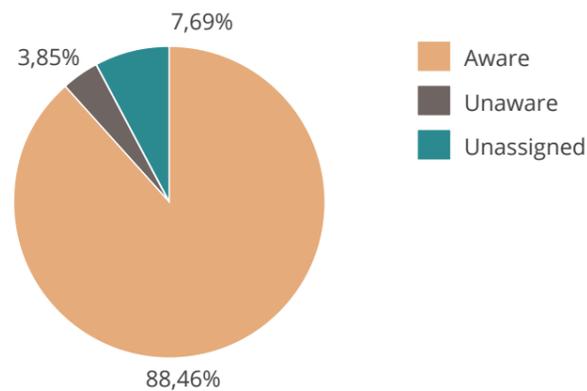


Figure 5: Awareness of the Penal Code among Opinion Leaders

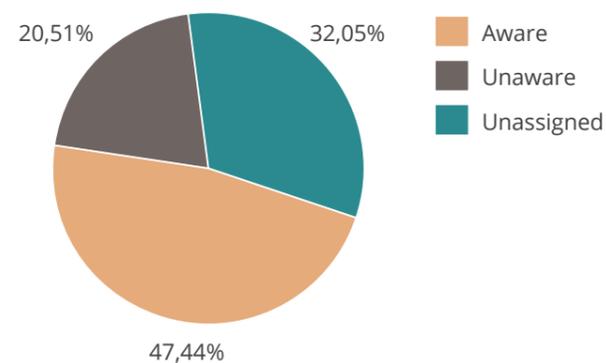
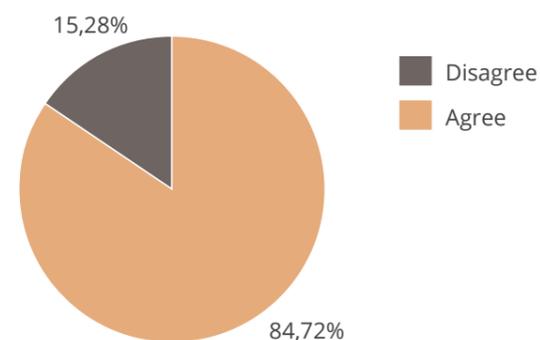


Figure 6: Attitudes of Opinion Leaders toward equality according to the constitution



3.3.1. Awareness of the Constitution

In terms of constitutional awareness, participants were asked if they knew of the existence of the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique. Among the 78 participants, it was found that 88% were aware and 4% were unaware of the existence of this legal instrument. All of those who indicated not to be aware of the constitution, resided in Nampula City.

The remaining 8% did not respond to this question (Figure 4).

3.3.2. Awareness of the Penal Code

Participants were also asked if they knew of the existence of the penal code. Around 47% revealed that they were aware, while 21% were not aware of this criminal law. Looking at the differences in awareness among the three study sites, 21% of OLs from Maputo City (n=21), 39% from Nampula (n=33) and 25% from Quelimane (n=24) indicated they were not aware of the penal code. Among the leaders who were unaware of the existence of the penal code, most were neighbourhood secretaries, heads of neighbourhood blocks, councillors, or community activists, in other words, the administrative leaders operating at the lowest local level.

3.3.3. OL's positioning regarding law contents and reforms

In terms of the interviewees' position toward the Constitution's provision on equality among Mozambican citizens as is reflected on article 35 ("All citizens are equal before the law, enjoy the same rights and are subject to the same duties, regardless of colour, race, sex, ethnic origin, place of birth, religion, education level, social status, parents' marital status, profession or political option"), this study captured some diversity of opinion.

Although the majority of participants (85%) agreed that all citizens are equal before the law, there are some OLs (15%) who disagreed with the provisions of this article (Figure 6).

All participants from Maputo agreed with the disposition of this article. Most OLs who disagreed with article 35 were among those interviewed in Quelimane City 29% (n=24) and Nampula City 14% (n=33). In terms of religion, among the Christians only 13% (n=47) disagreed and among the Muslims 17% (n=24) disagreed.

Those who agreed with the Constitution's disposition regarding equality, argued that it is everyone's right to be equal because they have the same rights as human beings. In these terms, the equality enshrined in the Constitution is seen as legitimate for all citizens, although they also agree that this does not translate into practice in Mozambique.

(...) Yaa, actually, according to the law, in terms of the Constitution of the Republic it says that we have the right, we are equal (...) all of us the right is the same, it is real. In practice what I see (...) For example here in Mozambique, what is written is not happening, what is not written is happening. Yes. For example, we are saying that in the law we are all equal, but now for example the issue of health, as [a] patient I am going to the hospital, when I get there I mark my place, but the tendency of nurses instead of worrying about those people who are already there, they worry about answering the phone, worrying about something else. So according to everything that the doctor or nurse does, it is not what is written, according to their rules (...), so this is one of the things that we are noticing that what is written inside of the law is not what is being fulfilled here in Mozambique. (Male Administrative Post Representative – Quelimane #72)

Those who disagreed with the disposition, seemed to do so from a recognition that, in practice, the principle of equality is not fulfilled in Mozambique. Those who disagreed with the disposition were more eloquent and showed stronger disappointment with the state of affairs in Mozambique when it comes to equal rights. In their words, there is inequality in investments, from the regional level (south, versus centre and north); discrimination in access to employment according to the colour of the party; and differentiated access to quality of health services and education, as shown in the statements below:

(...) I think this is right. But I see a difference like [between] Maputo and here there is a difference, it seems that they are more prioritized, there are more perks than here. For example, we can see [the] schools that exist in Maputo, [versus] schools that exist here. You will go to secondary or primary school, you will see here is a very old school here (...) school rehabilitation is a joke, schools are not painted, the only school here [that is] well organized is the 25 de Setembro [Name of the school] and a little [bit organized is] Patrice [name of the school Patrice Lumumba]. But you will see it in Maputo when you see it on television, we never went there, but on television you only see several schools, Xii! Those from there seem to be different than us (...) so that same law (...) is good but, it is not being complied with. Also looking at the televisions here, there is no entertainment program here in Quelimane, but going to Maputo there are full entertainment programs (...) here in Quelimane (...) just news only, some channels focus on Maputo (...) discrimination (...) we will see in the hospital, [we see it] on television, [we] usually see a few hospitals in Maputo (...) the quality that those hospitals have (...) our hospitals, brother, if you go walking in hospitals for example I suffer from seizures since March 4th. Last month, I went to the hospital for consultation, I go there to receive pills, there is no phenobarbital, nor complex B, a blister of complex B, small, only ten pills, costs 50 meticais in private pharmacies you can see. (...) Then this thing of discrimination, which is a point that the government passed a good law, but the government itself is not working to control that same law. (Male Youth Activists – Quelimane #43)

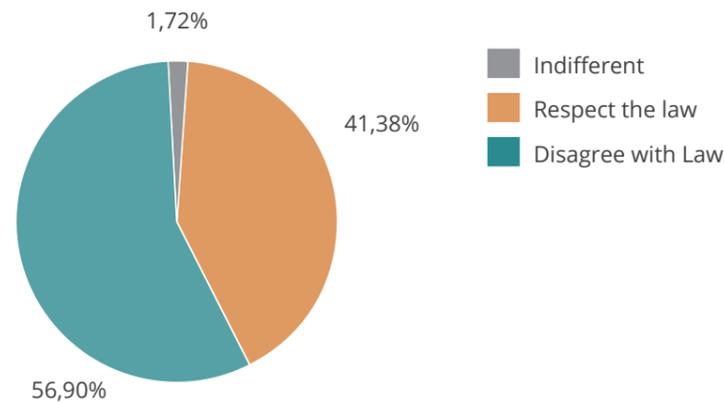
(...) what is happening now, there are people that are not well engaged in society (...) we have other people, they have already done the twelfth [grade], they are at home, they are not working, others did health training, they are not working, others are teachers, graduates, they are not working, so I'm not seeing equality (Male Administrative Post Representative – Quelimane #52)

The above statements show that, rather than disagreeing with the law itself, participants perceived a lack in the truthfulness in the Constitution. This conforms to the earlier findings on the perceptions of equality among OLs. These participants, regardless of whether they agree or not with the Constitution's article 35, seemed to support the

principles of equality and non-discrimination, in that they long for a country where people are treated equally; and they discredit the legitimacy of the Constitution even to the point of suggesting hypocrisy.

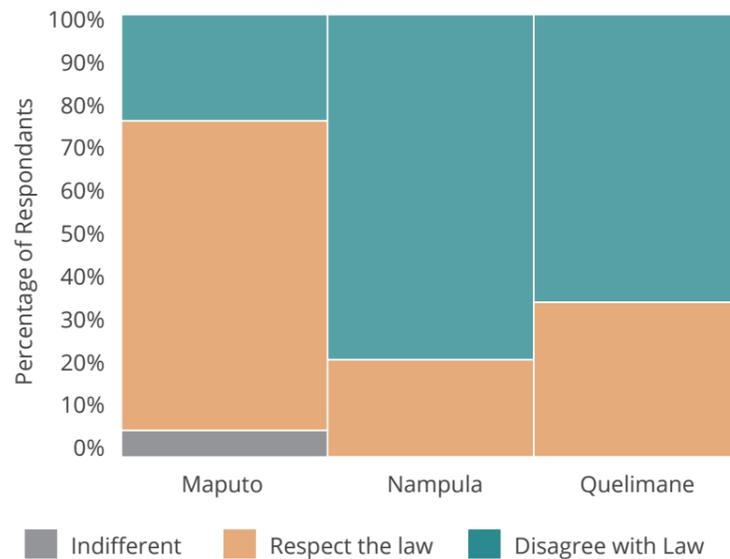
Although the participants did not show it when discussing this particular piece of law, it was clear when exploring perceptions on LGBTI people and SWs (section 4.2.1) that cultural norms are very strongly shaping OLs perceptions that men and women are destined to different sets of rights and entitlements merely because they have different sexes. This clashes with what most said which is that they believe in the principle of equality as stated in the Constitution.

Figure 7: Opinion leaders' attitudes toward the penal code reform on homosexuality



Reacting to the changes observed for the alleged decriminalization of homosexuality in the context of the 2014 Penal Code reform (35/2014), there were differences of opinion among the leaders interviewed. While 26% did not respond to the question, among those who responded (n=57), over half of participants (57%) disagreed with the homosexuality decriminalization on the reviewed version of the Penal Code, 41% agreed and 2% were indifferent with this decision (Figure 7). Those who agreed claimed that this attitude was positive on the government's part to safeguard the rights of homosexuals, although its implementation is a challenge because it is not disseminated at the community level and people are not aware of it.

Figure 8: Attitudes of opinion leaders toward the decriminalization of homosexuality



(...) I think it's a good law, yes, everyone really has the same right. None should be discriminated against. But now that they are ready to implement this law, it's complicated (...) but that's an orientation, a sexual orientation that people have, so it's really good, they've done well, the government is making a lot of effort, but the law isn't here at the base, it's not getting there properly. Here discrimination continues, it [the law] is not being spread, here in the communities (...) (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Nampula #24)

Most of the interviewees who disagreed with the decriminalization of homosexuality in light of the Penal Code were found among the OLs from Nampula (78%) and Quelimane (65%), while in Maputo only 24% of participants disagreed (Figure 8). Female participants (66%) were more in favour than male participants (34%), of the decision to remove the articles on same sex sexuality above the age of eighteen from the Penal Code

Looking at participants' attitudes towards the decriminalization of homosexuality, according to religion, most of the opposing leaders were Muslim (63%), while among Christians, 50% disagreed with the decriminalization of homosexuals (Figure 10).

Several reasons were put forward by the interviewees to justify their position:

Some of these interviewees consider same sex relationships a crime, and think they should remain so. They stated that it is irrational and therefore inhuman, and shameful to behave in such way. A possible reason behind taking such position may arise from a situation of unfamiliarity whereby participants indicated they had never known or been close to a homosexual, as one participant said:

(...) For me it is a strange case. I have never seen anyone who- showed that- [a] person that does that, [that practices homosexuality], so for me it is something that could not have happened. These homosexual[s] (...) does not make any sense. [because a] man is [a] man, [a] woman is [a] woman (...), I don't know what the pleasure these people have too. That is an inhuman thing, in this case, then it is something that I don't like, so even for me it could be a crime, it could be a crime, it should be stated that whoever is found will be considered a criminal, because it is something that is not in accordance with our life as people. Like animals in this case, animals that don't think, you see, people have to do things that are not shameful (...) (Male Head of Neighbourhood - Maputo #11)

For others, same sex relationships are against the law of God, for it is not written in the Bible that men can have sex with other men.

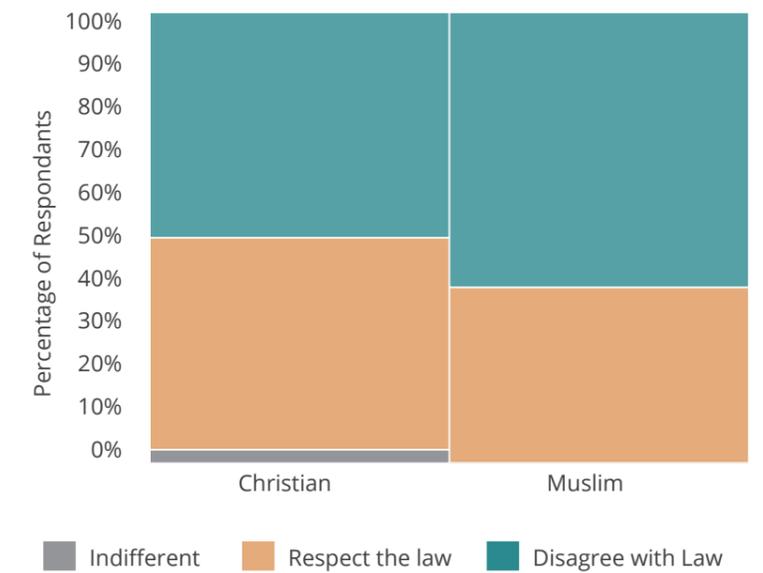
(...) It's not right because it doesn't come in our Bible, it doesn't feature that a man can have sex with another man. God at first made a man first, but the man was alone. There was no-one to talk to him, to rejoice with him, then God felt sorry for him, [and] he made a woman and gave her to the man, so if a man lets a woman go in order to stay with another man, it is against God's Law. (Male Muslim Religious leader – Nampula #29)

The religious argument is so strong, that the fact that the State's legislation opposes the law of God serves as a justification for some OLs to discredit the penal code when it comes to the decriminalization of homosexuality.

Eh, here I am not going directly to this law that man invents, I want to go, I am going directly to the law that God created, our creator that is Allah. God criminalizes this, are you understanding? Yes, homosexuality is a natural issue because homosexual appeared naturally to satisfy his biological needs (...) uhm but now that law that protects, that is a man can marry another man or have sex with another man or a woman can have sex with another woman this is a natural crime, it is a natural crime since GOD does not allow me to see the sex of that man. (Male Administrative Post Representative – Nampula #25)

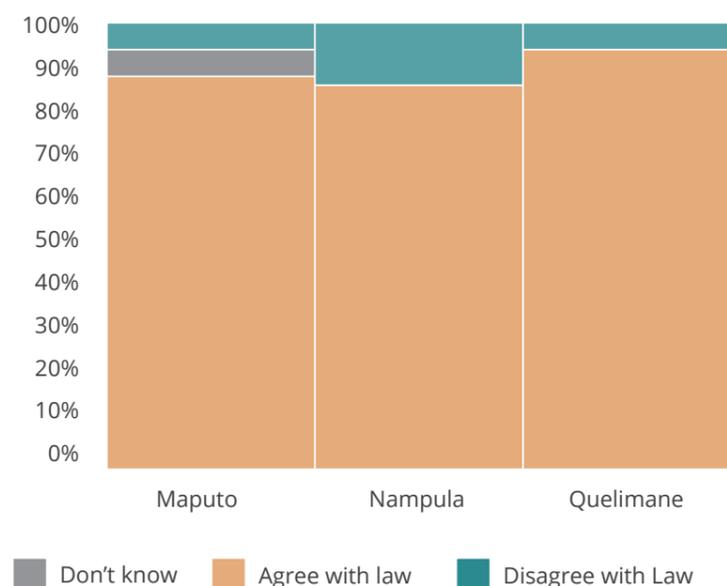
OLs showed concerns regarding possible consequences of this law change to the health of the community. There is a belief that the decriminalization of homosexuality will result in an exponential increase in the number of homosexuals in the neighbourhoods, and when they have sex with each other there may be an increase in the spread of diseases, damaging the health of the community, and impacting mortality:

Figure 9: Attitudes of opinion leaders toward the reform of the penal code on homosexuality by religion



(...) It is not good because if the law said that there is no problem now, (...) it is not good (...) so we have already spoiled the image of our own law, (...) because when it is like this every time you hear one [homosexual] (...) there will be two or ten [homosexuals] later. When ten arrive, then it expands an entire neighbourhood and almost ends up ruining the neighbourhood. [Because] they will start looking for those - others who are also men, because they will be (...) five or seven, ten, so the number is growing (...) then the problem increases as well. [They] will start looking for more people to contaminate, so that is practically not good. It will not be a good thing to increase the number of men who have sex with other men, because [in that way] we are damaging our health every time. These are viruses that we take afterwards, causing us these problems, we are dying. (Male Youth Activist – Quelimane #49)

Figure 10: Attitudes of opinion leaders toward Labour Law reform inclusive of sexual orientation by site



Analysing the labour law, specifically participants' exposure and position regarding article 108 (21/2007), in relation to equal pay, among other labour-related rights and entitlements, regardless of sexual orientation, more than 80% recognize that people should have the right to the same salary. OLS in all the sites were in agreement with this disposition (Figure 10), and did not seem to be offended by the inclusiveness of sexual orientation in the law, as illustrated through the quote below.

