



**Tchova Tchova Model
Community Dialogue on Gender
and HIV/AIDS Prevention**

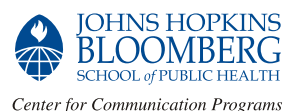
QUALITATIVE EVALUATION STUDY

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A Qualitative Evaluation Study

Mozambique, July 2010

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
INTRODUCTION	3
ANALYSIS	5
1. The Image of the Tchova Tchova Program	5
• The most important thing they learned in the Program	8
2. Two tools used by TT: films and discussions	10
2.1 View of the films	10
2.2 The discussions	12
3. Sources of behavior change	13
4. Behaviors: discursive constructions and how changes are seen	16
4.1. Validation of the partner	16
4.2. Relationships between men and women: machismo and rights	20
4.3. Faithfulness: the meaning of cultural constructions	28
4.4. Meaning of coitus and the function of the condom	43
4.5. Sexual debut	50
4.6. HIV/AIDS	50
• Awareness	50
• Symptoms	51
• Transmission and protection	52
• Relationship with people living with HIV	53
4.7. Relationship with their children	55
4.8. Alcohol consumption and violence	59
4.9. Relationship with neighbors	63
5. Recommendations from the participants	64
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	64
BIBLIOGRAPHY	74
ANNEX 1	75
ANNEX 2	80

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The objective of the study **TCHOVA TCHOVA Model Community Dialogue on Gender and HIV/AIDS Prevention**, was to evaluate the changes produced by the **Tchova Tchova Program** in the behavior of people living in the intervention communities in Mozambique. The research focused on the areas of gender relations, sexual health, and HIV/AIDS, so as to identify the communication resources that have had the greatest impact, as well as the lessons learned.. As part of this qualitative research project, 72 men and 70 women took part in 17 focus group discussions, which were carried out in Sofala, Zambezia and Nampula between the end of 2009 and the beginning of 2010. A thorough analysis of these discussions has identified the mental models used by the population under study

The participants had a very positive image of the **Tchova Tchova Program**, particularly its role as a guide and the program messages that encouraged people to adopt “good customs.” Among the most important messages concerned respect, faithfulness, and recognition of women’s rights. What they learned from the Tchova Tchova program improved their relationships on three levels: between partners, with their children, and with their neighbors. Overall, the participants felt that it promoted understanding and harmony, which was greatly appreciated.

The participants thought that Tchova Tchova’s principal communication tools, the **films** and **discussions**, complemented each other. The power of the films lay in the way they reflected the viewers’ reality. Although for the most part the films were a good learning source, some participants got lost in the stories and seemed to have a hard time drawing out the lessons and the message. Participants appreciated the discussions as a place where they could express their opinions and clear up their doubts, as well as a way to strengthen ties and social cohesion within the community.

The other **sources of change** were: The improvement in quality of life that those who followed the Tchova Tchova lessons experienced, which produced “admiration” from others and that led to their interest in changing behavior. Discussion participants particularly emphasized the social harmony that the Program promoted. The Program was perceived as an alliance of different people who care about their community and can teach and advise their neighbors, and people wanted to belong to the Program, which is in itself a source of change. The Program’s prestige and the idea that Program participants are an elite group also promotes imitation. The Program has a **symbolic presence** that attracts non-members to it; however, the **governing role** attributed to it is worrisome, as it shows that the participants feel a need for **a higher authority that not only guides, but has the authority to impose sanctions**. This means that to make the promoted changes sustainable, a “local group” is required, or some type of authority that would perform the social watchdog function that the population groups represented seemed to need and demand.

Before addressing how the participants saw the program’s target behavior changes, it is important to describe **the fundamental mental models** that emerged through our analysis of the discussions and that underlie the participants’ worldview.

There still persists **the image of the wife as instrument**, whose function is to wait on her husband and satisfy him sexually. This mental model is based in the *lovoló*, a tradition in which the husband pays a price for his bride, almost guaranteeing that she will be seen as his “property.” This mental model affects not only the division of roles in the home, but also implies that the rights to sexual satisfaction and to family property are perceived as uniquely male. This is accompanied by another mental model that says that **men need sexual pleasure but women do not**. This is a basic factor that should be taken into account to understand the double standard that governs male and female sexual behavior and affects both the cultural meaning of faithfulness and the building of harmony within the couple.

According to this model, a harmonious couple is one in which the woman gives sexual pleasure to her partner and he, in return, gives her gifts. The **mental models of love and commitment** and **health and sickness** influence the acceptance of condom use and the understanding of HIV messages. These models have great explicatory power.

The following are the **most important changes** promoted by the Program and recognized in the discussions.

The “valuing” of women is a trigger that affects many behaviors. Even though many men indicated that they no longer treated women as slaves, insecurity over the recognition of a more equal status for women persists, in addition to the above-mentioned mental models that perceive women as subordinate beings who must serve men, either by waiting on them or serving them sexually. Despite changes in men’s collaboration in household chores, the construct of a more complete and human appreciation of their wives is still far away.

There is widespread recognition that women and their children have rights to property and inheritance in the case of widowhood, and participants’ clearly expressed solidarity with widows who were stripped of everything.

The roles of men and women in the home have also changed. Men are participating to a greater extent in activities that used to be seen specifically as “women’s work”: work around the house and in the *machamba*; and women are sharing “men’s” work with their husbands (agricultural work, construction, etc.). However, talk about equality can, in some cases, lead to more work being piled onto the woman, while diminishing the man’s responsibility as provider. It is imperative that the *machamba* be recognized as productive work, with which women -- the main, if not the only ones involved -- contribute to the family economy.

The fact that women work or study was presented as a right and no longer seen as synonymous with prostitution; however, the idea that they might attain economic independence was a sensitive subject that seemed to cause the men some insecurity. They thought it might be a source of conflict.

Promoting faithfulness as a method of protection against HIV can be complicated due to the mental models in effect. Although everyone valued faithfulness, the concept they had of it was complex and contradictory up to a certain point, and differed depending on whether it applied to men or to women. While a faithful man was primarily one who took responsibility for supporting his family economically, even if he was not completely faithful sexually, the faithful woman was one who waited on and respected her husband; and respect in this case *did* include sexual exclusivity. In the women’s opinions, **wives were responsible for the faithfulness of their partners**. Respect, that is, not mistreating or insulting the husband and waiting on him at home were presented in the women’s discussions as a woman’s weapons for ensuring that her husband did not follow the natural male inclination: to be unfaithful. As will be seen, household chores were not being shared by the men as much as was claimed in the discussions when the subject of changes in the home and in the relationship of the couple was brought up. Welcoming and waiting on the husband is a deeply rooted way of showing him respect, and therefore difficult to change. This demonstrates that apparently diverse mental models may be inter-connected. Thus, the findings regarding faithfulness in women, which are symbolic constructions, affect the changes in behavior with regard to the husband’s collaboration in the home. From this, we can see how useful knowledge of the mental models is to the development of empathic communication strategies. On the other hand, the fact that men “go outside” is also a difficult behavior to change, since it is perceived as being part of their nature.

The concept of mutual sexual satisfaction does not appear in the discussions that were analyzed. When the subject came up, participants only talked about male satisfaction and

what the woman needed to do to please her partner. As seen before, there were signs of the persistence of a mental model that places women essentially in the position of being a source of sexual satisfaction for men and denies the right and even the possibility of sexual satisfaction for women.

Regarding condom use, some men admitted that they used condoms when having sex with other women, since they did not feel safe and thought it was possible that the women might be HIV+. Using condoms with other women was also seen as a way of being faithful to your stable partner. Condoms represented a lack of love and the desire to avoid commitment, so they were unlikely to be used with a serious partner with whom you wanted to build a life. This was based on the mental model governing love and commitment, according to which any serious partner must have children, that being the goal and the reason for the relationship. Children were the sign that had to be shown to the community to win its respect. For this reason, it was sometimes more important to have children than to protect yourself from HIV/AIDS. Although everyone knew that condoms were an effective means of protection, many doubted that people were actually using them. It is not enough to inform; it is necessary to change the positioning and the meaning of condoms towards the direction of responsibility, protection and even love for the partner with whom you are using them.

Knowledge about HIV/AIDS and HIV transmission is better. However, there is no real understanding of the asymptomatic presence of the virus. The mental model that diametrically opposes health and sickness may be interfering with people's understanding of the messages on this subject.

There is more inclusion of people living with HIV, and when a new HIV case appears in a family, instead of blaming the person for the situation, the family insist that he/she go quickly to the health center and seek treatment.

Regarding the participation of fathers and mothers in educating their children, particularly in the matter of sexuality, a profound cultural barrier views sexuality as a secret and sees female sexuality as a "mystery" in which men should not be involved. In traditional culture, the community designated certain individuals to be responsible for the sexual education of youth, and the parents did not get involved. While there is now a greater acceptance of fathers' being involved in the education of their sons and of mothers in that of their daughters, there was resistance and even open rejection to the idea that fathers would participate in the sexeduc of their daughters. The concerns most mentioned related to this subject were fear of sexual abuse and the use of violence on the part of the father.

Alcoholism is a major problem in the area and a constant source of conflict. Many thought that it had not diminished, although some thought that the change in men's relationship with women had contributed to reduce consumption and above all less domestic violence associated with alcoholism. Another change mentioned had to do with getting along better with the neighbors, a better way of relating that ranges from using good manners to knowing how to resolve conflicts and avoid fighting. Harmony in the community was greatly appreciated, so that there was widespread gratitude for the efforts the Program had made along these lines.

Although it is possible that some of the participants' claims of changes occurring do not accurately reflect reality, it is clear that accepting these changes and recognizing the need for them are basic steps to behavior change.

In conclusion, listening to the participants' voices brings to light the perspectives, fears, and dreams of the target population. Without knowing their ways of thinking, shaped into the mental models with which they recreate and reinterpret the messages they receive, it is difficult to effect the desired changes.

INTRODUCTION

The analysis presented here is based on transcriptions of 17 focus group discussions with men and women recorded in Mozambique between October and December 2009. In most of the groups native languages were used, and in some cases two native languages or one native language and Portuguese were used simultaneously, since not all participants belonged to one ethnic group. The testimonies were subsequently translated into Portuguese, and this transcription may have affected in some way the analysis of the resulting discussion.

Forty-two men and 50 women participated in the 12 focus group discussions carried out in Sofala and Zambezia, while 30 men and 20 women participated in the 5 groups held in Nampula, as the following table shows.

Composition of the Focus Groups

Cultural Zone 1									
SOFALA									
MEN					WOMEN				
FG #	District	Rural/urban	Language	N° of participants	FG #	District	Rural/urban	Language	N° of participants
1	Beira	URBAN	Portuguese	6	10	Buzi	RURAL	Ndau & Portuguese	6
2	Dondo	PERI-URBAN	Sena	9	11	Dondo	PERI-URBAN	Sena	12
3	Buzi	RURAL	Ndau	6	12	Marromeu	RURAL	Sena	6
ZAMBEZIA									
MEN					WOMEN				
FG #	District	Rural/urban	Language	N° of participants	FG #	District	Rural/urban	Language	N° of participants
4	Quelimane	URBAN	Chuabo	5	13	Quelimane	URBAN	Chuabo	6
5	Mocuba	PERI-URBAN	Lomwé	8	14	Mocuba	PERI-URBAN	Chuabo	10
6	Gurué	RURAL	Lomwé	8	15	Gurué	RURAL	Lomwé	10
Sub total				42					50
Cultural Zone 2									
NAMPULA									
MEN					WOMEN				
FG #	District	Rural/urban	Language	N° of participants	FG #	District	Rural/urban	Language	N° of participants
7	Meconta	URBAN	Macúa	10	16	Meconta	URBAN	Macúa	11
8	Rapala	PERI-URBAN	Macúa	10	17	Rapale	PERI-URBAN	Macúa	9
9	Angoche	RURAL	Cotim (Macúa version) & Portuguese	10					
Sub total				30					20
TOTAL				72					70

From the body of work (transcriptions), the researcher proceeded to the thematic classification of the statements based on the questions used in the focus group discussions. Thematic classification makes it possible to compare the utterances of different types of participants, in this case, by zone and sex. It also allows one to discover the structure of the meaning the different themes have for the participants and then to localize the mental models (D'Andrade 1993), the values and connotations attributed to the subjects being studied. This methodology, which uses elements of semiotics (Greimas 1966, Magariños de Morantín 1993, Nigenda and Langer 1995) and linguistics (Langacker 1991, Fauconnier

1994) allows for an exhaustive analysis of the statements, which brings to light underlying dimensions that might not be revealed by a simple reading.

Note: The quotations in Portuguese have not been modified; they appear just as they were transcribed by the focus group moderators or the transcribers, as the case may be.

ANALYSIS

1. The Image of the *Tchova Tchova* Program

Generally speaking, the participants refer to the **Tchova Tchova Program** (TT) in a **very positive** way. Expressions such as “It works with people,” “It helps,” and “It makes us grow” come up frequently in the discussions.

...a new organization that came to work here in the neighborhood with people (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (1)

*...it came to **help** solve our problems in Mozambique.* (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (2)

Some of the Program themes that the participants mentioned are listed below. It should be clarified that some moderators prompted the participants more than others in this part of the discussion, with the result that some responses are not spontaneous. In some cases, they were asked what they remembered having learned and in others, what they liked. In spite of this, the themes listed below give us an idea of what stood out for the participants and what they remembered.

THEMES DEVELOPED BY THE TT PROGRAM ¹	
Women	Men
Understanding in the home between partners: respect	Understanding between partners in the home
Faithfulness	Faithfulness. You shouldn't go with many women because that spreads HIV.
How to avoid problems if the husband is polygamous	You shouldn't take away a widow's belongings
Have just one partner; don't have many men	Understanding, respect and collaboration with neighbors. Solidarity
HIV/AIDS. How it is contracted. How to teach your children to prevent it. Go to the hospital when you are sick.	HIV/AIDS. How it is contracted and prevented. Not to abandon or discriminate against people who are infected. The importance of getting tested and following the treatment.
How to treat gonorrhea	
How to treat your husband so he doesn't get angry; knowing how to take care of him	Teaching about the differences between men and women
The husband should help out around the house	The help that husbands should give to their wives in the home. Sharing tasks
Respect for children	
The husband should participate in the education	Participation of the man in the education and care

¹ The order in which the themes are presented in this table is not significant.

THEMES DEVELOPED BY THE TT PROGRAM ¹	
Women	Men
of the children along with his wife	of the children
Counseling and educating sons and daughters so they don't fall or get married early. Teaching them respect	Premature marriages Men have the right to talk to their sons and advise them not to have sex during their school years
Domestic violence. It's not good for a husband to beat his wife	Violence against women
Children, when they grow up and have learned something can advise their parents	You shouldn't force your wife to have sex
The husband should help his wife in the <i>machamba</i> and carry the tools	Collaborating in the <i>machamba</i> alongside the women increases productivity
	Respect your wife, for example, don't hide the money
The wife should help her husband in his work	A woman has a right to work
A woman has a right to work	The wife has a right to the family property
A woman can study for a profession	A woman can study
Alcoholism and its effects on the home	Alcoholism and its problems
How to live with your neighbors	How to use condoms to prevent pregnancy
Judging another person does not help	When there are problems, go to the secretariat
	When there is a problem, don't go to the authorities immediately; try to work out the problem within the community

Some participants from Nampula had a harder time identifying the themes that were addressed in the Program. They mentioned fewer themes and the moderators needed to repeat the questions more often for them.

According to the testimonies gathered, the TT Program overall taught them **good habits and guided them** to change what was not good. This is the theme that stands out the most for the participants. The love and good will that now reign in some homes are presented as being inspired by the Program. The word **respect** also appears often in the testimonies as one of the most important teachings.

*Because they seemed **to be good things** and we practiced without knowing it wasn't good.* (Group of men, Peri-urban Sofala) (3)

*...those who learned well the teachings of TT, **live nicely at home, and have no problems** with their spouse, family and neighbors, that's why TT is good.* (Group of men, Peri-urban Zambezia) (4)

*(...) when problems come, the TT says that we must solve the problems at home, without fighting, yes (...), the **TT wants peace, goodwill and love at home.*** (Group of men, Peri-urban Nampula) (5)

*TT is very good, very good because it **brought teachings about how to respect people, your wife for example ...*** (Group of men, Peri-urban Zambezia) (6)

E - And why do you think the TT is a good thing?

P1-because it has enlightened us, now we are out of the darkness, when we participate in TT sessions, it is like learning from the Bible (Group of men, urban Nampula) (7)

A good summary of what men and women thought about the Program is contained in the following quotes:

*The program **makes us grow**.* (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (8)

*I talked with one lady, a neighbor of mine, she asked me what TT was about, and I said it is about **respect**.* (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (9)

*Other people ask if I am enjoying TT I say yes, because **I am at peace, a peace that I never had at home with my husband**.* (Group of women, peri-urban Nampula) (10)

*TT appears as a sort of warning for **those who are at risk of getting lost**, and it says go back, return, you are in danger... let us imagine that, and if a person is obedient and will follow TT advice ...* (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (11)

Many **women** expressed satisfaction with what they had learned. Some gave special emphasis to the "good understanding" that the Program promotes:

*-... I'm satisfied because I have **learned a lot**.*

-We like to have learned all this with TT. (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (12)

*I can answer that I will learn in order **to have good understanding** at home and for my life to move forward.* (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (13)

Many participants emphasized that men should be grateful for the attentions they received from their wives.

*... for example, **teaching men how to compliment** woman and acknowledge that I do this because my partner knows how to please me, her husband.* (Group of women, rural Zambezia) (14)

Some participants indicated that they had received information on the themes promoted by the Program beforehand, through radio messages or in church, and that they felt that the Program had come to **reinforce** what they already knew, and that that was important.

*Yes, it came to **strengthen** the way we live....*

.... because when a person hears something again, it is better because you will not forget that thing. It gets rooted inside, therefore the TT, didn't come to start things, but rather to reinforce things, things that we heard before but we still had some doubts ... (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (15)

Other men thought that the information they had received before was more theoretical, and that their role had been to listen passively, referring, for example, to the promotion of family planning in hospitals or on radio programs. However, what they valued about the TT Program was, on the one hand, the use of "concrete examples" and, on the other, the group discussions in which they could express their opinions and clear up any doubts they might have. All participants greatly appreciated this.

In some cases, those who thought that the Program had not taught them anything new but rather had reinforced or "updated" what they already knew but did not practice, did not have a clear idea of what an updating would be, and in the examples they gave it became evident that they were talking about an important change:

*Yes, for example, currently it doesn't happen, everything in **the house belongs to both, this is an update, because formerly it wasn't like that.** I mean, nowadays things are changing. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (16)*

Some **women** indicated that they repeated what the Program taught them to their husbands . Some men and women said that they talked about what they learned with their neighbors, and the most motivated expressed the willingness to become disseminators. In one of the groups, the participant said she had informed over 30 people in her community about the changes that they all should undergo.

Others, in the Nampula zone, thought they should keep what they had learned secret, as they did with traditional initiation rites. This attitude, although not very common, is a cause for concern, as it hinders the establishment of a climate favorable to change in the community.

It is clear that the participants had a positive view of the Program. Some participants wondered who supports this initiative, some assumed it was a state initiative, and many did not directly question the source of the initiative..

*P6-But I would like to know, that thing of TT, whose initiative was it? **was it from the Government or from the population?***

E- I don't know, what do you think? In your point of view, from who was this initiative? please help answer your colleague's question.

..... laughs

P1-I think it was the Government

*P2- **I also think it was the Government.** Because the Government saw that we were doing a lot of wrong things against our women so they opted to tchovar (push us). (Group of men, rural Nampula) (17)*

- **The most important thing they learned in the Program**

This question was asked or came up in some focus groups. The subjects that were prioritized had to do with **understanding and harmony**, both in the family and in the community.

The **men** brought out various levels:

- a. Getting along better with their partners

*... I think in my opinion is to **know how to give importance, I mean to know how to value our wives, our partners, because that's the only way our home will get stronger, we must know how to save more time for our partners.** (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (18)*

Participants thought that before, couples did not cooperate well together, for example, a man could not lend a friend something belonging to his wife or vice versa (such as a wooden bowl or a tool) because they did not have the confidence to do so, or the men did not like their partners to receive visitors, which created discord. This better understanding was also linked with communication and **respect** in general, which included sharing jobs and household chores, understanding that the wife wanted to help her family of origin and spend time with her friends, and recognizing that the couple's property belonged to both of them. In other men's groups, **faithfulness** was specifically mentioned as one of the most

important teachings, as well as the recognition of the **rights** of women and men (the latter were mentioned much less frequently).

*..the **women rights** because nowadays women are very abused by their husbands, they treat them like slaves, so I guess it's **very important** . (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (19)*

Men in Nampula also mentioned the importance of the idea that a man should protect his wife, for example, by using a condom so as not to infect her with diseases, as well as the need to not hide the money, a practice which now is interpreted as a lack of respect.

The things learned in TT had to be discussed as a couple, since putting what they learned into practice would lead them towards a better life:

*There are things that **open ones head**, there are things that allow you to sit with your wife and tell her these issues are good stuff, let us follow them and we will live well. (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (20)*

b. Getting along better with their children

Children should listen (pay attention to) their parents and their parents should educate and take care of them.

c. Getting along better with their neighbors

This assumed respect and social solidarity that, according to some, did not exist before.

*For me, I think we learned many things, for example, **relationship between couples and the whole society**, that's what made us understand better, **relationship with neighbors**, exactly that (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (21)*

It is interesting to note that getting along well with the neighbors was presented as an effective form of social control, in that a mistreated woman could run to her neighbors in search of support and advice, so that her partner would have to answer to them to some extent. (The participants expressed agreement with this theme presented in the films.)

(...) in her turn the wife answered him that instead of apologizing to me, it is better to go to the people who helped me; the man went and apologized to those people, and he continued living with his wife without problems. (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (22)

The theme of **alcohol**, which affects the three levels previously described, was also mentioned as crucial, as was the **education of children**. Despite the fact that HIV/AIDS was not a subject that stood out very much in the testimonies, some thought that it was important to inform them about it, since the disease put their lives at risk.

Finally, other participants thought that they had learned a lot, and many participants said that now, with the Program, **everything had changed**.

Everything changed, there is nothing that hasn't changed. (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (23)

P2- They did wrong things (...)

P1-We dated other women, we abused our women, we drank a lot, we were polygamous, and we made our children suffer (Group of men, urban Nampula) (24)

The **reasons for not forgetting** what they learned in the Program refer not only to the fact that everything they were taught was positive, but also that it hit close to home, so close that it seemed to them that TT had gone inside their homes to see what they were doing. Some saw the Program messages as a direct criticism of their behavior, motivating them to engage in critical introspection they would never forget.

(...) when something is good it **enters the head** and parks itself there forever and never leaves, so if we didn't forget these things until now, it is because they are good things, and when something is good, it goes inside to the bones. (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (25)

2. Two tools used by TT: films and discussions

This section highlights opinions about the films and discussions that appear in the testimonies.

The following quote shows that the participant saw the two tools as being complementary:

...I think the **debates are connected to the films**, so for me each **complemented the other**, that's why I liked everything a lot. The **debate allows you to understand better the film**, so if you don't understand the images you can understand through the debates, which is so good. (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (26)

2.1 Opinion of the films

Concerning the films, the participants said the following:

- They taught interesting things

Many participants compared the Program to a school and, as we saw before, mentioned many things from the films that they considered as useful for living better.

- They promoted behavior change

Women referred to films that promoted behavior change within a couple regarding HIV/AIDS in a couple. The films motivated the partners to support each other and to go for health services.

- They showed how important it was for men to share household chores.

- They showed how a father should relate to his daughter and a mother to her son.

The women were referring to the film that showed how fathers should talk to their daughters about menstruation, for example. One participant acknowledged that within her traditional culture this type of exchange was not customary. In Nampula, the men disagreed with this message, and said plainly that they were not willing to follow the Program's advice in this regard, an attitude that the women supported.

- How to be faithful to one another to protect yourselves from HIV/AIDS
- The importance of using condoms

The films taught that it was necessary to use condoms to protect yourself from HIV. This theme appealed to some women and gave them the strength to talk about it with their children.

- They illustrated the problems of alcoholism and the violence it brings
- They taught that it was important for women to work to help their families and that working does not mean a woman is a prostitute

The women mentioned the film in which a woman went to work because her husband was unemployed, and how she was able to contribute to the wellbeing of the family.

- They showed the culture of other countries (like Tanzania). (Only one group of men mentioned this) (Group of men, urban Zambezia)

The main reason for thinking the films influenced the public is that they **touched on relevant problems**; situations in which the viewers could recognize themselves and that moved them. In the words of one participant: ... *isso mi tocou muito o coração* “*this rang in my very heart*” (Group of men, urban Sofala)

Men and women see themselves reflected in the stories narrated by the films:

***It struck me because it happened to me** with my first husband, he used to do the same thing, and he would drink, and never bring his salary home. He never beat me, but I saw that this does not create understanding at home, it destroys the family.* (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (27)

... even the movie is important because from it we saw the reality, for example people living in Quelimane, when they see the film, they feel very encouraged because they know the persons appearing in the films, they are your neighbors, and that is good. (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (29)

The **men** also mentioned what they had learned, for example, that neighbors can counsel people who mistreat their families. In general, however, the men were less explicit than the women.

Yes, it means that before it was not very complete, for example we saw in a movie a man who was very problematic with his wife, and the neighbors were able to approach the couple and explain them good things they should do. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (29)

Some participants did not give reasons why they liked or did not like the films, and got lost in the memory of the stories that were told. For example, they did not like the story in which a woman with HIV/AIDS is discriminated against, or the other in which the widow was not allowed to attend her husband's funeral. In some cases, there was no clear distinction between the behavior that the film or discussion was criticizing, and the objectives of the Program. In designing communication strategies, it is important to remember that many members of the intended audience have difficulty decoding the messages. The following quotes make it seem as if the purposes of the Program included beating women and selling children.

*For me what I **didn't like is that part that shows the family taking things away from the widow**, because it was not fair.* (Group of men, rural Nampula) (30)

E2-Also the issue of beating women we don't like too.

(...)

E- *What is another thing you didn't like in the debates?*

E3-*Another thing is that of a husband asking his wife to **give away their child in order to get rich**, we didn't like that.*

F- *Child to do what?*

E- *To make wealth with this... child, to buy or trade for a car.*

F-*but that is spoken in TT?*

E-*Yes, it came out (Group of women, peri-urban Nampula) (31)*

Asked which he liked best, the films or the discussions, one participant demonstrated irrefutable logic:

If there weren't the movies there would be no discussions. I liked the movies better. (Group of men, urban Sofala) (32)

2.2. The discussions

As mentioned earlier, what participants appreciated most about the discussions was that **they were able to express themselves**, to give their opinions and clear up doubts.

-... *What did you like in the debates?*

E-***Everything the TT brought to me was good**, there is nothing that was not a good thing, that's why we're here, and we never missed the discussions, because we knew that it was a good thing. (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (33)*

*I liked the debates because after watching the movies, we use to sit down **to discuss what we have watched and that helped people to understand the movie well**, so I think the discussions were the best part for me. (Group of men, rural Nampula) (34)*

The discussions also provided an occasion for the local people to spend time together, forging bonds that contributed to the development of **social cohesion** that many saw as a positive thing.

Both men and women were satisfied with the people who facilitated the discussions,; however, men indicated that they would have liked for the facilitators to speak their language better.

-*They do not have any problem, they talk to us very well, **but if they could speak better Lomwe it would be good for people to understand better.***

F-*You mean they don't speak Lomwe or they speak it badly?*

E- *The Lomwe they speak is not genuine; they mix it with Chuabo (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (35)*

The multilingualism that exists in the area may be a problem, although many participants showed themselves able to handle many languages, as can be seen in the following quote:

*At the beginning they had problems because they couldn't speak **Khoti** well and then we asked them to speak **Macua** because we can understand it very well too, it was then that they began to talk in Macua; there are no problems; they clarify all our questions very well. (Group of men, rural Nampula) (36)*

Concerning key concepts such as faithfulness, it is important to be clear about their equivalents in native languages and their semantic fields to guarantee full communication.

3. Sources of behavior change

The **Tchova Tchova Program** was presented as the main source of change in the focus group discussions. Among the Program activities, participants emphasized two important points:

- **The films** touched on problems that participants felt were close to them, and were cited as a stimulus for reflection and possible behavior change.
- **The discussions.** Participants valued highly the ability to discuss issues with others and cited these discussions as an important stimulus for change.

Participants also mentioned the importance of **reinforcing** what they knew but didn't practice as an encouragement for behavior change.

*... TT, added more power, **strength**, and more weight, **because when a person hears something again**, it is better because you will not forget that thing. It gets rooted inside, therefore the TT, didn't come to start things, but rather to reinforce things, things that we heard before but we still had some doubts about ... (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (37)*

Participants in the discussions related the Program's reinforcement efforts to **old traditions** that had been put aside for a while, but which older people remembered. These traditions, which connect the past to the present, were also seen as encouraging behavior change. These traditions are not seen as being outdated since, in most cases, they have undergone important modifications. Some participants did not agree that the Program was reviving old traditions, and recognized that some of them were not positive (they did not specify which traditions or why they were not positive). Some participants felt that those who believed that the Program was reviving old customs had not understood the messages being disseminated.

*P1-iiii ... not to increase nor to remind, **TT came to reduce the wrong things.**
P2-these people who gave such answers, I do not know ... but **I think the TT came to say: leave the old way you used to do things**, because we used to fight with our women, and we never had good understanding with our neighbors (Group of men, urban Nampula) (38)*

*P2-for me I think **TT came to change old things that the people were doing** (Group of men, rural Nampula) (39)*

This subject needs to be investigated more thoroughly, particularly recognizing that every message that the Program tries to communicate will be reinterpreted by the intended audience based on its own preexisting composite mental models.

In **traditional culture**, the family was more powerful, and controlled its children's futures because it held the power to approve their partners. This was a way to maintain the endogamy on which the tribal structure of the society was based. The **modernity** that came with the creation of the nation-state and the weakening of the tribal structure also weakened the power of the family, which translated into greater sexual freedom for young people. By promoting the delay of sexual debut and faithfulness, some see the Program as promoting a return to more traditional times.

On the other hand, by arguing the necessity of turning to agencies of the State when problems arise instead of resolving them directly through violent acts, some see the

Program as promoting a return to colonial times in which the State apparently had a greater presence and more authority.

There are various levels of interpretation of reality, or **mental models that interact** in people's minds when they are trying to understand and to **position themselves in relation to the Program**: a) amore traditional, endogamous tribal organization in which the family was powerful; b) a colonial world with imposed European customs; and c) post-independence modernity in which family and traditions are weakened and the State has little presence.

*I think that these people must be remembering how the procedure was **during colonialism when issues were resolved by local authorities**, this could be the reason (Group of men, urban Nampula) (40)*

*P2-TT, Yes, **formerly when people were ready to marry**, first their uncles should have a meeting, while the parents of each would date and have a nice talk about those young people who want to get married, then the TT, is also questioning ourselves today what is better, the old parents having a nice talk to prepare the children's wedding or the way it happens today, where girls arrive home already pregnant. We answer that we want it the old way, those people didn't understand that part.*

P7-Yes, because these meetings of the elders, they used to ask which tribe that family belongs to, who are the relatives of that man or woman, that is the way it was. (Group of men, urban Nampula) (41)

On the other hand, the **men** saw a significant source of change in the **demonstration effect** of those who changed and thereby improved their lives and the lives of their families, and recognized that just being informed did not necessarily bring about behavior change (group of men, urban Zambezia). Their "admiration" for the evolution in the others' standard of living caused them to develop an "interest" in changing their behavior.

Belonging to the Program was perceived almost like entering **an alliance** of different people capable of caring for their community and teaching and advising their neighbors which, according to the participants, produced "admiration." Thus, **the prestige of the Program**, and the idea that those who participated in it were **a select group of people**, fostered pride and emulation: participants were "well regarded." Also, they felt ashamed if a TT member did not behave according to expectations.

E-And when they speak about you in this manner, how do you feel, what is your reaction?

*P- We feel our **body full of weight** (pride),*

P2- We get overweight straight away.... (laughs)

*P3-Our home gets real **respect**, children get happy. (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (42)*

*Even me, I don't know myself, but he participated in the TT, in the beginning he was following the advice but nowadays I don't know, I **even get ashamed for him because he was part of TT**. (Group of women, urban Nampula) (43)*

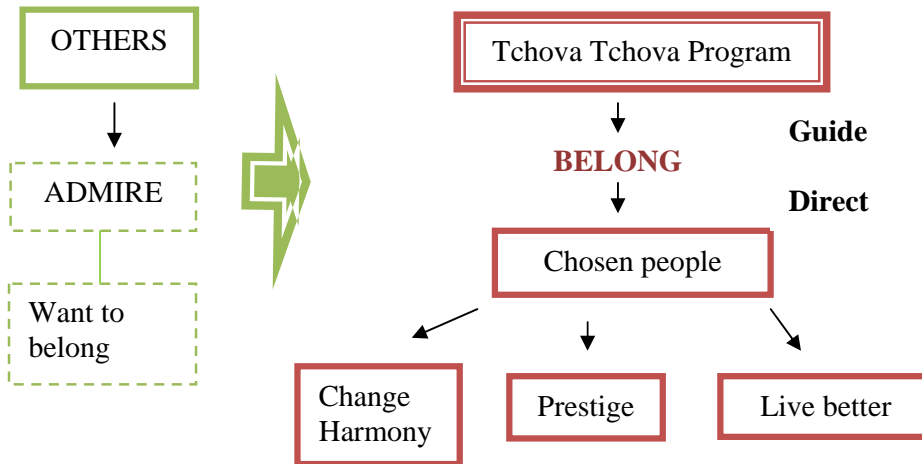
However, this feeling of pride was not present from the beginning, but rather grew over time. Some participants remembered the **mistrust** that the Program aroused in the community.

***At the beginning some people would just make fun of us**, saying that we were people without occupation, but now they realize that this is a very good organization,*

and it is even changing families, now they start to show interest to be part of the group, when it happens we don't say anything . (Group of men, rural Nampula) (44)

As the following diagram shows, the Program has a symbolic presence that causes non-members to be drawn to it.

TT Program as source of change: Symbolic presence



Belonging is the key word. Some compared the Program to the church that they were a part of, hence the interest in having some distinguishing markers that would identify them:

*-I like the way it covers the region from the 10th zone up to this place, I would like to have a t-shirt that **would identify us as members of TT**, (...)*
*-It's like soldiers who need to **have identification**.* (Group of women, rural Sofala) (45)

One challenge for the Program is to use the desire to belong as a driver for change without fostering the exclusionary identities found in the traditional tribal world.

The **social harmony** the Program promotes is another motivation for change. The idea that the Program created a **good environment** was very apparent to the participants, as seen in the following quote:

*... the important thing is that these are the things our community needs and is doing very well in the **short time since TT started, we can now feel the good atmosphere**, even when people try to argue after drinking alcohol, the people around will scream saying: if you dare to fight, **we will denounce you to the TT project**, for me, that means that people already like TT, and I think the TT, **brings security to them**, so whether it raises issues about our tradition or not, it doesn't matter... sorry if I said something wrong.* (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (46)

However, a matter of concern regarding people's perception of the Program is the **governing role** that they confer upon it. They said that it gave security, but also that it "prohibited" certain behaviors. This demonstrates the need the participants feel for a **higher authority that not only guides, but also has the authority to impose sanctions**. This means that to make the changes promoted by the Program sustainable, there must be a local reference group or some kind of authority performing a social watchdog function. The

population groups represented in this research seemed to need and demand this, as illustrated by their comparison of TT with a church that has commandments that must be followed:

*... now with the TT and its **commandment**, men no longer do that, they now accept to let women go to school. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (47)*

*-Even me, I already thought that if this project continues, it will become a **full church** (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (48)*

Many people see the Program as an organization that makes them go through certain **rites of initiation** that transform them into new people forever:

*(...) since we already passed the **TT rites** now **we are new people**, only from today forward we will enjoy a new life, ... (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (49)*

Taking a more modern point of view, but still in the context of belonging, TT was presented as a **brand** that led to behavior change; in this case the behavior was ceasing to drink alcohol:

*They wonder where did you get a **remedy** to stop doing such a thing, I just say to the people **the brand of the remedy I took is called TT**. (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (50)*

4. Behaviors: discursive constructions and how changes are seen

The participants recognized that their behavior had changed since the Program began. The most important are analyzed in detail below.

4.1. Validation of the partner

In the gender construct, the cultural value conferred on men and women is essential. The "valuing" of women is the trigger affecting many behaviors.

Men noted that one of the radical changes effected by the intervention was the **husband's valuing of his partner**. As one participated said, , it improves the wellbeing of the home.

*... I think in my opinion is to **know how to give importance, I mean to know how to value our wives, our partners, because that's the only way our home will get stronger, we must know how to save more time for our partners.** (Group of men, urban Zambezia)(51)*

Other participants stated that now they give money to their wives, that they take them out or let them sit with them at the table, things that never occurred to them before to do. Giving the wife the power to spend money when the husband was not around was for some participants a sign of respect that did not exist before. However, some remembered old teachings that seemed to have fallen into disuse, which advised husbands to buy a few ornaments for their wives to make them happy. The husband buying clothes for his wife was also seen by some participants as an expression of respect.

The participants understood that the Program promoted the value of women and, although many agreed with this idea, some seemed fearful that "giving importance to the woman," in conjunction with the softening of the man, could tip the balance towards devaluing men:

*... because this program **values women too much**, they could understand it badly and they may **start losing respect for men** (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (52)*

To understand the change the verb "to value" encapsulates, one must recall the earlier mental model in which the wife was a slave, an "instrument of work," and her reason for being was the satisfaction and wellbeing of the man:

*Because a true man **should never waste time with a woman**, we used to look at women just like a house person who is there only **to meet the needs** of men. (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (53)*

*In short, I may say that women in the past, before the TT, **were slaves**, they did not have the opportunity to voice some words to men ... (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (54)*

*... for example the woman wasn't considered by men, she **was seen as nothing**, only there **to satisfy the man** and his sexual needs. (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (55)*

The recognition of women as people with whom they could converse and share tasks was presented by the **men** as something completely new, and as a perspective that the Program had introduced. The following statements show the magnitude and complexity of the change that the Program promotes to change male behaviors that still persist.

Although men spoke of having undergone transformations, it is evident that the mental models that see **women as subordinate to the service of men** still persist, as a few participants dared to openly admit:

*... even now, the man thinks **he is everything**, that's wrong. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (56)*

For some participants, their prevailing mental model was evident when they inadvertently talked about how the Program taught them to talk to their wives instead of making demands on them and beating them, but that, in return, their wives had to satisfy them sexually.

*Yes, the facilitator said, that **we must spend time to talk** to our wives, they must learn to "stretch it", I mean to pull their clitoris as a way **to satisfy** their husbands. (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (57)*

The statements of some men from Nampula support this finding: the husband talks instead of beating, and expects his wife to apologize and do what he says. This is still a long way from the idea of negotiation between equals.

*Nowadays it **is a little difficult to beat**, you rarely hit her, it is hard to beat her because with the advice we received from TT, **when we find something that we don't like, we tell our woman that I didn't like that thing and don't do it again, and she says please forgive me my husband**, it was a mistake, and we check to see if it was really a mistake, and we forgive but all this because of TT. The following day if she continues with the same behavior, then we have to look for help somewhere else, as the TT advised, we should start to solve the problem with the muenhes (local leaders) before we try other things. (Group of men, urban Nampula) (58)*

The following remarks prove the persistence of the mental model that sees women as fundamentally the **source of male sexual satisfaction**. What has changed is the convenience of negotiating with them so that they will be inclined to collaborate during coitus. The construct of a more complete and human appreciation of their wives is still far off for some:

*Yes, for example the issue of **giving or not giving money to the wife** is a very good one because many couples, primarily the women, many of them did not know the money earned by their spouses because they never gave it to them, but **now they already receive from husbands and when that happens there are very open in bed, they get** very satisfied when comes the time of playing in bed, and they make very nice moves. (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (59)*

Women, for their part, considered it their job to be prepared to satisfy their partners in return for the men's economic support.

F ... what do you mean by woman's job?

E-To pull the labia minora (laughs).

E-We Pull them o serve as a guard in the vagina.

F – Why do that job?

*E – **To please the man** and when it comes to sexual intercourse then he has to ask permission to enter, that's why we pull the labia minora (laughs) ...*

*E-if **the woman does not have these traits** when he comes and brings money in his pocket or something, **he won't offer it to the woman**, or he will avoid her, or he will just hide what he brought in his pocket and will tell the woman that he didn't get paid his salary, just because he doesn't feel pleased at home (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (60)*

It is significant that **women's sexual satisfaction** is apparently not mentioned either in statements made by men or in those of women.

Some **women** indicated that **putting their desires in second place** was something they learned in the Program, and they saw it as a necessary condition for ensuring that their partners were faithful. Acceptance of men's need for sexual release is a clear assumption in this exchange:

E-And to prevent him from finding another woman?

*P- Just **meet what he wants, when he wants to have sex you must accept** for him not to start dating another woman.*

E-Was there any change in your sex life?

*P-Yes **changed** because the way we now **when he wants to have sex I attend him** even if he threatens me I accept so that he doesn't "go outside", because otherwise he is going to give the money to the other woman.*

E-And how was it before?

*P-**Before I used to refuse saying that I also need to rest.***

E-And then he used to go and look for another woman?

P-Yes, because he is man.

E – And you learned that from TT?

P-Yes I learned in TT . (Group of women rural Sofala) (61)

In their statements, **women** strongly emphasized the **respect** that they should show their husbands, for example, going out to greet them when they come home from work. Women

questioned the violence their husbands exhibited if they were not attentive to them, and mentioned the change represented by husbands behaving respectfully toward their partners. The following statements illustrate how the husband's respectful behavior encouraged the wife to behave respectfully, resulting in domestic harmony.

E – When he arrives home and is not received by wife and violence

F – What did he do if the woman did not receive him?

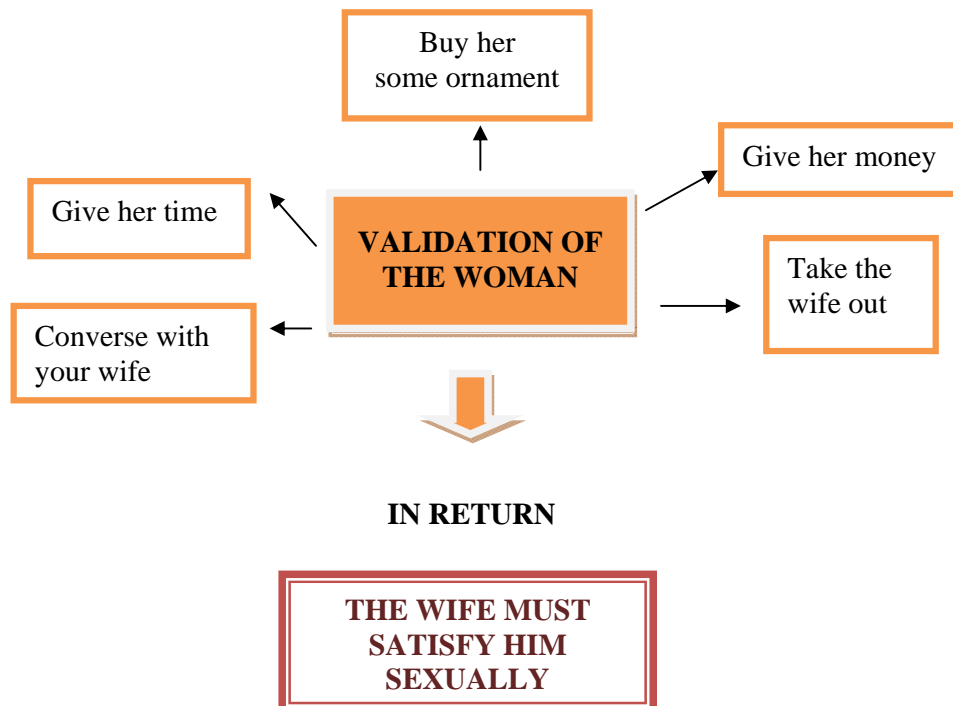
*E-There are still people with bad behavior, some gross men if they think that you didn't receive them properly, and he knows for example that he brings home some prawns, then he will throw the plastic bag on your face, but there are still some other men, who are still **respectful** whether they are received by the wife or not, they still show respect **because they know that she is the wife** and after that the woman receives. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (62)*

It is hard to establish overnight the recognition of the value of women.. However, despite some evidence to the contrary, there are signs of profound changes in towards a more humane image of women. Thus, in the discussions about perceived feelings, men show that they have begun to develop a consideration towards their wives, although in a veiled way. For example men talked about how their wives might feel pain, which apparently had previously been ignored:

*Now with TT, things have changed, at least, the man has realized also that **woman feels pain too**, that's why they show her respect.. (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (63)*

Many men said they had stopped beating their wives whenever something bothered them and that they had internalized the value of conversation as the first step towards agreement and harmony.

Discursive construct of the validation of the woman (wife) according to men



4.2. Relationships between men and women: machismo and rights

Before getting into the analysis of these themes, it is necessary to clarify that there is no clear understanding of the meaning of the word **rights**, since it is often confused with duties. (When speaking of property rights, the confusion is minor). Perhaps this is due to the existence (or lack thereof) of equivalent terms in the native languages that participants received information in, or to a different definition of the semantic fields. This phenomenon ought to be investigated, since the confusion compromises communication of the Program's messages.

• Inheritance and property rights

Women related how families acted towards widows. Women and their children were not acknowledged to have any rights to family possessions — something that has changed since the arrival of the Program.

*It struck me because here in our community this happens, If we only give birth to girls, when the husband dies, the family of the deceased husband chases us away from the house and they tell us **that we have not any possession rights**. (Group of woman, peri-urban Sofala) (64)*

Although **men** addressed this theme less frequently, some did comment on it. In the following quote, the participant relates how previously, he had thought it was normal for a woman to look for another man when she found herself a widow, so therefore it was justifiable to strip her of her belongings:

... we thought it was normal when a husband dies and the family of her husband takes all the goods and the woman marries another man, but not now... (Group of men, urban Sofala) (66)

For men, in some cases, a woman's right to property can only be justified by the presence of children:

*(...) is a thing that happens in many places around the world, the widow leaves the house and the children, if this happens to me, **I'll take care of her and give her more support because of the children I had with her**. (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (67)*

In the past, a widow without children who tried to keep some property was considered to be a thief.

For other participants, a woman's right to family property was justified in modern times because the woman worked as much as her husband and contributed her money towards maintaining the family. The following dialogue clearly shows the logical threads that support the mental model held by the Nampula participants:

*2-(...) at that time **when women had their little cash they didn't share it to help pay household expenses**, they would just keep their money only to buy their capulanas (local clothes).
P3-sometimes they would take the money to help their own mothers, but now with TT, now they help their husbands with their money.
(...)*

*P-the idea that they had was that the **house only belongs to the man** and not the woman or both. (They spoke together).*

E-And now what happens?

P-now they don't do that, when we have something we eat together until it the money is finished (,,)

P – in the past the woman would lose everything

E-And now how are things?

P-Now the woman can keep the property because now they work together, man and woman. (,,)

E-But you said in the past she would lose everything, why? I didn't understand the reason

*P-Because the **man was the only one who worked**. (Group of men, rural Nampula) (68)*

On the other hand, the participants felt that currently more women's rights are recognized, and women have the opportunity to seek help to keep their property from being taken away.

*Now women when they have a problem with their husbands they solve them without many troubles , but before when they had a quarrel over the house or land, the husband would keep everything for himself, the woman had no any rights, even with children but **now the situation has changed**. (Group of women, rural Zambezia) (69)*

A will written by the man is a mechanism that the participants recognized as a way to avoid conflict and avoid stripping the family property from the widow and children.

*When a men and women live together at home or **when they're sick, they should write a will** and say that when I die these things will stay with my kids, and this Testament they must keep in a safe place, then when the man dies, the family may want to come with trouble to the widow, then she must find that paper written by her husband and clarify the confusion . (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (70)*

CHANGES: Rights of inheritance (according to the women)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
Women and children had no right to inherit the husband's property.	Widows and children do have rights.
If the widow had only daughters, her situation was worse.	
The family of the deceased husband threw them out of the house and took away their things	They know that taking these things away is not good.
Law suits	No property disputes
Nothing was hers	The widow may decide to give some of the items that are in the house, but if she has a few or many children, she may decide not to give anything to the family of the deceased
Men did not make wills	They make wills to avoid law suits and so that their children may divide the property in an orderly manner
	If the woman marries again, she can lose everything
Women's rights to property were not recognized	Their rights are more likely to be respected

CHANGES: Rights of inheritance (according to the men)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
The brothers of the dead man ended up with all the belongings of the widow and children	They know that the property of the deceased belongs to the widow and her children
	People know that the property in the home belongs equally to both the wife and to the husband
	Some think that the wife will have a right to the family property provided that she works on a par with her husband
As soon as the widow met another man, they took away all her things	The widow and her children can have the things they have inherited
The husband's family took away all the widow's belongings, particularly if she had something of value or if she had no children	They know that stripping widows of their property is prohibited

- **Who is boss in the house**

The **women** re-affirmed that, since they entered the Program in their area, **it is no longer the husband who is boss in the home**. Many re-affirmed that now both husband and wife had an equal say in family life.

In the past when a woman went to school the husband would say that she is just going to look for a man and sex, now men accept that a woman goes to school, has a job and even wears trousers, not the man is not the only one who makes decision at home, the woman can also make decisions. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (71)

Although participants were emphatic that things had changed since the Program began, it was clear that relations between men and women were not as egalitarian in other contexts (faithfulness, for example).

For their part, many **men** thought that they were still the boss at home, while others worried that changes could alter the couple's relationship and lead women to revolt.

In spite of disagreements, it was clear that couples' attitudes had changed towards greater understanding. According to the discussion, when a conflict arose they first tried to discuss the matter and, if they still could not agree, they sought advice from members of the community before going to the authorities.

- **Work, roles and household chores: possibilities and problems**

- Household chores

Some **men** recognized that they were expecting **their wives to do all the housework**:

I used to treat my wife as a maid. I expected my wife do all the housework. (Group of men, peri-urban Sofala) (72)

They considered it normal that the woman carried all the tools to work the land or chop wood while the man came home empty-handed, and that she would then continue doing housework while he rested. Some statements showed the surprise they felt upon learning that men could participate in household chores:

To tell the truth, I didn't know that a man can wash dishes, that a man can cook food, man can bathe the children, and worse, I didn't know that a man can carry wood when coming from the field. (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (73)

Some participants thought that expecting the woman to do all the housework was to "dominate" her and that it was not good. Others affirmed that acting that way brought conflict into the home. He expected her to do everything, she protested and they ended up fighting. However, the men also realized that their wives were opposed to their husbands doing any household chores, seeing this participation as a criticism:

*Just to add, at that time it was normal that women do everything alone, even **when a man wanted to help them, they didn't like it and they could even question you want to make me lose my position as woman**, or you mean that I am not doing my work properly, women used to ask these questions because it was not normal for a man to do housework ... (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (74)*

Some **women** viewed negatively the **husband's helping** around the house, although this had begun to change since the Program intervened. They attributed their husbands' lack of collaboration in household chores to social pressure. The idea that it was natural for the man not to participate and to let himself be waited on was very deeply rooted, to the point that the woman who succeeded in changing that situation were suspect: it was thought that she had practically bewitched her husband:

***In the past the man couldn't do it, because people would say that the woman bewitched her husband**, her husband is under effect of drugs. Now we are opening our eyes, because the man who does this, it's because he love to help his wife, isn't any drugs. (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (75)*

Some women mentioned that their husbands wash dishes, carry water, bathe the children, etc., which was seen as a change. Others confessed that their partners did some things around the house, but that other things, such as cooking and washing dishes, continued to be their sole responsibility. Some men corroborated this and said they did these chores only when their wives were sick.

Moreover, there were also some who said that, since they entered the Program, their sons' attitudes had changed to the point that now they would catch them preparing the meal while they were out.

Although the women represented the changes as being generalized, some **men** indicated that their helping their wives was still seen as strange, and in some cases, caused some rejection by neighbors and friends.

*... When the program came I understood that things do not work that way, we have to share the activities. Women used to literally do everything, now I've seen that for example a **man can do everything**: Clean the table, clean the yard, **and these days my friends say that nowadays I don't belong to them any longer.***

F-Why they say that?

E-Because lately they don't like the changes I am making in my life, I am staying more at home, and they already start finding that very strange. (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (76)

Another interesting dimension that came up in discussion linked the obligation to participate in housework with fear of the wife's displeasure:

*In the past, nobody respected women, but now when a woman comes, her husband **trembles with fear, men do their best to make sure that she finds everything done**, if she goes to the river to get some water, the man will stay at home helping in finding the firewood for her, we are currently living freely and there are no any problems, thanks to TT. (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (77)*

° Machamba

Many **women** did not see "**Machamba**" **work** as working outside the home .

I don't have a job. I'm just going to my machamba and I participate in TT. (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (78)

One of the changes that the Program produced was getting men to collaborate in tasks typically considered as feminine, such as:

Do machamba, draw water to be used in the latrines, washing dishes, washing, ironing. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (79)

In the case of *machamba*, the man's participation could increase production and with it, the family's well-being.

*It was good, and I now go to machamba with my wife and I see that we **increased our production**. (Group of men, peri-urban Sofala) (80)*

Some men who identified themselves as peasants, thought that **field work should be borne equally by both members of the couple** and that the produce obtained should be divided: half to eat and half to sell. These opinions suggest the appearance of a rigid model for the distribution of labor that needs to be investigated in greater depth, as it could be a masked form of increasing the women's work.

° Work and roles

As seen in the following quote, jobs and tasks were **pigeonholed by gender**: women had their fixed tasks, and men had theirs,— something that the participants feel has changed since the arrival of the Program:

F – How was the work of man before TT

*E - Now it is different, everybody is doing **the same kind of work***

E-Before it was only going to work, take the tools and cut trees, that was a man's job

F – In the past, what did you think was men's job? One person said that there was nothing for him to do, another one said building, go to work in a company, go to machamba, cut firewood, more? and what was women's work?

E – Do machamba, draw water for toilets, washing dishes, washing, ironing. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (81)

Following this line of thought that tasks are divided by gender, some female participants concluded that having children was a woman's job:

F – another woman's job

*E – **Giving birth to children is women's work**. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (82)*

Women believed that these days men were just as likely as women to carry out the same tasks and do the same jobs, so that everything is "mixed up," as can be seen in the following quote:

*It is **all mixed**, the **man does the same as the woman**, if they go to machamba the woman carries the tools while the man carries the baby, when they come back, while*

one of them cleans the house, the other one is cooking, when the man is coming home from his job arriving at home she receives his bicycle, she prepares water for his bath and she helps him in his shower, she washes his clothes and cooks. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (83)

The women easily accepting this equality when their partner was working in the *machamba*; however, **when he had a job in the city**, the woman's role to wait on him was reinforced in the discussion:

*If the husband comes back from work the **woman receives**, if he is riding a bicycle she receive and she gets him a glass of drinking water and she **prepares water for his bath and rubs his** body in the bath. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (84)*

The discourse on equality between men and women has resulted in women being **involved in tasks that previously were typically men's work** (such as cutting firewood and working in construction), although many times their participation consisted of helping their partners, as can be seen in the following quote:

*E-When a man works in the machamba or when he cuts trees the **woman also helps** carrying the wood.
-When they're building the man works close to the woman and she helps him by giving him the blocks or grass. (Group of women, rural Zambezia) (85)*

The **subordinate role of the woman** is shown in the following discussion — while the woman might correct work that the man had done badly, she dare not complain about it; moreover, the women were more likely to share in what was previously men's work and to agree with the fact that their husbands asked them to.

***Woman also helps man** (...) If he is **building** a bathroom the woman will help and not just complain that the work is wrong here, no, she'll fix where the work is not ok. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (86)*

P-My husband changed because I can hear what he says, sometimes he asks me to go to the field to help him, and I used to go and, while he cut firewood, I help him tying up and carrying the wood.

E-And how was it in the past?

P-In the past, that was a man's job, I was not allowed to do it. Now when he talks I listen to him and he can see that, and says yes, my wife is learning something in the TT, now she listens to me. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (87)

Men, for their part, were receptive to the idea that women could help them in their work, and in one group it was one of the first things mentioned when they were asked what they had learned in TT. They believed that their wives' collaboration contributed to harmony in the home. Interestingly, this theme was brought up by a participant who stated that he had two wives.

Regarding working outside the home, for example in the marketplace, , the **men** interviewed confirmed that they used to think that a woman who went out to **work was actually prostituting herself**. Some acknowledged that this was how they used to think:

When my wife went to work or to trade in the market I thought she is going to look for other men and for sex. (Group of men, peri-urban Sofala) (88)

... In the past we thought she was a prostitute, but now we know that she only goes to work to help the home. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (89)

Men also mentioned the idea that a woman's work could help the family by bringing in income:

*In a house when the two work, woman and man, even earning a little money when they add it together it **helps** a lot.* (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (90)

However, the discussion shows that this continues to be a **sensitive subject** that many face with fear or at best, discomfort. According to their statements, although men might be more disposed now to accept their wives' working, when asked directly about a possible job for his wife, the following participant revealed his mistrust:

F – But to be honest for example now if someone comes and offers her employment in Mocuba would you able to let her go or not?

*E-(laughed) Yes, I guess so I'll let her, because it is a job for her and that'll do well for everyone. **But she will have to control herself and always remember that she is married.*** (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (91)

In addition, some participants saw **women's having a measure of economic independence** was seen as a **source of conflict**. Participants thought that, in some cases, the women would decide to help their original families instead of supporting their husbands' families as they ought to, and this made them insecure.

*...women differ from one another, there are **women that when they get a job, there is no more harmony at home**, other women when they have a job they give their salaries to their mothers, this does not comply with a woman's role, normally she should feel more cheerful to help her husband* (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (92)

It was also mentioned that the wife's working could provoke her neighbors' envy, further contributing to the lack of harmony. The fact that the woman would earn so little that it would not be worthwhile for her to work was also mentioned.

On the other hand, some participants reported the persistence of **open opposition by many men** in their community, who still did not allow their wives to work:

*It struck me because **there are many men who do not accept that their women go to work**; now as we are learning, it may be that men accept that their women get jobs.* (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (93)

Finally, some **men's** statements suggested that the fact that their partners were working made them feel **less pressure to play the role of provider**. From the discussion it was not clear whether this attitude made them require their wives to work; however, this may be possible and should be investigated. It is important here to note that some thought that widows' rights to family property were based on wives' making an equal economic contribution, as seen previously.

° Recreation for women

Although this subject was not addressed systematically in the discussion, **men** did mention it in passing. As with women working, recreation was viewed with mistrust, and it was thought that it would only lead women into prostitution. In the following quote, the participant speaks about undergoing a change; however, the word *always* shows the insecurity that, even today, he feels when his wife takes part in recreation:

When our wives or daughters were at a party or any other dance festivity we used to be suspicious because we thought that they will behave like prostitutes but now we see that it is not always the case. (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (94)

• **Daughters have the right to education**

Education was also prohibited for women — something that was changing thanks to the Program's influence.

In the past daughters couldn't study because if they go to school they are going to become prostitutes, only the boys could go to school. (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (95)

CHANGES: Roles (according to the women)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
The man was the boss in the home.	Both take the lead in family life.
Men did not allow their wives to work outside the home; it was considered prostitution.	There are still many men who don't allow their wives to work; some do accept it.
It was thought that a woman's work was to cook, wash, take care of her husband, and go to the <i>machamba</i> . She should not work in the street.	People know that a wife can work to help her husband with expenses.
If a man helped around the house, it was thought that his wife had drugged him.	If a man helps around the house, many think that it is out of love.
They didn't help around the house, we had to wait on them.	Men help out with household chores.
	People know that a man can do all the household chores that only a woman did before.
Sons did not help around the house.	Some women say that they do help.
Adult daughters could not go to school, since it was thought that they were going to prostitute themselves.	A greater proportion are going.
Work was divided between men's work and women's work, with specific tasks.	It is mixed, men and women help each other with their respective tasks.
Men demanded to be greeted at the door by their wives when they returned home; if the wife didn't do it, he beat her.	Women have learned to greet their husbands. Some husbands do not get angry, but complain if they are not properly welcomed, and others do get angry.
Men did not give money to their wives.	Some wives keep the money, and the couple decides together how to spend it.

CHANGES: Roles (according to the men)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
The man was the boss in the home.	The man is the boss in the home.
It was expected that the wife would do all the housework.	The man collaborates on household chores and looking after the children. Even today this is seen as strange by neighbors and friends.
	Some men admitted to helping in some way; however, some tasks remained the sole responsibility of the wife.
They didn't give their wives money; their wives didn't know what their husbands had.	The husband gives them money so they are happier and perform better in bed.
If a wife earned any money, she used it to buy herself clothes or gave it to her parents; she didn't use it for household expenses.	Some women are putting their money towards household expenses.
They didn't take their wives out.	This has changed; the man shares more time with his partner.
Wives did not sit at the same table with their husbands.	
The wife worked the <i>machamba</i> alone.	The man helps her, and as a result, productivity has increased.
The wife carried the tools for field work.	The man helps her.
The wife carried the firewood on her head and the husband carried nothing.	
The husband worked alone.	The wife has to help him; in the case of agricultural

CHANGES: Roles (according to the men)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
	work, she must do half.
A wife's working outside the home (in the marketplace, for example) was seen negatively; it was thought that she was prostituting herself.	Many accept that women work, and see their earnings as a contribution to the wellbeing of the family. Some express insecurity thinking about this possibility. Some men feel less pressure to work because their wives are working.
Women did not work outside the home.	Some work. They know that they have the right to work.
A woman did not go to school; if she did, it was thought that she was prostituting herself.	Some go to school, and not everyone thinks badly of it.
Women did not go to dances or gatherings alone, if they did, it was thought that they were prostituting themselves.	It is known that that is not always the case.

4.3. Faithfulness: the meaning of cultural constructions

The discursive analysis of what is meant by faithfulness reveals multiple meanings that differ between men and women and, to some degree, by geographic area. In Nampula, both men and women were less familiar with the term, and apparently with the concept as well, than in the other two localities studied.