If it is a salary, it doesn't matter [if it is male or female, or homosexual] everyone is equal, all are workers from the same infrastructure. (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Quelimane #77)

In terms of protection of LGBTI people and SWs under the HIV law (19/2014), most of the participants agreed with the way this law is inclusive of these groups. Among the participants, 94% support the protection of LGBTI people and an equal percentage support protection of SWs as a way to guarantee their fulfilment of the right to health (Figures 11 and 12), because they should have the same right as all citizens to health services, especially in the context of HIV.

Figure 11: Attitudes of opinion leaders toward protection of LGBTI by the HIV Law by site

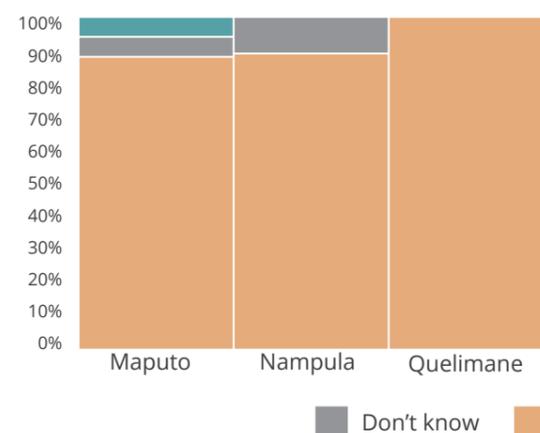
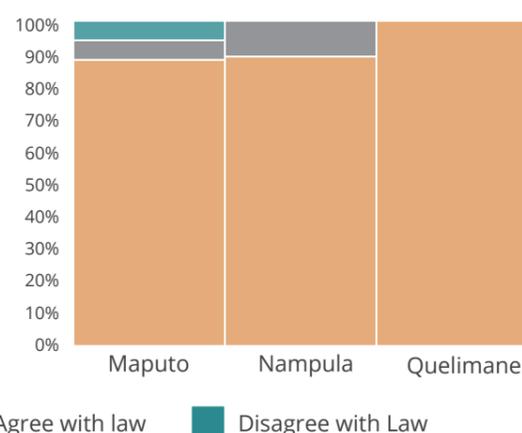


Figure 12: Attitudes of opinion leaders toward protection of SW by the HIV Law by site



3.4. Evidence of law enforcement in promoting equality and non-discrimination among citizens, and in protecting vulnerable groups and LGBTI people and SWs in particular

3.4.1. Perceptions of vulnerability and vulnerable groups

In the view of the OLS, a vulnerable person is someone who is economically disadvantaged. In other words a person who is incapable of fulfilling his/her needs and therefore becomes deprived of basic needs because of they cannot make ends meet. Deprivation includes lack of food, lack of access to school and school materials, but also being forced to work as a child.

Children become more vulnerable if they are orphans or if their parents are poor, and the elderly (especially if they are widowed) as with age they become highly dependent on their offspring. This explains partly why most OLS did not consider young people in general as vulnerable, because they have the physical and mental strength to work. Even if they may not have formal jobs, they are perceived as capable of running businesses or doing 'odd jobs'. One representative of youth groups (in Quelimane) said youth feel vulnerable to discrimination when they are labelled as non-productive and misbehaving by adults, especially when they are gathering in groups and 'just hanging out'.

Now I want to talk about adults seeing young people, how do they see [us], most adults in the neighbourhood when they see us gathering and talking, they already throw names: "they are marijuana smokers, they are drug addicts". For example, there are some gentlemen who have children of theirs (...) they have been banning their children like hanging out with us, like: "don't walk with these". Others [say] "those are poor, see they do not have breakfast, [they] are addicts", even though we've reached 18, 19 [years] and some are 20 the maximum is 20, (...) our friends when we are talking there are gentlemen here [who] pass us by looking badly like [they are] seeing drugged people, unoccupied. They think because we are talking together, we don't study or we don't have projects or we don't think about our tomorrow, so they think we're mentally retarded, so from adults I can say that 70% of adults in this neighbourhood don't think as we think. (Male Youth Activist - Quelimane #43)

Some OLS from Nampula viewed vulnerability from the standpoint of the entire household, with the strongest burden on the head of the households. At the same time they put forward the idea that vulnerability is not always static. On the question of how they can tell whether a head of household is facing a difficult situation, and should be classified as vulnerable, they said vulnerability could be a feeling: one could wake up feeling vulnerable and that would be detected through the way they greet others (i.e., 'weakly, with low energy').

On the other hand, vulnerability was frequently attached to people's state of health. Some stated that vulnerable people were those with no protection against disease, and therefore were susceptible to being ill. Mentally ill people, young or old, are also seen as vulnerable, not because their condition puts them at direct risk of being exploited or of suffering from inequalities and discrimination, but because their condition will most probably deprive them of employment. People living with HIV and AIDS, and those with TB were also considered vulnerable by some OLS, on the grounds that it is a prolonged illness that hampers their ability to lead a normal life. The latter group was one which was clearly defined as vulnerable to discrimination due to the way in which people were sensitized about AIDS in the past, presenting it as disease that is deadly and sexually transmitted.

Other groups which are perceived to being specifically vulnerable to discrimination are women – particularly young women due to their likelihood of catching HIV; and people affiliated to political parties other than the ruling party.

I think that all opposition members, but worse the Renamo opposition is the most discriminated against in Mozambique. (Male Administrative Post Representative – Nampula #34)

To the majority of OLs, SWs are not considered vulnerable, simply because they work and earn money and are therefore separate from the class of people with no source of subsistence. Some were hesitant in their statements, but in the end concluded that SWs could not be considered vulnerable because they were consciously choosing 'to be like that'.

In my opinion, they are not deficient [meaning deprived, vulnerable], like they live well...their parents may even be able to pay for their school. It is a question of choice, they are the ones who chose to be like that [sex workers], it is not because of lack of [economic] conditions, not even for nothing.... (Female Youth Activist – Maputo #05)

Likewise, OLs in general also believe that people belonging to the LGBTI community are not vulnerable, because their orientation and/or gender identity is a matter of choice and not a consequence of a mental illness. Linked to this position is the perception that LGBTI (though OL discourses mostly focused on gays, and sometimes lesbians) are economically advantaged. This was perhaps influenced by the most visible LGBTI community members, who are empowered enough to reveal their identity despite societal criticism, precisely because they are relatively powerful economically speaking.

At some point, those OLs who saw vulnerability from the angle of being more easily exposed to certain illnesses, were confronted with the question of whether a SW or person belonging to the LGBTI community could be seen as vulnerable. Their reaction was still that these groups could not be considered vulnerable because they could choose to change their ways, while other vulnerable groups are not in a position to choose, and therefore do not deserve protection in the same way as other, considered vulnerable groups do.

Because of that, they [SWs or LGBTIs] have this awareness...they can really abandon this bad practice, but they can also not abandon, it depends, but as there are...they can change the thing, the lifestyle, so that is why I do not consider them as vulnerable people, so differently as I said of the elderly, of the orphans, these could never change to have peace while their parents no longer have it, they have already died, so an elderly person could not change his part of coming to be a young man again... (Male Christian Religious Leader – Maputo #18)

Exceptionally in Maputo, there were two OLs who concurred that SWs could be vulnerable. One mentioned that, because vulnerability may put one's life at risk, and in his words: "a life is a life, regardless...", it is important that everyone, even SWs or LGBTI be regarded as entitled to protection if they are in a vulnerable situation. In this case, the vulnerable situation was exemplified by acts of physical violence or robbery attempt against them, as follows:

All people must be protected regardless of what the person does. I will not just [passively] watch my neighbour, because she is a sex worker someone is assaulting her and I am indifferent. She is a person, when she says "help!" she is a person...because she is in a situation that needs help. Her work is her work, it is true that it [her work] does not please anybody, but it is her job, but now someone's life is someone's life. (Male Head of Neighbourhood Block – Maputo #17)

The other OL from Maputo, revealed an inclination to viewing SWs (and LGBTIs alike) as vulnerable, but only towards the end of the interview, perhaps due to some reflection provoked by the discussion.

Interviewer: And the community in general terms, do they consider or not those two groups as vulnerable?

Participant: Well [laughs] I do not know, I don't know if them, but I believe that yes because as they are persons that live with those problems, I believe that yes. (Male Christian Religious leader – Maputo #08)

There was also a realisation, by another OL from Nampula that SWs are subject to situations of vulnerability, linked to the nature of their work. However, her point was in agreement with others who believe SWs should stop with their activities.

Some go [out], return without money and are beaten there, yes I have someone when she comes back [says]: "look, I didn't get anything today"; sometimes: "eh pah they beat us there, they took our money from us", so [it is] a thousand times [better] to be at home, there they feel sick, they are all [feeling] cold there just to come back even without money. It is not because every day when they go there they get something, some days they come back with no money, so I was just going to ask eh pah to help them leave it there, don't do it. (Female Youth Leader – Nampula #26)

3.4.2. Perceptions of the State's role in protecting vulnerable groups

Regarding witnessing protective actions towards the most vulnerable groups, particularly by the State, many OLs say these groups are not protected. In particular, this protection is not visible at neighbourhood level (see the quote below by a religious leader in Maputo City). It would be expected that these activities are more evident, compared to other parts of the country, following the OL views that inequalities are heavily grounded on the north/south divide of the country, where the southern part where the capital city is located is more developed compared to the central and northern regions.

In my neighbourhood, me I would be lying, I think that these people have no protection. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Maputo #18)

In fact, various OLs spoke about a lack of evidence for the implementation of equality and non-discrimination laws in wider terms, not just focused on specific vulnerable groups. Most OLs from Nampula generalised the country's situation with regards to this issue, giving a sense that Mozambique in itself is generally an unequal country. Such arguments built in a sequence of responses, following probes posed by the researchers. Prior to this OLs showed difficulty discussing what initially seemed quite abstract concepts. Probes led participants to make parallels and reflect on their perceptions of the country's political and economic trajectory in terms of democracy and freedom (particularly freedom of expression and freedom of political party choice), which enriched the discussion.

Interviewer: "Can you explain more why you say it [equality] does not exist?"

Participant: "Erm, I say it does not exist because if there was equality in our country, there could be no asymmetries between one group and the other, they could not exist." (Male Administrative Post Representative- Nampula #25)

Not only were the southern versus central and northern differences evident in the views shared by OLs, but class differences were also seen as elements that prevent the implementation of laws and policies that address inequalities. Specifically, there is a perception that the poorest and most vulnerable remain poor because the rich tend to sustain inequalities between the two groups. Elite groups were said to hold on to power positions and, in the view of some OLs, refrained from mixing with non-elites.. In the words of these OLs, it is precisely those who rise to local leadership who stop offering tips to the poor on the streets.

Well, we really ought to be equal, but there is no equality, there is no equality because those who are rich tend to trample the poor, those who have power, those who are leaders, for example, okay, are leaders but they are leading people, so they should be the first to watch over those people... if I am a leader [it] is because of those people, because if these people did not exist I would not be a leader at all. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Maputo #08)

As to the question why there is a weak enforcement of the country's equality and non-discrimination legislation as well as protection of those most vulnerable, OLs think this is a reflection of the way the State operates, in other words inefficiently. As mostly emphasised by the OLs from the northern study site, part of this inefficiency is linked to the instability of the party in power, particularly at municipality level. While historically the central level power has always been held by Frelimo, the local power is subjected to potential changes at the beginning of each electoral cycle (of five years) resulting in constantly shifting policies and practices. The quote below reveals how this has affected the municipality authorities' posture and enforcement of rules with regard to informal street markets, for example.

First, there was FRELIMO. [After] FRELIMO [entered] MDM, [after] MDM entered Renamo. Now this thing that is existing now, that is getting worse now here in Nampula (...). It is that the municipality of Nampula is RENAMO, right? Now if there was that old law [allowing street markets], (...) mangoes and all [being sold] there (...). Now RENAMO has started to realize that “eeh this thing is not good”, start[ed] to remove those people who are selling on the street, [and they] say “go to the market!”. Because in the past (...), I would go to the market, but now I sell on the street (...). Being run over there, who is to blame? We will say that it is RENAMO, while it is not RENAMO, it is us ahm, because it is not RENAMO that is ordering us to go on the road, RENAMO is saying that “go in the market!”. Now we think “let’s go on the road!”. (Male Muslim Religious leader – Nampula #29)

On the other hand, OLs also alluded to the need for communities to change their mentality for addressing inequality on the ground, and a change in mentality was seen as something complex that will require hard work. Importantly, what transpired from the interviews with the OLs was that the community seems unaware of the laws or even of the principles on which the existing legal documents are grounded, and OLs considered it the role of the State to help the community understand these laws at a grass roots level.

(...) as I am saying that these laws are not getting here, the community is very backward and does not know what is going on. The government puts a law (...) there needn’t be offices (...) the government does have to come down here in the communities. Yes, in the communities, to disseminate these, these laws (...) it is necessary to do a job, that language that is there, to detail the language for the community to understand, so this is missing. (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Nampula #24)

A lack of knowledge on law and policy principles and their content is not only an issue among the ‘ordinary’ community members, but was also evident among OLs themselves, who are not fully aware of the laws, as already evidenced in this report (in Sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2). As a result of this situation, OLs, particularly those holding formal leadership positions, feel helpless to support what they consider a community mentality change. Likewise, they find it difficult to assess the implementation of laws if they do not understand what these laws are supposed to defend. This also leads to the likelihood of vulnerable groups being denied their rights and entitlements and not receiving protection from discrimination. People living with HIV (PLHIV) were mentioned most prominently in to the occurrence of discriminatory acts in the community.

The State still has a lot to do so that the laws are known, so I wanted to know this law: what it says or where I can have more information or better: where I can have more information about this law, about homosexuals and (...) also these women, sex worker women. Yes we should have more information because it really is a case that there is discrimination here in relation to HIV / AIDS. We know and have been informing, and the community also really discriminates in a way like (...) not directly saying, as it was a long time ago like: “you have AIDS!”, and what not, they only discriminate by bending (heading a different direction) or avoiding to chat [with PLHIV]. (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Nampula #24)

In contrast to this position that the implementation of laws and policies is not evident, some OLs, particularly in the south, expressed trust that social action in Mozambique is somewhat present, and that the State has gradually been implementing these laws and policies on the ground. While they recognise some effort in this exercise, they feel that the State’s action is still not enough.

Fortunately, in our Mozambican community, the social aspect is quite strengthened, although not sufficient, isn’t it... (Male Administrative Post representative – Maputo #12)

In terms of the reasons for the slow progress and limited coverage of law enforcement, despite the apparently visible efforts, OLs recognise that the State is limited because the country is large and poverty supersedes all other singular problems. They pointed to a lack of financial resources, but also to the fact that the citizens have trouble accepting laws because they have no evidence of the power of the laws, and moreover have doubts on the mandate and

capacity of law enforcement agents to apply the law.

For example, the State supports through the laws and at some point the laws are not enforced, that is where things start to fail. The government has its policies in relation to these matters and they draft laws, then nobody complies with the laws and people end up feeling that they are discriminated against. For example, we have the police. If you are HIV positive and someone called you names, you could go to the police, the police already have this law but what happens is that at some point this has no weight (...) and maybe also due to lack of financial capacity or ability (...) People may at some point be discriminated against but do not bother to take the matter to the appropriate structures. (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Maputo # 11)

The lack of faith in the police comes from the perception that this sector neglects community issues, as pointed out by a neighbourhood secretary in Nampula, who mentioned that sometimes entire neighbourhoods, which feel vulnerable to house burglaries, have asked him to make a formal request to the police for security enforcement through the creation of community police groups. Such requests are neglected by the Ministry of Home Affairs, and that in itself is viewed by participants as an act of discrimination against the people.

With regards to perceived State protection of vulnerable groups, the OLs’ discourses point to a few concrete actions, but mostly focused on vulnerable groups other than LGBTIs or SWs, the focus being mostly on the elderly, children, women in difficult situations, people with disabilities, GBV victims, albinism carriers, and the poor in general. Although one OL reported witnessing some progress of non-discrimination against children and albinism carriers, attributing credit (but with some doubts) to the police.

(...) [discrimination against] minors, it has even reduced, albinism discrimination yes, it has reduced...the work by the police, maybe it is that, discrimination of children has reduced, exactly. (Male Administrative Post Representative – Nampula #34)

In such cases, the neighbourhood secretaries’ role is mostly to support vulnerable people by providing documentation to prove their status. Then they can request support from social action authorities, and sometimes they receive positive feedback. They seem not to know what mechanisms exist to ensure those they consider vulnerable within their neighbourhood receive support, which is mostly in the form of a poverty subsidy (albeit the amount is very low). As a result they see that subsidies are being distributed in some neighbourhoods but not in others, and they are not able to explain why.

Activists do undertake some awareness raising about the needs of people living with HIV and AIDS, TB, and people with disabilities. However, their attention is mostly focused on the disease or its complications, prevention and care-seeking, rather than on issues of equality or discrimination.

3.4.3. Perceived State’s role in protecting SWs and LGBTI people

There is particular difficulty, among OLs, in assessing the role of the State in implementing laws that favour the LGBTI community if, on the one hand, there is general unawareness of the laws due to weak dissemination at the local level, and on the other hand, OLs are unable to assess the State’s action since they find it difficult to identify this group and pinpoint them to the LGBTI community.

Interviewer: Do homosexuals, gays, lesbians receive state protection in your neighbourhood?