• The meaning of faithfulness according to the men

The meaning of faithfulness is complex and varied, and constructed along a continuum that includes attitudes that are highly diverse and, up to a point, contradictory. Some defined faithfulness as not having sexual relations with other people. In this view, being unfaithful implied betrayal:

*For me, I think it's not only that, being **faithful is not betraying your wife sexually with other women outside.** (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (96)*

Hence, faithfulness implied not lying or deceiving and honoring one's wedding vows:

*For me, I think that being faithful is not that, you can love someone and not be faithful to that person, from my point of view **being faithful is not deceiving, not betraying and honoring the marital commitment**, that's what I think. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (97)*

For some, the mere fact of **loving** your wife deeply implied faithfulness:

*For me I think **fidelity is profound love** that can exist between two people, married or dating. I have to really show my partner how I feel, and we both have to show to the society that there is no one we love more than our partner. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (98)*

In this exchange, the idea of being **realistic**, of being **frank**, that is, knowing how to explain to your partner what is going on was also related to faithfulness.

F-Yes, in this case what does it mean for you to really be faithful?

E – To me means to be realistic with your partner

F – But be realistic. If I say e.g., "Today I do not want to bathe, that's my reality," is thus the same? so I'm being faithful?

*E-It isn't **about betraying another person**, it is about **knowing that you must use a condom**, and **know how to explain** to others about what happens. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (99)*

It is significant that one of the participants in the dialogue connected the idea of not betraying one's partner with "knowing how to use condoms." This links the concept of **faithfulness** with the concept of **not transmitting HIV**, and is illustrated in the following statement in which the use of condoms was suggested as a way to remain faithful:

*Currently **being faithful is easy just buy a condom**, and then you cannot pass diseases. (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (100)*

The word **respect** has a broad meaning, but is often related to the ability to maintain harmony and avoid violence. In the following quote, respect was related to faithfulness.

***Respect your wife, have unity and peace at home and know how to protect yourself; this is fidelity.** (Group of men, peri-urban Sofala) (101)*

Moreover, the man who respects his wife will abstain, for example, from having relations with her if he thinks he has contracted a disease.

According to some, **communication**, that is, taking the time to sit down and talk with one's wife, is a good way to prevent infidelity, by bringing understanding and love into the home (Group of men, urban Nampula) .

At the other end of the continuum, we found the mental model that perceives **men as uncontrollable by nature**, so that the fact that men had relations with other women was found to be fully justified. In this model, **faithfulness was equated with treating the wife well**. Having good manners, not wasting money on other women, and asking forgiveness after "going astray" were ways the husband earned the description of "faithful."

*E-you **can walk outside**, but when you get home you **must have manners**.*

F-what do you mean or what manners are those that man must have after going outside?

*E-I mean you should **know how to explain yourself, and apologize as appropriate to your wife**, these are the manners.*

F-Do you mean just that, he gets back home, shows respect and justifies himself well, and then already he is faithful to his wife?

E-Yes, you should speak with respect and not complain loudly because doing so you will have a fight. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (102)

F-And how is it that a man can be faithful to his wife even walking away?

*E-It is **when the man comes back home and respects his wife**. (Group of men, urban Sofala) (103)*

F-How does a man can be faithful even while going outside?

*E- It is possible, **this means that a man can walk outside with other women even without thinking of marrying them and without spending much money with friends**, when you do that your money stays at home and is kept safely by the lady of the house. (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (104)*

In Nampula, some participants had never heard the word "fidelity." In their discussion, going out with other women was presented as a **male prerogative** that men used to combat boredom. One participant said that if a man has "rat curry" at home, he will try to vary his diet and eat "rabbit" from time to time. Being with the same woman all the time was like

never changing your clothes. From this point of view, the changes the Program proposed were a matter of degrees, as seen in the following quote. Here, respecting your wife meant not sleeping with another woman, not going to see her every day, being able to go a week without seeing her.

*E-Please tell me, I heard that you still continue with those from Okuipi (outside), I was told that you still respect your wife at home, what does it mean to **respect or what do you do to show respect** to your wife at home while you have the others outside?*

P-First respect is never sleep there (outside).

P2-Don't go outside every day.

P3-You have to stay a week without going there.

P4-There are some men that when they have someone outside, when they get back home they create trouble with their old wife, now she is nothing, this is not good.

E-But why not just leave this business of outside and just stay with the wife?

*P-You can't wear the same clothes forever without changing. **We need to change clothes;** that's the only reason. (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (105)*

Perhaps this point of view and the confidence with which they defended it was attributable to the influence of Islam and its acceptance of polygamy, however, the discussion analyzed here contains very few references to this faith.

If the concept of faithfulness is less known and less internalized, the perceived relationship between "going outside" and being faithful will also be low. If being faithful means keeping your promise and being true to your word, then a man can keep his promise to help his wife in the *machamba* and still have a girlfriend. The participants saw no contradiction in this.

E-You didn't answer my question about how it is that someone is faithful even "walking outside"?

*P- The answer is that **you can be faithful and fulfill your promise** and may still have a friend, that is not a big deal.*

E-Sorry but what kind of promise?

P3-Those examples we gave at the beginning.

P4-Yes, that's just not get home at night, as well as TT, forbade us already, then it doesn't pose an issue, the person can walk outside and be faithful to his wife. (Group of men, rural Nampula). (106)

In another focus group in the same area (Nampula), participants never managed to arrive at a definition of faithfulness. When asked the question, the participants remained silent for several moments and then referred to their poor ability with Portuguese. The meanings they proposed for the term are as follows:

- Fidelidad es estar **libre de preocupaciones** en la vida, es decir "*Gungugu*" en lengua macua. (Lo que quiere decir: "*sem nenhuma preocupação*" (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural). Con esto se refieren por un lado a preocupaciones de cuestiones materiales como tener la suficiente comida, y, por otro, a cuestiones afectivas. Por eso un informante dice que la fidelidad se da cuando no se piensan cosas feas del hogar. Es decir es **tranquilidad y bienestar**.
- La fidelidad es además **ser bueno**, hacer lo que se debe; por lo tanto tiene que ver con seguir las indicaciones que les da el Programa.
- La fidelidad tiene que ver además con la **confianza**: *wamineya*
- Faithfulness is being **free from worries** in life, that is to say, "*Gungugu*" in the Macua language. (It means: "*without any concern*") (Group of men, rural Nampula).

In this, they were referring, on the one hand, to preoccupations of a material nature, such as having enough food, and on the other, relational issues. One participant said that there was faithfulness when people were not thinking ugly things about the home — that is to say, **tranquility and wellbeing**.

- Faithfulness also means **being good**, doing what has to be done; hence, it has to do with following the instructions given to them by the Program.
- Faithfulness also has to do with **trust**: *wamineya*.

Even though they said they did not know what the term means, their intuition told them that it had to do with the semantic field identified in the statements of those who felt more secure with the concept. In this way, faithfulness was converted into something generic. We do not know the extent to which the Program messages themselves inspired an imprecise use of the term, but what is clear is that its use can reach extremes such as that expressed in the following statement, in which being faithful can even mean not relieving yourself on the patio of the house:

*P6-For me, **fidelity means to follow the advice and guidance we receive.***

E-But what kind of advice?

*P6-The advice **not to do evil.***

E-But what kind of evil, can you give an example of an evil?

P6-For example when you are told, don't shit on the yard, but in the bush. (Group of men, rural Nampula) (107)

On the other hand, the mental model that sees male unfaithfulness as natural is challenged by HIV/AIDS, which suggests the usefulness of a narrower meaning for the term "faithfulness."

*E-I think we should remember that there are diseases that we must avoid, so **even if we show respect this won't help.***

*E-That's right we must know that **this isn't fidelity**, even if we lie to our wives, we did nothing. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (108)*

Some emphatically asserted that those who "went outside," who were of two hearts, should not be considered faithful.

*And he is a man **that has two hearts** so he is absolutely not faithful. (Group of men, peri-urban Sofala) (109)*

Others thought that being unfaithful or "going outside" always brought problems into the home, since this behavior forces resources to be shared.

(...) when you walk outside with another woman something will end up going wrong, so to be faithful, you must have only one woman at home, take care of your children and share. (...)

-What will go wrong?

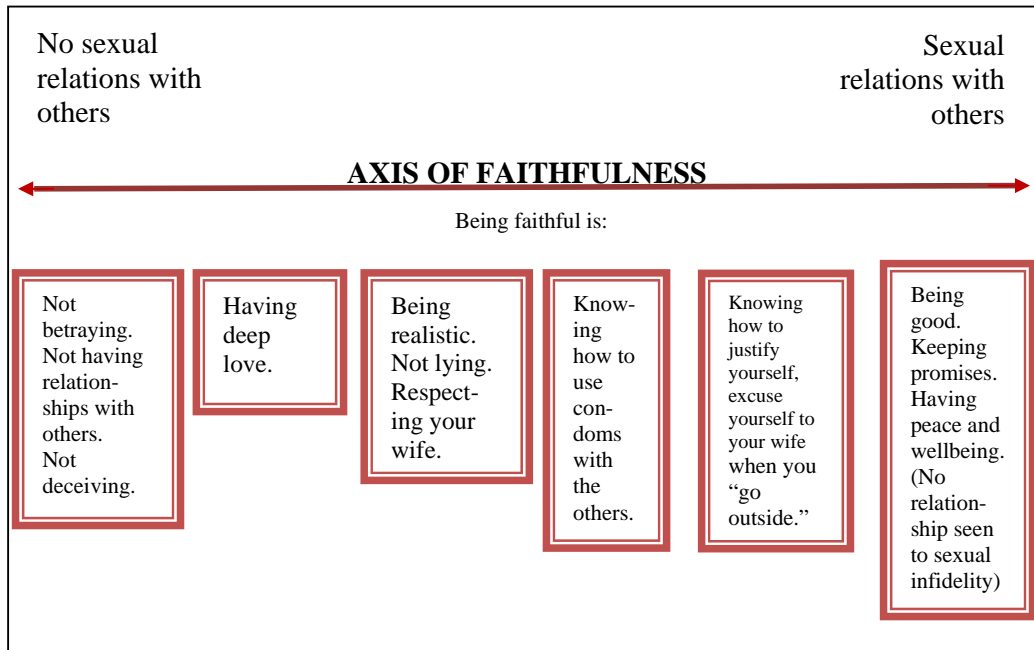
P2-Because you can't "walk out" with another woman without taking out something like money, or something else for her, so that is what is wrong. (Group of men, urban Nampula) (110)

Finally, for some, faithfulness was something that had to be practiced as much by men as by women:

F-Between man and woman who should be faithful to each other?

E-I think both must be faithful. (men Group, Zambezia urban) (111)

Discursive construction of male faithfulness as seen by men



- **The meaning of faithfulness according to women**

Women connected the **husband's faithfulness** to the wife's behavior and believed that there was a causal relationship:

*To **remain faithful** look at his wife's behavior since their wedding until today, if they share the same ideas, if she also helps her husband when he is doing some work.* (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (112)

This means that **the woman is the one responsible for her husband's faithfulness**, thus, she must: *respect him, help him* in his work, take care of him by cooking for him, for example, and look after the husband's family.

*Another thing is that when her husband's family comes to visit, she must **give them her full attention, this is what respect is all about.*** (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (113)

In addition to this, the discussion highlighted **the communication that the wife had to initiate** with regard to family expenses, the education of the children, and plans for having sex together:

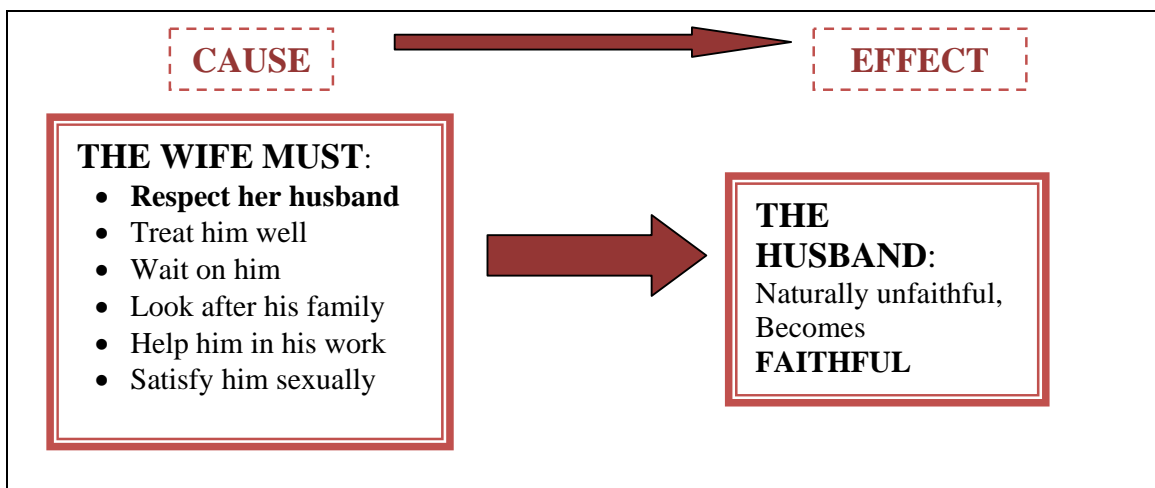
*... the woman must give good **advice to her husband**. If she does so, her husband respect her and he will think my wife will really never abandon me* (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (114)

In conclusion, according to the women, **wives are responsible for the faithfulness of their partners** and for the state of abandonment that they and their children might suffer.

Respect, that is, not mistreating or insulting the husband and waiting on him, were presented in the women's discussions as the women's **weapons** to keep their husbands from taking a mistress.

This means that at the superficial level, relationships between the genders seem to be more egalitarian; however, when the women let their guard down, old mental models rise up again which, fundamentally, **justify more traditional male behavior (unfaithfulness) and make women solely responsible for understanding and communication within the family.** As one might imagine, household chores are not being shared by men as much as indicated in the discussions when the subject is changes in the home and in the relationships between partners. Welcoming and waiting on the husband is a deeply rooted way of showing him respect, and therefore, is very difficult to change.

Discursive construction of male faithfulness as seen by women



Faithfulness is the natural state for women, whereas for men, it is normal to have others. Women's **unfaithfulness** occurs mainly when there is suffering in the home or as revenge:

For a man it is normal to have other women; but when there is no understanding at home, women too have 'friends' (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (115)

A few women talked about **female unfaithfulness** as a common practice with which women earned some minimal income — a bit of bread to ease the family's hunger or perhaps a few gifts. In Zambezia, some women addressed this subject directly:

*E – I thought to myself, **my husband doesn't work, I want things**, what can I do now?*

E – I'll go to Mr. Antonio, since he works at the World Vision he is full of cash. As World Vision staff he can afford to split his salary for his house and the rest he can give to me, even if it is just 100.00 Meticais it is enough.... (the interviewer interrupted the Facilitator) (...)

*E –It doesn't matter, even with 7 Men if necessary, **what I want is just some bread, I don't care about protecting my body.** (Group of women, urban Zambezia) (116)*

According to this statement, the payment that could be received was the main motivation for the woman to go out with another man; they did not see the possible health consequences of this behavior.

The other reason for female infidelity is **revenge**. According to some participants, if a man is not faithful, the woman should not imitate him or defy him, that is, confront him, since that could provoke a violent reaction from him.

Also we learned that even if you know that your husband is betraying you with other women, you must never imitate them or challenge them, because that would be violence. (Group of women, rural Zambezia) (117)

If the woman imitates her husband and also "sleeps around" to get even, she is also putting herself in danger of catching a disease. Now, it is understood that this type of competition is not the best path to harmony and family health:

***In the past it was like a competition:** If the husband was sleeping outside the wife would also sleep outside to get even, although she was aware that they could both bring diseases, it didn't matter that much. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (118)*

Some feel that what **women whose husbands are unfaithful should do** is to wait for a calm moment to ask him about it, show him the dangers of his behavior and ask him not to do it anymore.

-...and that stuff, faithfulness?

*-We have already learned that you must **never challenge** your husband if he slept with any Belita, never rebel yourself, we just carry on doing our housework, the best a woman can do is to wait for a more **peaceful moment to ask him where he has been last night**, why he didn't sleep at home, **softly without fight, and finally bring it to his attention that this behavior can have implication on the children**. And **ask him to be careful and not to do it again**. (Group of women, rural Zambezia) (119)*

In the following statement, the participant says that men are very needy (the man as a being who has to let off steam), but she thinks that this behavior of "sleeping around" represents an overindulgence that their sons might imitate, and for that reason it is better if they are unfaithful during daytime hours.

*Now **if a man sleeps outside the woman cannot imitate**, she must just give him clothes, water for shower, food and leave him alone to rest and later she can ask what is happening, where did he stay, then he responds even if he's lying the woman just draw his attention by saying that there are many diseases lately and if you go look for diseases, me I don't want to get sick, I hope that this doesn't happen again, **I know that every man walks outside, but if you can't control yourself, at least do it in the daylight like others do, and don't show that you are sleeping outside that is not OK**, the kids can learn from you and it doesn't look good, they may think that is the good way to behave at home. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (120)*

Male masturbation was presented as an ancient custom that helped men avoid infidelity and enabled them to wait for their wives when the latter were prevented from having sex with them.

*-... **In the past men never prostituted themselves**, they just used to discharge*

F-Discharge what?

-Discharge sperm (beat off/masturbation) not like the men today... (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (121)

Some women participants were more egalitarian and thought that faithfulness consisted of each partner's knowing what the other was doing.

*Faithfulness is **understanding at home**, what the wife is doing the husband knows and what the husband is doing, the wife knows* (Group of women, rural Sofala) (122)

For **women**, **faithfulness** was also a polysemic term whose meaning was vague and imprecise. It could mean being good, helping around the house and maintaining harmony, or not sexually betraying one's partner.

Faithfulness means good people. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (123)

Women in Nampula, just like the men in the region, seemed insecure when confronted with questions related to "faithfulness." Some associated the term with "happiness." They referred to a time when men, wherever they might go, remembered that they had a wife at home and respected her, that is, they protected her economically, which made them faithful to a certain extent.

Promotion the term to the whole community in its most general meaning, loyalty, could reduce its effectiveness and strength, if what is end goal is reducing HIV transmission.

*... mainly about fidelity, the TT taught us that **all must be faithful to all**, not only to their partners, other people said a person must be faithful to their partner, but with TT I know that a person should not only be faithful to your partner, but the entire communities.* (Group of men, urban Sofala) (124)

It will be essential to research the corresponding terms in the native languages and their semantic fields to ensure fuller communication on this subject.

• **What faithful men and women are like**

Both male and female focus group participants were asked to describe their understanding of a faithful man and a faithful woman and to give their defining characteristics. In their statements, we see that the model for faithfulness for men as well as women is built on **two very different axes**, one having to do with sexual relations (in red in the table below) and the other, broader axis that is concerned with how one partner treats the other (in black in the table).

In constructing the model of the **faithful man**, the **men** emphasized **responsibility**, which apparently was associated with their role as provider. They also mentioned **respect**, trust, honesty, goodness, being a homebody, and the ability to maintain harmony in the home. The **women** emphasized **frankness**. For some, the man who had lovers but confessed the affairs to his wife was considered to be more faithful than the one who lied; while for others, the man who appeared to be calm, a family man, even if he is not in fact so, might be considered faithful. Spending time at home, not hiding money from his wife, not being violent or idle were also characteristics that women took into account when building their model of the faithful man, as seen in the next table.

As for the **axis of sexual relationships** outside the formal couple, it is clear that for many participants both male and female, the man could have mistresses and still be considered faithful, either because he is good at hiding what he was doing, because he uses condoms

with the other women, or because he gives his wife a good excuse and does not spend the couple's money on the other women.

*Since **being faithful is to be trusted**, then when a person is trusted by his wife he doesn't walk outside, **to be faithful he must walk out secretly** so that his wife continues to trust him. (Group of men, rural Nampula). (125)*

Some women in Nampula were so convinced of the normality of multiple sexual partners that they thought that those men who did not have extramarital relationships were unable to do so because they were not attractive to anyone. Women called these men *matreco* (that is, "cold," "serious," "unsociable and unattractive").

Many saw bringing HIV/AIDS into the home as a sign of unfaithfulness. It is significant to note that some men's focus groups (Nampula) did not spontaneously associate having relations with another woman as a sign of infidelity—the moderator had to ask about it explicitly.

A FAITHFUL MAN is one who:	
According to men	According to women
Does not go outside the marriage	Does not sleep around with other women
Does not betray his wife sexually with other women	Does not betray his wife very much .
Does not deceive	Is not known by another woman
	Goes astray but remembers that he has a wife at home and respects her
Uses condoms, knows how to use a condom	
Justifies himself or excuses himself after going astray. Regularly returns home.	Is frank
Goes astray but hides it well, so that his wife continues to trust him	Is unattractive , no one likes him; for this reason he remains alone with his wife (<i>não é gostado, é matreco</i>)
Goes astray but does not spend money on his mistresses, nor forms a couple with her. The money stays safely with his wife.	Tells the truth.
Comes home at a set time.	Is home early; Spends more time at home.
Is responsible	Is quiet
Does good things	Does not do evil, is good
Goes to work in the " <i>machamba</i> " with his wife	Is not idle
Respects his wife and his children	
Gets along with his wife, converses with her	
Is a friend to his wife and looks after her	
Thinks about his family	
Is honest, does not have problems with the police	
Is a man of his word	

The term **respect** holds many surprises. When asked what made a man faithful, the participant would inevitably answer, "respecting his wife;" however, in this case, the meaning of respect is hiding from her that he is "going outside," as seen in the following quote:

*P-that is **respecting** his wife*

E-Respect is what?

*P2-is to keep a secret **not disclose to people that you walk with someone else, is to be able to return home and stay with your wife**, get home stay quietly, without complaining loudly without arguing, then the neighborhood will begin to say this man is living very well with his wife, people will say that the this gentleman is faithful to his wife. (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (126)*

Some of the participants dared to question the majority's point of view, and expressed discomfort with behavior that is supposedly correct, but that has to be hidden:

*P3- we talk about hiding it because these are things that happen, the best thing is to only have one woman, your wife, **the central idea is to leave this "outside friend" stuff, stick to only one woman.** (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (127)*

According to men the defining characteristics of the **faithful woman** are **respect and attentiveness**, and "attentiveness" includes giving sexual satisfaction. The woman who was ready to wait on her husband and his family was considered faithful. The following quote is illustrative:

*F – And when do we say a **woman is faithful** to her husband?
_ It's when she **knows how to respect**, for example beyond that mountain over there the women are very loyal to their spouse, they know that they must serve **the best dish** to the son-in-law, that is being faithful to her husband
_ A woman should know that she **has only one husband**, knowing that when my husband comes home from work I **must have food ready**
_ Know that man's needs **must be met when he wants to have sex.**
F-When does a man feel well attended by his wife?
E-When **she stretches her clitoris in front of her spouse**, that's everything we learned in TT.
_ Yes, when a woman is faithful to her husband she keeps her husband, when the woman does not do this the husband could run away. (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (128)*

The **women** also brought up the **attentiveness** that they ought to show to their husbands:

*E-what they consider a **faithful woman**?
P-It's when she treats you **well**.
E-what is treating well?
P-It's when he returns home she gives him bath water, **prepares food** for him and she **irons his clothes**, then he sees that this woman is faithful to me. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (129)*

The concepts of a faithful woman and of a faithful man differed in that a faithful woman could not have extramarital relationships. If a woman "went outside," it demonstrated that she did not respect her husband, and so could not be considered faithful. In the words of one female participant: *A good woman, in my opinion, cannot have two men.* (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia). (130).

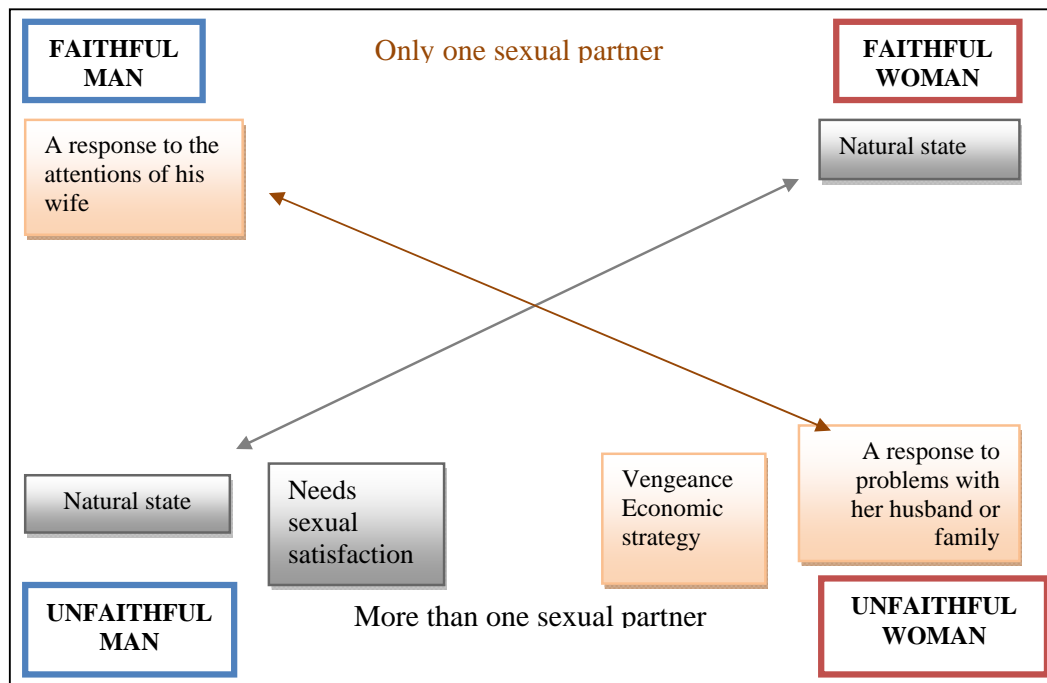
However, some women in Nampula indicated that not having other partners or at least suitors could be seen as strange in the community. This was one of the few instances in which women acknowledged that women in their town do not behave faithfully. When they were asked to describe a faithful woman, they described her in their native tongue as *masubi*, that is, defective, and considered it strange that no one would flirt with a woman (*asubiar* means flirt):

*E3-When do people say that woman is not liked?
E3-Yes, they say she has "masubi".
E4- Yes, **when you're only with your husband people think that this is not normal**, they usually wonder why they are always together, when a woman walks alone without anyone flirting with her they find that very strange. (Group of women, peri-urban Nampula) (131)*

A FAITHFUL WOMAN is one who:	
According to men	According to women
Does not go outside the marriage	Does not betray her husband
Has respect for her husband	Does not look for or get involved with other men
Speaks politely to her husband	Is quiet
Waits on her husband and his family well	Treats her husband well
Cooks for him and has dinner ready when he arrives	Waits on her husband: prepares food for him and washes and irons his clothes, prepares his bath
Is attentive to him when he wants to have sex with her, that is to say: is willing to <i>pucker up the labia minora (os clitoris)</i> to satisfy her husband	Is not idle
Does not spend a lot of time with the neighbor women	No one goes after her; she stays alone with her husband (<i>tem masubi</i> , that is to say, she is defective)
Lets her husband know every time she goes out	

Focusing on the axis of sexual relations as it relates to faithfulness (appearing in red in the two previous tables), we find a pattern of opposition between men and women that can be diagrammed as follows:

**Faithfulness and unfaithfulness:
Axis of sexual relations**



The natural state is unfaithfulness for men and faithfulness for women, while their opposites are produced as a response to a given situation. They have to be motivated.

- **Relationships and levels of commitment**

Participants were asked to define some concepts used to describe the distinct levels of commitment and the different types of couples and relationships in the area being studied.

- **Boyfriend**

According to the women, a boyfriend was the boy who gave the dowry for a wedding in the future thereby demonstrated that his **intentions were serious**, who proposed to establish a home with the girl.

According to the statements gathered in Nampula, the boy or girl in love, called *choshone*, was officially recognized by the family and could enter the partner's house at any hour without any problem.

- **Andar fora**

To the **men**, "going outside" indicated a **lack of commitment**. It occurred when the man had other women for a short time, with no desire to establish a lasting relationship. Living together, or the act of sharing daily life, could be the essential element that marks the boundary between "going outside" and something more stable:

*Yes, that's right, if he **doesn't spend all the night** with the other woman then he is just "walking outside", but if he sleeps there, wakes up, relaxes and washes himself and he returns to his true wife, then he is not walking out, that must be that he has a second wife (segundinha) (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (132)*

Although it might sometimes be lasting, a relationship of this type was characterized by the lack of commitment, which was chiefly demonstrated by the **absence of economic support**. According to the testimonies, it was evident that when the man "went outside" he did not maintain the house of the other woman; even having children with her did not necessarily mark the change in status in the direction of what was called "house number two," as seen in the following quotes. In many cases, the man did not recognize the children as his (did not register them), and as a result they had no rights:

*-Going outside means **dating, prostituting yourself** (not in the transactional logic but in the sense of promiscuity) , having three or more girlfriends outside, for example if I leave my wife at home and go to search for another woman, then I'm going outside*

-... going outside means, for example if you are looking for another lover

-...outside of the marital commitment, outside the conjugal relationship between partners.

-From the moment you go out dating and prostituting yourself, all you are doing is going outside (andar fora). (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (133)

-For me, it makes no difference, even if you don't stay much time with the other women, you're walking outside, regardless of being a long or short stay, this is going outside. (...)

*-if you have a child and don't have a house (with the other woman), then you're walking outside, but **if you have a child and house then that's another thing.** (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (134)*

*-If she is not your wife or he is not your husband, just a simple friend, even if you don't sleep there but **if this is not official** then you are going outside. (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (135)*

In Nampula, they used the local language (Macua) equivalent of "going outside," but the concept was the same.

Walking outside is ORARUA (local language), straying, messing around with other women besides your wife. (Group of men, rural Nampula). (136)

Moreover, the men thought that a woman he is "walking outside" with, tried to take advantage of the man as much as possible, since she knew that he was the husband of another woman and she had no hope of building a more stable relationship. Men in Nampula recognized that sometimes, in their desire to win the favors of the new partner, they might bring more money to the house of the other woman, but they acknowledged that without this contribution on their part the relationship would disappear.

On the other side, to the **women**, "going outside" meant that the man would not give his wife money, since he was spending it on his mistresses. It also meant **deception**, because those who "went outside" did not tell their wives. Some were very critical of this. They thought that "going outside" was synonymous with adultery, it meant having mistresses, and that the men who did this were **idle, scoundrels and thieves**, and **brought diseases** into the home.

*-Who walks out is **vadia**,
-Who isn't **vadia** doesn't walk out. Sometimes those who walk out they are robbing. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (137)*

Some participants also explained how men who had a mistress could totally lose interest in their wives, everything they did seemed bad to them, they didn't like the taste of their food nor the way they drew water, an attitude that left the wives without any weapons with which to negotiate. Moreover, some emphasized the harm this caused them by making them feel disrespected and criticized by neighbors and friends, so that finally "*woman gets no weight*" that is, she is without pride (group of women, peri-urban Nampula).

The fact that the other woman knew the husband's secrets caused suffering for the wife; however, the situation worsened if the mistress succeeded in remaining with him. The abandoned wife was seen as less of a woman by the community, which increased her feeling of being unprotected. In the Nampula region, "going outside" was called *hawala*.

The woman who "went outside" might also neglect her husband, which was expressed in various ways.

*You can easily notice that some women are walking because they **don't prepare bath water for their husbands any more**, they don't cook anymore, if she cooks the food is not good, then it's known straight away that she's got another man, she's going outside, it's like a man who has another woman, he only wants to beat his wife, then it's known straight away that he became a bad man because he has another woman. (Group of women, urban Zambezia) (138)*

For many participants, "going outside" was also synonymous with prostitution.

Who goes outside is hanging around, is prostituting him/herself. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (139)

Coinciding with the men's point of view, the **women** also thought that "going outside" did not imply any kind of commitment. Many participants felt that this behavior was criticized in the community; however, they recognized that many people were doing it. In general, the statements analyzed did not indicate any significant reduction in this type of behavior. Some women were aware of greater freedom among the young and stated that young people did not even take the trouble to introduce their partners to their families; however, some believed that, through the Program's influence and seeing the change in their parents, some young people would adopt an attitude of greater restraint.

This is relative, those who participate or have already heard about TT, they already have reduced it (going outside), are not very frequent, for example I have a daughter she was fooling around heavily, but when she realized that her mother was participating in the TT, she already decreased it because she is afraid. (Group of women, rural Zambezia) (140)

On the other hand, some female participants noted the **change in the reaction of the wives** whose husbands were "going outside." Before, the fact that the husband had other women was a source of conflict; however, now the wives **have learned to avoid confrontation** and the husbands "know how to return" and show respect in their home. Moreover, the women **no longer imitated** the behavior of their partners:

*-In the past, when he had a lover, when returning home **there was no understanding**, just noise, even **fighting**, he used to throw away the food I cooked. But **now when he walks out, e knows how to return home**.*
P-He knows how to return and show respect at home. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (141)

*- If the husband leaves and sleeps outside home, the wife cannot imitate him by going out with Mr. John, because it doesn't look nice, and we sit down with her to **explain that this is not right because it can bring diseases into the family**, because these days are not good, there are so many diseases out there, you can't imitate a man.* (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (142)

Some women, disagreeing with the other statements, thought that the custom of "going outside" had not diminished, since those who did it were resistant to change and did not want to participate in TT. Others maintained that the existence of many single women and the fact that young people rejected their parents' advice, considering them too old-fashioned were two reasons contributing to the persistence of this behavior. They justified this behavior with the idea of enjoying life while you can, since "there's no adultery in the cemetery."

*They say that if they die, **there is no adultery in the cemetery**, so they better enjoy the moment that is the same idea in both sexes.* (Group of women, urban Zambezia) (143)

° Prostitution

Throughout the analyzed discussions, no definition was found that coincided with the traditional meaning of the term: "exchanging sex for money." However, it was clear that the word is used to designate behavior that is highly reprehensible.

In this case she is prostituting herself, because she is not building any future, the man is already married. In the case of a young man it is ok, because he still has a future. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (144)

° **House two (Casa dó)**

According to the **women**, the expression "house number two" or "*palacanha*" refers to the other woman, who is known and accepted by the first wife. Apparently, in this arrangement, unfaithfulness does not come into play since there is acceptance and no deception:

P-If a man officially has two women, is it faithfulness?

R-I accepted because he told me, there are no problems

*R-Me as an adult and other adult women, we **understand, and accept that he can have another one.** I'll go and speak to this other woman and explain to her that my husband wants to stay with her, that I won't insult her and I accept to share him with her. (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (145)*

... House 2, is the second woman officially known because the one who went to that other woman's house was the first wife who legitimated the second marriage, so she is known. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (146)

According to some women, the second partner eventually acquires all the rights of the wife:

Yes, she obtains all the rights of a spouse. (Group of women, rural Zambezia) (147)

However, not all participants seemed willing to accept this situation. one of participant, who identified herself as a city dweller, said that there, women thought that the fact that their partner had another house meant that they didn't love them anymore; moreover, they believed that this situation endangered their health. A man from an urban area felt that there was not much difference between "sleeping around" and "house number two," since in both cases the man had a wife and a mistress on the side. Others discussed the difficulty of maintaining two houses and how it was always a source of economic problems and abandonment:

When a man has this behavior of having a woman outside, the man himself loses control of his house, when there is a problem he doesn't know how to solve it because his mind is a mess and he doesn't know what happens in his house, because he never stays there enough time. . (Group of men, urban Nampula) (148)

It is interesting to note that in the Nampula men's groups, where some of the participants stated that they had two wives, there was no probing of the subject. The women of the region said that polygamy was called *watxeya*, and, although they did not consider it to be an ideal situation, they believed it was better than going outside. They preferred this arrangement because of the man's commitment to both women, which guaranteed a certain equity and control, not only in economic matters but emotional ones as well.

*E3-No! such thing as polygamy is not a good thing, but the **worst thing is sleeping outside** with hawala, because then he is not known nor the woman is not known, so despite the fact that polygamy is also not good, but it is not as bad. (...)*

F-But what is the difference in all these things?

*E2-there is a lot of difference, for example in polygamy, when a man gets a thing **he knows how to split things up for his wives**, but it's difficult when they are lovers, you can stay a whole year without receiving anything from your husband because he gives everything to his lover. (Group of women, peri-urban Nampula) (149)*

CHANGES: Faithfulness (according to the men)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
"Going outside" was seen as a passing relationship that implied no commitment	"Going outside" is seen as a passing relationship that implies no commitment
It was a common behavior in the region.	It is a common behavior in the region. According to some, it has increased, since now the young people are also "going outside." They pay no attention to their parents' advice, since they think that their ideas are old fashioned.
	Those who are unfaithful do it knowing that it goes against the TT program guidance
	Many TT participants continue going outside.
	They go outside, but try to get home on time, spend time with their wives, and hide the fact. This is showing respect.
If they liked someone, they would start up a relationship without thinking whether or not they were in a position to keep two women.	They tend to respect their wives more and be more faithful, because they are afraid of HIV/AIDS.
People drank more, and that caused them to be unfaithful.	They drink less and are less unfaithful.
"House #2" implied commitment and acceptance on the part of the first wife and did not imply deception.	"House #2" implies commitment and acceptance on the part of the first wife and does not imply deception.
	A few see no difference between "going outside" and "House #2."

CHANGES: Faithfulness (according to the women)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
"Going outside" was a frequent behavior.	"Going outside" has diminished among the adults participating in the program. The young people imitate them.
	"Going outside" has not diminished among those who are not Program participants.
Wives confronted the husband who went astray, which stirred up violence.	Wives have learned to avoid confrontation and to teach their husbands the dangers of "going outside."
	The men who go outside have learned to come back (show respect).
If a man went outside, his wife would imitate him and do it too.	Women have learned that they must not imitate this behavior of their husbands.
"House #2" implied commitment and acceptance on the part of the first wife and did not imply deception.	"House #2" implies commitment and acceptance on the part of the first wife and does not imply deception.
The first wives accepted "House #2."	Some do not accept "House #2" and think that its existence endangers their health.
Some think that before there was more respect and people did not go outside as much because they were afraid.	Now, they are not afraid to go outside.
Some men had two wives. They did not abandon the older one, but maintained them both.	Many men abandon their wife and go with the other woman.
	Women now understand that it is not good to go out with someone to receive economic benefit.

4.4. Meaning of coitus and the function of the condom

The concept of mutual **sexual satisfaction** did not appear in the discussions that were analyzed. When the subject was addressed, they only talked about male satisfaction and what the wife must do to satisfy her partner. The participants re-affirmed that before, women **could not take the initiative**, as that was frowned upon for two reasons. First, the fact that a woman might have desires was interpreted as indecent: having bugs in her vagina.

Secondly, for the woman to usurp the male role was emasculating to him. In the discussions, there were a few indications that this situation has changed.

*-In the past for example when it was time to play on the bed women couldn't touch her husband, i.e. **she couldn't be the first to ask for sex** to her husband because he could get angry and beat her*

-Women couldn't even try that, because then her husband could insult her by telling that she's got vermin in her vagina (Group of women, rural Zambezia) (150)

E – A wife cannot tell the husband what to do, if the husband gets aroused she can't say no

F – Aroused how? Can you explain?

*E – Aroused in bed: she **cannot provoke her husband in bed because he may think that he is not a man, her husband is the one who must feel desire and invite his wife then the wife receives the man***

E-Woman cannot have another man or lover: this is called violence against her husband. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (151)

F- You've said that a wife couldn't ask her husband to engage in sexual intercourse right? What could happen if she asked him?

E – He could get mad at her

F – If she asked him he could get mad, is that what you are saying?

*E – **Nowadays he can receive you.** (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (152)*

The following quote describes what used to be customary, whereby the woman could show that she was available to her husband. The respondent misses the steps of seduction. The haircut, personal grooming, pretty clothes and even the firelight made the sexual encounter special. In those days, the man was able to wait, unlike today.

*-If a wife was feeling desire she would dress nicely and she would get a **haircut**, she would choose the best clothes **to seduce her husband** and by the time he sees the way she looks he would understand that she was ready for him. Then the woman would cook, they would have dinner, and after she prepares the bed lit by a wood fire since there were no candles, she would then walk naked to close the door, while her husband was lying on the bed waiting to receive her for the sexual intercourse ejhangue (long-lasting firewood used to lighten the bedroom) (laughs.)*

*-But **now** men of these days only spend their lives changing one woman after another before the child has grown up. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (153)*

In regard to **condom use**, some men admitted to using them in relations with other women, since they were not sure whether they were infected or not.

*Before TT I never used Jeito® (condom) but now **when I walk with a woman outside** I use Jeito®. (Group of men, peri-urban Sofala) (154)*

When I date girlfriends I don't accept having sex without condoms. (Group of men, peri-urban Sofala) (155)

Moreover, some maintained that, by using condoms with the other women they were being faithful to their wives, as we saw earlier, and they associated faithfulness with not bringing the HIV infection into the home.

*Many who walk outside use condoms because that way they can say **I'm faithful to my wife.** (Group of men, urban Sofala) (156)*

Yes, I was saying that if you are going to use condoms with another woman outside, then you still remain faithful to your wife. (Group of men, urban Nampula) (157)

Women also thought that men tended to use condoms with the other women so as not to bring the infection into the house and believed that was, in fact, what was happening:

He uses it because he knows that he's got a woman at home, otherwise he could bring disease. (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (158)

*I don't accept because Jeito® is **only used to avoid diseases**, so when he goes outside he can use it, but at home he cannot use Jeito®. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (159)*

In addition, **women** realized that some men felt revolted by the condom, and said that this was because they thought it had "oil" or "bugs" that could harm them. The reference to oil as a reason not to use condoms, which was mentioned in passing, hides deeply rooted mental models related to the construct of the notion of sexual pleasure and the meaning of vaginal moisture in this culture (Bagnol y Mariano, 2008).

Men are openly **opposed to using condoms with their wives**, and see it as a form of permission for the partner to go with others.

*Just like Antonio, **I am against this thing of using Jeito® because it seems like I am sending my partner to go and have sex with other men.** (Group of men, peri-urban Sofala) (160)*

Some participants, both men and women referred that sex with one's spouse must be "skin-to-skin," –as a mandate, although they recognize that in some situations this isn't done and some use condoms. The women reported that men insist on sex without a condom. The association of condom use with lack of pleasure also occurred in the discussions, but infrequently.

No. We do not use it, we go "direct" to have more pleasure. (Group of men, rural Nampula) (161)

For us it is really hard, most men want it meat on meat to feel better the pleasure, and if we had female condoms we would use them. (Group of women, urban Zambezia) (162)

Other men resisted using condoms with their wives because it could be a **source of mistrust**, since their wives might think that they had other women or were ill. If there is trust, the condom is not used:

*If a wife **trusts** her husband and the husband trusts his wife, then **there is no reason to use the condom.** (Group of men, rural Nampula) (163)*

In the following quote, the participant accepts that he "goes outside," but being aware of the danger this implies, he is ready to use a condom with his wife, or even thinks that he can protect her by abstaining from having sex with her for a few weeks. The conviction that the HIV infection produces symptoms immediately and that an infected person would therefore know his status must influence the decision to use condoms. This subject deserves further study.

P-I never considered using Jeito® at home, because when I am walking outside if I see that I am infected, I won't do sex with my wife until I go to hospital and I tell her that I am infected

E-How do you know you are infected?

P-I feel my body weak, cough, fever, constipation.

E-Let's suppose that you went outside, and you are infected with HIV, can you get sick even today or a week later?

P-That's not possible, but when I have sex outside, I remain many days without having sex with my wife, I wait to see if I am infected or not.(Group of men, peri-urban Sofala) (164)

The condom can become synonymous with a **lack of love** when used in the first sexual encounter or with one's wife, because it is interpreted as a **man's desire not to be committed** to the woman, so that he avoids having children with her.

... This boy Juvito said, you are dating and before even a week is gone after you met her, the first day you have sex you use condom, but then there will be a big problem in the whole family, because this shows clearly that the couple lack love. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (165)

*Well, when it's your wife you don't use condom, if you use condoms this shows that you're going outside, because no kids will come out, and **when you use condoms with your wife she thinks you're humiliating her**, that's why they're not used* (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (166)

For this reason, **women** refused to use condoms with their husbands:

Jeito® is to avoid diseases, not to be used by husband and wife. Why can't we have babies? Jeito® is to be used when the husband is walking outside, when he brings a condom home then we will know that he's got a lover. (Group of woman, rural Sofala) (167)

Every **serious couple must have children**; that is their purpose and their reason for being. Children are the sign that they must show the community to obtain respect.

*E- We've already tried talking, but the problem is that this creates suspicion between spouses, and if it is **a serious relationship they will never consider using it.***

F – When is a couple called serious?

*E – When it **is for real**, when they get married **the purpose is to have children**, now if they use it, there will be no kids.* (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (168)

Although the woman may know that her husband has several wives, having the status of “wife” makes her refuse to use condoms with him:

E-If he has another woman here at home, so that they are two or three women with the same husband, how do you manage?

*P-I don't accept using Jeito®, **how can I use it if he is my husband?*** (Group of woman, rural Sofala) (169)

There are those who are completely certain of their husband's faithfulness, for whom condoms seem completely unnecessary.

P-I never accepted to use condoms.

E- Why don't you accept?

P-I don't accept because I don't see (imagine) my husband walking outside, wherever he goes I am with him, how can I want to use condoms with him? (Group of women, rural Sofala) (170)

In some cases, if one day their husbands asked them to use a condom, the wife would suspect that the husband was infected and ask him to get tested.

E-Now, in your houses, if your husband brings a condom how do you react? Do you accept or not, how do manage?

*P-I usually ask, you never used it before and why do bring this for us to use? If he doesn't answer me I tell him first let's go **to the hospital to get tested.***

E-Mama, you were also saying something

P-If my husband wants to use Jeito®, while we are together for a long time and we never used Jeito®, and now he wants to use it in the course of our relationship, I will ask him what is that condom for, to prevent children or what? If he doesn't answer me properly I will tell him let's get tested first. Because we never used that before. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (171)

In other cases, although the husband may be suspected to be infected with HIV, the wife might resist using condoms, and would demand that her husband explain why he wanted to use condoms:

*... He must **tell the truth** and just say my wife I'm infected with HIV/AIDS and my wife let's use condoms, **you don't just do it anyway**, today and right now let's use condom, without a reason it's difficult for me to accept. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (172)*

According to some **men**, all women want to have children, which is why they refused to protect themselves with condoms. Having children is more important than protecting themselves:

*Also here in Dondo babies are born quite a lot, **every woman wants to have babies, that's why they don't want Jeito®** She will ask you why do we have to use a condom today? If you are infected **I don't mind if you infect me.** (Group of men, peri-urban Sofala) (173)*

Others thought that the issue was not just the woman, but had to do with the age of the couple and whether they already had children or not. Hence, if the couple was young and wanted to have children it was more difficult for them to decide to use condoms.

*... The condom is used when **you both want to protect yourselves against something, but if you would like to have children how is that going to be possible?** I don't know, what do the others think? For me it is really difficult. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (174)*

The **function of the condom is contraception**; therefore its use depends on an agreement between the partners:

*Condom function is not to defend anything, **if I use it, it means that I am planning**, this is why I need to come to an agreement with my wife, then there will be no problem about it. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (175)*

However, according to some women, the majority of the population did not readily seek to limit the number of children, which influenced the couple's decision regarding condom use. The idea of birth spacing was more widely accepted:

F- Is easy or difficult to use Jeito® at home?

E2-It's possible

E3-Others do not accept.

F-But is it possible or not?

E- It is difficult.

F-Why?

E1-Is difficult **because of childbirth**, the people want to **have many children**.

E2-But there are others who understand each other and he says my wife already has many children, she has to use condoms **to take a break from making children, you should stay 4 years before giving birth to more children**, you need to use condoms to have that break, so if you don't use then you will have problems, in that case the man is right. (Group of women, peri-urban Nampula) (176)

Others referred to the tradition of not having sex for a year after giving birth, and thought that condoms were a good option, especially now that it was assumed that they must not "go outside."

P3-Even when a woman has just delivered a child, if we want to give time for the kids to grow, we use condoms, or even to avoid going outside during that period after she had the baby, both the woman and man can use condoms.

P4-Yes, the man does this in order to have a break, since he can't go outside, then he does this. In our tradition when a child is born the couple should abstain from sex for a year and then we think how can we manage to stay one year, that's why we do that. (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (177)

"But if you want to have children, what can you do?" wondered one participant, and the group suggested that he take the test first so as to be able to have sex without a condom. In Nampula, they also referred to the program's messages about respect, but stressed that people easily forgot what they were taught:

I don't know what to do, because if you don't use it you can get diseases within the family, that's why you both need to go and get tested, if the test comes out negative, then you can have sex without using condoms. (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (178)

*What TT taught us is that **first you must get yourselves tested before making "flesh-on-flesh,"** if the result comes out negative you have sex "flesh-on-flesh" but most people forget that.* (Group of men, rural Nampula) (179)

And if it turned out that you were infected, what do you do then?

F-And what if the results are positive?

E-If the results come out positive we will continue living together, even if the woman is positive and her husband is negative, or even if she is negative and her husband is positive they should always live together, **nobody should abandon the other.** (Group of men, urban Sofala) (180)

Contradicting the men's opinion that women always wanted to have children, **some women** said that they made their husbands use condoms because they did not want any more children, while others thought that condoms protected them from disease and a few said that they would have no problem using condoms with their husbands. Some also said that they agreed to use condoms when their husbands suggested it.

Some women support the idea of using condoms as a contraceptive method, since it was clear to them that, even though they had recently given birth, they needed to continue having sex with their husbands if they wanted to hold onto them:

*Condom use isn't just to prevent HIV/AIDS, **it also serves to prevent pregnancy**, for example I have small child, **I have to use condoms** with my husband to prevent pregnancy, for example if he comes to me to have sex, if I say no, then I am telling to "go outside," so the condom serves to prevent diseases and pregnancy (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (181)*

The **men's discussions** included evidence of a similar experience: in need of sexual release, a man whose wife recently gave birth uses a condom for sex

*But I've once used it in an "affliction" with my wife, I had just arrived from Quelimane after one year away from home, **in the same week my wife had just given birth**, I was hopeless and I was really in need, then I asked my wife and **I used condom**, then I **discharged my weight** and I felt released. (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (182)*

The women dared to speak openly with their children, defying the tradition that talking about these subjects meant that they were "crazy women" (perhaps in the sense of being sexually loose) and witches.

*It struck me (the movie) because these days we have our children and when **we advise them to use condoms**, both girls and boys they hardly accept it, you have to insist like you're crazy, but we explain to them that if you don't use condoms you will die and leave us, and when this happens don't say your mother bewitched you. This is what made me like it. (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (183)*

A few thought that, after receiving the information disseminated by the Program, there would no longer be any problem for a couple to use condoms, since condoms would be seen clearly as protection:

*P1-But for me I think **it isn't so hard**, because there are only a few among us whose wives didn't participate in TT, because **all the others have learned that we must use condoms**, that's why it will not be so difficult. Because this is for our own defense against diseases, because I don't know where she walks and she doesn't know where I walk. (Group of men, urban Nampula) (184)*

The idea that the price of a condom is a barrier to its use was hardly mentioned.

Yes, they say can't spend a lot of money in vain, so prefer that meat is meat. (Group of women, peri-urban Nampula) (185)

CHANGES: Meaning of coitus and condom use (According to the men)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
Did not use condoms.	Some are using condoms when they "go outside."
	Are not using condoms with their wives, particularly if there is trust.
	Using condoms means a lack of love and a reluctance to make a commitment.
	Women would rather have children and risk catching HIV than use condoms.
	Young couples or those who have recently come together cannot use condoms because their intention is to have children.
	If the child is very young and the couple wants to avoid a pregnancy too soon after childbirth they may use condoms so that the husband does not have to "go outside."

CHANGES: Meaning of coitus and condom use (According to the women)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
Women could not take the initiative; if they did, their husbands would hit them.	In some cases, if she takes the initiative, he welcomes it (this situation does not seem to be generalized).
Women would let their partners know when they were ready to have sex with them (this occurred particularly after childbirth)	Men do not respect this period of abstinence. They have other women when their children are still small.
Did not use condoms.	Men use condoms with the other women to avoid infecting their wives.
	Wives do not use condoms with their husbands. If the husband suggests it, they get suspicious and don't accept it.
	Some women may use condoms with their husbands if they already have many children or wish to space their pregnancies, or if their husbands ask them to.
	The lubricated condom is rejected by many men.
	Condoms seem expensive to some men.
Women did not talk about sex with their children.	Women recommend condoms to their children for their protection.

4.5. Sexual debut

The subject of sexual debut is barely touched on in the discussions; however, we feel it is important to emphasize how seldom it appears, since the Program promotes delaying sexual debut. Even so, in the following quote, the female participant affirms that the traditional system of protecting female virginity through fear has fallen into disuse, and finds it somewhat problematic that teenage boys and girls are informed about everything. This is a subject that should be investigated in greater detail.

R-In the past there was fear, but now they are not afraid anymore.

P-Fear, fear of what?

*R-In the past **girls were usually inspected according to tradition**, so they would never involve themselves with men because they had fear of the inspection done by the elder, the **boys also were afraid because they were told that women could burn young boys**, so the boys were afraid and would stay until they grow up enough to get married. **Nowadays, our children already know everything** and when you try to explain do not accept. Even children under 10 years already know. (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (186)*

4.6. HIV/AIDS

• Awareness

Many participants said that they had heard about HIV/AIDS before the TT Program. Although some women said they had not heard of this disease, they mentioned other sexually transmitted diseases that they did know, such as gonorrhoea.

They told us that here is disease named HIV/AIDS, it was also in the books, it was everywhere, they were telling people that everybody should go and get tested to check how is his body doing (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (187)

Other participants said that they became aware of the infection because they saw sick people around them. Later, they learned that it was a disease transmitted through sexual contact. HIV/AIDS was also confused with a traditional disease:

*E – Yes! In the past we heard in our home village that **HIV/AIDS and Itogola was the same thing**, both make a person feel sick and lose weight.*

F – What is this itogola, is it a traditional disease or hospital disease?

*E – Itogola was a traditional disease before TT teachings, but now we know **that HIV/AIDS is a disease that comes from our body and is transmitted through sex, blade, hand shake, kiss**, so this explains the disease of HIV/AIDS. This is my perception. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (188)*

Some **men** acknowledged that they did not believe HIV/AIDS was real, but rather thought that it was the **myth** that someone had invented. Others thought that certain groups, such as health workers or motorists, could not get it.

The lack of information caused people who became ill to run to the traditional healers, who gave them herbs did not really help them.

*(...) before we entered the TT, when someone had a disease like this, since we did not know anything, most people would go to the **Aculukano** (Healer), when you get there, he would prepare some roots for you to drink but even with that the disease would still continue or even refrain for a few days ... (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (189)*

Some participants mentioned traditional beliefs that the population used to interpret HIV/AIDS, classifying it as a spiritual disease to be treated through ritual dancing.

***HIV/AIDS was known as a spiritual disease**, those who could afford were treated with the "batuque" spiritual dance, because one of the symptoms of the disease was the loss of weight, so the people decided to say that it was a spiritual disease so they choose try the traditional treatment, but they were not getting any better, and when the disease was worse the disease would start to leave wounds on their sexual organs, then people knew that when this happens that was serious. (Group of women, urban Zambezia) (190)*

Despite the information received, some found it difficult to grasp the concept of what HIV/AIDS was. Both men and women believe, for example, that it occurs when a number of diseases accumulate and break out as HIV/AIDS.

Some participants said they had received information about this from radio programs and the Comussanas project.

After going through the TT Program some felt it was their right to know the truth about HIV/AIDS.

• Symptoms

For many, it is the **presence of symptoms** that motivates them to respond to the messages they have heard and go to the health center for testing:

*R- Yes. Like myself, **my husband got sick**, and he was taken by his family, they took him to the hospital and he got tested, after that they gave him a piece of paper*

for to get myself tested too. Since my husband was very sick he passed away and then I considered going and get myself tested. Now I am in treatment until today. (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (191)

*...but **now most people are willing to go to hospital to be tested**, as soon as they feel that something is not ok in their body, and before it gets worse they go to the testing, no one compels them to go* (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (192)

Some men recalled that before the Program, they were embarrassed to go to the hospital with their wives to be tested.

*(...) I notice also that before TT, I thought it was a **shame** to go to the hospital to be tested together with your wife, but with the TT I learned that it's a good thing.* (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (193)

If it is the symptom that motivates them to seek help at the hospital, then we may deduce that in many cases there is no understanding of the *asymptomatic* presence of the virus. The enormous risk this implies makes action on this issue imperative.

• **Transmission and protection**

Many participants indicated that before the start of the Program, they did not know how HIV was transmitted and therefore could not protect themselves from it. One participant believed that a single person in his community had deliberately spread the infection:

(...) who brings this disease is only one person, then he distributes to everyone in the whole neighborhood until we have a "network", it's really one single person who thinks, "ok, since I am infected, I will distribute to others so that I will not die alone." (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (194)

At first, **condoms** were viewed with alarm because they meant that the person had HIV/AIDS; later, the information they received helped them change their minds and better understand condoms' protective function.

Formerly, before TT, if someone offered me condoms in the hospital I was scared because people said that he had HIV/AIDS but now I am not afraid because I already know that it's not true. (Group of women, urban Nampula) (195)

Some women mentioned the information they gave their children about the dangers of HIV/AIDS and stated that they needed to be informed before deciding to have sexual relations with someone. Condoms were presented as a necessary means of protection for those who remained sexually active despite advice promoting abstinence,:

*This stuff about **using condoms** is because children don't listen, because when we explain to them to abstain, they don't listen, then the **best way is to give them Jeito** ® for prevention.* (Group of women, rural Sofala) (196)

However, both men and women questioned whether people were really using condoms to protect themselves. Men thought that if condoms were used more, there wouldn't be so many pregnant girls, and women pointed to the spread of the epidemic.

*... We see many children around fourteen pregnant and this leads me to think that maybe **people still didn't take in the TT information about condom use**.* (Group of men, urban Zambezia) (197)

Despite all the changes that the female participants claimed to have made in this regard, and their knowledge that a person who has HIV/AIDS will eventually die, some women acknowledged that many people still resist using condoms, so the disease continues to spread.

*Some do it, others don't, that is why **we see the disease increasing** more and more. (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (198)*

Some female participants said plainly that they had to use condoms because their partners were not faithful and they had to protect themselves. Others thought that they needed to use condoms because they, themselves, were infected. However, according to the men, women's desire for motherhood sometimes got in the way of women protecting themselves.

*Also here in Dondo there are a lot of childbirths, every woman wants to have babies, that's why they don't want condoms. They ask you why are we using condom today, **if you are infected there is no problem if you infect me.** (Group of men, peri-urban Sofala) (199)*

Some men, who said they were following the Program's advice to protect themselves from HIV/AIDS, thought that staying home with their wives or using condoms were both humiliations they endured to avoid getting sick.

P3-now that we know we humiliate ourselves and we do not walk a lot outside with women, we just stay at home with our wives.

P4-Yes, now we know that you must use Muakiho (defender = preserver)

E-When do you consider that the person is humiliating himself?

P-When you stay at home with your wife.

P2-When you use Muakiho (condom) that is distributed out there in the hospitals and is sold in the markets. (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (200)

Very few female participants mentioned not having sex with anyone who offered them some compensation as a way to avoid contracting HIV.

Because of not respecting your body, this stuff of meet any man and just think that he is the one, that he will give me a lot of money, without considering that he will release his diseases in your body. (Group of women, peri-urban Nampula) (201)

- **Relationship with people living with HIV**

Before the Program began in the region, people with HIV/AIDS were shunned, and everyone feared them:

*The **person with HIV/AIDS was considered objectionable**, we couldn't eat together, his clothes were also objectionable, he could only eat alone.*

***Today a person with HIV/AIDS is seen as a friend**, is no longer objectionable, because we were taught that we have to live with them, can't put them down, we must help wash them, wash their clothes, give advice, because **almost everyone is infected**, rather than putting them down and despising them, **we must support them, advise them** as quickly as possible and if necessary take them to health facilities to be treated. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (202)*

When a husband became ill, the wives blamed them for having "gone outside" with other women and gotten infected, which caused many quarrels and problems within the family. People with HIV/AIDS were abandoned by their partners, and families advised wives to abandon a sick husband. Now they have learned that they need to remain calm, speak with their partner and seek immediate medical attention.

Men and women recalled how HIV/AIDS patients were feared and discriminated against, and said that this had changed since the start of the TT Program. Now people think that those who are infected with HIV have a chance to carry on with their lives:

*Before TT, I used to say that I'll **never play, share a glass of water, nor sit in the same chair with a person infected with HIV AIDS** but when the TT group started, I said that cannot be so, you must play and have fun with those infected without any fear, these are the experiences I achieved from being part of the TT group. (Group of men, urban Zambezia). (203)*

Now I don't do what we used to do before. Now we live with PLWHA, eat in the same dish, drink water in the same glass, we work with them they are no more objectionable, we feel like we are a whole family, we give them hope in life, telling them that it's a good thing to continue with the treatment, you will not die, you will live until you see your children grown. (Group of women, urban Zambezia) (204)

The men also related how husbands tended to run out when their wives became ill.

Some **women** spoke about the change in people's attitudes, and the more humane treatment of people with HIV/AIDS:

Now we already can live with HIV/AIDS reality. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (205)

CHANGES: HIV/AIDS (according to women)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
They didn't know about HIV/AIDS and those who knew didn't think about it.	They do know about HIV/AIDS.
No one explained the disease to them.	It has been explained to them.
Some know about HIV/AIDS, but they did not have correct information so they did not react as they should.	They have more information.
They believed that the man brought HIV/AIDS into the home. He was the guilty one.	They know that there are other means of transmission (such as cutting).
They argued with the husband when he got sick with HIV/AIDS, since they thought that he was to blame.	They don't argue; they go directly to the hospital. They don't blame anyone.
They did not advise their children (adolescents) to use condoms.	They advise their children to use condoms if they are going to have sex (<i>jump</i>)
They did not know about condoms and did not use them.	Some do use them because they know it is to prevent the disease.
	They know that they can use condoms to protect themselves.
	Many do not use them, and as a result, the epidemic keeps on spreading.
	Some people who are infected use condoms to avoid infecting their partners.
They did not know that they needed to go to the hospital. They did not go to get tested even though they had	As soon as they have symptoms they go take the test.

CHANGES: HIV/AIDS (according to women)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
symptoms.	
They were afraid because they thought they had HIV/AIDS, but they didn't get checked out.	Some go get tested.
They thought that people who had HIV/AIDS could not be cured or treated.	They know that there are pills for treating the disease.
They thought that no one could escape HIV/AIDS; that spreading the disease around was the answer.	Some think that HIV/AIDS can be cured.
They despised people who were infected, if they came to the house they didn't even give them water to drink.	Now they accept them and share food, work and time with them.