Participant: Well, these people, whether they exist or not, may exist, but it is difficult to discover that this one is a lesbian, this one is homosexual, it is very difficult to discover this. Yes, so I do not know if there is anything, [it is] different from pinpointing the drug addicts, a drug addict is easy to discover but these homosexuals are so... lesbian women so it’s difficult. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Maputo #18)

With regards to SWs, some OLs reported some action related to the protection of SWs but showed disappointment that one way of protecting this group would be to encourage the building of brothels in order to discourage street sex work. This is confusing to some OLs, since they believe that the State's role should be to do the opposite. In other words, not to facilitate sex work which would be consistent with the State's role in controlling the spread of HIV and AIDS.

Yes it [the government] is not doing anything and it protects, yes and it even accepts, the government accepts that they build tents or houses just to have sex and then says that we are fighting HIV and AIDS, how does the government fight HIV and AIDS while it is (...) admitting, accepting [sex work]? (Male Administrative Post Representative – Nampula #34)

When the researchers questioned the participants again on whether the proposed acts to end sex work could be viewed as coercive or even discriminatory against SWs, participants were clear that it is not the case.

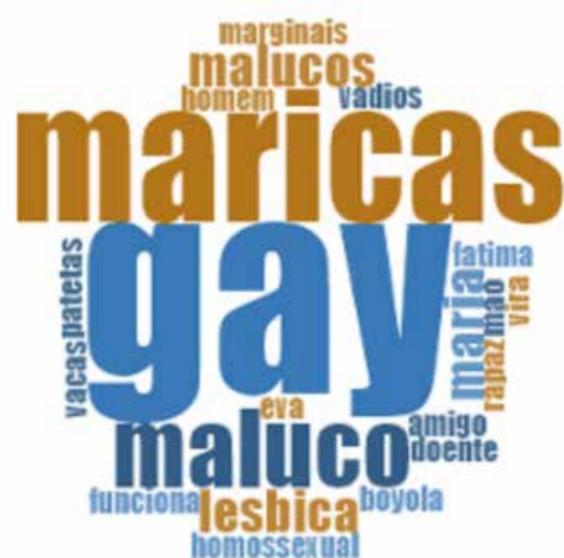
So in this sense it is not discrimination, but to prohibit that we do not have to do it this way. If you want to have sex you have to get married, as I was saying you have to get married, but it is not like that that people may go out to practice sex on the street just like that, randomly. (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Quelimane #76)

The above quote, coming from a neighbourhood secretary from Quelimane, shows repudiation against sex work, indicating the low likelihood of the enforcement of laws in protecting this group at the local level of his neighbourhood.

Most of the participants say it will be a long road if LGBTI people and SWs are to be protected against discrimination through the implementation of laws.

Yes, everything depends on persistence, even if it is a level up, even if it is the President of the Republic speaking, it has to be frequent, it is not enough to speak one day saying that people, just because it is the President of the Republic who spoke now, they will start respecting LGBTI. It has to be somewhat a constant in that theory that "soft water... [soft water on hard stone beats so much until it punctures], isn't it? It is like the question of preaching at church. It is not enough just a homily, the church is hammering, but the evil is there, people will change, and others will not, but it has to be persistent. (Male Administrative Post Representative – Maputo #12)

3.5. Social constructs and position of LGBTI people



3.5.1. Terminologies and existing stereotypes of LGBTI people

Participants were asked to list the names they assign, or their community assigns, to any individual belonging to the LGBTI community (i.e. has sexual relations with someone of the same sex, or identifies with a gender different to the one assigned to them at birth). This was done without revealing to the participant what the different subgroups of the abbreviation of LGBTI are to ensure their responses would not be influenced by the researchers' perspective.

Most of the OLs did not know how to name an individual who belongs to the LGBTI community because they had never heard how these individuals (as a group) were referred to before. Participants said it is not common to see LGBTI people in their communities or to hear about them.

Among those who had already heard about the concept, a limited list of names was captured, which hold some important cues on how LGBTI people are being stereotyped, comprising the following terms: gay - mentioned 11 times; *maricas* (sissy) - seven times; *maluco* (mad) - six times; and *Maria* - mentioned twice. The remaining names captured in the word cloud were mentioned once each, namely: *marginal*; *homens vadios* (stray men), *patetas* (goofy), *vacas* (cows), *lésbicas* (lesbian), *boyola* (slang used for referring to a homosexual), *homem que não funciona* (man who does not work), *Fátima* and *amigo* (friend). Notably, the names sissy and Maria were particularly assigned to men who either acted in a feminine way or dressed like women (which could be close to the concept of a trans women), who were also assumed to have sexual relationships with men (homosexual men). Whenever the researcher discussed the concept of LGBTI, the participants had the tendency to bring up examples (real or hypothetical) that were focused on sissys or *Marias*.

In general, it was found that the term LGBTI was not part of the participants' vocabulary. When discussing the concept, OLs tended to focus their view on lesbians, gays and transgender people, and gave less or no focus on bisexuals and intersex. Although the researchers made efforts to include both gender diversity and sexual orientation differences, the participants' tendency was to assign each of the subgroups into the same category of "gay" or as "homosexual". Usually they made no distinction between each of the categories due to the lack of disclosure of identities by the LGBTI community members themselves. Additionally, most of the OLs indicated to have never seen or heard about specific groups such as bisexuals and intersex individuals.

3.5.2 Influence of sexual, gender, religious and socio-cultural norms on LGBTI stereotypes

a) Sexuality

Perceptions about sexuality are heavily grounded in a religious worldview, in turn influencing views on homosexuality. In religious terms, being a woman or man is an attribute defined by God. From this perspective, preconceived notions about women's and men's bodies, with particular focus on the sexual organs' purpose as producers or receptors of sexual fluids, make it difficult for OLs to understand the sexual act among homosexuals and its outcomes. This raised questions, among OLs, about the health of both women and men and the concern about fertility, which in turn constituted strong reasons for the expressed attitudes against homosexuality.

The health (...) for a man to do sex with man he shouldn't (...) but now can I go straight to the point, where does the sperm go? It enters in the anus (...) but if it penetrates in the female sex which has an appropriate organ, it has its own circulations and it has its own fertilisation. Ah, but now, for a man where does the sperm go? It ends up having problems so by logic for me it has no advantage, on the contrary [it] is only harmful for health. (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Nampula #27)

There is a strong focus in terms of sexuality, on following the example of pre-determined gender roles for men and women. According to the participants, when a woman or man is born, they should follow the good examples of the society, leaving aside all attitudes and behaviours considered deviant from the already predefined social roles that should guide individuals.

Researcher: (...) What is the good example for society for their situations, what would be the reverse/contrary to being a good example?

Participant: Leaving this behaviour of being gay or being lesbians, following what God created for them. If they are women, expect a fiancé or man to marry or to date. (Male Head of Neighbourhood Block – Maputo #17)

These roles are taught during socialisation and parents play an important role in teaching them.

Participant: (...) I have to get married, to have children, yes to build my home so that's why I said that they [lesbians] do not match well because every woman dreams [of] having children, dreams of getting married. If I am dating another woman, I have no way....

Researcher: And whoever taught you that a woman has to date a man, has to have children, has to marry?

Participant: My father and mother.

Researcher: (...) And do older people think the same way too?

Participant: (Laughter) older people, they say that there is a demon, what is possessed, they are the most strict. (Female Youth Volunteer – Maputo #05)

Concern with child-bearing and the attached idea of leaving or perpetuating one's name to ensure the continuity of the lineage also seemed to participants to justify disapproving of homosexuality. In addition, having children is seen as a major asset in supporting not only domestic tasks but also as an investment that will guarantee for the social support of parents during sickness and when they are elderly. Above all, having a child is proof of being a functional, worthy individual.

It is important to have a child because that way a person must see that "I was able to give birth, I hope to grow up and die, if I die too, my child will continue with life"(...)Even if you one day die, people will also continue talking about your name. That child also helps you sometimes in the house activities service. Yes it helps in a house you have (...). Whenever you are sick the child can wash dishes, help with housework. Yes it is what a person may cry saying at least I should be having a child for helping me. (Female Youth Church Leader – Quelimane #48)

The importance of children as 'products' of all sexual relationships that, according to local norms, should be built around the marriage, is a crucial element that not only justifies stereotypes but also creates boundaries between those married and with children and considered 'normal' versus those who do not fit in this category. Linking sexuality to the reproductive function assigned to men and women leads gays and lesbians being considered 'malfunctioning persons', which is also reflected in the stereotypes attached to homosexuals (Section 4.5.1).

b) Gender norms

There is a perception that the expected gender roles, according to sexual identity legitimated in society, justify the model of sexual orientation. All practices that do not follow this logic do not fit normality and are not accepted in the community. Thus, among OLs there is a perception that the female and male biological sex must correspond with the subsequent gender identity of its respective sex and have a sexual orientation toward the opposite sex. When participants were asked what is expected for a boy or a girl after birth, there was a consensus that a boy is expected to behave in the community according to the male behavioural pattern. In other words, to be schooled in the tasks and roles for boys. For this reason, when there is a clear discrepancy between someone's gender identity and biological sex, most participants felt that this individual would not belong in the community, while also putting at the family's reputation at stake.

Participant: Because he, being a man, putting himself in the place of a girl is not correct.

Researcher: Why?

Participant: Because he is devaluing his way of being, but also his or her parents are also ashamed because he being a gay will never be able to bear a child. Because he is making sex with men [he] will never have a child. For a mother that thing is a nightmare, she starts complaining "why my

son is gay instead of giving me a grandson?". What is the advantage of being gay? Once in Cualane [name of a neighbourhood] a lady asked me, and I said "I also have no answer. I don't know, just sit down with your son and ask him why he followed this path, maybe he will be able to clarify it", I had no way of being able to clarify it to her. (Female Counsellor – Quelimane #47)

Some leaders did not hesitate in admitting the possibility of expulsion of gay or lesbian individuals from the community.

Participant: Yaaa, but for me they should eliminate that kind of people.

Researcher: Why?

Participant: Because God created something, masculine is masculine and feminine is feminine. Now, imagine if God had made only men, how would this world grow? How?Because a human here has a mission to make the world grow, to be able to give birth

Researcher: Is it an insult to some religious principles?

Participant: It is an insult to our country, that is an insult. It is even worth being a prostitute than being that [homosexual]. (Male Head of neighbourhood Block – Maputo #07)

c) Religion

This study found that there are strong attitudes against homosexuality based on religious principles. This link cross-cuts most other norms influencing the existing stereotypes and treatment given to people belonging to the LGBTI community, as pointed out in earlier sections of this report (see sections 4.5.2.a and 4.5.2.b). According to the participants, religion is the basis of discouragement of all attitudes and practices linked to homosexuality because being a homosexual is seen as not obeying God's principles and laws. Therefore it is conceived as a sin.

[It is a] sin because when the God created man, I repeat saying created a woman, come on.... God opened a space where a man can go there for sexual satisfaction in his wife's body, in a woman's body and not in the body of an equal man. So when I penetrate it in another place that was not approved by God (...) it is a crime naturally (...) it is a sin. Yes,...woman has their own place where I can use at anytime (...) but spiritually this is a sin. The Bible calls it sin. (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Nampula #21)

Violating these principles is considered unethical and an unacceptable conduct, not only in the church but in the community, therefore subject to scrutiny and corrective action.

Researcher: And concerning lesbians or homosexuals in general, what does religion say about them?

Participant: the church also discourages this, when we think that, or we suspect that someone can be that person [homosexual] we call that person and we invite a group of people [from the church] and we mix up and we explain that God created a man and a woman, so it is unethical for a woman to have a sexual relationship with another woman, [and] a man to have sexual relationship with another man. Then we open the debate, "what do you think about this?". Others say no (Male Christian Religious Leader – Maputo #08)

Religious leaders mentioned the different lengths the church goes to when it comes to condemnation of homosexual acts and expressions, which includes behaviour change promotion . They go on to say the State legislation is in tension with religious laws by referring to gender equality and the decriminalisation of homosexuality.

Participant: It's wrong, I'm going to talk about the Bible. The Bible condemns it (...) we know beforehand that the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah were burned, God ordered the cities to be burned because they were not obeying the laws of God. God sent the angels to go and burn these cities

Researcher: Taking into account the perspective of religion towards homosexuals, sex workers. Generally, when we have those types of cases what does the church advise?

Participant: The church always advises abandonment for those who practice it.

Researcher: Why?

Participant: Because the bible doesn't accept it.

Researcher: Ahhh because the bible doesn't accept it.

Participant: And our script is the Bible, yaa we have to walk according to the Bible... The Bible doesn't accept it because it says that a man is the head and man is always the leader. The leadership has to be with a man because the Bible says that God created a man to be a leader, so made the woman to help the man, now looking at society, society says that there must be gender equality, so it's a war between the religion and the society principles, yaa. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Maputo #08)

d) Socio-cultural norms

The practices related to homosexuality as well as individuals embracing a gender identity other than the one assigned to them at birth are also condemned and censured by tradition. Most participants, besides grounding their disapproval of homosexuality on religious principles, fall back on ancestry and traditional values imparted in the community, particularly when the religion fails to explain, cope with, or resolve the 'deviant' behaviours. In that context, when the norm that it is natural for a man to be attracted to a woman is broken, supernatural spirits are evoked to help address the issue. It is believed that homosexuals are possessed by bad spirits which require a healer's intervention in order to expel the evil from these individuals.

Actually, if we move from the religious part, we will see that people speak a lot and even so much, even a healer (...) everyone says that homosexuality (...) is a spirit, but it is a spirit. For me it would be neither a spirit nor it is (...) so it is not good that there are homosexuals (...) if it is a spirit it cannot (...) I am not against, not only against but (...) God made man and woman, from that [He] did not create a man with man, woman with woman and, even if we look at other many religions, looking at Christianity in all their ramifications (...) there is not even from the side of Muslims in all its ramifications (...) going to the Hindu's, God created man and woman. This gives the society consistency... (Male Head of Neighbourhood Block – Maputo #01)

Even those OLs who do not consider homosexuality 'abnormal', confirmed that people in the community think that homosexuality is an 'abnormal' phenomenon resulting from bad spirits.

Researcher: But in the community, do they also think that LGBTI are normal persons?

Participant: I don't think so.

Researcher: What do you think?

Participant: Oh, there are those who say that they are sick because they are possessed by the bad spirit so I don't know what, but in particular I see it as a normal person. (Female Youth leader – Maputo #04)

In traditional terms, being a LGBTI person is attached to sickness, which is not isolated from the traditional view on most illnesses (particularly those the formal health providers are unable to address), which links the occurrence of disease to bad spirits around the patient or the family. Therefore, if a member of the LGBTI community discloses his/her identity, this may be interpreted with a traditional frame in mind, leading to the LGBTI members being referred for treatment by traditional healers.

Researcher: If they come here, do you consider this as a disease? Do you treat it? How do you see this?

Participant: If the person comes and says: "I'm suffering with this", that he is not a man, and that woman that stays with a woman like her, men who meet while they are both men but that between them there is one that is woman and one that is a man, I haven't found any such case, but if someone like this comes in, I will ask them: "undress in order for me to see what is making you suffer", so that I can understand his or her ways, but since I don't have this case I have no proof about this. (Female Traditional Healer – Maputo #78)

However, and as illustrated both in the quote above and below, and not differently from most participants, the traditional healer in Maputo City, interviewed in this study had never encountered a case of LGBTI member coming to her for help. However, she said if she saw a LGBTI person, her approach would be to consult with her peers from the Mozambican Traditional Medicine Practitioners' Association (*Associação dos Praticantes de Medicina Tradicional de Moçambique* (AMETRAMO)) (and in this case she focused on a client with two sexes – which would be the closest to an OL talking about an intersex person found in this study).

Participant: These cases [men who sleep with men or women who sleep with women] have not yet come to me, a person with such characteristics. This may happen to the person in his/her house, we do not know how they live, the same way you do not know how I live...

Researcher: when you tell them to undress, you want to see whether there is a problem, what do you want to see?

Participant: if the person comes to me, or is referred to me by the family, I will ask: "when did this happen, were you born like this or not". If the person says "I was born like this". Then I ask: "what happens to you?". The person will explain what happens to him, that if she is a woman but she is a man, and if it is a man while he is a woman who looks for a man like him, We [as AMETRAMO] will search for what is happening. The fact of them having two things (two sexes) at the same time. We will also want to know which (sex) will be removed or remained. The client him/herself will chose which way [orientation] they want to live. We will help them open one part [orientation] and stay with it. From this we will sit down, study the case in order to know what to do... We also cannot leave the person to die with this disease. We need to help him/her turn into what he identifies with.

Researcher: If the person says "I feel good as I am"

Participant: Then it is their choice. We cannot force it. (Female Traditional Healer – Maputo #78)

Most OLs stressed the need to make the distinction between formal laws, moral principles of the society in general and the tradition itself, raising the point that the principles brought up by some laws do not fit within the traditional beliefs.

Researcher: (...) What do you see in relation to what the community think about LGBTI and sex workers in terms of, what are the beliefs that are there in the community in relation to sex workers and LGBTI, the views that people have in relation to those two groups and the opinions they have, the values that exists in the community. (...)

Participant: An abominable situation, yes a practice condemned by society,

Researcher: Why?

Participant: Although, because it hurts what are [defined as] the moral principles of society, we are a traditionalist society and our tradition does not include this type of practices. (Male Administrative Post Representative – Maputo #12)

3.5.3. Community level interactions with LGBTI people

a) LGBTI people's interaction with family members

In order to better understand how LGBTI people interact with their families, the participants were asked if they were aware of any homosexuals within their community. If so, what they knew about the interaction between them and their family. If they did not know them, OLs were asked how they thought families would react if they noticed their son or daughter was homosexual.

From the responses collected among the interviewees, it was evident that many were not familiar with this situation and had to answer the question hypothetically. They stated that it is not a common to see or hear about homosexuals, so it was difficult for them to talk about it. Based on the hypothetical answers, it was possible to identify some positions on the possible reactions of families when they learn that their son or daughter is homosexual.

Some participants consider that some families, knowing that their son or daughter is homosexual, are bound to accept it because they understand that it is a natural condition shaped by God. They may feel therefore that there is nothing that should be done about it or to change the situation, as seen in the testimonies of some interviewees below.

In relation to homosexuals (...) Well, the family is resigned (...) that "our son was born like that". It is the work of God, there is no way, because there is no other advice that can be given to not, that the family (...) conforms to that state, there is no way. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Quelimane #46)

I think the interaction would be good if the family saw (...) it seems that is not evil, [and that it] was God's thing (...). (Male Head of Neighbourhood Block – Maputo #01)

Although, as seen in the previous sections, homosexuality is an issue that people do not expect to be faced within their own households or families, OLs consider that when it becomes a reality within the family circle, there are family members who will eventually accept that the person (homosexual) feels good in that sexual orientation, as stated by these participants:

If he/she is homosexual, the family members will not say anything because if it is another family they will begin to feel [like] "what he is doing?". Because it is something they did not count on the family, [that] one day it would be like this. They wanted the person to be born, or (...) they grow up to be well, but we will leave when we grow up. He is already in another way, it is not what they expected, (...) also the family will not have to do [anything]. (Male Youth Activist – Quelimane #49)

[if he or she is homosexual] commonly nobody will do anything, if the person likes oh pah (meaning, what can we do?) (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Maputo #16)

According to the interviewees, other families, upon learning that their son or daughter's sexual orientation or gender identity does not conform to what is expected, may try to change this orientation, as they consider it a voluntary choice. In the event that it is not possible to change, they could physically assault or even expel their son or daughter from the home. The argument for expulsion is that he or she would serve as a negative example and could influence younger siblings to follow the same direction.

It is like this: when we were children at the time, when we started playing really little things, I don't know, but he did it if he became more inclined towards woman's things than we other men (...) But afterwards it was what started, the father tried to hit, hit [him] so much that he didn't even manage to this day. He's already quite big and continues anyway. Even today he is like that, same style of homosexual woman, he lives that life to this day, he has his own house, owns his house and works in the salon, braids hair...(Male Head of Neighbourhood Block – Maputo #01)

[if my son is a homosexual] (...) my reaction, I would be with my son (...) continuously advising him as far as I could and if (...) she doesn't accept it, I think she would no longer live in my house. I have minor children, they may assume it (...) to copy it, would be to further spoil his brothers. And if he or she could (...) If [she] is a lesbian, after the advice she no longer accepts [change], then she would have no space in my house, she would have no space. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Maputo #18)

From the family perspective, what was captured is a tendency to accept the situation, but not as definite. This is shown in the intent to change the behaviour as a condition upon which to remain a member of the household in the long term.

b) LGBTI people's interaction with neighbours

Along the same line as the questions posed regarding reactions at the family level, the responses with regards to neighbourhood-level reactions included both neighbours who conform or can conform and other neighbours who may not like to know that there is a homosexual woman or man in their neighbourhood.

The reasons given for a neighbour's acceptance of the situation is that these neighbours would view homosexuality as a biological rather than a social behaviour or construct. As seen in the section on the family, there is a sense of acceptance for the cases whereby those with a different sexual orientation at birth are seen as not having any choice in the matter and for that reason there is nothing that can be done about it by outsiders, except to accept it and live with it. This attitude of accepting that the person was born with that condition seems to be a less 'heavy' issue than if the phenomenon is perceived as a social issue. As stated by one of the participants:

They have a feeling that looks at our family eh pah, they are not in a position to decide because they were born like this, there is no way, they are just feelings, there is no laughing (meaning, teasing) [and judging] why, [because] that is that (...) because this is natural, it was born like that, nothing else, yes. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Quelimane #46)

Although they consider LGBTI people to be different in terms of sexual orientation or gender identity, some participants, because of their experience of socializing with some LGBTI members within their neighbourhoods, consider them as 'normal people' and see no reason for their discrimination or exclusion, as stated by this participant.

For example in the neighbourhood we have two men, they are all transgender. When we have meetings there, they prepare a lunch snack, they long more to stay in the kitchen (...) then it is that normal situation (...) only with young people, even with grown people, so we face that in a normal way. [They] are not excluded. They are not discriminated against because they are different. And

lesbians. They are not excluded. (Female Youth leader – Maputo #04)

There in my neighbourhood, I have one that we call Maria, Maria. We call him or her Mary because she behaves like a woman. (...) we like the way he behaves with people, (...) He wanted to be in life, he chose alone, so nobody can say "oh you can't do that!" No, we leave it at that. They protect him because they do him no harm. We look [at them] just like that, very simple, normal, just like that. We talked well with them. (Female Youth Leader - Nampula #26)

Despite the apparent acceptance of homosexuals in the neighbourhood, and even some reports by leaders who included LGBTI people in neighbourhood events, OLs point to neighbours who may fear the 'homosexual feeling' will spread among children in the community if their children play together. They worry that boys will start behaving like girls and girls like boys (which is seen as an abnormal phenomenon). This could lead to neighbours distancing themselves from LGBTI people who are known to live in their community.

I think everyone, all young people, [and] adults. Worse, if you play with a neighbour, for example parents (...) are concerned that (...) they are misrepresenting the principles of another (principles that are not aligned with the predominant local perspectives) and ending in the influence of others. (Male Administrative Post Representative – Maputo #12)

Additional testimonies confirm the tendency of neighbours (particularly the youth) to keep a distance from young men who look and/or act like women because of a different sexual orientation, even though they are also young. They are happy to let them be as they are, but in some testimonies, there were indications of young neighbours distancing themselves from gays which lead gay youth to seek friends outside of their community. This is expressed by the following respondent.

The young man is seen normally, but for other men they do not approach him, they say that this is a different one from us, walking in a way one... you don't know. You see all the talent of a woman but that is man, all a woman's talent but how is that done? The [person's physical] constitution looks like a man, but as things go on (...)it looks like a woman, so I see that he is different from other men. He doesn't always stay there (in the neighbourhood), sometimes he wakes up at dawn, taking a shower, going out where[ever] and he just comes [back] to sleep, so that means he may not have such a direct friendship in that area. And I guess that's not that he doesn't want to, he wants to, but he sees people acting different with him. (Male Youth Leader – Nampula #39)

Tension between LGBTI people and neighbours was also reported by a political woman's organisation leader, who stated that neighbours verbally abuse LGBTI community members. However, the respondent judged these acts as justifiable on the fact that the particular LGBTI community member that she used as an example was also very reactive and verbal.

They abused him, he also abused them, because he talks a lot. Like if they tell him something, he also responded with something else, for example an insult, he also responded with an insult. (Female Organization Leader – Quelimane #44)

This reveals that LGBTI members are expected to be discrete about their orientations and identities, and to withstand any negative reaction against them also with discretion. If one LGBTI is more verbal than he or she is expected to be, even if it is in defence of his or her own rights, then he or she is even more prone to social exclusion, increasing the tension between them and the neighbours even more, and escalating the related discriminatory acts.

c) LGBTI people's interaction with social circles

The participants were asked how they think people from the social circles of LGBTI people, such as friends and church members would react to them when they notice that their friend or church member is homosexual.

There were OLs who indicated that friends would react negatively if they discovered their friend was LGBTI. In this event, the friendship could be at risk of being withdrawn as the circle of friends around the LGBTI person are not identifying with the sexual orientation of their friend, particularly if this friend is behaving like a woman while being a man. Such behaviour would confront the social purpose of being a man, as explained by the following participant.

[if] a friend turns out to be homosexual]. (...) An equal man (laughs), this is not logical for me, it can no longer be logical. [Because] We are equal men. I see this because we are equal men, we grew up together until we reached that age, we are together, why should that be now, it cannot. Because we are men. The purpose will be to cut the friendship. He stays with other people, I stay in my corner. Friendship will fall apart. I better get away from him. (Female Youth Leader – Quelimane #51)

There are other friends who, when they first discover that their friend is a homosexual may not accept it, but over time they may get used to this reality. In this case they would not leave the friendship and there would be a tendency to support their friend when he or she faces problems. This does not inhibit some of them from trying to change their friend's behaviour, as conferred by the following quotes:

(...) try to talk to him, try to say to him, show him [that] we are men, but it was his choice. At last, of course, we talked to him, we were wrong, we acted badly at that moment (...) but then [we] get used to it, or, we play, we ended up staying with him as it is today. (Male Head of Neighbourhood Block - Maputo #01)

Eh, I have a neighbour (...) people made fun of, but he is still my friend today. I never had any problems with him, I never looked at that difference. He has that womanly attitude, but I never had that. I lived with him, I adapted to that situation. Me as his friend? We are both well, we are good friends to this day, we greet each other, I am his friend. I never stopped being his friend because of that. [whether] they are choices, they are not. We grew up with him, we saw all that change after he got used to that change (...) maybe the others from the other neighbourhood, they could call names, but we were used to it, we were used to it. Most of the time they are even insulted. (Male Head of Neighbourhood Block - Maputo #01)

(...) in the community it is not because the person himself is not good, (...) this person himself, having family, friends, but the work that this person is doing, makes friends not get close, you see. It is one of our friends, it's our son, it's our nephew, it's our brother in the same area, in the same neighbourhood, isn't it? If he is sick he has a concern (...) people approach him, support him, treat him. But the person himself is the one who gets dirty. (Male Muslim Religious Leader - Nampula #29)

There is also the recognition that friends or colleagues may end up 'tolerating' peers who chose a gender identity other than the one ascribed at birth (for instance a trans woman, because of the provisions of the law, as stated by this participant.

Worse in the tent [when he] arrived [there], when he stands up, when he starts talking he looks like a woman (...) people scratching themselves, then you even find out. In the workplace, I also think that they are not well regarded (laughs), they can only be tolerated because the law requires it, but they are not well regarded. (Male Administrative Post Representative – Maputo #12)

According to participants, homosexuals are allowed to attend church. However, once in the church they will be encouraged to change their sexual orientation, in order to conform to the divine natural order.

[In the church, homosexuals] I think these are allowed, but they must be educated, they must be educated, they must be taught that the path they are following is not correct. (Male Christian Religious leader – Maputo #03)

[homosexuals] should not be excluded, but sensitized, (...) because God did not make you a woman, he made you a man and today he [the homosexual] wants to turn his sex into a woman. Each one can be who he wants to be, more than what nature has given him. He does not think that he will be better than what nature has provided him, ever. (Male Administrative Post Representative – Nampula #25)

Furthermore, they may find themselves limited to performing certain tasks within the church because of their sexual orientation. For example, interviewees reported that homosexuals may not practice catechism, since they 'look like crazy people' who have distorted their manly or womanly nature, and are not entitled to be the conveyors of morality to others.

And those homosexuals, (...) also, no one is going to give a job of (...) a catechist because (...), being a catechist is being a person who sees himself in the neighbourhood as a good person, even if you are walking in the neighbourhood, now people are watching it seems crazy! So it doesn't help to be given a service by the church because they are looking like a person, a crazy person, a thief like that, so it doesn't help to be given service by the church, yes. (Youth Church Leader – Quelimane #48)

3.5.4. OL's awareness of LGBTI people in the community and perceived role in dealing with LGBTI issues

a) Perceived visibility of LGBTI people in the community

The majority of the interviewed OLs do not seem to know about the presence of LGBTI people in their community. In most of their narratives, OLs had a tendency to single out male homosexuals or gays as being the most familiar to them from the LGBTI grouping, but even then most OLs said they were unaware of their presence in their own neighbourhoods, and could not pinpoint where they lived or could be found. Despite the fact that the concept of homosexuality was not unknown to them, the common answer to whether gays were visible to them in their community, was: "we know this from other neighbourhoods, but these cases cannot be identified in our community".

Researcher: Are you not aware that they live here in the neighbourhood?

Participant: They are here [in general], but they are not from this neighbourhood, they are people who come and stay there. I have heard that there are men who are also waiting for other men (Female Head of Neighbourhood – Maputo #13)

Researcher: Okay, what about men who have sex with other men or women who have sex with other women?

Participant: No.

Researcher: The gays

Participant: No, I don't think so, I have never heard here (Female Counsellor – Nampula #38)

This perception of the nonexistence of homosexuals, in part is deliberately created by the OLs themselves who do not seem interested in the existence of these individuals in their community.

Yaa, I couldn't comment a lot on this part because first of all for me it is a little strange, strange case that, as I said initially, I have never seen anyone who said or someone [that] does this (homosexuality). So for me it is something that should not [be] there really, [it should not] exist. (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Maputo #11)

The level of visibility also depends on the social interaction and networks of each OL, including the social contacts they are linked to or daily activities they are involved in. A few OLs went to great lengths to search for concrete examples in their day-to-day lives which could possibly feature 'gays' such as this administrative leader from Maputo indicated:

Participant: In this [urban] district, I believe that (...) I have never seen a gay person for example charging tickets in a "Chapa" (private minivan or semi-collective taxi) or smoking here in the district. It is difficult to see. Yes, it is difficult to see those kinds of people. (Male Administrative Post Representative - Maputo # 10)

b) OL's role in maintaining social order and creating public awareness in the community

The 'invisibility' of LGBTI people for OLs influenced the manner in which OLs could share a full account of their experiences with the group and how they perceived their role in acting on issues relating to LGBTI persons living in their communities. Thus, OLs ended up imagining situations whereby religion, tradition and norms around sexuality were used to justify corrective action in order to maintain social order. Others were more nuanced, expressing awareness – sometimes also regret – that they must act indifferently to the situation, because the principle of democracy implies not meddling in people's lives and letting each one make their own choices.

In guaranteeing social order, actions leading to social condemnation, isolation, and even expulsion of LGBTI members who are reluctant to change their behaviour and resign (*conformar-se*) to the norm were suggested. One religious leader from Nampula was convinced of his duty to denounce LGBTI people and involve the local authorities in blatantly confronting and judging them.

First of all, I would like to say that in our community, independently of our tradition, if we know this kind of person, we will denounce it (...). We will go to the secretary of the neighbourhood, saying that our neighbour is doing this, this, this. We are going to have a meeting and ask "is it true that you do this, this...how did you start [behaving like this]? What do you think about this? Where did you learn? It is from here that we engage other leaders". (Male Christian Religious Leader – Nampula #30)

A small minority of OLs who did not wish to interfere did so from the understanding that nowadays, in times of democracy, one should no longer be allowed to interfere in people's lives regardless of whether or not they agree with a person's sexual orientation.

No, because we had never told how can I tell someone to tell us how it is, we had to behave... in addition to this situation because now with the democracy that we live, it is not easy to interfere in someone's life for people to interfere in someone else's life. I can even know that my neighbour is homosexual but it is his life. I cannot do anything. I cannot do anything because I do not have authority - for nothing... (Male Head of Neighbourhood Block – Maputo #17)

We found little evidence of leaders using their position to encourage community members to tolerate or accept LGBTI people. What was found were attempts to make community members combat behaviours related to same-sex relationships and gender identities that differ from the local norms. For those few leaders who played such roles, they do so through their involvement in activities, such as, open speeches, meetings and promoting awareness related to the need for LGBTI people to change their behaviour through peer groups.

c) OL's role in the establishment of support systems and case resolution

This study did not find any evidence of OLs being involved in the establishment of support systems for LGBTIs. The administrative leaders, for instance neighbourhood secretaries, may encounter LGBTI community members in their day-to-day duties as civil servants and find themselves with the duty of assisting them, just as they would do with any citizen. There was one example, coming from a neighbourhood secretary from Nampula, who although very

confused about where to place the gender of an LGBTI member who came to him to ask for administrative support, assisted him with no prejudice against the client.

I don't know what they are thinking, what is happening or what they think of what they are doing, but it is true that people are sorry when they see this type of attitude and even myself already I got to see someone there. I even thought it was a girl when he was passing by the window with a big car from here [under my very] nose (...) an earring, in overalls, a sweater. I went to see him, his hair was well combed, it looked like a girl even with painted lips, but I went to see the document is [Hussene], he is a man! My secretary said it is sissy. I attended [him] as a citizen with her document. (Female Administrative Post Representative – Nampula #28)

In the process of supporting LGBTIs, most leaders assume contradictory positions by acting or taking roles that go against their own principles and values. The following quote illustrates an example of the position taken by an OL which is to go along with the whole community's position regarding a LGBTI community member who did not follow the tacit community recommendations:

Researcher: Were you ready to talk about it in the mosque?

Participant: I could be

Researcher: To say we are not going to discriminate these people...

Participant: But he won't speak there [at church].

Researcher: Won't speak?

Participant: Nothing he will say.

Researcher: ... you as a leader won't you accept to speak to the community?

Participant: I can talk but many of them will not accept it.

Researcher: They will not accept, if they do not accept, what is going to happen?

Participant: They will not do anything.

Researcher: You as a leader, how could you sort it out if they don't accept it...

Participant: He will leave the church, it cannot be.

VM: Ummm, he has to leave the church?