CHANGES: HIV/AIDS (according to men)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
They thought that HIV/AIDS was a myth; no one assured them that this disease really existed.	They know that it is a reality from which they have to protect themselves.
They did not know how the virus was transmitted.	They know that a single person can transmit the virus to the whole community.
They did not know about condoms; they could not protect themselves.	They know about condoms. Some use them to protect themselves and talk about them with their children.
They thought that privileged people could not catch the disease.	Some protect themselves by staying home and using condoms, but they feel humiliated that they have to do this.
They had sex with their dead brother's widow. (Pita Kufa)	They have a healer conduct a purification ceremony.
They did not use condoms; they preferred skin-to-skin contact.	Many do not use condoms.
They did not use condoms when they had extramarital affairs.	Some use condoms in their extramarital affairs.
They ran away from HIV/AIDS patients.	They are willing to live with people who are infected.
They thought that HIV/AIDS was only transmitted through sex.	They know that there are other means of transmission.
They thought that having relations with other women did not put them at risk.	They know that if they "go outside," they can transmit the disease to their wives.
When they have a new lover, they did not get tested before having sex.	When they have a new partner, some get tested and think that they have to be faithful to protect themselves.
When they got sick they would run to the traditional healer who gave them some herbs that did not really help them.	They know that if a sick person takes his medication he gets better.
	They know that some people transmit the disease so as not to die alone.
	They tell their wives that they cannot have affairs with other men even if they are offered a million dollars.
They did not know what a test was, or what a consultation was, or the difference between the two.	Some know that you can get tested even if you are not sick.

4.7. Relationship with their children

Both male and female participants reported that in traditional culture, everything related to sex was taboo and only discussed by people of the same sex. As a result, fathers did not talk about these subjects with their daughters, nor mothers with their sons. According to some participants, this situation has changed, mainly in the regions of Sofala and Zambezia, since the Program came into these areas.

P-Why you think education is difficult?

*R-Is difficult because this kind of education **was like a secret for girls**, and now I've learned a lot about this in TT. (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (206)*

P-And you accept that your husbands educate your daughters?

*R-Yes, **now we accept**, because we have a tradition that says that the girl must be educated by the rites elder, she must make the "Nfutata", pull the clitoris and labia minora; even to explain the girl how to live in her future home, **and the mother couldn't do this job because this was a specific subject for the elder and her granddaughter**. But now we widened our vision and now we can educate our daughters directly, even the father can educate a girl. (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (207)*

Men also mentioned this change. Now the mother is not suspicious of them if they talk about sex with their daughters.

... because if I tried to have a conversation to advise my daughter her mother gets suspicious thinking that I want to have sex with her daughter. (Group of men, peri-urban Sofala) (208)

Before TT, issues related to sex I used to talk about with my wife and then she could tell our daughter, I had no courage to talk with my daughter. (Group of men, rural Sofala) (209)

Those who have attended TT sessions **counsel their children about the dangers of having sexual relations with multiple partners**. They said that fear is an important factor in convincing them.

*E-Is decreasing, now we **can talk with our children as their mothers**, since we entered TT we heard good ways to live life, how to talk with your children, so we talk with them and we show what is good and they obey, thus they become apprehensive. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (210)*

Participants referred to old customs and how adolescents were controlled to preserve their virginity, a practice that they stated has changed. As discussed above, now the expectation is that parents will counsel their sons and their daughters:

*P-Before the TT, you could see that if you had a virgin teenage girl at home, **you should keep her under control, you should take her every month to the bush with two or three elders to inspect her**, in order to avoid that she get involved with boys, but now with TT we don't speak that way, it was done that way in the past, to keep the girl under control. Now with TT we also heard some advice about diseases, so parents can also give advice to their kids.*

E-Who used to control the girl?

P-Only women. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (211)

Despite the previous statements about sexual behavior, some participants thought that, in general, **gender separation for the education** of boys and girls should be maintained.

E-Who educates the girl at home?

P-I am the one who educates the girl.

E- And the boy?

P-The boy is educated by his father.

(...)

-... I see that the mother must educate the girl, teach home services, washing dishes, now the father must educate the boy. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (212)

The justification for this attitude was that, to be able to teach something, one has to **have experienced it**, so mothers knew what their daughters were going through and fathers knew about men's issues. Moreover, according to one female participant, sons do not trust women's advice and do not tell women anything. On the other hand, **they were afraid that fathers might use more violence** if they were responsible for educating their daughters:

Now her husband cannot educate girl?

*P-He can educate, when the girl tells him that there is someone who wants you to knock her off, because it once happened that a parent was beating his daughter, her clothes were dropped down and she was naked, so people decided that **the father has no right to beat a girl, the girl must be educated by her mother**. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (214)*

In Nampula, resistance is even greater to this change that the Program suggests. Male participants thought that **menstruation was a female "mystery" in which men cannot get involved**. Sexuality is not talked about in the family, to the point that apparently it is more normal for things to be done without any previous explanation. For example, boys undergo circumcision without any prior explanation from their fathers.

*P4- Mr. Mendes in the movie said something there, he has three children to educate, if there is anything he can't wait for someone else to come and teach basic things such menstruation or wait for her mother to do so, he did it himself, for us that is difficult because here we don't do that, when your daughter starts bleeding you can hardly sit with her and explain to her, look this is not illness you are just growing up, you as her father sitting in your chair saying that... (laughs)... Here we never do that, to talk like that with your daughter is malavi (mystery). If that ever happens, either the daughter will die or her father will die. **That was the hardest session** because **even for the boy**, never a parent can sit with him and begin to say so you're grown, you will be sent to the bush for your penis to be cut with knife. You will never hear that, the boy will learn when he gets there, even when he is on his way to the bush, his father will still **lie to him by** telling him that there you are going to drink a lot of honey with your friends, now imagine sitting and talking to your daughter ih!... that's too hard and difficult, who does such a thing he must know that he's about to die or otherwise he wants to kill his daughter. (Group of men, per-urban Nampula) (215)*

Neither do the women of Nampula agree with this TT program message, they also believed it was not the father's role to talk about menstruation with his daughters.

Yes, we discussed that here in our neighborhoods it is not normal for a man to explain things about menstruation; only her mother can speak to her about that. (Group of women, urban Nampula) (216)

Some men reported that they had a closer relationship with their children from having taken on some of the tasks that previously belonged exclusively to their wives, such as bathing them or taking them to the doctor when they were sick.

In the discussions with women in Sofala and Zambezia there was a concern about **raising their children without violence**. As demonstrated in the quote below, some women felt

that they had no weapons to make their children, who are accustomed to being beaten, listen to them.

*-Avoid insulting children, because it is also violence.
-When we abuse children that is violence.
-But **the children never listen**, when you speak to them without hitting them, they don't care. We should talk to our kids with more affection, without needing to beat them. (Group of women, rural Zambezia) (217)*

Along the same lines, the men of Nampula said that one of the Program messages they did not like was the prohibition on hitting children, because they felt that it would be **impossible to discipline them**. In this case, behavior change promotion should include other actions that parents could take to be listened to and obeyed.

*P2-Yes, we like everything we've learned that's why we don't forget until today, the **only thing I don't like is what the TT tells us about not to beat our children**, my question is how can we do that since they don't obey us, who will educate them?
P3-Yes, you are right, who will educate them, if even when we explain or forbid them certain things they don't listen, the following day they continue to do the same thing, that is a big problem. We can no longer hit our children, then the TT must bring a school for them. (Group of men, rural Nampula) (219)*

The women of Nampula stressed how hard it was for parents to raise their children these days, since it was common for them to be very rebellious and to pay no attention to their parents.

*E2-Yes, in the past when parents spoke with their children the parents used to hear their advice, but now when you speak with them they do **not give you time to talk, they just rise up and go away**. (...)
E1-Yes, they refuse and **insult their** parents (Group of women, peri-urban Nampula) (220)*

Finally, some participants thought that **today's young people paid less attention** to the teachings and advice of their elders, because, among other reasons, they had many diversions and were hardly ever home:

I want to add the following, the children these days and those of the past are different, the children of today when you say that this is not right, say oh, that is an idea from a old person, with white hair, children of the past when they wanted to go to start dating they would first introduce their husband-to-be, and when they got married they would make sure their husband is known by the entire family, her mother, her father, but nowadays the kids start dating outside. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (221)

The transition from traditional to modern society has brought about changes in the family structure. One change is the weakening of parental authority, which in traditional societies is rigid and not open to discussion. According to Caldwell (1975), one factor explaining these changes and the shift towards lower fertility is that, in traditional societies, children support their parents as they work to obtain resources, whereas in modern society, to a certain extent this relationship is reversed. This implies a change in the relationship between parents and children. Younger generations have greater access to education which encourages them to question the opinions and beliefs of their elders, provoking a crisis in

their relationship with their parents. This explains why some participants suggested that there be a program to educate their children, or at least to teach them how to do it.

CHANGES: Relationship with their children (according to the women)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
Mothers did not talk about sex with their children.	Mothers talk and advise their sons and daughters.
Fathers did not teach their daughters about sex.	Some fathers participate in the education of their daughters. Some mothers believe that fathers should not get involved in the sexual education of their daughters.
The grandmother initiated the granddaughters.	Mothers can now talk with their daughters. Mothers like their husband to help them teach their daughters about sex.
Sons and daughters were abused, beaten and scolded, so that many left home.	The parents talk and advise without violence, although at times the children do not listen.
Women raised the daughters and men the sons.	Both parents raise their sons and daughters. Some mothers prefer to teach their daughters while their husbands teach the sons. Some fear that the involvement of fathers in bringing up their daughters implies violence.
Young people introduced their partners to their parents.	They are beginning to fall in love outside the home without the consent of their parents.
They used to beat their children a lot.	They advise them about what they ought to do: work, go to church, not go out with just anyone, etc.
They did not talk about HIV/AIDS with their children.	They advise them how to prevent HIV/AIDS.
	Young people do not listen to what their elders say; they think it is old fashioned.

CHANGES: Relationship with their children (according to the men)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
If the father talked about sex with his daughters the mother became suspicious.	Fathers can advise their daughters about sex and it does not bother the mothers. It is impossible for fathers to talk with their daughters about menstruation. (Nampula)
Fathers did not take the time to talk with and educate their sons.	They know that they need to take the time to explain things and educate their sons.
Fathers beat their sons.	Fathers beat their sons because they think that otherwise they will not obey. They do not agree with the TT message against beating children, to change this they would need an alternative.
	Fathers and mothers do not talk about sex with their children. (Nampula)
Parents did not listen to their children.	They have to listen to their children.

4.8. Alcohol consumption and violence

On the whole, domestic violence was linked in the discussions with alcohol consumption; however, it sometimes seemed to be the result of misunderstanding in the home. Some women suggested in a veiled way that wives were responsible for the violence they suffered, hence, answering politely and learning how to treat their husbands were subjects that really stood out in some of the statements quoted above.

Regarding alcohol, the **men** thought that drinking was a problem for those who had a family to support, since they were spending the money that should be for the family. However, among young people without responsibilities, alcohol consumption was seen as a minor problem. (Group of men, urban Zambezia). Some thought that there were different kinds of

drunks — those who drank out of vice and for whom it was a problem, and those who did it for pleasure and to pass the time, in which case there was nothing to worry about.

For other participants, however, drink converts people into violent scoundrels ("thugs") or makes them forget they are married, thus becoming one of the reasons for HIV transmission. Some discussed how those who drank and threw their wives and children out of the house now felt ashamed of their past behavior. They indicated that before men used to feel that drinking was practically a right, since they were spending money that they had earned themselves:

Hear someone's idea ... He said I am drinking with my own money that God gave me. (Group of men, rural Nampula) (222)

The **women gave more importance** to this subject, and talked about men who could spend all their money on alcohol. Many pointed out that their partners became violent when they drank, so that often the wife and children had to find another place to spend the night, or else suffer the drunkard's blows and abuse.

Before man would drink, go out, when he had money he would finish all the money (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (223)

Even so, they thought that there has been an important change with regard to the problem of alcoholism and violence. Many said that when their partners drink they no longer exhibited the same level of violence as before, and instead were able to communicate with them.

*Now when he returns, even drunk **he knows how respect our home and the children, he arrives we have lunch and chat.** (Group of women, rural Zambezia) (224)*

The men and some women did not agree that there had been such a dramatic change in this regard, since they thought that the people in their community were still drinking. Some did not know what to do to get people to stop drinking:

F-In your opinion what would be necessary for them to change or stop drinking alcohol?

E-So far we have no idea how to stop or change this situation. (Group of men, peri-urban Zambezia) (225)

Some thought the situation had worsened, since before people only drank on Saturdays and now many did it every day. Others mentioned that the quality of the liquor had gotten worse, and that now there were much stronger products. Several participants described shameful situations caused by alcohol that were common in their communities.

F-What do you think about the problem of alcohol, is it increasing or decreasing?

E1-It is increasing because even children drink, women drink.

*E2-Yes, because **some will drink, defecate and piss in their pants.***

*F4-Others **beat their wives** and do not respect anyone. (Group of women, peri-urban Nampula) (226)*

Rarely, women admitted that **female alcoholics existed**, with equal or greater impact on family wellbeing. In the following testimony, a woman admits her addiction and how she overcame it:

*Us and our husbands. Even myself I use to take my money and buy Zed ® and if some questioned me I would respond, "leave me alone, that's the way the world is, I am enjoying my life, it's my time," even if **the kids didn't have lunch**, but now when*

I saw and heard mano Asura talk and when I watched (the film) I realized that my children

were going to school without having breakfast, just because I was always drinking to show the people that I have a good time in my house, and my daughter was going to school without wearing the school uniform, without exercise books ... well now I don't want to drink any more. (Group of women, urban Zambezia) (227)

The women clearly stated that some men who participated in the Program had felt pressured and had stopped or reduced their drinking and the violence they displayed when they drank. However, some who did not participate in the Program continued drinking alcohol in large quantities.

*... Yes, this is very serious because that can even cause death in men that do not quit alcohol, **the only thing that has changed is that when they drink they don't create disorder anymore**, as they did before.*

-But some people who are inside TT, I think they quit alcohol in fear of the colleagues, those that still drink are those who do not participate. (Group of women, rural Zambezia) (228)

E-Didn't you speak about alcohol in TT? Nothing changed?

*P-Nothing has changed because **those who drink never came to TT**. The leader invited them to come to TT but they never accepted until he got tired and stopped insisting. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (229)*

An interesting twist on this theme was some participants' conviction that alcohol was a **source of conflict** in the community. Some participants even said that some people drank with the express purpose of getting into a fight:

Because there are some that when they drink, they do it with a purpose of messing with other people. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (230)

The men thought that some people **drink to forget their situation**, their unemployment, and thought that quitting any addiction was hard to do.

(...) sometimes people think this way, well since I don't work then I'll drink to forget it, but he never forgets, it just spoils his head. (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (231)

Some women developed a strategy of **talking and not losing patience** when faced with a husband's drunkenness:

*E-I entered TT, now I see my husband and my friends too drinking, I feel so sad, and **I explain to him** that in the group I was told to reduce alcohol, become united, talk with respect to children, because if you get aggressive they get confused; if he doesn't return drunk the following day than I can tell that he heard me. (Group of women, peri-urban Zambezia) (232)*

One person compared the person to a vehicle, showing how alcohol could affect his trip:

E-TT told you to drink how many cups or bottles per day?

(Laughter)

*P-No, never said that, even if is a car you know that if I drive badly I damage the car, **if you are a driver, if you drive badly you can die alone without reaching your destination**, for that same reason TT didn't give us any quantities for drink, but each*

one knows that if he drinks badly, that's his problem (Group of men, urban Nampula). (233)

In all the regions of the study, many people thought that alcoholism was **one of the main problems confronting the community**, and some thought that Program has only made a few changes. However, in some cases, the community united around supporting children abandoned by alcoholic parents. When this happened, social pressure to change the behavior was much stronger:

My neighbor is always drinking, and doesn't care for his children and this makes us feel uncomfortable, when he drinks he insults the neighbors and as neighbors we feel uncomfortable with his attitude, we are all under pressure with the cost of living and because we all have to feed our kids, so the food we give his kids we would have eaten the following day, but he spends all the money that he could use to feed his kids on alcohol. (Group of women, urban Zambezia) (234)

A few people in Nampula indicated that this was not a problem in their community, perhaps because of the influence of Islam, or simply to the customs of their people:

E-In your opinion this situation is like this since long ago, so what causes some people not to drink?

P-Here is because of religion.

*P2-Yes, because of the Muslim religion almost **no one drinks**.*

P3-I agree that it is because of religion, but not entirely, because for example this brother here is not religious but he doesn't drink, you see. (Group of men, rural Nampula) (235)

CHANGES: ALCOHOLISM (according to the women)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
The husband spent all the money on alcohol and the next day did not go to work.	The husband brings the money home.
	The husband agrees with his wife how much to spend on drinking.
	Some drink less or do not drink.
	If he drinks, he knows he will have to go to work the next day.
The husband became violent and might beat his family.	If the husband becomes violent from drinking, the neighbors come over to counsel him.
	They get less drunk and are able to dialogue with their partners and listen to advice.
The drunkards were very violent; their families had to run out of the house.	Men who have gone through TT are less violent even if they have been drinking; they go home and go to sleep.
The husband would argue with his wife, especially when she reproached him for the way he drank.	He converses and makes plans with his wife.
The husband used to go out and get drunk while his wife stayed home.	Now they can go out together; she has more freedom. The couple does more together.
	Now he drinks at home and in moderation.
They drank but did not get violent.	Those who drink alcohol become violent and completely lose control over themselves.
The liquor in the area was not so strong.	There are very strong kinds of liquor that can do a lot of harm.
Alcoholism was high in the area; even women had begun to drink.	Alcoholism continues to be a problem some people are alcoholics.
	Some men get sick from alcoholism; they are completely degraded.
Female alcoholics spent their money on alcohol, neglecting their children.	Women who have participated in TT try to quit drinking alcohol and are aware of the harm they are doing to their families.
When a man had been drinking, he demanded sex	Many continue drinking alcohol and do not want to

CHANGES: ALCOHOLISM (according to the women)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
from his wife. If she refused, he beat her.	go to TT.
	Neighbors feel obliged to feed the children of the neighborhood alcoholics. As a result, social pressure has increased.

CHANGES: ALCOHOLISM (according to the men)	
BEFORE	NOW (With the Program)
They drank until the money ran out.	They drink a lot. They have the vice. The women also drink. They keep on drinking.
	Many think they can forget their problems with alcohol.
	They go home first and leave the money with their wives.
	They have priorities and first take out money for food.
The husband used to fight with his wife when she said she had no money to feed the children.	They think that alcohol consumption is a major problem for married people, because they waste their money.
They drank alone in the street and spent all the money.	They drink at home or in their friends' homes with their wives and no longer spend all the money.
	They drink less.
They thought that alcohol was everything in life; it was fun.	They think that alcohol destroys their lives.
They thought that alcohol was a good way to forget their problems and calm their nerves.	They know that was a mistaken idea.
When they drank, they used to throw everyone out of the house.	They are afraid to come home drunk. They are ashamed of their past behavior.
People did not drink in their community (Nampula).	People do not drink in their town; many think it is not a problem.

4.9. Relationship with neighbors

Another change mentioned relates to better relationships with the neighbors. The improved relationship ranges from using good manners to knowing how to resolve conflicts and avoid fighting. Harmony in the community is greatly valued.

E-Not that it didn't exist before, there was a relationship among neighbors, except that it was in a dubious way.

F – How was it dubious?

*E – I mean **there was no understanding only fights**, people didn't know what was good understanding, people were just living but now with this TT people are already living in line with this clarification from TT, who was in doubt, now begins to have a good vision. We learned to have good behavior. (Group of men, urban Zambezia). (236)*

*That's why we display another behavior and we **advise** others who did not know. (Group of men, urban Zambezia). (237)*

Neighborhood solidarity was presented as an important change:

The others yes, they can see the change because when they fight in the neighborhood we intervene and we explain that this is not a good thing, we never did that in the past; even if one hears someone else crying in a neighboring house nobody ran there to help, but these days just by listening māeei (Whining), we

all get up and go to that house to find out what is going on. (Group of men, urban Nampula) (238)

5. Recommendations from the participants

In only a few focus groups were the participants bold enough to make recommendations or give suggestions to the Program. However, all the groups expressed, in one way or another, an insistence that the Program should continue.

Among the suggestions that emerged, the following stand out.

- That the Program continue: that it continue fulfilling its educational role because people want to learn.

Many participants wanted the Program to continue and were grateful for what has been taught. As mentioned earlier, some participants suggested ideas about to continue the Program's work, while others only wanted to be taught more, but could not identify what they did not yet know.

F-Do you have another comment about TT?

*E-No, but of course we wish that you **bring more things that we do not know** because **when someone doesn't know it's hard to know that you don't know** a certain thing, that's why you should be the one to bring things that we don't know .* (Group of women, rural Zambezia) (239)

- That they be given information about traditional ceremonies and which aspects might be dangerous to their health.

*R-We would like to speak about traditional ceremonies, such as **pita-kufa**, **pita madjuade**, **witchcraft**, and show those films, to open more our vision.* (Group of women, peri-urban Sofala) (240)

The men also wanted to know more about traditional ceremonies such as *pita-kufa* and their effects on health:

*E-You could address the **traditional ceremonies** (PITA KUFA)*

F-Why do you think TT should address these issues?

-Because traditional ceremonies spread more HIV/AIDS, for example when I die my brother comes to take my wife without knowing that the disease killed me. (Group of men, urban Sofala) (241)

- That the discussion leaders not be so young, given the importance of the subjects under discussion and the small amount of experience they could be presumed to have developed.
- That it reach more people through larger-scale technology (projection of films on a larger screen) and that the films treat more subjects.

*Just to add, if the project continues with those sessions, I would suggest that instead of displaying the movies in the laptops, it would better to show them **on bigger screens or***

wide walls in order to not limit number of interested people. (Group of men, rural Zambezia) (242)

- They also suggested that the films be of longer duration to enable them to better internalize the themes, and that they be in their own languages. (In Nampula, they suggested using the original *macua* dialect of their region.)
- That pencils and notebooks be given out so that they would not forget what they had learned in the sessions.
- Expand the subjects covered by the Program to include practical topics, such as cooking or preparing for work.

Some men suggested that TT be expanded and also teach the ladies to cook. The women, for their part, wanted to be better prepared to be able to take up so-called men's work, such as construction, and not be confined to a subordinate role:

*Me, for example, I would like it if the TT **could explain or teach women the work that men do**, so women can start doing it themselves instead of just **remaining helpers of the men**, we would like to **learn** some men's jobs.* (Group of women, rural Zambezia) (243)

*P3-but I wish that **TT could teach us how can we develop our region**, so that we can be able to sustain our children, nephews and other family, but this thing of just doing machambas everyday iih ...it only causes pain in our spine.* (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (244)

- Develop a governing role to promote better relations among the neighbors (the different ethnic groups).

Some hoped the Program would promote games among the neighborhoods for the purpose of improving relationships among people. The following quote demonstrates that people are concerned about achieving harmony and peaceful coexistence among the various groups in the Project's areas, and that the intervention has begun to change things.

*...as mángas antigas são , por exemplo eu **não podia conversar com alguém de Nampula nem com lomwé** (etnia) muito menos pedir copo num vizinho, mas com esses **ensinamento dos TT**, essas coisas ja estao a diminuir,* (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano). (245)

*... some bad habits are, for example I **couldn't talk with someone from Nampula nor with someone lomwé** (ethnicity) much less ask for a glass from a neighbor, but with these **teachings of TT**, these things are decreasing.* (Group of men, urban Zambezia). (245)

- Give badges so that the community can identify TT members which would give them some authority to replicate what they have learned.

*P3- Também eu acho que seria bom para nós que participamos ate no fim deveríamos **receber credenciais, par mostrar que sabemos e podemos explicar os outros que***

não participaram, a vezes que pensamos em ensinar os outros mas ficamos com medo de ser perguntado o senhor que está a enganar os outros onde aprendeu. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) (246)

*P3-I think it would be good for those of us who completed all the sessions till the end, we should **receive credentials, to show that we know and we can explain to the others who have not participated**, sometimes when we think about teaching others we're afraid of being asked, "Aren't you fooling the people, where did you learn that?" (Group of men, peri-urban Nampula) (246)*

- TT could have an office where people of the area could go.
- More specific actions be developed to control alcoholism in the area.
- Give some gifts to those who participate in the Program so that more people will be motivated.

Although not the majority opinion, some women reported that neighbors said that participating in TT was a waste of time, but if they were given something (like a gift), it would be worthwhile.

*P-Yes, I'd like to understand more about this project, because I participated in another from the Foundation, when we did some works **they use to give us capulanas**, now we are working, so others who didn't participate they could envy us if they saw us wearing capulanas, then they would want to participate, because we received something in all the other projects, the potato project and the Foundation project. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (247)*

I will go to watch TT to do what, then came those activists with folders, t-shirts, and I was told that those activists were getting paid at the end of each month, and you, you get nothing, just waste your time, they don't give you anything. That is what people say. (Group of women, rural Sofala) (248)

- That projects be financed to enable women to work.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Following are this report's main conclusions and recommendations (highlighted in boxes).

a) The Tchova Tchova Program

- From this research it was clear that the population perceived **changes in behavior** in their surroundings and that these changes were seen as **motivated primarily by the Program**. Some of the changes that the participants attributed to the Program do not fully correspond with reality; however, accepting that they are taking place and recognizing the need for this to happen is a fundamental step in behavior change. First comes discussion of what is considered to be correct, and this leads little by little to deeper changes at the behavioral level. Without changing the discussion, it is difficult to achieve the desired transformations in behavior.
- The **positive view of the Tchova Tchova Program is widespread**. What stands out in particular is its role as a guide, and the messages it imparts that lead people towards a better life with harmony and understanding. Participants felt that the Program messages affect them on three levels: better relations with their partners, their children, and their neighbors.
- Participants felt the **films and discussions** are complementary. What was most appreciated about the films was that they reflected the reality of their intended audience. The discussions were valued for creating a space for dialogue, which allows them to clear up their doubts and express their own points of view. The key difficulty they had in decoding the messages was not that they did not understand the stories being told, but that they had trouble abstracting the messages (that is, generalizing and drawing conclusions) to be incorporated into their daily lives. This difficulty with abstraction appears more serious among the women, and affects the distinction between what the stories tell and the objectives of the Program.

The discussions are fundamental in this environment, not only to reinforce and clarify concepts, but also to strengthen social networks and social cohesion in communities in transition whose institutions have been weakened.

- Assuming the Program maintains its presence in the area and expands its activities, the participants conferred on it **a governing role**, demonstrating the population's felt need for a higher authority that would not only guide but **would have the authority to impose sanctions**.

This means that, for the changes being promoted to be sustainable, **a local reference group is required**, a committee formed by people in the community who have been trained. Organizing these committees into networks would create a solid fabric to support the changes the society needs. In the discussions are clear indications that there are people willing to perform this function. However, it will be difficult for an organization with these characteristics to function if the community leaders are left out. **The Program needs to consider providing training for these local authorities.**

- **The sources of change linked to the Program** that were identified in the discussions were: 1) The effect/demonstration due to the changes in quality of life of those who

followed the Program's prescriptions, which produced "admiration" and a desire to change behavior. 2) The social harmony promoted. 3) The desire to belong to the Program, which is perceived as an alliance of different people. A challenge for TT is to discover how to use the **feeling of membership** as an engine for change, without reviving old tribal pride that could lead to rejection of non-members. In traditional societies, the importance of an individual depends on his identification with a specific group and his status within that group. However, many participants expressed a desire for greater diffusion of the program's messages, which indicates a certain distance from these traditional boundaries.

The Program should **include more members** of the communities in which the program operates and **saturate the communities with messages**.

- In the discussions that were analyzed, the **Tchova Tchova Program was associated with old traditions and initiation rites**. Participants tended to be on one of two sides of this issue. 1) Some felt that the Program was a place where they could learn about life and where people talked about respect and sexuality with initiation rites to prepare young people for adult life. To understand this position, it is necessary to keep in mind that there was no guide of any kind within the family, particularly in matters of sexuality. 2) Based on what was taught in these initiation rites, others felt that the Program took a position of opposition and rejection toward many of the old traditions, finding them to be harmful.

The discussion leaders need to be clear about these two positions and insist on rejecting those customs that are dangerous. Although there are anthropological studies of initiation rites (Kotanyi and Krings-Ney, 2009, for example), we believe this warrants further inquiry.

- The **lack of knowledge** on the part of some participants of **key Program concepts**, such as "faithfulness," and its corresponding term in the local language, compromised their understanding of the messages.

It is imperative to investigate the corresponding terms in the native languages, as well as the scope of their semantic fields (their meaning and the contexts in which they are used) so as to ensure a more complete communication.

- Another difficulty related to the films and discussions had to do with the **multilinguism**. More isolated communities were less able to accept other linguistic variations. The ideal is to reach people in the languages they use, and that is what the Program has been doing, although at times, in situations of extreme linguistic fragmentation, it was not able to achieve the dialectical variety that people expected.

b) The basic mental models

This section presents the **basic mental models** constructed from the central core of meaning discovered during the analysis of the discussions. Mental models are a specific cultural group's common way of understanding and acting in response to one dimension or aspect of its reality, and do not necessarily refer to all the participants' personal

statements. Since they are basic, they constitute an interpretive substratum which is often unconscious. This must be taken into account, as it may, in fact, interfere with the decoding of the Program's messages and create a barrier to the desired changes.

The model of the wife as instrument

- An image persists of **the wife as an instrument** whose function is to wait on her husband and satisfy him sexually. This ancient and deeply rooted mental model has its basis in a culturally widespread tradition: the bride price called *lovololo* in the area of the study.² In these cultural contexts, women are given in exchange for a price and come to be the "property," not only of the husband, but of his family group as well. This exchange, which assumes patrilocal residence (the woman goes to live in her husband's place of residence), implies that the wife is seen as the husband's property, which entails two basic obligations: one related to the sexual-reproductive function, and the other related to the productive function of working in the home (waiting on the husband and children) and cultivating food in the *machamba*.
 1. As for the sexual reproductive function, within this mental model, the woman is an instrument for the man's sexual satisfaction; therefore, the woman's sexual satisfaction is a completely invisible matter in the discussion.
 2. On the other hand, regarding production, the wife is expected to look after her husband and his family. The expansion of the domain of housework to include working in the field renders the woman's productive work³ invisible, affecting gender equity.

The mental model of **the wife as an instrument** also affects recognition of her inheritance rights, since the man and his family own everything, including the wife.

Within this logic, it is normal to deny women the right to work for pay and to study, and to challenge wives' desire to offer assistance to their families of origin, which families are perceived to be without the right to benefit from the labor of a married daughter, since they have already received economic compensation.

The model of faithfulness

- The **mental model of faithfulness** is complex and based in the belief in a natural and innate difference in sexuality between men and women. This opposing concept of masculinity and femininity involves:
 1. The perception of man as **naturally unfaithful**, uncontrollable from the sexual point of view, leading to the acknowledgement of a male mandate: to go with many women and have many children. As a result, the faithful man is defined as the man who is able to provide for his partner and protect her, with no implication of sexual exclusivity.
 2. The image of woman as **naturally faithful**, defined to include sexual exclusivity and giving attention and care to her partner as a component of showing respect.