Participant: Yes. (Male Muslim Religious Leader – Quelimane #57)

This study probed whether OLs support LGBTI case resolution, for example in cases of discrimination, and found that there is an insufficient insight into this because LGBTI members do not seem to come forward and report their concerns regarding discriminatory acts to the formal structures, such as local religious, traditional and political-administrative authorities. Instead, it is the neighbours or community members, who, feeling uncomfortable co-existing with LGBTI people, initiate complaints about conflicts with them. In most of the cases the neighbours or members of the religious community report to the head of 10 households (which is the first instance in situations

requiring conflict resolution). In cases of dissatisfaction with the resolution of that specific conflict, they are sent to the higher level structures:

Firstly we do denounce. We report to the secretary of the neighbour [to say]: "look this, our neighbour here is doing this, this, [and] this". If the 10 household [head] cannot help in sorting it out, then we search for other competent structures. It is not easy to hear [about cases involving LGBTI people] here [at community level]... well it may exist, I am not denying it, it may exist, but these are things that are very difficult to hear. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Maputo #30)

Most cases that were mentioned during the interviews and which had involved LGBTI community members seemed to have led to the decision that they should change residence. Reluctance to change behaviour on the part of the LGBTIs seems to pave the way for community expulsion. In case the LGBTI individual is renting a house, then the opinion of the landlord was crucial for a decision in this matter, who in turn is influenced by the community, as the following participant explains:

Since the community knows that the person who is living there, the person does this ...if something is wrongpeople do not like. We just talked with the heads of the neighbourhood or we talk with the owner of the house, then the owner of the house calls his tenant and speaks to him. So if he/she is going to listen he/she will listen, if he/she will not listen then he can search for another place since we don't want that person here in the neighbourhood, because there in the neighbourhood we've never seen a person like that (...) who is bringing that type of behaviour, so he must change. (Male Youth Activist – Quelimane #49)

It seemed common for the LGBTI members to remove themselves from the community in order to avoid further tension, particularly when the case resolution process becomes known and discloses the LGBTI member's sexual orientation or gender identity.

Researcher: So what did they [community members] do? Did the community denounce?

Participant: Yes

Researcher: And what did they do from there?

Participants: ...They came to report at a meeting during a visit of our councillor here, then the councillor took note of that, so when she sent people to look for those people finally....[they] were no longer there, they said they had left.... (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Maputo #07)

The community doesn't even like these kind of things that's why here, there were a couple of gays who had rented here they were doing this... the community came here to complain, so we started looking for them and when they knew that we were looking for them, they left the community ... (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Maputo #07)

The following case, which was brought to our attention by a religious leader in Maputo concerned a community protest against an informal gay bar in their community. From the story, it could be deduced that the resolution aimed to accommodate the community members' interest by destroying the place where LGBTI members convened socially. The community members did not like that their neighbourhood housed an informal gay bar and the establishment ended up being closed by the police.

Researcher: and what happened? Did the community take any measure?

Participant: It was taken, it was taken because when we heard about it, the police was warned... so

the police ordered to close the barraca (informal bar)

Researcher: But was the complaint made by the church or by the community?

Participant: From the community side (Male Christian Religious Leader – Maputo #08)

In general, from what was reported by the majority of the religious leaders regarding case resolutions involving LGBTI community members, their aim was to address the discomfort in the community rather than the discomfort or needs of the LGBTI members themselves. In these cases, resolution generally started with an attempt to discipline the individual, and if unsuccessful, this was followed by the expulsion of the person.

If someone is Muslim it will be in the mosque, if one belongs to the church and then it is at the church where the person is disclosed. A person is disclosed by his behaviour. So we, instead of letting him fall on fire we call him, advise and if he doesn't accept the advice, it is when we scold, and if it is [the] second or third time scolding, [he] is sent or suggested to follow another religion that admits it. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Nampula #33)

In most of the reported cases, resolution seemed complex, and church members and the LGBTI members who were being judged could not easily find consensus. This was because the conditions for them to be accepted by the rest of the community were considered by the LGBTI members as impossible to meet. While the church members' concern was focused on changing the LGBTI's sexual orientation (i.e.: stop having sex with people of the same sex), the perception of some OLs was that LGBTI members were somewhat open to concealing their non-conforming gender identity (example, men with feminine looks and expressions) but were not open to changing their sexual orientation.

The other people said no... but they told him "you have to try to change" and the guy said "I want to change, so tell me how can I change, because I cannot change my body, I can change my way of thinking but my body will continue like this." (Male Christian Religious leader – Maputo #08)

As most OLs reported not knowing of any case of reported violence towards LGBTI people in their communities, they were asked where LGBTIs could go if they were faced with violence or felt discriminated against, to receive protection and redress. Most OLs mentioned the police stations, and specifically the cabinets for reporting violence against family and children which are located within police stations or linked to health facilities. Not all of the cases submitted to the police station will be accompanied by a community leader, since the resolution of community problems within a police station does not necessarily involve the presence of a leader. As a consequence, leaders have limited information on how and whether cases are resolved, and whether LGBTI members residing in their community have sought such support.

As I said, they [LGBTIs] don't have support, they only know the police when someone directly offends them. I don't know if they sometimes go, sometimes they don't.... (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Nampula #24)

Further on this, OLs also mentioned that LGBTI members may not receive full protection against stigma and discrimination by the community because of fear of encouraging the same practice among other people in the community. There seemed to be an idea that once protected, LGBTI people would feel welcomed and that this might promote the disclosure of their orientation or identity and allow them to believe that this is a normal practice or behaviour:

Researcher: And will he be protected there? Will they protect him? (...)

Participant: I don't know.

Researcher: Aren't they going to protect him? (...)

Participant: (Laughter)

Researcher: Won't they?

Participant: They will not protect them because it is never done either, they will say: "if we protect him well he will continue to act like that"

Researcher: So, in your opinion, homosexuals are not going to be there - there is no way to be protected here in a situation of discrimination, from violence there is no way to be protected by the community, is that?

Participant: None (Male Regulator – Quelimane #58)

It emerged from the interviews that the OLs main involvement, if any, with issues pertaining to LGBTIs in the community is in raising awareness with a view to preserve social order, and to a very limited extent, involvement in case resolution. This results from the lack of visibility and interaction between them and LGBTI members residing in their communities, leaving LGBTIs for the largest part unsupported, when confronted with discriminatory acts, by the leaders who would have the authority to make a difference where it matters the most: in the social normative environment.

3.6. Social constructs and position of sex workers

3.6.1. Terminologies and existing stereotypes of sex workers

In terms of stereotyping SWs, the local terminology used to refer to them served as important cues. When asked about the names they assign or their community uses to talk about SWs, participants mentioned several names (in order of frequency mentioned): *Vadia* (bitch woman or tramp) - 33 times; *Putá* (whore) - 29 times; *Prostituta* (prostitute) - 18 times; *Mulher de Rua* (street woman) - 13 times; *Mulher do Semáforo* (traffic light woman) - seven times; *Vaca* (cow) - twice; and *Geberua* (woman or man who has no fixed partner) - twice. The remaining terms were mentioned once each, mostly in local languages, namely, *essas de programa* (program girls), *Vagabunda* (slut, also meaning tramp), *Tinguavana* (prostitute, in changana language), *Mapandzas* (people who like fun, in changana language), *Nacege* (whore in Macua language), *Nipizokua* (sex worker), *Catelevave* (street woman), *Marandzas* (selfish persons who like material goods) and *Vendedeiras* (Saleswomen), as can be visualised in the Word Cloud (Figure 14). Some attributes were given to them such as marginals, destroyers (referring to wedding splitters), and crazy.



3.6.2. Influence of sexual, gender, religious and socio-cultural norms on sex worker stereotypes

a) Sexuality

OLs view sexuality as a topic to be highly respected. Therefore, sex work is viewed by them as a disturbance to this concept, as expressed by one participant:

I look at sex as one of the elements that compose a man, although its function may be to reproduce, but that they may have one and only one man or woman, and not as an object to be distributed in any way, this job [sex] should be done with so much respect. (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Nampula #21)

Therefore, to them, SWs banalized the meaning of sexual relations, which is meant for reproduction and to be exclusively practiced among monogamous couples. The use of the term saleswoman underlies the idea that SWs have gone to the length of selling the most sacred practice or parts of their body, just as one would do with a common product or good, resulting in them being stereotyped as a saleswomen. Further, names such as cow and bitch express the links of sex work to promiscuity and to the fact that they are not exclusively reserving sexual activities to one specific single sexual partner only.

Also linked to sexuality is this automatic link to sex and the spread of diseases, particularly if conducted with multiple partners. To the OLs the solution should not be to promote safe sex but to eliminate sex work as an activity.

Given the above, SWs tend to be viewed as dirty, and belonging to the streets. This is expressed in the selection of names attributed to SWs such as slut, tramp, street women, and traffic light girl.

As mentioned earlier, religious OLs create a link between the evil brought about by sex work and the occurrence of disease, we also observed that the non-religious leaders clearly link the practice of sex work to negative health consequences, with an emphasis on HIV and AIDS. This legitimised the argument or expectation that the government should end this activity.

Well, here for me (...) even if, if the government ah had a way to control that situation, it would have to have a way of eliminating it because that even more it harms health, it harms life itself. (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Nampula #27)

They also talked about sex work posing a risk to life in general, with some of these concerns going beyond the disease itself and including the financial consequences of becoming ill. Participants alluded to, what is a generally shared belief in Mozambique, that good and appropriate healthcare in the country is costly, despite the fact that public sector health services are free of charge. To them, there are specific groups who will definitely not be able to afford appropriate health services and SWs fall under such, less privileged groups.

Lastly, was the mental health aspect, which arose through the name people use to refer to sex workers, as being 'crazy'. This particular discourse about SWs may find some resonance in the general discourses around the mentally ill, who, abandoned by their families, take to the street (like SWs) and are considered marginals.

b) Gender norms

Women who eventually do not marry are also suspected of being SWs, according to some OLs. They talk about this relationship as a vicious circle: while SWs end up not getting married because the activity is incompatible with the gender role as a wife, others view that they end up in sex work due to lack of opportunities for getting married, or even as a result of a divorce or separation.

Participant: A prostitute, to get married? Bear children? Prostitute bearing children, they will annoy her, and to walk at night - who will she leave the children with?

Interviewer: Yes, you say that the son will disturb her, at night she will not manage. And the husband, will he also disturb her?

Participant: Yes, he will disturb her, he will not accept that she goes out at night, to wander about while he is at home! (Female Counsellor – Nampula #19)

There was also mention of SWs encountering an enabling environment in their household in cases where there is perceived to be something wrong with the husband (as the man of the house) for not imposing order in the marriage. These men are said to have been hit by witchcraft to become 'inside a bottle', meaning that the wife is set free to act as she pleases (even to practice sex work) while the husband remains helpless, with no authority over her. In such cases the man is looked at with pity, rather than judgment, whereas the woman is highly judged by society.

Nope, that thing [the situation whereby a man has no authority in his house], they only regret it (...) because when someone is at your house as a woman who owns the house and goes out to do things, people are watching uhm, they even think that he was put in the bottle, they are referring to the man, you see why you [the man] don't really see anything off[regarding] what is happening [in your house, to your wife]. (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Maputo #07)

The stereotypes expressed by names, such as 'women with no fixed partner' and 'wedding destroyer' are linked to the perceived delay, the loss of marriage opportunity, or simply the non-prioritization of marriage but also to the idea that SWs do not feel threatened by the possibility of a divorce or separation due to their activity. Therefore, these women are perceived as not serious, focused on having fun and even seen as lazy, increasing the probability of not being respected in the community.

c) Religion

Both Christianity and Islamic views on SWs were expressed by the participants. Muslim participants expressed a rejection of all the possible outcomes of sex work with a particular focus on the economic outcomes. For instance, from the standpoint of Islam, we observed an emphasis on the concept of a 'true Muslim' not accepting any money tainted by sex work activities.

The Muslim eh is like that, when she [the daughter] gets the money there to support the father, who is a true Muslim, the father does not want, the father does not want to use money from the sex of the daughter, the father does not want!" (Male Administrative Post Representative – Nampula #34)

The above quote illustrates that SWs may challenge the dignity of a father, who finds himself juggling between addressing poverty in his family and his integrity as a Muslim, and is expected to put Islam first.

Sex work was referred to by one religious leader as something that is not new to Islam and that the religion is clear on how to deal with SWs, as explained in the scriptures.

Prostitution was not [an issue of] today (...) There was a lady called Amina. She did a crime, a prostitute, so at that time that is why even today in an Islamic country, whether male or female, you made the crime of prostitution, stones are thrown until death. So that lady was doing it in a hiding place alone but then when she did [it], she regretted it, [she] went straight to the prophet - our prophet SUALALLAH ALEIHI WASSALAM - and she said I did a crime like that, like this [...] that prophet admired that courage that lady was doing [it] in a hiding place, nobody saw her alone but she came to present herself to be punished here at DUNIA and to be relieved. (Male Muslim Religious Leader – Nampula #20)

Likewise, OLs' also expressed Christian views by alluding to the scripture in which Jesus reached out to a prostitute without hesitation and free from any judgment, and in their opinion OLs people nowadays should follow Christ's actions.

Of course, I think these are allowed [in the Church] but they need to be educated, they must be educated, they must be taught that the path they are following is not correct, the correct path is this [straight] because there is a principle that we know that in the Bible, Jews they caught that prostitute lady and took them before Jesus Christ. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Maputo #03)

It was not clear, however, as seen in the above quote, whether the religions leaders, both from Muslim and Christian faiths would proceed in the same way nowadays. However, in both cases, prostitution is viewed with the hope that it can be reverted, and the SWs can be forgiven from their 'sin', provided that the SW is voluntarily willing to change. In fact, it was evident in some interviews, mostly with other Muslim leaders, that what they tend to do is to encourage women not to engage in sex work or to abandon it altogether.

With regards to Christian principles, some participants took the position that human beings were conceived by God in order to have their bodies shared with only one person. Therefore sex work, which implies sharing the body 'randomly' is viewed as against the principles of Christianity. This position puts more weight to the earlier discussed stereotyping of SWs as 'saleswoman' and other attributes related to aspects of human life considered sacred.

One OL went further saying that "each time a different person penetrates a woman, they leave some evil inside her". Following this logic, the evil accumulates, giving rise to disease. Nonetheless Christian leaders tend not to take the issue personally but handle it in the context of the rules and principles of the Church, as it was highlighted by one of the Pentecostal leaders. Like the Muslim leaders, they also feel their role is to counsel the women to abandon the practice.

d) Socio-cultural norms

In this section, the ways in which stereotypes on SWs are formed are reported in light of local socio-cultural norms. According to some OLs, sex work is attached to 'lack of discipline'. They contextualized this point by referring to the historical evolution of how polygamy is considered in Mozambique. According to them, in the past a man was allowed to have several wives, whereas nowadays this is prohibited by law. Therefore, practicing sex work is considered to be a transgression of this principle.

The perceived indiscipline or unruliness of sex work was also expressed through the connections some OLs made with other illicit behaviours such as alcohol and drug use.

Interviewer: Why is it "indiscipline"?

Participant: Why is it indiscipline? Because the State, our, our, our Society, I mean has rules to be complied to.

Interviewer: And what are the rules?

Participant: If I wake up in the morning having a Whiskey instead of having a coffee or tea, it is indiscipline. If I wake up in the morning and go to that Coop (name of a middle-class neighbourhood in Maputo) neighbourhood next to that place called Colombia (a neighbourhood block, where they sell drugs) to go there to smoke it is indiscipline. Yes! It is not because I am (...) I don't want to force anyone. I want to (...) but it is indiscipline, society will discriminate against me: "oh that one is surummatic" (a weed smoker), and what not, "you see, he is drugged. (Male Head of Neighbourhood - Maputo #16)

The above quote reveals that sex work is viewed as a self-destructive act and that an individuals' choice to engage in such act gives possible room and legitimacy for others to discriminate against this person.

OLs, who momentarily put themselves in the position of a parent during the interview, showed fear for the possible news that their daughters (the possibility of sons was never mentioned) might be engaged in sex work. In this hypothetical situation, their dignity as parents (over the dignity of their daughters) would be at stake, for they had no doubt that they would be discriminated against by society once this information became public.

The issue of lack of job opportunities for the current generation of young people emerged from the interviews and

was connected to the already mentioned link between the practice of sex work and the absence of marriage and marriage prospects, whereby single women would (almost) automatically be pushed into the direction of sex work to meet their economic needs.

Interviewer: But what do you think of these women who walk at night?

Participant: Oh, it's job shortage.

Interviewer: Is it job shortage?

Participant: And now? There is a lack of jobs, a lack of marriage. (Female Counsellor - Nampula #19)

Although a substantive group of the interviewed leaders acknowledged sex work as an income alternative, sex work did not come with the recognition of it as an acceptable job, with the exception of a few OLs in Maputo who indicated they consider sex work as 'a normal job'. Leaders queried sex work as being the only alternative in the context of high unemployment, and provided us with examples of other alternatives such as asking parents for start-up money ("even if it is 500 Meticaís to buy materials for *badjias* (bean cakes)"), ploughing in the fields, becoming a sales woman, etc.

It is not a good job, it is not a job that the parents dream that one day my little woman [daughter] will have a sex job... (Male Administrative Post Representative - Nampula #34)

According to several OLs, choosing this option is as low as a woman can go for the sake of finding an alternative source to the 'income' they would receive through marriage (whereby marriage is viewed as a socio-economic upgrade). By sinking this low, a woman will effectively marginalise herself. There were also OLs who believed that once girls or women experiment with or gain economic status achievement through sex work, it will be difficult for them to abandon the practice and invest in other income generating activities because 'they like being SWs'.

3.6.3. Community level interactions with sex workers

a) Sex workers' interaction with family members

In order to understand how the views on sex work influence the interactions with SWs in different social circles, including within the families of SWs, participants were firstly asked if they were aware of any SWs residing in their community. If so, what they knew about the interaction between SWs and their families and if not, how they think families would react if they became aware that one of the family members was a SW. The participants predominantly responded to the hypothetical scenario, and shared different perspectives on how families face the presence of SWs in their family circle.

First, very few OLs considered that family members would regard the situation of having a SW in the family as 'normal', as witnessed by the young OLs below, who themselves know some SWs within their neighbourhoods.

Researcher: And, in relation to the sex workers? Do you know anyone who leads a life at the traffic lights? There in the community?

Participant: Yes, I know some

Researcher: How is the relationship with their families?

Participant: It is normal. They look at them in a simple way, normal really. (Female Youth Leader - Nampula # 26)

Part of this thought relates to the question that most SWs, especially the young ones, live with their families, and should these families forbid them from their activity, they would not be able to sustain their sex work activity.

[it is] normal. If the family also...I think they do not forbid. There are women who go out at night, go to nightclubs...young girls (...) the family does not forbid. And there are women who wear, even they [the family] see [them] wear small (short/ revealing) clothes (...) they go to the streets, they (the families) do not do anything, [it is because] it is normal to them too. (Female Youth Leader – Nampula #32)

The apparent acceptance was coloured by the knowledge that the family member's engagement in sex work would bring in additional household income. There was an understanding that families not opposing their daughters' SW status would be those families that find themselves in poor economic conditions. Therefore, this situation places the family with the dilemma of either condoning the fact, and in turn obtaining the income for family survival, or continuing to face poverty, as expressed by one of the participants below:

Most [families] are in a vulnerable state, deprived from [good living] conditions, then they treat this business as if it were a form of survival, and families conform when they (the sex workers) go [and] return with daily bread....(Male Christian Religious Leader – Quelimane #46)

The majority [of the families] are in a vulnerable state in terms of [living] conditions, so they treat this business as if it is a form of survival and the family members end up conforming, since when they (the sex workers) go, they come back with the everyday bread that they manage...they bring that. To them, they do not know that they will have consequences later on, they think it is normal, then the majority are those ones, but for those who have minimal [living] conditions, rarely [they accept]. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Quelimane #46)

According to the above, in terms of family positioning, the notion of acceptance is nuanced, in that it is not entirely certain that families accept the situation in the sense of embracing the daughter's profession as "normal", and worth disclosing. Instead, they find themselves having to overlook this fact, pretending not to know the details of their daughters' activities while benefitting from her income; or not making an effort to revert the situation, even if their social norms dictate that they must do something to stop it.

There was also the hint that families that opt to put up with the situation still hope that the situation is reversible, and even short-lived, which is also aligned with their short-lived tolerance of having a SW in the family, as seen by the consequences later on discussed.

I think that families, end up getting used to, I mean, not really used to, but what are they going to do? Yes, she is a sex worker (...) but people get rid of their attitudes. There are those who are sex workers but [then] abandons [this job]. It is different from a gay person, because he will die gay (...) sex workers, many known [ones], they have already left [this job] long time ago (...) in my times, even before you were born, but now they are married, have children, it is something that is not even worth talking about, because it is transient, they (the families) should just leave it as it is (Male Head of Neighbourhood Block – Maputo #15)

The strong religious convictions of some parents, such as those portrayed as 'being true Muslims', aid their lack of hesitation in verbalizing their discontentment with their daughter's conduct, as expressed by one OL, below.

The family only tries to raise awareness that "the path you are following is not a good path". Yes, a good path is to study, get a job, get married and be at home, yes. When she doesn't accept [this path] (...) I think they leave (...). [She is] not discriminated against (...) but if it is in a family of a

Muslim one hundred percent, in fact that person is sick. (...). [A] Muslim is like that, when she gets the money there to support the father who is a true Muslim, the father does not want (...) to use the money of the daughter's type (...). For example she went to have sex, she got the money, she came [back] to give [the money] to her father, the father denies [and] she feels discriminated against. (Male Administrative Post Representative – Nampula #34)

The majority of OLs' comments on the interaction between SWs and their families point to parents trying to reason with their daughters, with a view to get them back on the path of studying, eventually getting a job and a husband, which in turn will steer the family away from social embarrassment if her status becomes known in the community. So, there is a tendency to cover up the daughter's SW status and try to sort out the disagreements within the family's jurisdiction.

The reaction of the family, it is to say why you got into this life, you are ashamed of us, it seems that you are not my daughter when I walk the way they only call ah but that one, that lord the daughter what does even in the evenings, that girl doesn't sleep every day she is at Agricom [a residential area], now that her father starts asking her ah to be already a nightmare already starts saying ah my daughter is embarrassing me, I've already followed, we have already solved these causes...(Female Counsellor – Quelimane #47)

Others also report physical confrontation between parents and daughters with a view to discipline their daughters.

[They] don't get along. Since they [the sex worker daughters] sometimes drink, isn't it...when they drink, they insult, sometimes they walk around with loss of control. Sometimes the mother (...) once one of them came [to me] with her mother [saying that] she forces her [like] "you, like that are about to go out, you are going to drink, please sit here at home, it is mandatory" (...) the previous day the mother forces her to stay at home, and vigils her (...) she doesn't go out until she escapes and stays [out] for two, three days. (Female Youth leader - Quelimane #51)

Shame, in the sense of a stained family reputation, or loss of dignity, was indicated as the main concern leading to the non-acceptance of sex work within the family circle. It is believed that no father or mother would want this practice attached to the image of their own daughter, but also that having a daughter who is a SW is a shame, not only to the girl/woman but also to the parents.

[if] I had a sex worker [daughter], for me it would be a pain (...). It would be a shame for me and I would always do everything possible to advise this daughter up to (...) because it is not dignifying, not dignifying to me as a father. I would laugh with shame. And I would still always advise my daughter. [if] she insists on wanting to continue doing the [job], being older, my advice would stop where I could (...) and if she continued to insist, I would leave her. (Male Religious Leader – Maputo #18)

Participants explained that it is the desire of every parent to see their daughter growing, getting married, establishing a home and having children, which are expectations shaped by the ruling religious and socio-cultural norms. Therefore, the pursuit of a SW life means going against the parents' will and hurting them, which in itself is a sign of rebellion and already that of a "bad" child. Furthermore, the belief that a daughter would not be in a position to conform to these expectations if she is a SW, confirms the strong belief that the social role of a wife and a mother is incompatible with the sex work life, and also that bearing children, who in turn will grow to constitute their own family, is guaranteeing social capital and social security.

If I had a sex worker daughter, I was going to say that "these things you're doing I don't want to". Because I don't want those [men] at night (clients), I just want a man to come and marry her, [for her] to go to his house like the mother who is at my house (...) because tomorrow if I get sick I will

say, "send your husband because I am sick to accompany me to the hospital". Say my daughter accompanies me in the hospital, she will "say mama is sick, we will accompany her to the hospital". It is an advantage for me (...). A prostitute getting married? Give [birth to a] son? Prostitute giving [birth to] children will bother her when walking at night. She will leave [them] with whom? (laughs) we cannot live [children] with her. (Female Counsellor – Nampula #19)

Another reason raised by OLs for the non-acceptance of sex work is the parents' concern about their daughters' health, primarily the risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases.

Finally, families are also worried about scrutiny from the local authorities, as they clearly state their position against sex work.

Researcher: Yes, the family of that person, of that woman [sex worker], how do you think they would react?

Participant: I think that they would react badly, because for example in our meetings, the heads of neighbourhood blocks always condemn the sex sellers. (Female Head of Neighbourhood – Maputo #13)

Regardless of the circumstances and motivations behind the choices made to deal with family members who are SWs, families, particularly parents, seem to invariably choose to advise their daughters to stop. In many of the interviews it was suggested that if daughters do not change, the family may eventually choose to expel her from the house. However, she also ends up leaving voluntarily, following the pressure that arises from the tensions within the family. Some OLs reported that these girls move into friends' houses or rent a house and continue their engagement in sex work.

In the neighbourhood (...) was one of the girls who lived with her parents, she has two children, was married. When she divorced, she returned to her parents' house. In this case, they didn't get along there, she went out whenever she wanted, [returning home] the next day or so, [stayed out] a week, two weeks away. In this case, because the family controlled her, advising [saying] "this is not okay, go to the field or look for an amount [of money] to do business" (...) she saw that she was feeling uncomfortable, [and then] left, went to rent a house [continuing] with the same behaviour. She left the family, so she has her life. (Youth Christian Church Leader – Quelimane #56)

b) Sex workers' interaction with neighbours

Participants were asked to comment on the interaction of SWs with their neighbours or how they think neighbours would react if they became aware that one of their neighbours was a SW. From the responses given, we noted that these went beyond the hypothetical and included real-life experiences from the OL's communities.

There was a general perception that neighbours would be unhappy with the situation, viewing SWs as threats to morality and a bad influence on the neighbourhood. In response, neighbours try to talk to them to persuade them to stop.

Judging from their own neighbourhoods, it was common for OLs to show no doubt that neighbours do and would discriminate against SW.

Researcher: But imagine for example, in your neighbourhood block, a woman like that, what may be the reaction of the neighbours, [to] know that this one here is a woman that does sex work.

Participant: It is what I said to you, what a said, that they can discriminate, knowing the people that live in my [neighbourhood] block, yes they can discriminate. (Male Head of Neighbourhood Block - Maputo #01)

Discrimination against SWs at neighbourhood level can sometimes be confused with discrimination against people living with HIV/AIDS, as people associate sex work with this health problem.

Participant: She is a much despised person. And now she is sick, she is a person who contracted HIV. I believe that she has caught it there [in her job]...possibly not, but since she does that work, so it is presumed that she might have caught it there.

Researcher: But the despise comes from her being a sex worker or due to being HIV-positive, what is weighting here towards the despise?

Participant: Society now, in regard to HIV is beginning to change because there are many people living with HIV, so that mentality, slowly is disappearing. Now, she is despised, I think because she is a sex worker. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Maputo #08)

Particularly regarding young SWs, neighbours discourage their own children to play with them with the fear that SWs will influence their friends to also follow their paths.

Researcher: are they not well regarded?

AV: No, they aren't.

Researcher: among the neighbours?

Participants: Worse if she plays with a neighbour, for example the parents of that neighbour will be worried, that if not she will pervert the principles of the other one. (Male Administrative Post Representative – Maputo #12)

There are accounts of verbal aggression by neighbours, after failing to change the SWs' behaviour. The aggression ranges from insults using pejorative names to disqualify them, to pushing them to leave the neighbourhood. Accounts of evictions were given by a few OLs, who recollected concrete situations whereby SWs felt forced to leave their homes and moved out of the neighbourhood, while there were other SWs who approached the neighbourhood secretariat to complain about the discriminatory behaviour of the neighbours and to request the secretary calm the neighbours down.

Their neighbours say (...) "ah, this girl (...) she has already become really crazy, because here in the neighbourhood she is also ashamed because every day (...) there she is full of fights, men come right there and start fighting so we are ashamed of this girl!". (...) She doesn't react, she is ashamed. How she will react? She is ashamed. (Female Counsellor – Quelimane #47)

While the above quote illustrates a more submissive attitude towards either following the neighbourhood members' will and leaving the area, or retracting themselves and taking in the shame, there are others who are seen to react differently, either by complaining (as seen above) or manifesting their anger and trying to provide a justification for their choices.

The neighbours have been talking about it, they are saying that these are sluts, they change sex, [have] strange names (...) Some [sex workers] get angry and some have said that this is not because of our will because we have no conditions. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Quelimane #46)

A few times, OLs reported that some neighbours try to speculate on or question what drives the sex work, as opposed to judging the SWs and as a prelude to advising them.

The neighbours really talk, they will talk, they will get tired. For the neighbours it is not normal, they speak, they feel for those. They speak ill of people, [questioning] why they go to the street. There are others who say [that] they go to the street because the mother was like that in her time and they were like that. There are also people who give advice. (Female Youth Activist – Nampula #32)

Some OLs reflected that there would also be neighbours whose reaction may be more neutral, and who opt not to intervene or give any advice because they believe this responsibility lies primarily with the SWs' families, especially because some families may react defensively, alleging that outsiders have no authority to interfere with their affairs. However, if the family shows no objection, the neighbours may act by offering some advice instead of gossiping and talking badly about the SWs or their families.

The neighbours can argue (...) there is no one who can intervene (...) they say that "that girl over there, she is in a bad way, she is one who does not sit at home" Because of the family itself when they hear it, others can also defend, "because you're talking about my daughter", so if she does that, it's not your daughter, what, what, yes... (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Quelimane #55)

The neighbours, what they can do is to join that family, which is to be able to help that family where there is this person. Instead of shouting at, gossiping or sitting down... to be able to give advice that it is not worth it. First, it is the family itself that must be opened, then the neighbours can help there (Male Head of Administrative Post Representative – Quelimane #52)

Sometimes a neighbours' intervention involves requesting that the local authorities go to the sex worker's household in order to talk to them. This is described later on under OLs involvement in case resolution (section 3.6.4.d).

At that time (...) the neighbours reacted, precisely that, they arrived there at the secretary's house (...) the secretary went out, he went to the [sex workers] mother's house, and the secretary called me. We had a sit in [among] the mother, the father and other people from the community. We sat. I said "from now onwards, that form of walking about, like that, it's not like that, mommy. If you see this that "my daughter is doing this" you must call someone or sit down with your daughter and advise her, you see what happens? (Female Counsellor - Quelimane #54)

c) Sex workers' interaction with social circles

Participants were asked how people that form part of the SW's other important social circles, such as friends or church members, react and interact with her. In the case of friends, the majority consider that friends would embrace SWs.

Friends have no reaction because they are her friends. They are her friends there is no reaction... (Male Administrative Post Representative – Nampula #25)

(...) in the case of prostitutes in adults, it is also the same, friendship does not end just because she works there... (Female Youth Activist Maputo #05)

A few said that friends also may be judgmental and react negatively to the point of turning their back on their SW friend. As was seen in earlier sections of this report, friends may succumb to the pressure from their parents and the community at large to quit the friendship.

Friends say that [sex workers] are not good people because they do things they don't like. (Female Youth Church Leader – Quelimane #48)

SWs are said to be isolated at church. Firstly, because they gradually remove themselves from the church environment because their activities and timetables are not compatible with those of the church.

At church, it (the situation) is even worse. I can even say that those ones (sex workers) don't even have time for praying. Not even on Sunday, they don't [have time]...those who do that [sex work] everyday they go to work. If she came back at night [then on] people go to church [while] they (the sex workers) are sleeping. (Female Youth Church Leader – Quelimane #48)

Second, church members have disdain for those SWs who still go to church, by not wanting to sit next to them and talking behind their backs.

Once when she [a sex worker] went to the church, she was really isolated in a place all by herself, then from there, after that mass, the others started to murmur at her, "that's the one, that's the one!". She did not react, she was ashamed. (Female Counsellor – Quelimane #47)

One OL recognised this unwillingness to interact with SWs in the church, due to the perception that there is nothing about a SW she can relate to.

Researcher: But mother, you can pray like this, you sat here and she [sex worker] sits besides you, can you be with a sex worker at the same [church] site?

Participant: No!

Researcher: Why?

Participant: Because I don't have time

Researcher: How come you don't have time?

Participant: What am I going to talk about, mom?

Researcher: Anything

Participant: Ih! (...) No! I don't have any possible conversation with her

Researcher: But, mom, you are a leader...

Participant: Yes! It is that I do not have a conversation with her, she cannot talk. (Female Counsellor – Nampula #19)

Despite this distancing from SWs in the church environment, among most of the interviewed participants, there was unanimity that, upon learning that one of their members is a SW, a common reaction by the church or mosque leader and other members would be to advise her to stop practising that activity.

However, negotiating and persuading SWs to change, can be done in an intimidating way, impairing SWs sense of belonging to the church and making it highly conditional on their sudden behaviour change.

Participant: No, in church, we don't admit [sex workers]

Researcher: What if they come [to church]?

Participant: When she comes, she must confess and leave it [her practice], otherwise she is not admitted.

Researcher: What if that is her survival source, and she only wants to come to pray? Do you have a way of just letting her pray?

Participant: If she comes to pray, she will be admitted, but there are some requisites (...) in order for her prayers, for her life to be protected in the hands of the Lord, then she must confess, and then we will pray for her, and her ways of survival will change. (Male Christian Religious Leader – Quelimane #46)

If behaviour change is not achieved, there are repercussions, ranging from aggravating the isolation, not selecting the women for particular roles in the congregation, to expulsion from the church or mosque.

That kind of person [sex workers] nobody will give you [the role] to be a catechist because a catechist has to be an elderly person, a person who can advise. So you didn't sleep at home, will you be able to give catechise someone, you can't give catechism to someone because you are doing things that people don't like in the neighbourhood. So it doesn't help. No-one else will provide this type of service, people who don't sleep at home, yes. (Female Youth Church Leader – Quelimane #48)

3.6.4. OL's awareness and judgement of SWs and perceived role in dealing with SW issues

a) Sex worker visibility to OLs

In comparison to LGBTI, SWs were more visible and closer to the OL's life in the community. In Nampula, for example, leaders were able to pinpoint the areas within their own community, where SWs operated. As they described these areas, it became evident that they perceived these areas as shameful to pass by or through, indicating an unwillingness on the part of the leaders to identify with these particular areas in their communities and the activities that are being conducted there.