These opposing definitions of male and female faithfulness are based on the conviction that men need sexual pleasure and women do not. This mental model implies certain behaviors and a double standard governing men's and women's sexual behavior. A woman's ability to satisfy her partner is seen as fundamental in the interaction between partners. It leads to the idea that she is ultimately responsible for her husband's

² This is a payment that the family of the groom offers to the family of the bride. It is believed that this rite helps establish a connection between the living and their ancestors (Bagnol, 2008).

³ The land is communal. Working in the field is seen as part of women's obligations.

faithfulness, and explains why the abandoned wife is censured and seen as “less of a woman” by the community, justifying and driving women’s subordinate role in society.

The model of harmony

- The **building of harmony** within the couple that develops through the logic of reciprocity is also affected by the idea that men need sexual pleasure and women do not. Therefore, a woman is expected never to express her desire or take the initiative. Reciprocity therefore takes the form of gifts that the men give as a type of compensation for the sexual favors their wives afford them.

The model of love and commitment

- The **mental model of love and commitment** implies a lasting and serious relationship that is recognized socially and sealed by the existence of children. In the context of this mental model, **the use of a condom symbolizes a lack of love, mistrust and the desire to avoid commitment.**

The model of health and sickness

- In the majority of traditional societies the notion of equilibrium between opposites is applied to a number of areas of human life, especially the area of health. Within this construct, health and sickness are opposed as absolute categories—there are no intermediate conditions. This **mental model of health and sickness as diametrical opposites** cannot imagine the possibility of the presence of an asymptomatic virus, as is the case with HIV.

c) The changes promoted by the Program

This research found that some areas of behavior are open to change and others are not open to change. **Sexual behavior** is an area that is less open to change, hence the difficulty of the task undertaken by the Program. Sometimes the connection between areas is not obvious. The findings regarding female faithfulness show that its symbolic construction affects behavior change related to the husband’s collaboration in the home. It is useful, therefore, to know the mental models so as to develop empathic communication strategies.

The major conclusions regarding the changes promoted by the Program are presented below, beginning with the changes that the participants most readily accepted and followed by the changes about which they expressed the most reservations.

The **changes most accepted** according to the discussions were:

- **Recognition of a higher status for women and men’s participation in household chores.** The majority agreed that wives should not be treated as “slaves.” In daily life, this took the form of increased collaboration by the men in what had traditionally been seen as women’s work: household chores, caring for the children and the *machamba*; as well as choosing conversation over violence in negotiations within the family. Some expressed this principle by giving the wife gifts, entrusting her with the family money, eating with her, or taking her out. However, these changes were compromised by the mental models related to female faithfulness, expressed mainly through showing respect by looking after the husband and his family.

It is important that the more egalitarian relationship proposed by the messages for family life **contemplate ways of showing respect** and affection for both spouses.

- **Recognition of the property rights of widows** and their sons and daughters. Participants expressed a great deal of sensitivity and compassion for widows stripped of their belongings. There also were indications of women's rights being justified based on the paid work that they did and the equal contribution of wives and husbands to the maintenance of the home. Although the matter of the "*lovolo*" (Bagnol 2008)⁴ was not touched on directly in the discussion, it, along with the mental model of the woman as instrument, must necessarily affect men's position on this subject.

This matter should be addressed in future research.

- The **recognition of women's right to study and work**. Although acceptance of the idea of women working was the majority position in the discussions, mistrust persisted. Many men expressed insecurity, thinking that it could be a source of conflict. Women's participation in studies or work could increase women's burden by making them share equally in the work that only men used to do before (construction, cutting wood) and might also diminish the man's responsibility as provider.

It is imperative that **the *machamba* be valued as real work**, so that the wife's *de facto* economic contribution is recognized, which will bolster the recognition of her rights.

- **People living with HIV are more included**, and when a case turns up in a family, instead of blaming the person, they are quicker to go to the health center for treatment.
- **Better relations and understanding with neighbors**. Everyone appreciates having peace and harmony in the place where they live, so they support having good manners, giving advice where necessary, knowing how to resolve conflicts, and not fighting. Good relations with neighbors also relates to social control over alcoholism, domestic violence, and child protection, which is why the Program's interventions are enthusiastically supported.

The changes that participants **expressed the greatest resistance to** were:

- **Promoting faithfulness as protection against HIV** can be complicated, due to the lack of understanding of the concept and the mental models in place. Although everyone appreciates faithfulness, the concept is complex and, to a certain extent, contradictory, depending on whether it is applied to men or to women. As we saw in the section on mental models, a faithful man is primarily one who is economically responsible for maintaining his family, although he may not be as faithful sexually. However, the faithful woman is the one who looks after and respects her husband, and this respect includes sexual exclusivity. In the women's opinion, **it is the wives who are responsible for the faithfulness of their partners**. Women described respect -- that is, not mistreating or insulting their husbands and waiting on them at home -- as the woman's weapon to ensure that her husband does not succumb to the natural male inclination to be unfaithful. Welcoming and waiting on the husband is a deeply rooted way of showing respect, and is therefore difficult to change.

⁴ Giving goods to the bride's family so that the union will be recognized. This practice is thought to connect the world of the living to that of the ancestors.

Continuing to promote faithfulness requires a **justification of the meaning of the term and alternatives** for those who do not agree with sexual faithfulness.

- **Using condoms** is fairly well accepted **when men are “going outside,”** in which case they see condoms as a means of protection against HIV/AIDS. Using condoms with other women is a way to be faithful, which here means being responsible for the health of their wives and children. The problem with trying to generalize this behavior lies in the way that **using condoms symbolizes a lack of commitment and love.** As a result, the suggestion to use condoms is seen as evidence that the man’s intentions are less than serious.

A challenge for communication strategies is to **repositioning the condom.** Instead of implying fear and a desire for protection, the condom should represent protection and responsibility in the context of starting a relationship with a new partner. (Getting tested could also be part of the context of a new relationship) .

- **Using condoms with one’s formal partner** is rejected by the majority of respondents. It is only accepted as a family planning method for birth spacing, allowing the couple to continue sexual relations during the year following the birth of a child, thus avoiding the need for the man to “go outside.” The idea of limiting the total number of children does not come up in the discussions. The purpose of every couple is to reproduce. Children are the sign that has to be shown to the community to obtain respect. As a result, it is sometimes more important to have children than to protect oneself from HIV/AIDS.

Promotion of condom use with a formal partner might be limited to **those who are living with HIV** so that it could be linked to promotion of testing.

- **There is a greater understanding of HIV/AIDS and of the means of transmission of HIV than before TTHV, but the asymptomatic presence of the virus is not understood.** Because of the mental model in which health and sickness are opposites, there is no real understanding of the non-symptomatic presence of the virus, which gets in the way of making a decision for protection.

It is important to **know the population’s real levels of understanding** of this subject so as to design appropriate communication interventions.

- **The Program message promoting fathers’ and mothers’ equal participation in child-rearing** challenged a profound cultural barrier related to the roles of gender and sexuality. In traditional culture, female sexuality is a “mystery” that men are not supposed to get involved in. For this reason, many male participants (especially in Nampula) were scandalized at the possibility of having to talk about menstruation with their daughters. In the past, sexuality was not discussed in the family; there were people responsible for informing and preparing adolescent girls for this.

Simply **encouraging mothers to participate in the sexual education of their daughters and fathers with their sons** constitutes in itself a fairly substantial change that the population is more ready to accept.

- **The promotion of child rearing without violence.** Faced with the changes that modernity has brought about, fathers and mothers feel that they lack methods with which to raise their children. Some are aware that violence is negative; however, they do not know what other methods to use to make their children pay attention to them. Parents want to receive some training that would enable them to bring their children along and make them good people. The greater participation of fathers in household chores has changed the internal dynamics of the family.

The **times when children are helping out** around the home could be used more intensively as **an opportunity for learning** and dialogue. Parents need orientation about how to bring up and guide their children.

- **Alcoholism.** Many participants, particularly women, consider alcoholism to be a major problem in the area and a constant source of conflict, and many thought that this problem had not diminished. However, some men thought that the Program's interventions and the change in their relations with women had contributed to reducing consumption and, above all, reducing the domestic violence and irresponsibility associated with alcohol abuse. They hoped that the Program's support for combating this bad habit would be intensified.
- The **justification for "going outside" and getting drunk** has to do, in addition to the mental models concerning sexuality described previously, **with the conviction that life is fragile** and one needs to seize the moment and enjoy the present as much as possible—as one participant said, "There's no adultery in the cemetery."

This way of thinking, which contributes to the high mortality rate in the area, has to **be taken into account** when developing messages.

In conclusion, listening to the voices of the participants brings to light the target population's points of view, fears, and dreams. Without knowing their ways of thinking and the mental models with which they recreate and reinterpret the messages received, it is difficult to achieve the TT Program's desired changes. A good methodology for qualitative analysis must put **the informants' spectacles** on our eyes to enable us to **see through their eyes**.

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ANNEX 1

Interviews with Program Participants

The evaluation included interviews with individuals or couples who had participated in the Program, as seen in the following description.

DESCRIPTION OF INTERVIEW SUBJECTS	
Man, 29 years old 1 child, peasant	Rural Nampula
Man, 25 years old 5 children, peasant	Rural Nampula
Man, 42 years old Peasant (His wife participated in TT)	Rural Nampula
Couple, wife 36, husband 42 years old, 5 children, peasants	Rural Nampula
Couple, wife 47, husband 39 years old. Wife 4 children, husband one child, peasants	Rural Nampula
Man, 44 years old, 8 children, peasant	Peri-urban Nampula
Man Worked in the city (He did not participate, but his wife did)	Peri-urban Nampula
Man and wife Man 5 children, wife 2 She is a peasant, he makes baskets (Both participated in TT; he has children with another woman at the same time)	Rural Nampula
Woman, widowed, married for the second time, 34 years old, 5 children, peasant	Peri-urban Nampula
Woman, married	Peri-urban Zambezia
Woman, married 4 children, peasant (She did not participate in TT, but her husband did)	Rural Zambezia
Man, married, 55 years old, 5 children	Peri-urban Zambezia
Woman, married, (husband is sick), 4 children, peasant	Rural Zambezia
TOTAL	16 interviewees

Results from the individual interviews did not differ from those of the focus group discussions. Participants in the focus group discussions tended to express what ought to be, while in the individual interviews people focused more on their own experiences. Below are some individual experiences that might be illustrative.

As in the focus groups, the interview subjects had a **positive opinion of the Program**. It is interesting to see the way one couple presented their ideas about this, how they brought out what they had learned, and how it helped them to feel like people:

*(...) I had never experienced before how much we've learned, anyone who thinks and has a positive attitude would get something as benefit from **our life experience with TT. We've learned how to live** within our households, how to respect each other, how to help each other, how to raise children, they sat with us and taught us and those who have fresh minds and if you are a person willing to learn to help your own life and reduce pain, then something you will keep in your mind. There were lot of things that happen and cause sadness, because you live in a house with your husband but you don't feel like a human being, because who makes mistakes is not only the man nor the woman, we all make mistakes even against our kids, but I am so grateful for the way we were taught here, I watched culture and tradition of other places and how they live, I am so grateful. (Couple, Peri-urban Nampula) (249)*

Many of the men who were interviewed spoke about how **they had learned to help with the household chores and in the *machamba***. As in the focus groups, there were indications that some tasks were seen as more feminine, although many accepted that men could also help with them.

*... a man can help give children bath, but the person entitled to do that job **should be the woman, she must be the one who mainly takes care of children.*** (Man, rural Nampula) (250)

In the same way, other tasks were seen as more masculine.

The **improvement in their relationship with their partners** was strongly emphasized. Some spoke of greater companionship. Before each person went to his own *machamba*, but now they have come to an agreement and share the work. Others specifically mentioned that they had stopped beating their wives and that now they talked more. Some said they have learned that **a woman was a human being** and not a slave.

The idea that **the man was the head of the household** remained in force, as in the focus group discussions, and in the interviews this was given as a justification for the men's getting more involved in the organization of the home. Some affirmed that the **changes in the wives' behavior** tended towards more dialogue and towards the wives' **being more attentive** to the tastes and preferences of the men. One of the men who was interviewed, however, admitted that part of his wife's change in behavior was due to his threats to leave her, while others attributed their wives' greater attentiveness to them to what they had learned in the Program. In the following statements, some interviewees acknowledged the changes in their wives' behavior and greater attentiveness.

*E-Yes, is all that I said at the beginning, **now she obeys everything** that I think, she brings me water for the bath, we talk without any problems at home, at home she does all the housework.* (Man, peri-urban Zambezia) (251)

It was also reported that the women made efforts to sexually satisfy their husbands.

F-Lady, in which aspects did you change?

E-for example when I was a girl I knew how to burn MUCURUA (wild Plant that the ladies use to stretch the clitoris and labia minora), but when I grew up I stopped doing it, but when TT appeared it reminded us and I re-started doing it. (Woman, peri-urban Zambezia) (252)

Regarding changes among the men, some thought that it was not so easy to change because **men resist being bossed by women**.

An important thing that one of the women interviewees learned in the workshop was that women could **ask for help**.

*...that I learned and tomorrow when in trouble I shouldn't be silent I **should ask my neighbors for help, always ask help from the government offices**, because we women are always left behind and now we have a door open to not get always sad, so ask your friends for help, I liked that.* (Woman, peri-urban Nampula) (253)

The interviews confirmed the focus group discussions findings that the way a woman shows **respect** is by **waiting on her husband** (going out to greet him when he comes home, preparing the water for his bath, and cooking for him) and, at times obeying him.

*In order **to be recognized that she is respectful, she must obey what I tell her, for example bring me water for bath.** (Man, rural Nampula) (254)*

*... **respect in a house means you know how to reply and how to serve and know well your husband, for example when he ask you for some water you must be able bring water without getting angry and without complaining, that is respect** (Man, peri-urban Zambezia) (255)*

Moreover, being ready to please their husbands sexually is part of respect.

... she should give water for bath and be able to know when her husband wants to play with her, these kind of things . (Man, rural Nampula) (256)

According to some in the Macua language, respect has to do with habit.

The **respect that a man shows** a woman consists of buying her her *capulana*, allowing her to go out with her mother, answering her nicely when she speaks, not abandoning her when she is ill, and providing food for the family.

*F-And for the man to be considered respectful what he must do?
E-He should know also how answer his wife properly, he must remember to buy capulana for her, he must be responsible for sustaining the children, and he must always guarantee that there is caril (curry/bread and butter) at home (Man, peri-urban Zambezia) (257)*

Interviewees talked about the **rights of women** to inherit, to work, and to study. They also talked about the right of women to receive what the man brought in to be able to feed the children, the right to be taken care of and protected by the man, and to receive his gifts. These rights show that the man is undeniably considered the provider. One female interviewee answered in other terms, saying that women had the right to their husbands' money. Another woman interviewee thought that women's rights were greater than men's.

*... **Awoman has more rights than a man she has more privilege, she is entitled to stay with her husband at home, for example some men only give her money when she is going to the market to buy specific things for the household, that's not good, because this is to deprive the woman the economic right because she is entitled also to have money in her pocket to buy whatever she needs for her own use. Also she has the right to speak, even question her husband and she has the right to support her husband in term of ideas.** (Man, peri-urban Nampula) (258)*

*... in TT something changed because in the beginning woman had no rights, **we had rights we didn't know** about, and we didn't know where we could go for solutions . (Woman, peri-urban Nampula) (259)*

The male interviewees were not clear about what **the rights of men** were and in many cases, did not answer that question directly. For some, men's rights were to have their wives wait on them and give them sex when they wanted it.

*P-Yes, for example **she should receive stuff that I bring, then she must cook and serve give children, these seem to the rights of men,** I almost forgot this, after all she must serve the food on the table for her husband, this is the right of a man, there are some women who are not capable to do this (Man, rural Nampula) (260)*

The women who mentioned men's rights did it within the mental model of male domination. According to this model, it is the man's right to sit down while his wife cooks, although he might be expected to sit and talk with his wife while they ate, which, as we have said, was not common before.

Some thought that men's rights had limits, recognizing, however, their right to be waited on by their wives and to rest.

Some interviewees thought that the men's and women's rights were joined, or mingled, so that now women also had a right to rest equal to that of men.

Asked **what they liked best of the things they had learned in the Program**, they mentioned better understanding in the home and with the neighbors.

Some said they **had learned how to use condoms**, but did not explain if they used them or not, nor with whom they used them. One man recounted that he used a condom with his wife to try it out and felt nothing. The idea that what she felt was also important was not internalized, for example, in this case it never occurred to the man to ask his wife what she had felt.

Some said that they had **stopped "going outside"** any old way, or "*orarua*" in the Macua language, that is, going with just anyone, one with the other, without knowing who they were. They know that when they "go outside" they need to use condoms.

Their **relationship with their children** has changed; now they are more like friends. Some acknowledged the low value they had given to their children.

... before, I was not capable to talk to them, I could just beat them and insult them by comparing them with wild animals from the bush, then I punished them by giving them little food. (Couple, rural Nampula) (261)

However, in spite of this change, many said they **did not agree with the advice not to beat their children**, since, as seen in the focus group discussions, they lacked any other methods for rearing their children.

*... but what I **didn't like there in TT**, well, is one thing that I liked but not that much, **this thing that we must not beat children**, yes this very same topic, because **children continue to be very disobedient** and when you say don't beat them it will get even worse, then the TT should seek other ways to help educate those kids. (Man, rural Nampula) (262)*

Nor did they agree with talking to their children about sexuality, specifically, talking about menstruation with their daughters.

*E-There was a session that said fathers can talk about menstruation with their daughter. When that father sees that his daughter is already grown up he can call her and say this is what is happening. This in my homeland **is shameful and nobody does that**, all you must do is ask 2 to 4 persons older than the mother to talk to your daughter. (Couple, peri-urban Nampula) (263)*

All agreed that **the Program needed to remain in the area** and continue teaching valuable things.

Many said they **talked about what they had learned with their friends** and with people they met in the market, for example. Others said that their wives talked about what they had

learned with their friends and neighbors. Some said that they were counseling their alcoholic acquaintances and recommending that they attend the Program sessions, and others offered to be “explainers” in their communities to help improve the situation in which they find themselves submerged.

... if they need more people to be part as TT facilitator, I would be ready, because people here are not open, the TT is good thing, if TT was as a seed I'd take my money to buy this plant to put in my house. (Man, peri-urban Nampula) (264)

Among **the recommendations** that the interviewees made for the Program, one was the creation of an association **to help the community fight poverty**. This coincides with what was found in the focus groups concerning the suitability of preparing the population for work. The idea that the workshops should be longer also stood out.

*P-for me, I know that the TT spoke mainly about domestic violence, well I know that primarily **we have problems related to economy**, it's difficult for a person to make a good economy, because the person does not know, that's why the TT should teach us to do some economy. (...)*

*Also **regarding the time I think the time is very short**; I would suggest 2 weeks so that we could have 24 sessions, with that period the participant could end very well informed (Man, peri-urban Nampula) (265)*

ANNEX 2

ORIGINAL PORTUGUESE STATEMENTS AND QUOTES USED IN THE PRESENT STUDY

1. *...uma nova organização que vinha trabalhar aqui no bairro com as pessoas* (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) **(1)**
2. *...vinha **ajudar** as nossas preocupações aqui em Moçambique.* (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) **(2)**
3. *Porque **são boas coisas** e nós praticava sem saber que não era bom.* (Grupo de hombres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(3)**
4. *...quem assimila bem os ensinamentos do TT, **vive muito bem** no seu **lar sem problemas** conjugais, familiares e de vizinhança, por isso o TT, esta muito bem.* (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) **(4)**
5. *(...) nos problemas o TT diz que temos que acabar com os problemas no lar, sem lutas, sim (...), o **TT quer paz boa vontade e amor no lar.*** (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) **(5)**
6. *TT é uma coisa muito boa, muito boa porque **truxe ensinamnetos, de como respeitar** as pessoas a sua esposa por exemplo...* (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) **(6)**
7. *E- Porque acha que o TT é boa coisa?*
P1- porque já nos iluminou, já nos tirou da escuridão, quando nós estamos a participar lição de TT, não difiriu com as lição da Bíblia. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula urbano) **(7)**
8. *Programa **faz nos crescer.*** (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) **(8)**
9. *Eu falei com a dona uma vizinha minha, perguntou me o que se tratava lá no TT, e eu disse que **se tratava de respeito.*** (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) **(9)**
10. *Outras pessoas perguntam se estou a gostar de TT eu digo que sim, porque **estou em paz uma paz que nunca tive na minha cãs com o meu marido.*** (Grupo de mujeres, Nampula peri-urbano)) **(10)**
11. *TT aparece como uma especie de **tomada de atenção para os que correm risco de perdição,** diz volte, volte, ai ha perigo, imaginemos isso, se apessoa fôr obediente seguir com os conselhos do TT...* (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) **(11)**
12. *-...Estou satisfeita, porque **aprendi muito.***
- Gostamos de ter aprendido isso com o TT. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(12)**

13. *Eu respondo que eu vou aprender **para ter bom entendimento** no meu lar e minha vida ir para frente. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (13)*
14. *...por exemplo isso de **ensinar os homens cumprimentar**, saber dar moral a mulher, saber que isso que faço a minha companhira deve saber atender o marido. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia rural) (14)*
15. *Sim, veio **reforçar** o modo de vida,
...porque quando uma pessoas mais ouve uma coisa, melhor fica para não se esquecer dessa coisa. Fica enraizado no seu imo, por isso, o TT, não veio iniciar as coisas, mas sim veio reforçar as coisas, aquilo que ouvíamos e ficávamos em dúvidas... (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) (15)*
16. *Sim por exemplo actualmente isso não se verifica tudo o **que está na casa é para os dois, essa é actualização porque antigamente não era assim.** Quer actualmente há mudança. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) (16)*
17. *P6- Mas eu gostaria de saber, essa coisa de TT, **foi iniciativa de quem, será do governo ou da população?**
E- Não sei o que acham, na vossa maneira de ver, de quem foi essa iniciativa de TT, ajudem a responder a dúvida do vosso colega.
.....risos.....
P1.- Eu acho que foi o governo
P2- Mesmo **eu acho que é governo**, é governo porque viu que fazíamos muita coisa errada contra as nossas mulheres por isso quis nos tchovar. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) (17)*
18. *...acho que na minha opinião é **saber dar importância, ou seja saber valorizar as nossas companheiras** os nossos parceiros, porque só assim é o nosso lar ganha peso, temos que saber dar tempo as nossas parceiras. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) (18)*
19. *O **direito das mulheres** porque hoje em dias as mulheres são muito maltratadas pelos maridos fazem de suas escravas, por isso acho **ser muito importante.** (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (19)*
20. *São coisas que **abrem cabeça** de uma pessoa, são coisas que dá para você sentar com a sua esposa e dizer para ela essas coisas são boas temos que seguir para vivermos bem. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) (20)*
21. *Para mim, acho que aprendemos muitas coisas, como, por exemplo, **relacionamento entre casais e de toda a sociedade**, isso é que nos fez compreender melhor, **relacionamento com os vizinhos** isso mesmo. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) (21)*
22. *(...) por sua vez a esposa respondeu a ele que ao invés de pedir desculpas a mim é melhor que vá ter com as pessoas que me deram essa ajuda, o*

senhor foi pedir desculpas aquelas pessoas, o senhor continuou com a esposa sem problemas. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) (22)

23. **Tudo mudou, não há nada que não mudou.** (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (23)

24. P2- Faziam coisas erradas.(...)

P1- Andávamos com outras mulheres, batíamos nossas mulheres, bebíamos muito, eramos polígamos, fazíamos sofrer crianças. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula urbano) (24)

25. (...) quando uma coisa é boa **entra na cabeça** senta de vez e não sai mais, é assim se nós até hoje não esquecemos essas coisa é porque são boas coisas, coisa quando é boa **vai até nos ossos.** (Grupo de homens, Nampula peri urbano) (25)

26. ...**debates acho que está ligado aos filmes** daí que para mim cada coisa **completava** a outra dai que gostei de tudo, o **debate permite compreender bem o filme**, porque que não perceber as imagens pode compreender com os debates daí que acho que tudo está bem (Grupo de homens, Zambézia rural) (26)

27. **Me marcaram porque isso aconteceu comigo** com o primeiro marido que tive, fazia isso, bebia, o vencimento não trazia em casa, mas não me batia, mas eu vi que isso não cria entendimento em casa, destrói a família. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (27)

28. ...mesmo o filme tem muita importancia porque apartir deles vimos as coisas na sua realidade, por exemplo as pessoas de Quelimane, quando vê o filme ficam bem encorajadas por saberem que aquelas pessoas que aparecem nos filmes **são pessoa conhecidas são seus vizinos** por isso todo está bem. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia rural) (28)

29. Sim, quer dizer que antes, não era muito completa, por exemplo vimos um filme dum casal que era muito problemático com a sua esposa, e os vizinhos foram capazes de aproximar e explicarem coisas boas que deviam fazer.(Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) (29)

30. Para mim o que **não gostei é aquela parte em que a família retira os bens** a viúva , porque aquilo não fica bem. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) (30)

31. E2- Também **isso de baterem muito as mulheres** não gostamos também. (...)

E- Qual é a outra coisa que não gostaram nos debates?

E3- Outra coisa é aquilo que um marido pede a sua mulher **uma criança para ir trocar com riqueza**, isso não gostamos.

F- Criança para fazer o que?

E- Para fazer riqueza com essa criança, para comprar ou trocar com carro.

F- Mas isso é falado no TT?

E- Sim, saiu, (Grupo de mujeres, Nampula peri-urbano) (31)

32. Si não fosse filmes não haveria debates. Eu gostei mais de filmes. (Grupo de hombres, Sofala urbano) (32)
33. -...O que gostaram dos debates?
E - **Tudo o que o TT**, trouxe para mim **estava tudo bem**, n~ao existe nada que não foi boa coisa, por isso estamos aqui, mesmo nos encontros nunca faltamos, porque vimos que era boa coisa.(Grupo de hombres, Zambezia rural) (33)
34. Gostei dos debates porque depois de ver os filmes, **agente sentava se para discutir aquilo** o que vimos e **isso ajudava as pessoas a perceberem bem o filme**, por isso acho que os debates foram os melhores para mim. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) (34)
35. - Eles nao tem problema, conversam bem, **mas se falassem bem lomwe seria mais bem para as pessoas entenderem melhor.**
F- Quer dizer que eles não falam o lomwe ou falam mal?
E-Lomwe que falam nao é proprio juntam com o chuabo.(Grupo de hombres, Zambezia rural) (35)
36. No principio eles tinha problemas não falava bem **Khoti** e nós pedimos que falasse mesmo **macua** porque percebemos bem também, foi então quando eles passaram a falar em macua agora não há problemas qualquer dúvida escvlarecem nos sem problemas. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) (36)
37. ...o TT, veio pôr mais carga, **reforçar**, dar mais peso , **porque quando uma pessoas mais ouve uma coisa, melhor fica para não se esquecer** dessa coisa. Fica enraizado no seu imo, por isso, o TT, não veio iniciar as coisas, mas sim veio reforçar as coisas, aquilo que ouvíamos e ficávamos em dúvidas, (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) (37)
38. P1- iiiii..não não está a aumentar nem recordar, **TT veio para diminuir essas coisa erradas.**
P2- Essas pessoas que falaram isso, não sei.. mas **eu acho que o TT veio para dizer: deixarem essas coisa veias que fazem**, porque nós lutávamos com as nossas mulheres, não nos entendíamos com os nossos vizinhos (Grupo de hombres, Nampula urbano) (38)
39. P2- Para mim acho que **o TT veio para mudar coisas antigas** que as pessoas faziam. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) (39)
40. Acho que essas pessoas devem a pensar como se fazia também **tempo colonial os problemas também eram resolvidos no secretário**, pode ser por causa disso (Grupo de hombres, Nampula urbano) (40)

41. P2- O TT, sim, **antigamente as pessoas quando quiseze casar tinham que sair os tios, os pais dos dois iam namorar e conversarem para aqueles jovens se casarem, então o TT, també hoje pergunta-nos para vocês o que é melhor aquilo de os pais antigos faziam de namorarem para os seus filhos prepararem o casamento dos filhos ou isso o que acontece agora de as meninas chegarem em casa já grávidas. Nós respondemos que queremos aquilo antigo, por isso essas pessoas não perceberam essa parte.**
P7- Sim, porque nesses encontro de pais, perguntavam essa família que tribo pertence, quem são os familiares desse homem ou dessa mulher, era assim,mesmo. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula urbano) (41)
42. E- E quando são falados dessa maneira, como se sentem, como tem sido a vossa reação?
P- Sentimo-nos com **o corpo bem pesado** (orgulho),
P2- Ficamos gordos logo....(risos).....
P3- A casa fica mesmo **de respeito**, as crianças ficam satisfeitas. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) (42)
43. Mesmo eu não sei, mas ele participou no TT, nos primeiro dias seguia conselhos mas esse dia não sei ate **fico com vergonha com ele porque as pessoas sabem que ele era do TT.** (Grupo de mujeres, Nampula urbano) (43)
44. As pessoas **primeiramente se riam de nós**, dizendo que éramos pessoas sem ocupação, mas agoara estão a perceber que **é uma organização muito boa** que até muda as famílias agoara é que começam a se interessarem em querer fazer parte do grupo, quando é assim gente não diz nada.(Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) (44)
45. - Eu como da maneira que sai do 10º bairro ate aqui, **gostaria de ter camiseta, para identificar que somos do TT**, (...)
- É como soldados tem que **ter identificação**. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (45)
46. ...o importante é que essas coisas a nossa comunidade precisa e está afazer bem, em **pouco tempo que surgiu o TT, verifica-se um bom ambiente**, mesmo quando as pessoas quando tentam discutir depois de beberem alcool, os assistente gritam dizendo: Tentem lutar, **vamos queixar o projecto TT**, para mim, isso significa que as pessoas ja gostam do TT, e pensam que o TT, **traz segurança para elas**, por isso se traz ou não tradição isso n~ao interessa, desculpem me se falei mal. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia rural) (46)
47. ...agora com o TT com os seu **mandamento** o homem já não faz já aceita a mulher ir na escola. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (47)
48. - Mesmo eu já pensei isso que se esse projecto continuasse, seria uma

igreja inteira. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (48)

49. (...) como já passamos nos **ritos de TT**, assim, **somos novas pessoas**, só a partir de hoje para diante é que será uma nova vida,... (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) (49)
50. Perguntam onde que conseguiste **remédio** para deixar de fazer tal coisa, eu so digo as pessoas que **o remedio que tomei é marca TT**. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (50)
51. ...na minha opinião é saber dar importância, ou seja **saber valorizar as nossas companheiras** os nossos parceiros, porque só assim é o nosso lar ganha peso, temos que saber dar tempo as nossas parceiras. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) (51)
52. ...esse projecto como **valoriza muito as mulheres** elas podem vir a entenderem mal passarem a **não considerarem no homem**. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (52)
53. Porque um homem na sua verdadeira palavra **nunca deve dar tempo a uma mulher**, mulher agente lhe via apenas como pessoa de casa e **para atender as necessidade** do home.(Grupo de hombres, Zambezia rural) (53)
54. Duma maneira resumida, poso dizer que as mulheres antigamente, antes do TT, **eram escravas**, não tinha poderes de tirar alguma palavra para o homem... (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (54)
55. ...por exemplo a mulher não era considerada com os homens, ela **era vista como nada**, só **para satisfazer o homem** nas necessidades sexuais.(Grupo de hombres, Zambezia rural) (55)
56. ...mesmo agora ao homem pensam que **ele é tudo**, isso é errado. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) (56)
57. Sim, o facilitador disse, que **temos que ter tempo de conversar** com as nossas esposas, elas devem saber esticar ou seja puxar os eclitores como forma **de contentar** no seu marido. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia rural) (57)
58. Agora é **um poço difícil bater**, é raras vezes bater, é difícil bater porque com aqueles conselhos que recebemos no TT, **quando encontramos uma coisa que não gostamos, falamos com a nossa mulher que esta coisa não gostei e não pode repetir, e ela diz vai me perdoar marido** porque foi uma falha, e nós ficamos a ver se na verdade aquilo foi uma falha mesmo, e nós perdoamos mas tudo isso por causa de TT. Quando ela continuar amanhã com mesmas coisa ai vamos procurar ajuda em outros lugares, como o TT, disse devem começar nos muenhes resolverem os problemas antes de fazerem tudo (Grupo de hombres, Nampula urbano) (58)