When I leave from Texmoque [a residential area, named after a textile factory], where I am teaching, I am going through that descent. On those afternoons, I find there on the benches, women, girls, short skirts, their men there, oh, it is even embarrassing to go through that way, that which couldn't happen to the society...society does not like that (Male Christian Religious Leader – Nampula #33)

Another discourse relaying the OL's distancing from geographical spaces that are being shared with SWs, included the responses in which OLs denied any presence of SWs in their neighbourhoods or said SWs no longer lived in their neighbourhood, following action against them as one head of a neighbourhood block in Nampula narrates:

Interviewer: What about sex workers?

Participant: These women were [living in our neighbourhood block], but now, since the bosses, the neighbourhood secretaries did an enquiry into to the owner of the house which I am referring to, which was my neighbour, now these girls were evacuated, they are in another neighbourhood, but they are out there on the streets. This is how I see it. (Female Head of Neighbourhood Block – Maputo #09)

In some instances, SWs were linked to some of the leaders' inner circles. In Maputo city, OLs seemed more able to identify the neighbouring households that have household members who are SWs or indicated the presence of SW within their own family. In fact, SWs seem to become visible precisely because their activity generates money and status, as illustrated by the following quote about a SW with acquired status due to her foreigner connections:

(...) but they like it, I think they can, for example, I had my sister-in-law, she has an aunt, she is a prostitute, she is already like a prostitute, afterwards I think she climbed up, she was the boss, she already had contacts with foreigners, when they arrived here is that they called her, we want

a person who, what and she already had, she has money, she has a house but she doesn't let, she doesn't want to graduate, she doesn't want to do anything she wants that job, I think it's a matter of choice. (Female Youth Activist – Maputo #05)

One OL even recounted having had direct sexual interactions with SWs in the past, not only on the road and on arrival at other provinces, but also in his own city, making SWs no stranger to this OL.

b) OLs' judgement of sex workers

In analysing the responses of the interviewed OLs in relation to sex work and SWs, we found a majority of leaders passed a negative judgement when they spoke it, which was grounded in their conviction that, despite there being a need, economic subsistence in itself should not be a factor that justifies sex work. In their view, there are other income-generating alternatives to sex work, which some judged were not being considered by girls/women (such as working on the land) because they did not want to be involved in hard labour or because they were too 'lazy' to explore these alternatives. SWs were being judged for their recklessness in spreading diseases in the community. Also, one OL who confessed to being a client of a SW, considered that sex work was wrong. As presented earlier in this report, this judgement also clouded perceptions of vulnerability among SWs, who were, as a group, mostly seen through an economic lens and placed among the 'better-off' within communities.

The deviance of sex work was emphasized through religion, where individual leaders' judgements extended to the actual removal of one's right to continue practicing or being recognised as a Muslim (e.g. by denying someone a Muslim burial).

There were only two participants who said sex work could be considered a 'normal job'. One female participant, with a distant relative who is a SW, considered it a respectable job, while the other, male participant, explained to us how his opinion gradually changed over time.

"In a first phase, I even thought that was strange or negative, isn't it, but as time went on, I found that most people who do this it is because they are in a situation that might force them to do that, so I also went through to face that situation normally as if it were a normal job, a normal job." (Female Youth Leader – Maputo #04)

c) OL's role in maintaining social order and creating public awareness in the community

The majority of OLs interviewed indicated that they see themselves as 'keepers of social order' in the community. While there was a difference between how proactively the individual OLs were taking up this role as part of their leadership, there was also the expectation from the community – based on the cases that OLs shared with us – that they would address and solve the problems that were brought to their attention by the community. This will be discussed further in section e).

In the case of the church environment, order is maintained by disengaging from the person who is perceived to 'misbehave' and go against the rules and norms laid out by the institution. One leader confided that this involves scolding the SW and telling her to look for another religion that would accept this sort of practice, which is contradicting the idea that unifies most religious communities in Mozambique that there is only one God.

"(...) Own area, if everyone is a Muslim, it is in the mosque, if they are from the church, it is in the church that the person is discovered there. As to why we are discovering, we are discovering through the behaviour that the person is running, so instead of us letting them into the fire, no, we can call, advise and if he doesn't accept the advice it's when we scold them for about three times, the fourth time to scold them, they are sent... [we say] "listen, go look for another religion that you want, that admits it [sex work] there." (Male Christian Religious leader – Nampula #33)

In terms of awareness-raising or similar type actions taken by OLs in dealing with SWs and the issues that are unique to them, the most commonly cited action was for them to talk SWs into stopping their activities. This was particularly

so for religious leaders and neighbourhood secretaries engaged in activities linked to the youth, who are inclined to one-on-one interactions than targeting the community at large. An OL from Maputo said he was engaged in awareness-raising activities, but not from the perspective of convincing SWs to abandon the practice nor to convince them to choose between their activity and inclusiveness in the community, but from a public health point of view.

“We even call them more when the themes are more because of sexual diseases, more [regarding] HIV which is to be able to leave that information, we are not going to say “leave”, but there are certain precautions to be taken, yes.” (Female Youth leader – Maputo #04)

d) OL's role in the establishment of support systems and case resolution

The interviews revealed that neighbourhood secretaries were recipients of complaints against the presence or the activities of SWs in the neighbourhood. Neighbourhood residents expected the secretaries to either resolve the issue for them by, for example, speaking directly to the owner of the house in which these activities allegedly take place or to take it to higher levels. The engagement of higher-level authorities or the police was said to be quite common, according to a number of leaders from Nampula and Quelimane.

I already informed you first. Let's report first, let's go to the secretary on our [neighbourhood] block ...“this neighbour of ours here is doing this, this, this”, now if he says we are going to call, they are going to sit [together], “is it true that you do this, this, yes or no?”. Now (...), we will say we heard this or we saw him like this, like this, like this, if the secretary on the block can't solve it, we channel it here, let's meet with our big guys here. (Male Muslim Religious Leader – Nampula #29)

So if he is a tenant, then the tenant is doing something that the neighbourhood does not like [housing sex work in his house], first let's talk to the owner of the house, then the owner of the house calls his tenant, speaks to him, so if he goes to hear he will hear, if he does not hear then he can search or he can speak to his tenant since the person says “we do not want that person here in the neighbourhood”, because in the neighbourhood, since we have been here we've never seen a person like that over there who is bringing that type of behaviour, so he must change that person (...)

Interviewer: If it doesn't change?

Participant: Let's leave it, how are we going to do it now if he hasn't changed to say that the person who put him there is liking his money and is also not respecting what people came to ask him, so what are we going to do, maybe we can take the case to the secretary and take the case forward

Interviewer: Where to take the case?

Participant: It will take, you can take the case to the front for example at the police station. (Male Youth Activist – Quelimane #49)

It seems, as in the above cases, the most likely role of neighbourhood secretaries is that of facilitating processes, and liaising between two levels of agency for administrative procedures. This not only happens with regard to people's complaints against SWs, but also the other way around. For instance, when a SW wants to file a case of offence against her, she needs the neighbourhood secretary to produce and sign some of the paperwork legitimizing the complaint, or just confirming her credentials (such as ID and residential status). It is interesting, as expressed in the quote below, that youth leaders operating at neighbourhood secretariat level get delegated this responsibility. It did not become clear whether this is a general procedure or whether they are specifically assigned tasks related to young people and/or SWs.

They are protected when someone comes, when someone sends a word of offense to the person, the person goes to the police station to file a complaint and takes a notification, which will deliver [to]

the person [who] comes here [and] answers the case yes, if the person is not doing well [he or she] makes [a] transfer [of the case] to court. (Male Youth Leader – Nampula #23)

At the same time, one interview captured the point of view of a young OL who felt that as a young person, he is not given an opportunity to act on most issues, except those demanded by the community members at large, such as environmental problems requiring action (for instance, bringing solutions to sewage blockages). Another OL, who is also young, voiced the same concern, this time indicating that he is powerless to offer SWs ideas or solutions regarding finding alternatives to their income generation activities.

I live with my mother, my mother is always sick, I have to feed the family, I have children to support so, it is something that we get in (...) I in particular as a young man am left with the answer, the response, I have no way of saying “stop, because I'll give you a job” if I don't even have one [job], so that's it.” (Female Youth leader – Maputo #04)

Despite the community being not organised enough to accommodate structured support systems, many OLs see themselves in situations where they could support SW, especially in terms of providing them with alternatives to subsistence, however, they do not have the power to provide them with concrete solutions such as jobs or income support. Additionally, socio-cultural norms and preconceived ideas about sex work impede them to act in support of SWs.

Researcher: What if you have the opportunity to give a job to a sex worker?

Participant: No, no! A prostitute, we will not accept [her]. We will not accept her because she is always a marginal (...) [she] is a criminal, she is always spoiling things, her life is that of spoiling. She can enter your courtyard, trying to guess where the money is, where are those [valuable] things... [she can] come and steal and run away. She can come and do this. (Female Community Activist – Nampula #40)

Finally, there were those leaders who are simply witnesses or spectators and are either not aware of, or take no advantage of, their potential mandate to intervene or provide support. They limited themselves to just reporting on a situation in the interview, perhaps replicating their approach, which is to just comment on the facts with other ordinary citizens during informal conversations.

There was also a case of this sex worker that I followed [who] was complaining there was a problem, complaining because someone had abused her that she was a sex worker, was a bitch, but she arrives at the police, the police does not protect. (Male Head of Neighbourhood – Nampula #24)

The OL's 'spectator' role was captured in various interviews. One of the participants alluded to it being risky to intervene when, for example, SWs were in conflict with their family or community. In the case illustrated by the quote below, the participant was reporting on a household where he thinks young girls practice sex work and are covered by the household members who are a group of young men.

Yes, here they gave a document to IPAJ (Institute for Judiciary Support), from IPAJ to the court, from the court they came to decide to remove those children, but even then that man put people who are renting [the house it is not [their house], but these people who rent, I don't even know... [they] come from Nampula, come from where they are also fighting there, I never went in because I don't want to be killed (...) They make noise but there are only boys now that they come with this group of girls come in, come out and I don't know what's going on. (Female Head of Neighbourhood Block – Maputo #09)

In contrast, some recall the times when discrimination against HIV-positive people began to occur at a local level.

In this regard, they revealed a more proactive approach in dealing with acts of discrimination, which was in strict alignment with the activities carried out by activists in the community. These OLs were aware of this not being the case when it comes protecting SW from discrimination.

Interviewer: And what was it like before?

Participant: Eh before, young people, when a woman was here or a man, a woman also said “that man is infected” I don’t know that, yes, they even arrived at the community leader.

Interviewer: the community leader, how so?

Participant: The person feeling bad was going to go to the community leader, the community leader called [them] together “this can’t happen anymore

Interviewer: And that, what made it change?

Participant: This changed through, that’s what I said, activists, lectures I don’t know it came here, [I] sat, yes, with young people.

Interviewer: What did these lectures talk about?

Participant: They used to say, when someone is sick, for example I am sick, I am a human being, when I walk on the street it is not that one is sick, I do not know that, I am a human being, but I have to walk at will, I feel good, yes, I am in society, yes, I live with people. (Male Youth Leader – Nampula #23)

The OLs’ accounts of their role in the community, supported by the accounts of SW interactions at different levels of the community, indicate that the neighbours have an important role in determining the degree of tension and the grounds for conflict resolution when SWs are in conflict with other community members. Community leaders seem to be concerned with not creating or prolonging discontent among community members, therefore respond to the demands made by the community members at large (to the extent of expelling a SW if needed), rather than acting upon SWs’ appeals. In this way SWs are not guaranteed protection even if they are the victims, or at risk of being victims, of discrimination. On the other hand, even the community leaders who ought to have some authority to support SWs’ needs, do not feel powerful enough, or do not try to use or test their power due to their own economic insecurities. There is also clearly a lack of political or legal guidelines to support their moves.



Chapter 4 Discussion

4.1. Drivers of marginalization

Despite the Constitution of Mozambique safeguarding the principle of equality and non-discrimination in Article 35 by highlighting that all citizens are equal before the law, and they shall enjoy the same rights and be subject to the same duties, regardless of colour, race, sex, ethnic origin, place of birth, religion, level of education, social position, profession or political preference, this principle is not being enjoyed in practice by the majority of Mozambicans.

The majority of the interviewed OLs were of the opinion that in general there is no equality and confirmed that acts of discrimination occur in everyday life, particularly based on the polarisation of privileges between the South and the rest of the country. This is rooted in several, intertwined factors. These are historical (explained by the legacy of colonisation followed by the transfer of power to the central governmental entities upon the Independence); political and economic (whereby the ruling party is said to centralize the power in the South where they have stronger influence and support); cultural (in that geographical polarization of power has an impact on differential privileges according to ethnicity); as well as religious (where it happens that Muslim societies which are more concentrated in the Northern regions feel they get an unfair share of rights and entitlements compared to Christians).

The above findings of divide and inequality between citizens resonate with the current data on poverty and deprivation within the country. The recent Multidimensional Poverty Analysis on Mozambique supports evidence to suggest that “inequality is high and on the rise with a widening gap between population groups” (SIDA, 2019). The report goes beyond the contrasting parameters between the rich and the poor, and the southern versus the central/northern region (which was also highlighted by our study participants) to contrasting the urban with rural areas, as well as the least with the most populated areas of the country. It reveals that more than 50% of the country’s poor are concentrated in Zambézia and Nampula, which are provinces that experience weaker economic, education and health outcomes, whilst benefiting the least from public spending and having the lowest social transfers per capita, compared to other provinces. The report also brings evidence in support of the idea that the polarisation seen in

Mozambique is driven by factors related to governance and political will, as the OLS also intimated in our study, and that issues related to identity and ethnicity get caught up in such tensions (SIDA 2019). Da Maia (2017) adds to the equation the sequels of the post-independence civil war as another important factor in this divide, in this case between Maputo (which was barely affected by the infrastructural damage of the war) and the rest of the country, with a particular wider gap between Maputo and Zambézia, which for a long period was in the epicentre of the military conflict, and Nampula which later on became a haven for RENAMO's political base (Domingues & Barre, 2013).

Strikingly, and different from the common assumption that racial tensions are not remarkable in Mozambique (Bastos, 2006), particularly as a result of the country's effort to establish an anti-racist position during the post-independence period (Power, 2006), racism was raised in our study as a factor, not so much in terms of discrimination, but in terms of inequalities, particularly in economic terms. In the view of some OLS, white people (and a whole range of other racial groups other than dark-skinned, kinky haired individuals) have more access to employment and opportunities for income-generation compared to black people.

With regards to gender and age inequalities, these seem to persist everywhere and are not necessarily tied to geographical location. Regarding age, it was clear that the youth leaders we interviewed feel ignored and marginalized by older people, who in their view withhold privileged information and dominate the decision-making fora and processes in the community, negating the representation of the youth in the diverse societal spheres. The study picked up unease among youth in general who seem to find themselves in a vicious cycle of being unemployed and, because of it, being discriminated against (even to the extent of being regarded as marginals). This is compounded by the way in which they behave, for example, hanging out in groups; and are portrayed – as non-productive, inclined to use alcohol and drugs and behave in an unruly way. In this case, and unlike what was observed with regards to the perceptions of political, economic and cultural discrimination, where the State itself is viewed as the instigator of discriminatory acts, the State was not blamed for proactively discriminating against the youth but rather for not protecting them from, or mitigating against, their lack of opportunities and their risk of becoming marginals in society. The literature confirms this status of the youth in Mozambique, where although the number of jobs are on the rise (both in the formal and informal sectors), while general unemployment is over 25%, youth unemployment peaks are 43%, with young, urban, relatively well-educated people more likely to being unemployed (SIDA, 2019). This links to the concept of 'waithood' as postulated by Honwana (2012) which points to the 'stand-by' status of young Africans in the current era who are struggling to make ends meet and transition into adulthood while being politically and economically marginalized and disregarded by society, and who, in the absence of opportunities, start challenging the powerful segments of society. With regards to looking into equality from a gender perspective, OLS, who shared a dichotomised view of gender, recognised that there is equally a lack of equality in their communities, but that this differential treatment between males and females is expected and even necessary.

These different factors concur with the failure of stewardship by the State to ensure the laws are abided to, which creates a feeling among OLS that the principles of equality and non-discrimination are not firmly embedded in societal life. These visible hindrances to the inclusiveness of many Mozambicans in the different spheres of society in turn results in the laws' role to safeguard such principles among the local communities being discredited, as expressed by the OLS.

The broader analysis on the limitations in applying the principles of equality and non-discrimination in Mozambique sheds further light on where such marginalization is rooted and which groups may be particularly vulnerable to inequalities and discrimination. This report raised several elements that suggest that SWs and LGBTI people are bound to be occupying a low and devalued position in society due to their conduct which is not aligned with religious, social, gender, and traditional norms, despite the fact that the Mozambican law does not criminalize their acts. As a result of those norms, and not as a result of the nature of the Mozambican legal framework, they are vulnerable to facing several forms of discrimination. With regard to SWs, the stereotypes of SWs have clear connotations of marginalization, as this group, as well as the terminology used to refer to them, is invariably linked to street life, seeing them as unruly or destroying marriages or relationships, and with greedy or selfish characteristics. These are attributes which are not well received by society (according to the above-mentioned sets of norms), and are against

what society expects of an adult woman, which is to be home-bound, obedient and dependent on the husband's income to sustain the family, rather than being self-reliant or focused on her own needs. The intersection with gender roles, and the fact that the most visible SWs are female, puts SWs at an even lower social position. With regards to LGBTI, their transgression of the established gender roles in society (particularly in the case of trans women who are the most visible) disappoints society in terms of their failure to exercise their masculinity, and destroying the hopes for them to procreate, constitute a family and continue the family lineage. This is strongly linked to a sense of loss of social security to their parents and descendants. All of these failed attributes are articulated through the stereotypes of malfunctioning, unworthy individuals, and together with SWs, members of the LGBTI community are subjected to societal attitudes that label them and set them apart from society; attitudes which are legitimised by customary laws founded in religious, socio-cultural norms.

The study findings show that the stigma and discrimination that SWs and LGBTI people undergo is not uniquely tied to their gender and/or sexual identity and practises, but may intersect with some of the broader drivers of marginalization and inequalities in Mozambique discussed earlier. For female SWs, this double-marginalization plays out in the context of the poverty, which many women face, and which sometimes leads them into sex work as a source of subsistence, due to the limited employment opportunities elsewhere (even if they are educated) (Honwana, 2012). The majority of sex workers are also young and vulnerable to gender-based discrimination and violence both during and outside their working context. The consequences of inequality, discrimination and marginalization, as experienced by SWs, are widely reported in the literature. The literature from Mozambique shows that, while increasingly vulnerable to diseases and social problems, SWs continue to face multiple barriers in obtaining basic health and social welfare services due to their occupation (Tiyane Vavasati, Pathfinder Intl *et al*, 2016; Lafort *et al* 2017; Moore *et al* dt).

Despite this inclination to marginalize SWs and LGBTI, and the related factors this study unravelled, we did not find strong evidence suggesting that brutal, violent acts had occurred or were occurring in the communities under study. This observation is supported by some of the quantitative data available on the presence of homophobia in the region, which presents Mozambique as one of four countries on the African continent that is not considered to be homophobic (alongside with Cape Verde, South Africa and Namibia) and where over 40% of the citizens would not mind having a homosexual neighbour (Dulani *et al* 2016). From our interviews, this apparent tolerance for SWs or LGBTI people appeared to be grounded in the appreciation that SWs and LGBTI are fellow human beings and deserve to be treated fairly. However, this so-called 'tolerance' should be interpreted with caution, as OLS attached clear boundaries to tolerating sexual promiscuity and diversity and to tolerating perceived deviations from gender roles in the community. There were also reports of verbal abuse from neighbours against these groups based on similar religious and traditional convictions (see also Bergamashi *et al*, 2017). The general desire to try and change SW and LGBTI behaviours whenever given the opportunity, as evidenced in our data, and the relatively small group of participants expressing and relaying more accepting opinions, seem to suggest that the road from tolerance to social acceptance of SWs and LGBTI people in the communities we studied will be a long one if some of the structural drivers (e.g. social judgement) and facilitators (e.g. social-cultural norms) of the sex work and LGBTI stigma and discrimination (Stangl *et al*, 2019) remain unaddressed.

4.2. Behaviour-change as a condition for acceptance and inclusion

Most OLS believed that SWs and LGBTI people could be re-educated towards behaviour change. They showed willingness, with some reporting actual action undertaken mostly with SWs, to engage in counselling and praying. Convictions were grounded in strong religious beliefs that SWs and LGBTI are creatures of God, thus deserving empathy and forgiveness. This was along the lines of biblical and qur'anic stories of prostitutes who were forgiven by the prophets themselves. On the other hand, as their sexual practices were viewed as sinful and originating from the devil, the OLS (particularly the religious leaders) felt obliged to 'save the individual' from their 'sin'; sin being a concept which was used interchangeably with 'crime'. SWs and LGBTI are expected to give up their identities as a

condition to be accepted and reinserted into the (church) communities. Our observation of a stronger repudiation towards both LGBTI people and SWs in Nampula may possibly be explained by the dominance of one religion in this part of Mozambique compared to more diverse beliefs in other parts of the country. Research has shown that in contexts where religious diversity is high, tolerance towards LGBTI people also appears to be higher (Dulani *et al*, 2016; Centro de Direitos Humanos, 2017). However, our study brought no evidence that one religion is more strongly against SWs or LGBTI than another. Existing literature points to the repulsion towards LGBTI coming from Christian, including Evangelical Pentecostal churches, and Islam clergy alike (Seppinen, 2018). Earlier studies on LGBTI rights in Mozambique indicate that faith (with no distinction between the faiths) discourages openness about homosexuality and non-conforming gender identity (JOINT, 2018). This situation is seen to perpetuate the distance between SW and LGBTI movements and religious authorities, with some organisations defending the rights of sexual minorities. They argue that religious spaces are the most hostile to LGBTI people and SWs in Mozambican society (Lambda, 2014). If these spaces continue to be separated, it will be challenging to make progress towards the inclusiveness and acceptance of LGBTI and SWs within faith communities and beyond. This idea of 'reinsertion' of SWs and LGBTI into the community is not observed in religious spaces alone. Interventionists from other sectors, such as women and social affairs and NGOs, indicate the presence of behaviour change programs which aim to dissuade SWs from continuing their activities, in exchange for other income-generation activities (Zambia YMCA, UKAID, Population Council, Sonke Gender Justice, 2015).

From the traditional perspective, there was also a perception that LGBTI and SW's practices are linked to spiritual problems. As with many other health or social problems that are linked to spirituality, the solution is often presented as having to release the spirits so that the person can be "cured" or "relieved" from that problem. Reports indicate that families seeking religious and traditional solutions, react by taking the individual to church or to the traditional healers because they believe the person is acting under 'external forces' (LAMBDA, 2014).

Families go to these lengths to avoid their young relative being seen as a failure in terms of the fulfilment of family values and gender norms, including reproductive duties, and in an attempt to prevent marginalization. This process has been reported as traumatic, particularly for example to young lesbians, who when undergoing the 'curative processes' are constantly reminded that their sexual practices are a 'joke' or a 'shameful disease'. In her Mozambique study, Chipenembe-Ngale (2018) details some of these traditional procedures, such as rituals involving attributing a 'husband of the night' to the young lesbian in order to change her sexual orientation. Families may go even further by promoting early and/or forced marriage, vaginal practices and other forms of sexual abuse in order to correct a sexual orientation or gender identity of their relatives (Chipenembe-Ngale, 2018).

These approaches, from seemingly innocuous counselling to more extreme forms of physical and psychological interventions by traditional and religious authorities, performed under the guise of behaviour change, have a potential to inflict emotional, social and psychological damage, defeating their initial purpose, and demonstrating intolerance towards individuals belonging to these two social groups.

4.3. The 'invisibility' of SWs and LGBTI people in the community

The OLs discourses differed to the extent that the presence of SW was largely acknowledged and the presence of LGBTI was probed, but for both groups this study observed that leaders applied an 'othering' approach and distanced themselves from the subjects. This attitude from people in leadership roles in large social groups in political, economic and religious spheres may be explained by several factors. Visibly accepting LGBTI people might be seen as going against the way sexuality is perceived within the larger social group, which denies and condemns all sexual practices involving people of the same sex. Further, OLs may be concerned that they would be identified with the 'deviant' groups, which might risk damaging their own and their community's reputation. This process of 'othering' facilitates social exclusion for those in the out-group, depriving them of their full rights as citizens, and exposing them to discrimination and other forms of social damage in a context where their differences with the in-group are seen as a threat for social order. This hinders the inclusiveness and social integration of LGBTI and SWs

in general. Our study found a wide spectrum of visibility. Some SWs and LGBTIs were completely invisible, either through the disregard or denial of their existence by other members in the community or through their own efforts not to reveal their identity, and some were completely visible (sometimes because of conflict with other members of the community). This had immediate repercussions for their social standing. It is this interplay of selective visibility that prevents a full awareness of LGBTI and SWs' presence and their issues in the OL's neighbourhoods. It also prevents action to challenge the norms that shape stereotypes and further deepen LGBTI and SWs' vulnerabilities. These findings are consistent with other studies showing how sexuality and sexual rights have become increasingly politicised and subject to restrictions (Dreier *et al* 2020). The manner in which OLs react is similar to what other studies have highlighted: individual behaviours must align to what is considered as 'good behaviour' by the community, in defence of the common good (Dreier *et al*, 2020). In the case of our study, the common good could be seen as a social order which conforms to a religious code of conduct. Hence, whoever behaves according to the religious doctrine becomes a person, who is also worthy of potential titles within a specific sphere in the community (attached to religious, economic, political, social positions). One who behaves in contrast to the stipulated communal norms and expectations is deemed as having failed personhood or, in other words, in being a good community member (Matolino, 2017).

The study found important differences between the two groups, whereby SWs were more visible in the community and were depicted, to an extent, as victims of the poverty and unequal income distribution in the country. In comparison to LGBTI people, this allowed SWs some freedom in terms of expression and movement. Contradictory positions were noted in the extent to which certain rights were transferred to the groups regardless of their sexual or gender identity and practices, such as the right to health, and the right to equal employment opportunities while at the same time the decriminalisation of sex work and homosexuality was being contested. Regardless of the Constitution upholding the principle of dignity for all women and men in all spheres of political, economic and social life, the law remains abstract for SWs and LGBTI people as they experience first-hand the exclusion from such a principle, and a perpetuation of stigma held against them by the community. These findings are similar to other studies which have shown that the decriminalisation of sex work did not erase the social stigma surrounding sex work (Lollar, 2015; Ham & Gerard, 2014), and the presence of continued social constraints in expressing personal identities after the decriminalisation of homosexuality (Cobb, 2014; Msibi, 2011). As community members continue to place their own conditions onto the transfer of rights, despite the presence of a law which promotes equal rights, the groups 'invisibility' is likely to endure. A non-recognition of gays and lesbians was also found in Nota's study (2012) which highlighted that the identities attached to these individuals were not seen as normal and thus not eligible to have rights and entitlements, legitimizing the stigmatisation and discrimination against homosexuals.

4.4. OL's acceptance of the law and linkages to drivers of marginalization

Most of the interviewed OLs were aware of the existence of the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique and the Penal Code. Slightly less knew about the Penal Code compared to the Constitution, and most who were not aware of either legal pieces were from Nampula. Despite it being the minority, the finding that one third of participants did not know about the existence of these laws is worth taking note of, particularly if that finding concerns a set of individuals with an influential role over the rest of the population, some holding political-administrative positions at a local level and expected to use or refer to these instruments as part of their duty. It was further noted that even among those with an awareness of the two laws, most were not aware of the legal reforms that have taken place.

Among the set laws (namely the Constitution and the HIV Law) and reforms (penal code and labour law changes) that were discussed with the OLs, the one aspect the OLs contested was the removal of passages inciting the criminalisation of homosexuality from the penal code. OLs read this as legalising homosexuality, which was not acceptable. The removal of articles from the Portuguese colonial law that criminalized same sex sexuality in Mozambique and other overseas territories is in conflict with a religious, traditional, and social morality around people's sexual conduct that still prevails. Although OLs did not say they completely opposed the new laws in general and only pointed to out their disagreement with the particular change made in the penal code, this negative

reaction suggests that the local social, cultural and religious codes of conduct, when considered as a whole, have the potential to systematically oppose progressive trends in the country's legal framework. If those defending the rights of sexual minorities consider the grounds for non-discrimination in need of expansion, to specifically include sexual orientation and gender identity (Aantjes *et al*, 2018), this step, judging by our current results, may become futile should the misalignment between the legislation processes and the positioning of local influencers driven by the socio-cultural environment persist.

This position is in a sense not surprising when we consider the poor consultation with the community at large at the time of the reform and during the dissemination of the reformed penal code (Aantjes *et al*, 2018). It clearly indicates the need for further work in terms of helping people understand the fundamental laws and their principles and discussing their implications at the grass roots' level. Without this exercise, the weak legitimacy attached to the new legal framework that decriminalizes homosexuality will persist and only limit the desired, active involvement of community leaders in the fulfilment and promotion of LGBTI rights at a community level (Nota, 2012), but will also hinder any attempt to start deconstructing the norms which are currently used to set LGBTI and SWs apart in the community.

Another indication of OLS' disconnection from the legislation's validity, is the interchangeable use of the legislation from the judiciary system, the religious norms (referred by them as God's Laws), the social, and the customary laws. This was evident from their opinion (even after they were cognisant that the country's legislation does no longer criminalize homosexuality or sex work above the age of eighteen), that sex work and homosexuality were crimes, alongside stealing, alcohol and drug use, and therefore deserved corrective measures. Should the law fail to serve its punitive purpose, local norms take over, and are given the legitimacy to support acts that are conducted for the sake of establishing social order, but that result in the exclusion of SWs and LGBTI people from the different spheres of interaction and decision-making within their communities.

Besides the above-discussed factors which seem to provide little room to enforce non-discriminatory and inclusion-prone acts in the community, some windows of opportunity toward the embracement of the two groups and their concerns were identified.

On one hand, the recognition by OLS that LGBTIs and SWs, deserve the same rights as the rest of the population, constitutes an opportune window to start opening a space for community debates and reflections on the negative impacts of some of the community attitudes towards these groups, capitalizing on issues the community members themselves value, such as health and well-being and poverty alleviation.

That participants are in full agreement with the dispositions of the HIV Law, in particular that access to healthcare and the right to non-discriminatory treatment, including in the workplace, irrespective of whether the patient is a lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex or sex worker individual, as well as the revelation by the OLS themselves that they and their communities had come a long way from being a totally discriminatory society against PLHIV to a non-discriminatory society, offers some lessons about the ways in which the current discrimination and marginalization of LGBTI people and SWs could possibly be overcome in the long run.

Further, in the context of Mozambique where economic deprivation prevails, it is worth noting that for OLS, employment opportunities for all superseded reservations against homosexuality. Even to the extent that they would accept the changes in the Labour Law, explicitly stating that homosexuals should be enjoying the same employment opportunities, salary, and the same conditions as heterosexuals. To a lesser extent, but still present was the sensitivity that OLS showed to sex workers in terms of protecting them from poverty. This empathy, although sometimes short-lived, among OLS provides some hope for more tolerance towards SWs.



Chapter 5

Study Limitations

The study faced a number of limitations. First, the recruitment of OLS coincided with a key event in the country: the Presidential elections of 2019. This not only caused some study delays but may also have coloured the responses of certain leaders, especially on the topic of equality and non-discrimination. Secondly, our sample of OLS is not representative of the countrywide diversity of opinions on the law, normative behaviour and on LGBTI people and sex workers. Our aim was to explore these opinions across geographical and ethnic divides and, within cities, across diverse socio-economic and leadership strata and to contribute to the, up-to-date, scant country data on this issue, utilising the reforms as a reference point for this investigation. The study also provides further depth and nuance to the quantitative survey findings on tolerance towards homosexuality in which Mozambique stood out more favourably (Dulani *et al*, 2016). This component of the study also served as groundwork to guide our next step which is to investigate the perspectives of LGBTIs and SWs themselves on the legislative changes, and whether and how this may be of influence on their social position. While doing so, we hope to get a better understanding of the LGBTI community in its full diversity, as the OLS in our study concentrated their narratives almost exclusively on men who have sex with men and women who have sex with women.



Chapter 6

Conclusion

Engaging in non-procreative sex, transgressing gender roles and disobeying religious doctrines seem to lie at the root of the devaluation of SWs and LGBTIs as members of the community. The centrality of sexuality in the discourses around these two groups in the neighbourhoods under study, whereby the trespassing of the intimate, private, and sacred boundaries of sexuality outside the confines of marriage as well as the abnormality of same-sex sexuality or desire to change one's biological sex were strongly condemned, place LGBTI people and sex workers in a disadvantaged position and render them vulnerable to discrimination and exclusion in different social spheres. Even though the study results concurred with other studies in which the Mozambican society is characterized as 'tolerant' without a presence of violent acts against sex workers and LGBTI people in the community, contrary to what is witnessed elsewhere in the region, this tolerance equals a passive stance in which more subtle and less overt practices of discrimination and exclusion are taking place and remain unchallenged. A reliance on the decriminalisation and enshrinement of equal rights for sex workers and LGBTI people in the law as the only mitigation strategies evidently fall short in view of our findings on the disconnect between the legal norms and the sexual, gender, socio-cultural and religious norms as well as on the limited awareness of and the objections made against some of the law reforms. Any initiatives to advance the popularisation of the new legal norms will also need to reconcile with the limited faith in the politico-legal system in realising a more egalitarian society and observed tendency to resort to religious and traditional laws for governing community life.

It is imperative that the State takes further steps to protect LGBTI people and sex workers and engages the wider community in discussions on normativity and the harmful effects of social rejection and not to leave this onerous task to the civil society pressure groups and individual LGBTI and sex workers alone. Providing a platform for engagement, deliberation and interpretation on the rights obligations of the community, by drawing in influential leaders as a first step, will be critical to begin to shift some of the perceptions on LGBTI people and sex workers that inhibit these groups from exercising their rights in accordance with the law and receiving community support when needed.



Chapter 7

Recommendations

We recommend

- the dissemination of laws, policies, and regulations pertaining to LGBTI and SW rights among duty bearers at all administrative levels, including those acting at neighbourhood level.
- community consultation and sensitisation targeting local leaders and influencers in order to raise awareness on the legal rights of LGBTI people and SWs.
- a series of community dialogues between local leaders, government authorities, community members and civil society pressure groups to discuss the new legal norms, humanity and sense of community, and concerns around stigma and discrimination of LGBTI people and SWs.
- initiatives to simplifying and translate key legal concepts into a language that is more easily understood by the community in order to support legal literacy and the adoption of laws at the grassroots level. We recommend support and training to local people who are managing cases of discrimination in the community.
- actions to empower local leaders and equip them with tools to enable them to systematically address local situations of discrimination against LGBTI people and SWs.
- further research on the influence of the law and social normativity on LGBTIs' and SWs' lives and how this is shaping their interactions with family, neighbours and other social circles.



Chapter 8

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