59. *Sim, por exemplo esse caso de **dar ou não dinheiro a mulher** é muito bom. porque muitos casais principalmente as mulheres muitas delas não conheciam o dinheiro dos esposos porque eles nunca entregavam, mas **agora elas ja recebem dos maridos e quando é assim elas ficam muito abertas na cama** ficam muito satisfeitas quando chega tempo de brincadeira da cama mexem-se muito bem.*(Grupo de hombres, Zambezia rural) **(59)**
60. *F...que trabalho e esse de mulher?*
E- Puxar os pequenos lábios (risos).
E- Puxamos para servir de guarda na vagina.
F –Porque que fazem esse trabalho?
*E –**Para agradecer o homem** e quando ele chega para manter relação sexual pede licença para entrar por isso mesmo puxamos os pequenos lábios (risos) ..*
*E- **Se a mulher não tem esses tratamentos** quando ele vem da cidade e traz dinheiro no bolso ou algo **ele não da a mulher** finta e esconde o que trouxe no outro bolso e diz não ter recebido ainda porque em casa não tem maneira de ser agradado. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) **(60)***
61. *E-E para evitar ele ir arranjar outra?*
*P-É isso **atender o que ele quer**, ele **quando querer fazer sexo você deve aceitar** para ele não ir andar com outra.*
E- Mudou alguma coisa na vossa vida sexual?
*P- Sim **mudou** porque a maneira que nos entendemos agora, **quando ele quer ter sexo eu atendo-lhe**, mesmo que ele ameaça eu aceito para ele não andar fora, pois se não o dinheiro que ele tem vai dar outra.*
E- E antes como era?
*P- **Antes eu recusava dizia que quero descansar também.***
E- Assim ele ia arranjar outra?
P- Sim, ia porque ele é homem.
E- E isso aprendeu no TT?
*P- Sim aprendi no TT. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) **(61)***
62. *E – Quando ele esta a chegar e não ser recebido e violência*
F – O que ele fazia se a mulher não recebesse
*E - Aida precisir comportamentos feios, homens brutos se não são recebidos e ele sabe que esta trazer camarão por ex. ele lança-te o plástico mais ainda outros **respeitosos** se são ou não recebidos beijam te **como esposo e respeitante porque sabe que és a esposa** e depois disso a mulher recebe. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) **(62)***
63. *Agora com o TT, as coisas são outras, pelo menos, o homem sa percebeu que também a **mulher sente dores**, dai que ja tem resspeito sobre ela. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) **(63)***
64. *Me marcou porque aqui na nossa comunidade acontece, quando nascemos so mulheres e o marido morre a familia dos nosso falecido marido corre-nos*

- de casa e **dizem que não temos direito algum**. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (64)
65. ...nós pensava é normal quando numa casa o marido morre a família do marido levar todos os bens e mulher casar com outro homem, mas agora não. (Grupo de hombres, Sofala urbano) (65)
66. ...nós pensavamos que é normal quando numa casa o marido morre a família do marido levar todos os bens e mulher casar com outro homem, mas agora não. (Grupo de hombres, Sofala urbano) (66)
67. (...) é uma coisa que acontece em muitos lugares em todo o mundo, viúva a abandonar a casa junto as crianças, se isso acontecer comigo, **vou tratar a senhora e dar-lhe mais amparo por causa das crianças** que estão com ela. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) (67)
68. P2-(...) nesse tempo também **quando as mulheres tivessem seu dinheirinho não tiravam para a judar as despesas de casa**, guardavam a penas para coprarem suas capulanas.
P3- As vezes levavam para acasa da mãe, mas com TT, agora já tiram o dinheiro.
(...)
P- A ideia que elas tinham era de que o **lar é apenas do homem** e não da mulher ou dos dois. (Falaram em comum).
E- E agora?
P- agora já não fazem isso, quando tem comemos todos ate acabar. (,,,
P – A mulher era tirada tudo de casa.
E- E agora as coisas como são?
P- Agora as coisas ficam com a mulher com uma razão porque trabalham juntos , homem e mulher. (,,,
E- Mas será que antes lhe tiravam os bens porque motivo mesmo, não percebi bem essa parte?
P- Porque **o homem é quem trabalhava sozinho**. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) (68)
69. Agora as mulheres quando têm um problema com seus maridos resolvem sem problemas, mas antes quando tivessem um letígio por exemplo de casa ou de terreno o marido lhe dava nenhum direito, tudo ficava, mesmo com filhos mas **agora a situação 'e outra**. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia rural) (69)
70. Num lar o homem e a mulher quando ficam ou **quando estão doentes devem escrever o testamento** e dizer que quando eu morrer essas coisas vão ficar com os meus filhos, e esse testamento deve guardar, então quando o homem morrer, a familia pode querer vir arranjar **confusão**, vasculha aquele papel que ele escreveu e explica as pessoas, assim não tem confusão. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (70)
71. Dantes a mulher quando estudasse o marido dizia que esta a ir fazer putaria, agora não o homem deixa a mulher estudar, trabalhar, ate a mulher

- usa calças, não só **o homem que manda em casa, a mulher também pode mandar.** (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (71)
72. *Eu considerava minha mulher como empregada. **Eu esperava minha esposa fazer todo trabalho de casa.*** (Grupo de hombres, Sofala peri-urbano) (72)
73. *Falando verdade **eu não sabia que homem pode** lavar pratos, homem pode fazer massa, homem pode levar crianças, muito mais não sabia que homem pode carregar lenha a vinda da machamba.* (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) (73)
74. *So para a crescer, naquele tempo era normal que as mulheres fizessem tudo sozinhas, até **quando o homem quizesse ajudar elas n-ao gostava** e ate perguntavam, **você quer me tirar do lugar de ser mulher,** quer dizer que não trabalho bem/ as mulheres faziam essas perguntas, porque via-se de anormal um homem fazer trabalhos domésticos...(Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (74)*
75. ***Antes o homem não fazia, porque se fizesse as pessoas diziam que a mulher drogou o seu marido,** o seu marido esta drogado. Agora estamos a abrir a visão, porque o homem que faz isso é amor de ajudar a sua esposa, não é droga.* (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (75)
76. *...depois que veio esse projecto ja percebi que afinal não é assim, temos que partilhar as actividades. elas fazia tudo mesmo, as agora ja vi que por exemplo o **homem pode fazer tudo** limpar a mesa, limpar o pátio, **e esses dias mesu amigos dizem essess dias voce não é nosso.***
F- Porque eles dizem isso?
*E- Porque ultimamente não estão a gostar isso que faço essa mudança de **passar a ser muito doméstico, eles ja acham estranho isso.*** (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (76)
77. *Antigamente ninguém respeitava a mulher, mas agora quando a mulher vem, o marido **treme de medo, homem procura fazer qualquer coisa pqrq ela encontra coisa ja feita,** se ela for no rio o home preocupa-se em procurar lenha para esposa encontrar, actualmente estamos livre mesmo não existem problemas. por isso agradecemos o TT.* (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (77)
78. *Eu não trabalho. Sou vou a machamba e participo no TT.* (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (78)
79. *Fazer machamba, tirar agua para casa de banho, lavar pratos, lavar roupa, engomar.* (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (79)
80. *Foi bom, e eu agora que vou a machamba com minha esposa e estou aver que **aumentou a produção.*** (Grupo de hombres, Sofala peri-urbano) (80)

81. *F – Como era trabalho do homem antes do TT*
*E – Agora e diferente **todos fazem o mesmo tipo de trabalho***
E- Antes era só ir ao serviço trabalhar, pegar na inchada e cortar paus lenha era trabalho do homem
F – Antes o que pensavam que fosse trabalho do homem? uma pessoa disse que não fazia nada, a outra disse construí, ir ao serviço na empresa, ir a machamba, cortar lenha, mais? e o que era trabalho da mulher?
E – Fazer machamba, tirar agua para casa de banho, lavar pratos, lavar roupa, engomar. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (81)
82. *F – Outro trabalho de mulher*
*E – **Fazer filhos e trabalho da mulher.** (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (82)*
83. ***E tudo misturado o homem faz o mesmo que a mulher faz** se vão a machamba a mulher leva inchada o marido leva bebe se chegam em casa um vare o outro da banha as crianças e cozinha, trabalho da mulher se o marido esta a voltar de trabalho ela recebe a bicicleta, tira lhe agua, acompanha o marido no banho, lava roupa, cozinha. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (83)*
84. *Se o marido vai ao serviço **quando volta a mulher recebe**, se tem bicicleta ela recebe **dá-lhe um copo de agua** para beber, **da lhe agua para banho** e **esfrega-lhe** o corpo no banho. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (84)*
85. *E- Quando o home faz a machamba ou a distroncar arvores a **mulher tambem fica lá ajudando** carregado troncos.*
- Na contrução o homem fica la ajudando a dar lhe blocos ou capim. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia rural) (85)
86. ***Mulher também ajuda o homem** (...) se esta a **construir** casa de banho a mulher vai ajudar e não reclama que aqui não esta bem, não, ela vai rectificar onde não esta bem. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (86)*
87. *P- **Mudou porque já oiço** o que o meu marido fala, por vezes quando ele me diz vamos a machamba me ajudar a cortar lenha, tenho ido, **ajudo a ele** enquanto ele corta lenha, eu ajudo a arrumar e carregar.*
E- E antes como fazia?
*P- **Antes esse era trabalho do homem, eu não fazia.** Agora aquilo que ele fala eu faço ele vê que sim, olha minha esposa esta a aprender alguma coisa no TT, esta a me ouvir. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (87)*
88. ***Eu pensava** que quando minha mulher vai trabalhar ou vender no mercado pensava que **vai prostituir.** (Grupo de hombres, Sofala peri-urbano) (88)*

89. ...dantes isso pensávamos que ela ia prostituir, mas agora sabemos que ela apenas vai trabalhar para ajudar a casa. (Grupo de hombres, Zambézia urbano) **(89)**
90. Numa casa quando os dois trabalha, mulher assim como homem mesmo a receberem pouco quando juntassem **ajudava** qualquer coisa, (Grupo de hombres, Zambézia urbano) **(90)**
91. F – Mas falando honestamente por exemplo agora se aparecer alguém a oferecer emprego no mocuba será capaz de deixar ela ir ou não?
E- (Riu-se) Sim, acho que sim vou lhe deixar, porque trata-se de emprego para ela e isso vai fazer bem para todos. **Mas ela terá que controlar-se e saber que é casada.** (Grupo de hombres, Zambézia urbano) **(91)**
92. ...é assim, as mulheres diferem uma da outra, **a mulheres que quando trabalha, em casa já Não há harmonia**, outras quando trabalham o salário dela passa para a mãe, não respeita a mulher, mas normalmente ela devia se sentir mais alegre para ajudar o marido, (Grupo de hombres, Zambézia urbano) **(92)**
93. Me marcou porque **existem muitos Homens que não aceitam que as suas mulheres trabalhem;** agora assim como estamos a aprender, pode ser que os Homens aceitam que as suas mulheres trabalhem. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(93)**
94. Quando as nossa muleres ou filhas **fossem a uma festa** ou qualquer outro convívio de dança, desconfiavam porque pensavamos que **lá vai-se prostituir** mas **agora vimos que nem sempre é isso.**(Grupo de hombres, Zambézia rural) **(94)**
95. Antes as filhas meninas não podiam estudar porque **se vai a escola está a ir prostituir**, só o filho rapaz é que podia ir a escola. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(95)**
96. Para mim, acho que não só isso, **ser fiel e não trair sua esposa sexualmente com as outras mulheres de fora.**(Grupo de hombres, Zambézia rural) **(96)**
97. Para mim, acho que ser fiel não é isso, você pode amar alguém e não ser fiel para aquela pessoa, pelo meu ponto de vista **ser fiel é não enganar, não trair e saber honrar o compromisso conjugal**, acho ser isso. (Grupo de hombres, Zambézia urbano) **(97)**
98. Para mim entendo que **fidelidade é amor profundo** que pode existir entre duas pessoas, casadas ou namoradas. Eu tenho que mostrar mesmo como eu sinto com a minha parceira, temos que mostrar a asociedade que não existe outra pessoa que amamos mais que a nossa parceira. (Grupo de hombres, Zambézia urbano) **(98)**

99. F- Sim, nesse caso para tí o que é ser fiel mesmo?
 E – Para **mim é ser realista para com seu parceiro**
 F – Mas ser realista. Se eu digo por exmplo, hoje não quero tomar banho, essa é a minha realidade, é desse modo mesmo ? assim estou a ser fiel “?”
 E – Não é **não trair outro, é saber usar preservativo, saber explicar** os outros a cerca do que a acontece. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) **(99)**
100. Actualmente **ser fiel é fácil é só comprar o preservativo**, ai voce pode não dar doenças. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) **(100)**
101. **Respeitar a sua esposa ter união e paz em casa e sabe se prevenir; isto que é fidelidade.** (Grupo de hombres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(101)**
102. E- Você **pode andar fora**, mas quando chegar em casa **deve ter formas**.
 F- O que quer dizer o ou que formas são essas que homem deve ter depois de andar fora?
 E- Quer dizer deve **saber justificar-se, desculpar-se bem com a sua esposa** são essas formas.
 F – Quer dizer que basta que voltar para casa respeitar e justificar-se bem, ai a pessoa já é fiel a sua esposa?
 E- Sim, deve falar com respeito e não fazer muito barulho, porque se fizer ai vão lutar. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) **(102)**
103. F- E como é que um homem pode ser fiel a sua esposa mesmo andando fora?
 E- É **quando o homem chega em casa respeita mulher**. (Grupo de hombres, Sofala urbano) **(103)**
104. F- Como é que um homem pode ser fiel mesmo andando fora
 E- É possível, **isso significa que um homem pode andar fora com outras mulhere mesmo sem ideias de casar e sem gastar muito dinheiro nas amizades**, quando é assim o seu dinheiro fica em cas bem guardado com a sua esposa dona de casa. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) **(104)**
105. E- Gostaria de saber, disseram que continuam com aquelas de Okuipi (de fora), disseram que respeitava a aquela de casa, o **que é respeitar ou o que fazem para respeitarem** então essa de casa enquanto têm ainda essa de fora?
 P- Primeiro respeito é não dormira lá.
 P2- É não ser diário lá.
 P3- É preciso fazer uma semana sem passar lá.
 P4- Há outros hoems que quando têm uma de fora quando chega em casa so cria confusão, aquela antiga já não é nada, isso não fica bem.
 E- Mas porque não deixam de vez essa de fora ficarem com a d casa?
 P- Não pode o senhor consegue por mesma roupa para sempre sem trocar? **É preciso mudar de roupa** é por causa disso apenas.(Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) **(105)**

106. E- Ainda não tinham me respondido a questão que coloquei de como era isso de ser fiel mesmo andando fora?
P Ainda não tem como **você pode ser fiel cumprir com a sua promessa e pode ter uma amiga, isso não é problema.**
E- Desculpa mas que tipo de promessa?
P3- Aqueles exemplos que falamos do principio.
P4- Sim, o que ser é só não chegar em casa de noite, também como TT, já nos proibiu, então isso não é problema a pessoa pode andar fora e ser fiel a sua esposa. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural). **(106)**
107. P6- Para mim, **fidelidade é seguir as orienta**, coes dadas, seguir os conselhos dados.
E- Mas que tipo de orientações?
P6- Orientações de **não fazer o mal.**
E- Mas que tipo de mal, pode dar exemplo de um mal?
P6- Por exemplo quando você é dito, não pode cagar no pátio, mas sim no mato. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) **(107)**
108. E- Acho que devíamos lembrar que existe doenças dai que temos que evitar, **mesmo que tenhamos respeito isso não ajuda.**
E- É isso mesmo temos que saber que **isso não é fidelidade**, mesmo que tentemos mentir as nossas mulheres ai não fizemos nada. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) **(108)**
109. E é homem **que tem dois corações** por isso não é nenho fiel. (Grupo de hombres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(109)**
110. (...)quando você anda com outra mulher fora alguma coisa vai-se estragar-se, então, para ser fiel, deve ter única mulher de casa, cuidar das crianças compartilhar. (...)
- O que vai-se estragar-se?
P2- Porque não é possível você andar fora com uma outra mulher sem você levar uma coisa como dinheiro, qualquer bem para lá, então assim é estragar-se. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula urbano) **(110)**
111. F- Entre homem e mulher quem deve ser fiel ao outro?
E- Acho que os dois devem ser fieis. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) **(111)**
112. Para **ser fiel** ele vê o comportamento da sua esposa desde que casaram ate hoje, terem as mesmas idéias, quando o marido trabalha a mulher vai ajudar também. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(112)**
113. Também outra coisa é a família do marido quando aparecer, **deve cuidar da família dele, assim que é o respeito.** (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(113)**

114. ...a mulher tem que **dar idéia ao marido**. Com isso o marido respeita a sua mulher, pensa nela como mulher mesmo não lhe deixa. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (114)
115. Para o Homem é normal, ter outras, as mulheres quando há desentendimento no lar também tem amigos. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (115)
116. E – Para mim eu pensava, **meu marido não trabalha, eu quero coisas**, o que posso fazer agora?
 E – Vou ter com senhor António, como trabalha na Visão Mundial, é uma nota alí. Ele trabalha na Visão Mundial quando recebe consegue dividir para casa, **o que sobra da para mim** mesmo que seja 100 meticais é muito....
 (o entrevistador cortou a palavra ao facilitador) (...)
 E – A vontade até mesmo com 7 Homens necessário para mim, **o que se queria era pão, não me interessava em proteger meu corpo**. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambézia urbano) (116)
117. Também a prendemos que por mais que saibamos que o nosso marido nos trae com uma outra mulher **nunca devemos imitar o desafiar** com ele, isso sera violência. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambézia rural) (117)
118. **Antes era como competição**: se o marido dormisse fora a mulher também dormia para não sair a perder, mesmo sabendo que o marido pode trazer doenças e ela também mais isso não importava muito. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambézia peri-urbano) (118)
119. - ... essa coisa de fidelidade?
 - Nós ja aprendemos que **nunca desafiar** com o seu marido se ele dormiu com a Belita qualquer, nunca revoltamos a enas, continuamos afazer os nossos trabalhos, **o muito que a mulher pode fazer 'e esperar um momento um pouco calmo e perguntar-lhe onde estava anoite**, porque é que dormiu em casa, **com muita calma sem zangas**, por fim tomar-lhe atenção dizendo que **isso pode ter implicações nas crianças**. E **pedimos** para ter receio e não repetir. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambézia rural) (119)
120. Agora **se o homem dorme fora a mulher não pode imitar**, ela vem da lhe roupa, agua para banho, comida e deixa descansar e depois procura saber o que esta a acontecer, onde esteve, ele responde mesmo mentido a mulher toma-lhe atenção dizendo que há muitas doenças agora e se vais a procura eu não quero ficar doente, gostaria que isso não voltasse a acontecer, **eu sei que todo homem anda mais se não aguenta pelo menos faça de dia como outros e não mostre mais dormir fora não da**, e as crianças podem aprender de si e não fica bem e vão pensar que e assim que devem se comportar em casa. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambézia peri-urbano) (120)
121. -... **antes os homens não prostituíam**, eles despejavam
 F- o que despejavam?

- **Despejavam esperma** (batiam punheta) não eram como os homens...(Grupo de mujeres, Zambézia peri-urbano) (121)
122. Fidelidade é **entendimento em casa**, aquilo que faz a mulher o marido saber e o que faz o homem a mulher saber. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (122)
123. **Fidelidade** quer dizer **uma pessoas boa**. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (123)
124. ...principalmente da fidelidade, a TT falou de que **todos deve ser fiel para todos**, não só aos parceiros, e lá falava uma pessoa deve ser fiel somente ao seu parceiro mas com TT sei que uma pessoa não deve ser fiel só ao seu parceiro, mas sim a toda comunidades. (Grupo de hombres, Sofala urbano) (124)
125. Como **ser fiel é ser confiado**, então a pessoas como é confiada com a sua mulher que você não anda fora, **para ser fiel deve andar em segredo** de modo que a sua esposa continue a confiar-te. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural). (125)
126. P- é **respeitar** a sua esposa
E- Respeitar é o quê?
P2- É ter segredo **não divulgar as pessoas que você anda com a fulana tal, é saber voltar para casa** e ficar com a sua esposa, chegar em casa ficar tudo silencio, sem barulho sem fazer confusões, então as pessoas vizinhas começam a dizer fulano tal está bem com a esposa, as pessoas dizem aquele senhor é fiel para a sua esposa. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) (126)
127. P3- Se agente fala de esconder-se por que são coisas o melhor era ter a única mulher de casa, **o programa central é deixar isso de ter amiga fora**, ficar com a única mulher. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) (127)
128. F – E quando é que **uma muler é fiel** ao seu marido?
_ É quando **sabe respeitar**, por exemplo atraz daquela montanha que estamos ali aver, as muleres são muito fieis aos seus esposo, alí sabem **guardar o melhor prato** para um génro, isso é ser fiel ao seu marido
_ Uma mulher deve saber que **tem único marido**, saber que o meu marido quando volta do seu serviço **deve ter comida pronta**
_ Saber que um homem **deve ser atendido quando quer fazer sexo**.
F- Quando que um homem se sente bem atendido pela sua mulher?
E- Quando **ela puxar os eclitores enfrente do seu esposo**, isso tudo aprendemos no TT.
_ Sim, uma mulher quando é fiel para seu marido mante o marido, quando a mulher não faz isso o marido pode vir a fugir.(Grupo de hombres, Zambézia rural) (128)
129. E- O que consideram uma **mulher fiel**?

P- É quando lhe **trata bem**.

E- O que é isso de tratar bem?

P- É quando chegar por **agua para ele tomar banho, prepara comida** para ele e dar-lhe **passar roupa** dele, ele vai ver que esta mulher é fiel a mim. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (129)

130. Mulher boa para mim não pode ter dois homens. (Grupo de mulheres, Zambézia peri urbano). (130)

131. E3- Quando é mulher também dizem que não é gostada.

E3- Sim, dizem ela tem “masubi”.

E4- Sim, **quando você está a penas com o seu marido as pessoas acham que isso não é normal**, ate perguntam por que aqueles estão sempre colados, quando uma mulher anda sozinha sem ninguém “asubiar” para ela acham de muito estranho. (Grupo de mujeres, Nampula peri-urbano) (131)

132. Sim, é isso mesmo, se ele na outra mulher **não dorme** ai é andar fora, mas se ele dorme, acorda relaxa-se e lava cara vai na verdadeira mulher ai não é andar fora pode ser uma segundinha. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) (132)

133. - Andar fora significa **namorar, prostituir-se**, ter três ou mais namoradas fora, por exemplo se deixo minha esposa em casa e vou a procura de uma outra ai estou andar fora....

-...andar fora significa, por exemplo se procura uma outra amante

-...fora do compromisso conjugal, fora da relação conjugal, de entre parceiros.

-Desde que você vá namorar e prostituir-se fora, tudo isso é andar fora. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) (133)

134. -Para mim, não faz diferença, por mais que não fique muito tempo nas outras mulheres ai você está andar fora, independentemente do tempo ser longo ou curto de estadia, esta andar fora. (...)

-Se tiver apenas filho sem casa, ai está andar fora, mas **se tiver filho e casa ai é outra coisa**. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) (134)

135. - Quando não ‘e sua esposa ou seu marido, uma simples amiga, por mais que vá lá dormir **se não é uma coisa oficial** ai está a andar fora.(Grupo de hombres, Zambezia rural) (135)

136. Andar fora é ORARUA (lingua local) , vadiar, andar com outras mulheres fora da sua esposa. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural). (136)

137. -Quem anda fora é **vadia**,

-Quém não é vadia não anda fora. As vezes Quem anda fora vai roubar.

(Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (137)

138. Outras voce ve logo que esta anda fora **tem outro homem fora porque ja nao tira agua para banho do mardo**, nao cusinha, se cusinhaa comida nao e boa, ai sabe se logo que ela tem outro anda fora, e quando e homem

- que tem outra so quer bater a esposa tambem sabe se que derrepente ficou mau porque tem outra. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia urbano) (138)*
139. *Quem anda fora esta a vadiar, está a prostituir. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (139)*
140. *Isso 'e relativo, para as pessoa que passam ou que já ouviram com TT, já **diminuíram** (andar fora), não são muito frequentes, por exemplo eu tenho uma filha era muito lançada esses dias, quando soube que mama anda no TT, já reduziu, porque tem medo. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia rural) (140)*
141. *-**Antes** quando tinha amante, quando voltava em casa **não havia entendimento**, só barulho, ate **se baterem**, quando fazia massa deitava fora. Mas **agora quando ele vai lá fora sabe voltar**.
P- Sabe voltar e respeita em casa. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (141)*
142. *– Se o marido sai para dormir fora de casa a mulher não pode imitar sair ter com Sr. João, porque não fica bem mais sentamos com ele **e explicamos que não esta correcto porque pode trazer doenças para a família** porque o tempo não e bom há muitas doenças por ai, homem não se imita (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (142)*
143. *Dizem eles que se morrem, **no semeterio nao se comete adulterio**, entao e bom aproveitar o momento, para ambos sexos a ideia e mesma. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia urbano) (143)*
144. *Nesse caso estará a prostitui-se, porque ai não está a preparar nenhum futuro, o senhor já é casado. Quando se tratar de um jovem isso sim, porque ele ainda não tem nenhum futuro. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) (144)*
145. *P- Isso do homem ter duas mulheres oficialmente é fidelidade?
R-Eu aceito porque ele me disse, não há problemas
R-Eu como adulta e outras mulheres também adultas **entendemos, e aceitamos que ele tenha outra**. Eu vou ter com essa outra mulher e digo que o meu marido quer ficar com ela, que eu não vou lhe insultar e aceito ficar com ela. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (145)*
146. *...casa 2, é segunda mulher conhecida porque quem foi em casa dessa segunda mulher para o marido casar foi a primeira mulher legalizar o segundo casamento do marido, é conhecida. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (146)*
147. *Sim, ela passa a ter todos os direitos de uma esposa. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia rural) (147)*
148. *Quando um home tem esse comportamento de ter uma mulher fora, próprio homem perde control da sua casa quando tem problema não sabe como resolver porque está atrapalhado e não sabe o que acontece na sua casa,*

porque ele não fica muito tempo.(Grupo de hombres, Nampula urbano)
(148)

149. E3- essa coisa de poligamia só que não é boa coisa, mas **pior é essa de dormir fora** com hawala, porque ai ele não é conhecido nem a mulher não é conhecida, mas poligamia apesar também de não ser boa coisa mas pelo menos. (...)

F- Mas qual é a diferença para essas coisas todas?

E2- Há muita diferença por exemplo poligamia, quando um homem consegue uma coisa **ele sabe como dividir as coisas para as suas esposas**, mas quando são amantes é difícil podes ficar um ano sem receber nada do seu marido ele leva tudo para dar a sua amante. (Grupo de mujeres, Nampula peri-urbano) (149)

150. -Agora por exemplo quando chega aquela hora de brincadeira na cama a mulher não podia tocar no marido, ou seja **ela não podia ser primeira a pedir sexo** ao marido ai o marido podia lhe bater.

A mulher nem podia experimentar isso, porque ai o marido a buzava logo dizendo que ela tem bichos na vagina. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia rural)
(150)

151. E – A mulher não pode mandar o marido, se o marido levanta não pode dizer não

F – Levanta como? Podem explicar

E – Levantar na cama: **não pode provocar o marido na cama porque ele pode pensar que não e homem, o marido e que deve ter desejo e convidar a mulher** e a mulher recebe o homem,

E- Mulher não pode ter outro homem ou amante: chama se violência contra o marido. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (151)

152. F- Disseram voces que antes a mulher não podia pedir o marido para manter relações sexuais não e? E se pedisse o que acontecia

E – Zangava te

F – Se pedisse ele zangava e isso?

E – **Agora ele te recebe.** (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (152)

153. - **Quando a mulher quisesse ela visitasse bem e pedia para lhe cortarem o cabelo**, procurava a melhor roupa **para encantar o marido** e o marido ao ver a mulher assim **percebia que ela estava pronta** para ele. A mulher fazia comida jantavam e ela depois de fazer a cama na luz da lenha porque não havia candeeiro mais usavas se lenha para clarear a casa ela ia nua fechar a porta e o marido deitado esperava receber lhe para o acto sexual ejhangue (lenha que não se apaga usada para clarear a casa o quarto) (risos...)

Mais **agora** os homens actuais só passam a vida a trocar de mulheres antes da criança crescer. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (153)

154. Antes de TT eu não usava jeito mas agora **quando apanho uma mulher fora** uso jeito. (Grupo de hombres, Sofala peri-urbano) (154)

155. *Eu quando apanhar uma namora não aceito fazer sexo sem preservativo* (Grupo de hombres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(155)**
156. *Muitos que anda fora usam preservativos porque sabe dizer de que **sou fiel** a minha esposa.* (Grupo de hombres, Sofala urbano) **(156)**
157. *Sim, eu estava dizendo se você vai usar preservativo com uma outra mulher de fora , já ai ainda continua a ser fiel com a sua mulher.* (Grupo de hombres, Nampula urbano) **(157)**
158. *Ele usa porque sabe que tem mulher em casa, senão vai trazer doença.* (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(158)**
159. *Não aceito porque o jeito **só se usa para evitar doenças**, assim quando ele vai for a pode usar jeito, em casa não pode usar jeito.* (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) **(159)**
160. *Eu como Antonio estas coisa de usar jeito **esto contra** porque parece estou a **mandar minha parceira para ir fazer sexo com outros homens**.* (Grupo de hombres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(160)**
161. *Não. Nós não usamos apenas vamos directo para termos prazer.* (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) **(161)**
162. *Para nós realmente e dificil muitos homens querem carne com carne para sentirem bem o praser e se nos mulheres tivessemos preservativos para mulheres aviamos de usar.* (Grupo de mujeres, Zambesia urbano) **(162)**
163. *Se a mulher **confia** no marido e o marido confia na mulher ai **não há razão de se usar o preservativo**.* (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) **(163)**
164. *P-Eu **usar jeito em casa nunca pensei**, porque quando eu andar fora ver que estou infectado, não faço sexo com minha esposa antes de ir no hospital e falo a ela que estou infectado*
*E- **Como o senhor sabe que está infectado?***
*P- **Sinto meu corpo fraco, constipação, febre, diarea.***
*E- **Vamos se por que o senhor andou fora hoje e fica ininfectedo com HIV, é possível adoecer mesmo hoje ou uma semana depois?.***
*P- Não é possível, mas **quando fazer sexo fora fico muitos dia sem fazer sexo com minha esposa, fico a espera, ver si estou infectado ou não.***
 (Grupo de hombres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(164)**
165. *...o menino juvito disse, voces estão mesmo a namorar nem fez ainda uma semana com ela, logo ao primeiro dia da relação sexual usam preservativo, ai **será problema grande para toda a família, porque logo mostra falta de amor no casal**.* (Grupo de hombres, Zambesia urbano) **(165)**
166. *Ainda bem, quando é esposa não se usa preservativo , se usa preservativo mostra que ésta a andar fora, porque ai não sai filho, **quando usar***

preservativo ai com sua esposa ela pensa que está a despresar na sua esposa dai que não se usa.(Grupo de hombres, Zambesia rural) (166)

167. **Jeito é para evitar doenças não é para usar marido e mulher.** Porque não vão nascer, jeito é para usar quando saber que o meu marido anda fora, quando ele trouxer jeito vamos saber que ele tem amante. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (167)

168. E- Já falamos, o problema é que cria desconfinça entre o casal, e se é **um casal sério mesmo nunca vai pensar em usar.**

F – Quando é que um casal é sério?

E – Quando é **de verdade**, quando se casam **a finalidade é de ter filhos** , agora se usarem ai não sai filhos. (Grupo de hombres, Zambesia rural) (168)

169. E- Se ele tiver outra mulher aqui em casa, serem duas ou três mulheres com mesmo marido como fazem?

P- **Não aceito usar jeito, como vou usar se ele é meu marido.** (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (169)

170. P-Eu **não aceito** usar jeito.

E- Não aceita porquê?

P- Não aceito porque não vejo que o meu marido anda fora, onde ele vai eu vou, como vou aceitar usar jeito com ele. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (170)

171. E- Agora nas vossas casas quando o marido trás preservativo em casa como vocês reagem? Aceitam, não aceitam, como fazem mesmo?

P- Eu costumo perguntar, dantes você não usava e agora porque estas a trazer para usar. Se ele não me responder digo **antes vamos para o hospital fazer teste.**

E- Mama também estava a falar

P- Eu meu marido usar jeito, enquanto ficamos juntos muito tempo sem usar jeito, querer usar jeito agora no meio, não vou aceitar, e vou perguntar esse jeito é para fazer o quê, para não nascer ou para quê, se ele não me responder bem vou dizer vamos fazer teste primeiro. Porque antes não usávamos. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (171)

172. ...ele tem que **falar a verdade** de dizer que minha esposa eu estou com HIV/SIDA e minha esposa vamos usar preservativo, **não é de qualquer maneira**, hoje, hoje vamos usar preservativo, sem nada é difícil eu aceitar. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (172)

173. Também aqui no Dondo nasce se bem, **todas mulher quer nascer por isso não quiere saber de jeito**; E ela pergunta porque usarmos jeito hoje, se você esta infectado **não tem problema você mi infectar.** (Grupo de hombres, Sofala peri-urbano) (173)

174. ...o preservativo usa-se quando **voces querem se proteger de algo, mas se voces tiverem intenção de fazer filhos** como será possível isso. Não

sei os outros o que acham?, para mim é mesmo difícil isso. (Grupo de homens, Zambézia urbano) (174)

175. *A função do preservativo não é para defender alguma coisa, **se uso significa que esse é um planeamento**, ai de primeiramente combinar com a minha esposa acho que não haverá problema a respeito disso. (Grupo de homens, Zambézia urbano) (175)*

176. *F- É fácil ou difícil pôr jeito em casa?*

E2- Pode se pôr

E3- Outros não ceitam.

F- Mas é possível ou não?

E- É difícil.

F- Por quê?

*E1- É difícil **por causa de nascer**, as pessoa **squerem ter muitos filhos**.*

*E2- Mas há outros que se entendem e diz minha mulher já tens muitos filhos tens que usar preservativo **para descansar de fazer filhos, tens que ficar uns 4 anos sem fazer filhos** é presico usar preservativo para descaçar, por isso, se você não usar ai se tiver seu problemas ai o home tam razão. (Grupo de mujeres, Nampula peri-urbano) (176)*

177. *P3- Mesmo quando uma mulher acaba de ter parto para esperar outras crianças crescerem, usamos preservativo, ou mesmo para evitar andar fora naquele tempo que ela deu parto o homem põe e a mulher também põe*

P4- Sim, homem faz isso para poder descansar como não pode andar fora então faz isso. Como na nossa tradição quando nasce uma criança carregamos depois de fazer um ano então ai agente pensa, mas como vamos conseguir ficar um ano, por isso então agente faz isso. (Grupo de homens, Nampula peri-urbano) (177)

178. *Não sei como fazer, porque não usar também pode se contrair doenças dentro da familia, dai que é preciso saírem os dois, **irem fazer teste**, se saírem negativo, então ai poderão fazer o sexo sem usarem. (Grupo de homens, Zambézia urbano) (178)*

179. *O TT o que nos ensinou foi de que **primeiro fazer teste antes de fazer carne a carne** depoi que sair negativo pode fazer carne a carne, mas as pessoas se esquecem disso. (Grupo de homens, Nampula rural) (179)*

180. *F- E quando os resultados por positivos?*

*E- Quando os resultados sai positivos de viver juntos, mesmo se for a mulher positivo o marido negativos, ou a mulher negativo o marido positivo sempre devem viver juntos, **ninguém deve negar outro**. (Grupo de homens, Sofala urbano) (180)*

181. *Usar não é só pra prevenir SIDA, **também serve para prevenir a gravidez**, por exemplo eu tenho filho pequeno, **tenho que usar preservativo** com meu marido para prevenir gravidez, por exemplo ele vem ter comigo para fazer sexo, eu digo não pode, estou a dizer-lhe para ele andar fora, então o*

preservativo serve para prevenir doenças e gravidez. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (181)

182. Mas eu já usei numa aflicção com a minha esposa, acabava de chegar vindo de Quelimane, onde estava a um ano, **na mesma semana que cheguei a minha esposa, acabava de dar parto**, eu estava mal, estava mesmo apresequisar, ai, **pedi minha esposa, e usei preservativo**, ai **descarreguei meu peso** e fiquei alivido. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (182)

183. Me marcou (o filme) porque nos tempos de hoje temos os nossos filhos e quando **aconselhamos a usar jeito**, tanto as meninas como os rapazes para aceitar ao usar jeito temos que falar como se fossemos malucas (loca), mas nos explicamos que se não usarem o Jeito vão morrer e nos deixar, não é para depois dizerem que a minha mãe é feiticeira. É isso que me fez gostar. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (183)

184. P1- Mas para mim acho que **não custa**, porque não são muitos entre nós que estamos aqui que suas esposas não passaram no TT, porque **todas elas já aprenderam que é preciso usarem o preservativo**, por isso não vai custar. Porque é par defendermo-nos das doenças porque onde ela anda não sei nem ela onde eu ando ela não conhece. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula urbano) (184)

185. Sim, dizem não podem gastar muito dinheiro em vão, por isso preferem que seja carne a carne. (Grupo de mujeres, Nampula peri-urbano) (185)

186. R- Antes as pessoas tinham medo, agora já não tem medo.

P- Medo, medo de que?

R- Antes **as meninas tinham uma tradição eram revistadas**, não se metiam com homens, tinham medo porque vinham pessoas idosas fazer revista, os **rapazes também tinham medo porque eram ditos que se juntar com as mulheres vão ser queimados**, então os rapazes tinham medo e ficavam mesmo ate crescer e casar. **Agora, os nossos filhos já sabem tudo**, quando você explica não aceitam. Ate crianças de 10 anos já sabem. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (186)

187. **Falavam** que aqui tem uma doença de SIDA, nos livros aparecia, qualquer sitio falava-se, falavam que todas as pessoas devem ir fazer teste para ver o seu organismo como esta. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (187)

188. E – Sim! Antes donde viemos **dizia se que SIDA e Itogola**, a pessoa tinha frio, emagrecia

F – O que e isso de itogola e uma doença do hospital ou tradicional

E – Itogola e uma doença tradicional antes de sermos ensinados mas como já **fomos ensinados vimos agora que SIDA e uma doença que vem do nosso corpo transmitido através de relações sexuais**, da lamina do aperto da mão, beijo, então assim explica se a doença do SIDA. Essa e a minha percepção. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia peri-urbano) (188)

189. (...) antes de entrarmos no TT, quando alguém tivesse uma doença como essa, como agente não sabia nada as pessoas iam no **Aculukano** (Curandeiro), quando chegasse lá ele procurava algumas raízes tomava e a coisa ainda continuava ou mesmo parava pouco... (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) **(189)**
190. **Sida era conhecido como uma doença espiritual**, as pessoas com mais puder possibilidade faziam tratamento com batuque “ danças espirituais porque um dos sinais era emagrecimento e as pessoas deduziam que era doença espiritual, faziam tratamento tradicional e não melhoravam quando piorasse, saíam feridas no sexo diziam as pessoas que quando isso acontece que era grave. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia urbano) **(190)**
191. R-Sim. Como eu, o **meu marido ficou doente**, e foi levado pela família, foi ao hospital e fizeram teste, deram-lhe um papelinho que trouxe para mim para eu tamber ir fazer teste, como ele estava muito mal faleceu e eu pensei também ir fazer o teste fiz o teste estou a seguir o tratamento ate hoje. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(191)**
192. ...mas **muitos agora aceitam ir ao hospital fazer o teste agora, basta sentir que o seu organismo não esta bem** e ainda não chegou no maximo, vão logo fazer o teste, não precisam ser obrigados a ir. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(192)**
193. (...) vi também que antes de TT, pensava que era **vergonha** ir ao hospital fazer teste junto a sua esposa, mas com TT, aprendi que é uma boa coisa. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) **(193)**
194. (...)essa doença quem traz é uma única pessoa, depois distribui para toda agente do bairro, ate fazer uma rede mesmo é uma única pessoa que pensa que pronto como tenho essa doença agora vou distribuir para os outros para não morrer sozinho. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) **(194)**
195. Antigamente antes de TT, quando me desse preservativo no Hospital eu ficava com medo porque as pessoas diziam que tinha sida m as agora não tenho medo porque já sei que eé mentira. (Grupo de mujeres, Nampula urbano) **(195)**
196. Isso de **usar jeito** é porque as crianças não ouvem, porque quando explicamos para não fazer isso eles não ouvem então **o melhor é dar jeito para prevenir**. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) **(196)**
197. ...agente vê muitas crianças dos seus 14 anos grávidas e isso leva me a pensar que talvez **as pessoas ainda não acataram a informação do TT, sobre o uso de preservativo**. (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano) **(197)**

198. *Alguns sim fazem, outros não, por isso vemos a doença a aumentar cada vez mais.* (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(198)**
199. *Também aqui no Dondo nasce se bem, todas mulher quer nascer por isso não quiere saber de jeito;E ela pergunta porque usarmos jeito hoje, se você esta infectado não tem problema você mi infectar.* (Grupo de hombres, Sofala peri-urbano) **(199)**
200. P3- *Agora que sabemos nos humilhamos não andamos muito com mulheres ficamos a penas nas nossas casas com as nossas mulheres.*
P4- *Sim, agora sabemos que é preciso usar Muakiho (defensor = apreservativo)*
E- *Quando é que vocês acham que a pessoas está a humilhar-se?*
P- *Quando fica em casa com a sua mulher*
P2- *Quando passa a usar o Muakiho (preservativo) qe se distribui ai nos hospital e se vende nos mercados.* (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) **(200)**
201. *Por causa de não respeitar o seu corpo isso de encontrar um homem logo pensar que é esse mesmo que vai dar me muito dinheiro sem saber que vai te descarregar doenças.* (Grupo de mujeres, Nampula peri-urbano) **(201)**
202. *A pessoa com SIDA era estranhada, não comíamos juntos, a roupa era estranhada comia sozinha*
Hoje pessoa com SIDA e vista como amigo já não e estranhada, porque já fomos ensinando que temos que conviver com eles, não podemos estranha-los lavar a roupa, dar banho aconselhar, porque quase todo mundo tem, em vez de estranhar, desprezar temos que apoia-lo, aconselha-lo o mais rápido possível e se puder leva-lo a US para ser tratado. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambesia peri-urbano) **(202)**
203. *Antes de TT, diziam que nunca brincar, trocar copo de água, nem sentar-se a mesma cadeira com um infectado de HIV Sida, mas quando chegou o grupo TT, disse não isso não pode ser assim, voces devem brincar divertir-se com infectado sem qualquer receio, são essas experiências que ganhei o com o grupo de TT.* (Grupo de hombres, Zambesia urbano). **(203)**
204. *Agora ja não fazemos o que fazíamos antes, ja conseguimos conviver com PVHS, comemos no mesmo prato bebemos agua no mesmo copo, trabalhamos com eles, ja não e estranhada sentimo-nos numa família completa damos esperança de vida, dizendo que e bom continuar com tratamento, você não vai morrer vai viver e ver seus filhos a crescer.* (Grupo de mujeres, Zambesia urbano) **(204)**
205. *Agora o SIDA nos já convivimos com eles.* (Grupo de mujeres, Zambesia peri-urbano) **(205)**
206. P- *Porquê que é uma educação difícil?*

R- É difícil porque esse tipo de educação **era como um segredo das meninas**, e assim eu aprendi muito com isso no TT. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (206)

207. P- E vocês aceitam que os vossos maridos eduquem as vossas filhas?

R- Sim, **agora aceitamos**, porque nós temos uma tradição de a menina ser educada com a avó dos ritos, fazer “Nfutata”, puxar os lábios vaginais, mesmo para explicar a menina a forma de viver no seu futuro lar, e **isso a mãe não podia fazer porque era assunto da avó e a neta**. Mas agora já abrimos as vistas podemos educar directamente as nossas filhas, mesmo o pai pode educar a menina. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (207)

208. ...porque si eu queiro aconselhar as menina a mãe discórdia, pensava que eu queiro fazer sexo com a sua filha. (Grupo de hombres, Sofala peri-urbano) (208)

209. Antes de TT, assuntos relacionados com sexo eu falava com minha mulher para falar a nossa filha, não tinha coragem de falar com a minha filha. (Grupo de hombres, Sofala rural) (209)

210. E- Tem diminuído, que como mães **falamos com nossos filhos agora** que entramos no TT, ouvimos boas maneiras de levar a vida falar com os filhos, conseguimos falar com as crianças e mostrar o que é bom e seguem e assim ficam com medo. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambézia peri-urbano) (210)

211. P- Antes do TT, víamos que quando tivesse uma adolescente virgem em casa, **tínhamos que lhe controlar, todos os meses levávamos a menina** para o mato com duas ou três senhor **para controlar**, para evitar que ela ande com os rapazes, mas com o TT essas coisas não se falaram, só antigamente fazíamos assim para controlar a menina. Agora também como o TT acabou de aconselhar por causa das doenças, também o pais podem aconselhar os seus filhos.

E- Quem é que controlava a menina?

P- Eram só mulheres. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (211)

212. E- Quem educa a menina em casa?

P- **A menina eu é que educo.**

E- E o rapaz?

P- O rapaz é educado pelo pai. (...)(Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural)

213. -...eu vejo que a mãe deve educar a menina, ensinar os serviços de casa, lavar pratos, agora o pai deve educar o filho. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (213)

214. Agora o seu marido não pode educar a menina?

P- Pode educar, quando a menina for contar que há alguém que quer lhe bater la fora, porque aconteceu uma coisa que um pai foi bater na filha, bateu ate ela ficar nua sem capulana, nem calcinha, então dai se falou que o **pai não**

tem direito de bater na menina, a menina é educada pela mãe. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (214)

215. P4- *Aquela coisa ali, que senhor Mendes do filme disse, tem três filhos para educar qualquer coisa **não precisa chamar outra pessoa para ensinar coisas como por exemplo mistruação** ou esperar que seja a mãe, ele mesmo pessoalmente faz, **aquilo é difícil para nós porque isso aqui não se faz**, quando a sua filha começa a sair sangue você sentar com ela dizer filha isso não é doença mas sim crescimento, você como pai dela sentar-se no banco começar a falar isso..... (Risos).....Aqui nunca se faz isso, falar isso com sua filha é malavi (mistério). Caso aconteça isso, se não morre a filha morre o pai. Isso é malavi (mistério), para nós **essa foi a sessão mais difícil**, porque **mesmo para o rapaz**, nunca um pai pode senta-se com ele começar a dizer assim que você está grade vão te levar ao mato para cortarem o teu pênis com faca, nunca isso não se fala vai ver lá quando chegar, até quando vai lá no mato o **pai engana-lhe** diz você vai lá vai chupar mel na companhia dos seus amigos, agora isso de sentar com a sua filha iii...é forte e difícil, quem faz isso sabe que quer morrer ou quer matar sua filha. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) (215)*

216. *Sim, nos discutimos isso, que aqui no nosso bairros não é normal de um homem explicar coisas de menstruação só a mãe é que fala. (Grupo de mujeres, Nampula urbano) (216)*

217. - *Evitar insultar crianças, porque isso também 'e violencia.*

- *Quando maltratamos as crinças é violencia.*

- *Mas **as crinças não ouvem**, quando voce fala sem bater ela não faz nada. As crincas devem ser faladas com a mor carinho, sem precisar de bater. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia rural) (217)*

218. P2- *Sim, tudo o que nos ensinam gostamos por isso ate hoje não esquecemos, a **única coisa que não gostamos é isso que o TT, nos diz para não batermos os nossos filhos**, a pergunta que faço 'e como não batermos se eles não nos obdecem, e quem vai educar a elas? (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) (218)*

219. P3- *Sim, tem razão, quem vai educar, se quando explicmos ou pibimos uma certa coisa elas não ouvem, amanhã continua a fazer mesma coisa, esse é que é grande problema. Nós podemos deixar de bater os nossos filhos, então o TT terá que trazer um escola para elas. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) 219*

220. E2- *Sim, antigamente quando os pais falavam com os filhos os pais ouviam os conselhos, mas agora quando falam com eles **não te dão tempo a falar elas se levantam e vão se embora.** (...)*

E1- *sim, recusa e **insulta** os pais. (Grupo de mujeres, Nampula peri-urbano) (220)*

221. *Eu quero acrescentar o seguinte, as crianças de hoje e aquelas antigas são diferentes, as crianças de hoje quando você fala que isso não está certo, dizem ah, esta é uma ideia de velha, tem cabelos brancos, as crianças de antigamente quando quisessem ir para o lar vinha apresentar o marido, quando casassem sabiam apresentar o marido a mãe e o pai, agora não, as crianças começam a namorar fora. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (221)*
222. *Ouvir ideia de alguém..se dizia bebo com o dinheiro muito meu que Deus me deu. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) (222)*
223. *Antes o Homem bebia, saía, quando tivesse dinheiro acabava todo dinheiro (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (223)*
224. *Agora quando chega mesmo grosso **sabe respeitar** a casa e os filhos, ele chega almoça e ficamos a conversar. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambézia rural) (224)*
225. *F- Na vossa opinião o que seria preciso para mudarem ou deixarem de beber álcool?
E- Por enquanto não temos nenhuma ideia a respeito de como deixar ou mudar essa situação. (Grupo de hombres, Zambézia peri-urbano) (225)*
226. *F- O que acham essa coisa de álcool, está aumentar ou está diminuir?
E1- Está a aumentar porque mesmo crianças bebem, as mulheres bebem.
E2- Sim, porque **outros bebem fazem necessidades maiores e menores nas calças**
F4- Outros **batem nas suas esposas** e não respeitam a ninguém. (Grupo de mujeres, Nampula peri-urbano) (226)*
227. *Nos e os nossos maridos. Mesmo eu só pegava no meu dinheiro e ia por zed quando me criticassem eu dia deixem me o mundo e assim estou a viver estou a aproveitar meu tempo e a minha vez mesmo **sem as crianças almocarem**, mais agora quando eu vi e ouvi mano Asura falar eu assistir vi que prejudiquei muito os meus filhos iam a escola sem matabichar porque eu só bebia para mostrar as pessoas que eu convivo na minha casa e minha filha ia a escola sem uniforme e sem cadernos agora estou bem e já não quero beber. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambézia urbano) (227)*
228. *...Sim, esta muito grave porque isso até pode causar a morte nos homens que não deixam de beber, **a única coisa que mudou é que quando bebem já não criam confusão** como faziam antes.
- Mas algumas pessoas que estão dentro de TT, acho que deixaram com medo dos colegas, esses que continuam são aqueles que não fazem parte. (Grupo de mujeres, Zambézia rural) (228)*
229. *E- Sobre o álcool não se falou no TT? Não mudou?
P- **Não mudou nada**, porque **os que bebem não vinham no TT**. O responsável até cansou de aconselhar para virem no TT mas não aceitavam. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) (229)*

230. *Porque há outros quando bebem, bebem com objectivo, para arranjar confusão com o outro.* (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) **(230)**
231. (...) *as vezes as pessoas pensam assim, como não trabalho então vou beber para esquecer isso, mas nunca esquece apenas estraga sua cabeça.* (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) **(231)**
232. *E- Eu que entrei no TT, vejo meu marido e das minhas amigas a beberem, fico triste, e **falo para ele**. Lá onde eu estava, disseram para diminuir o álcool, sermos unidos, falarmos com respeito com as crianças, porque se zangas elas ficam confusas; e se amanhã ele não voltar a beber da para perceber que ele me ouviu.* (Grupo de mujeres, Zambesia peri-urbano) **(232)**
233. *E- TT disse para vocês estarem a beberem quantos copos ou garrafas por dia?*
(Risos)
*P- Não, Não falou isso, por mais que seja um carro, você sabe que se conduzir mal estraga o carro, **se conduzir mal pode morrer sozinho sem chegar onde vai esse é motorista**, por isso mesmo o TT não deu medidas para beber, mas cada um sabe que se beber mal é com ele.* (Grupo de hombres, Nampula urbano). **(233)**
234. *Meu vizinho so bebe nao ciuda das crianças e isso nos encomoda e quando bebe insulta as pessoas os visinhos e nos como visihos nos sentimos incomodados com a actitude, precionados com o custo de vida por **sermos obrigados a alimentar os filhos**, a comida que damos para os filhos podia servir para outro dia e ele so bebe com o dinheiro que devia alimentar os filhos.* (Grupo de mujeres, Zambesia urbana) **(234)**
235. *E- Na vossa opinião desde a muito tempo foi assim, o que faz com que as pessoas não bebam?*
P- Aqui é por causa da religião.
*P2- Sim, por causa da religião muçulmana quase que **as pessoas não bebem**.*
P3- Posso concordar que é por causa da religião, mas não totalmente, porque por exemplo esse irmão aqui não né religioso mas não bebe, já viu. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula rural) **(235)**
236. *E- Não porque não existia, havia relação com os vizinhos só que era duma maneira duvidosa.*
F – essa dúvida era como mesmo?
*E – Quer dizer **não havia entendimento era so brigas**, as pessoas não sabiam o que era bom entendimento, as pessoas so viviam mas agora com esse TT, as pessoas já estão na linha com esse esclarecimento da TT, quem vinha duvidoso já começa ater boa visão. Aprendemos ater bom comportamento.* (Grupo de hombres, Zambesia urbano). **(236)**

237. *Dai que estamos com outro comportamento por isso **aconselhamos** os outros que não sabiam.* (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano). (237)
238. *Eles sim, **conseguem ver essa mudança porque quando eles lutam no bairro nós intervimos e dizemos que isso não é boa coisa**, isso antigamente não fazíamos; mesmo ouvir alguém a chorar numa casa vizinha ninguém corria para lá, mas esses dias basta ouvir mãeei (Choros), saímos e **vamos na casa saber o que se passa**.* (Grupo de hombres, Nampula urbano) (238)
239. *F- Tem outro comentário sobre TT?*
*E- Não, mas sim **nós gostaríamos que nos troxessem mais coisa que não sabemos**, porque **quando alguém que não sabe é difícil saber que não sabe** tal coisa , dai que devem ser vocês a trazer em coisas que não sabemos.* (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia rural) (239)
240. *R- Gostaríamos que falasse das cerimônias tradicionais, como **pita-kufa**, pita madjuade, feitiço, mostrar esses filmes, para abriremos mais a visão.* (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala peri-urbano) (240)
241. *E- Poderia abordar sobre **cerimônias tradicionais** (PITA KUFA)*
F- Porque é que acham que TT deverias abordar esses assuntos?
E- Porque cerimônias tradicionais espalha mais doença de SIDA por exemplo eu quando morre o meu irmão vem tomar a minha mulher sem saber que doença mi matou . (Grupo de hombres, Sofala urbano) (241)
242. *Só para acrescentar, se o projecto continuar, com aquelas sessões era de opinião que ao envez de dar aquelesa filmes nos computadores seria melhor projectarem **em telas grandes e ou nas paredes para não limitar as pessoas interessadas**.* (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia rural) (242)
243. *Eu por exemplo gostaria que o TT, **podesse explicar ou dar aulas as mulheres trabalhos que os homens** fazem para as mulheres começarem a fazer, ao **envez de ficar como ajudante do homem**, nós gostaríamos de **aprender** alguns trabalhos de homens.* (Grupo de mujeres, Zambezia rural) (243)
244. *P3- Mas eu gostaria que o TT ensinasse nos de **como podemos desenvolver a nossa região**, para conseguimos sustentar nossos filhos, sobrinhos e outra família, mas essa coisa só de fazer machambas todos os dias iih...só nos provoca dores de costelas.* (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) (244)
245. *...as manhas antigas são , por exemplo eu **não podia conversar com alguém de Nampula nem com lomwé** (etnia) muito menos pedir copo num vizinho, mas com esses **ensinamento dos TT**, essas coisas já estão a diminuir,* (Grupo de hombres, Zambezia urbano). (245)

246. P3- Também eu acho que seria bom para nós que participamos ate no fim deveríamos **receber credenciais, par mostrar que sabemos e podemos explicar os outros que não participaram**, a vezes que pensamos em ensinar os outros mas ficamos com medo de ser perguntado o senhor que está a enganar os outros onde aprendeu. (Grupo de hombres, Nampula peri-urbano) **(246)**
247. P- Sim eu gostaria de perceber, sobre este projecto, porque eu trabalhei no projecto fundação, quando fazíamos trabalhos **éramos dadas capulanas**, agora estamos a trabalhar assim outras pessoas que não participam teriam-nos cobiçado se tivéssemos capulanas e haveriam de participar, porque sempre tivemos alguma coisa quando trabalhamos no projecto, no projecto de batata tivemos, na fundação tivemos; (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) **(247)**
248. Eu ir assistir TT para fazer o quê, depois viam esses activistas com pastas, camisetas, diziam que esses activistas recebem no fim do mês e vocês, nem tem nada, perder tempo, não serem dadas nada. Diziam-nos isso mesmo. (Grupo de mujeres, Sofala rural) **(248)**
249. (...) o que nunca tinha visto tudo que aprendemos para uma pessoa que penca e tem atitude aproveita alguma coisa por que na nossa vida **com TT aprendemos a viver como viver no nosso lar, como nos respeitarmos, como nos ajudar como criar os filhos sentaram connosco ensinaram nos e para pessoa com mente fresca e se for uma pessoa que tem vontade de aprender para ajudar a sua vida diminuir sofrimento alguma coisa guarda na mente porque há muita coisa que aparecia e dava tristeza, porque uma pessoa vive numa casa com o marido sem se sentir pessoa, porque quem era não é homem, nem é mulher todos nos erramos ate para nossos filhos mais eu agradeço da maneira como fomos ensinados ali assisti cultura e tradição de outros países como como fazem e como vivem agradeço bastante** (Parceira, Nampula peri urbano) **(249)**
250. ...homem pode ajudar a dar banho crianças, mas a dona mesmo desses trabalho **deve ser a mulher é que mais deve cuidar das crianças**. (Hombre, Nampula rural) **(250)**
251. E- Sim, é tudo o que eu disse no principio, **ela agora obdece tudo** o que lhe peso, tira água para banho, conversamos sem qualquer problema no lar faz tudo o que é actividade de casa. (Hombre, Zambezia peri-urbano) **(251)**
252. F- Que coisas são essas em quea senhora mudou?
E- Por exemplo quando eram menina sabia queimar MUCURUA (Planta silvestre que as senhoras usam o seu caroso, queimando para esticar os lábios vaginais), Mas passasdo tempo de adulta ja tinha deixado de fazer isso, mas com o aparecimento de TT recordou-nos e ja comecei afazer. (Mulher, Zambezia peri-urbano) **(252)**

253. ...que aprende e amanha quando estiver a sofrer não me calar **devo pedir ajuda os meus vizinhos, secretários pedir sempre ajuda**, porque nos as mulheres somos muito atrasadas e como estão nos abrir a porta pra não ficarmos sempre tristes peça ajuda aos vossos amigos gostei muito. (Mulher, Nampula peri-urbana) (253)
254. Para dizerem que **ela tem muito respeito, ela deve obedecer** aquilo o que mando, por exemplo dar água de banho. (Hombr, Nampula rural) (254)
255. ...**respeito numa csa 'e saber responder, saber atender e conhecer bem o seu marido, por exemplo qundo pedes 'agua ela deve ser capaz de ir dar agua sem se zangar sem muito esforço** isso 'e respeito. (Hombr, Zambezia peri-urbano) (255)
256. ...deve dar água para banho, saber quando o marido quer brincar com ela essas coisa mesmo. (Hombr, Nampula rural) (256)
257. F- E para o homem ser considerado de muito respeito o quê faz?
E- Deve saber tambem responder bem na sua mulher, saber comprar capulana para ela, ter muita responsabilidade pelas ccrianças, comprar sempre caril para casa. (Hombr, Zambezia peri-urbano) (257)
258. ... a **mulher tem mais direitos que o homem** ela tem **mais privilégio**, tem direito de ficar com o marido dela em casa, por exemplo há homens que tiram dinheiro apenas aquela hora que a mulher vai ao mercado isso não é bom é privar a mulher o **seu direito económico** porque ela tem direito também a ter dinheiro no bolso para comprar aquilo o que precisar para o seu uso. Também tem **direito de falar**, perguntar o marido também tem direito de auxiliara o seu marido em termo de ideias. (Hombr, Nampula peri-urbano) (258)
259. ...no TT alguma coisa mudou porque no principio mulher não tinha direito, **tínhamos direitos que não conhecíamos** e nem sabíamos onde recorrer. (Mulher, Nampula peri-urbano) (259)
260. P-Sim, por exemplo **ela deve saber receber na estrada coisas que eu trago, depois cozinhar e dar as crianças** isso parece que é **direitos do homem**, é isso tinha esquecido, depois e preparar deve trazer na mesa para o marido comer esse é direito do homem, há outras mulheres que não sabem fazer isso. (Hombr, Nampula rural) (260)
261. ...antes eu não falava com eles batia lhe e comparava lhes com bichos do mato, dava lhes pouca comida. (Pareja, Nampula rural) (261)
262. ...mas o que **não gostei ali no TT**, epa, é uma coisa que gostei mas não gostei muito, **essa coisa que falaram apara não batermos crianças** essas coisa mesmo, porque **as crianças continuam a serem muito desobedientes** e quando dizem não batermos pioram mesmo, então o TT deveria procurar outras maneiras então de ajudar a educar essas crianças.. (Hombr, Nampula rural) (262)

263. *E- Era uma aula que dizia os pais pode falar sobre menstruação com a filha. Quando ve que a filha já cresceu pode chamar a dona e dizer que isso que você viu é isto. Para esta minha terra **é vergonhoso ninguém faz**, procura 2 a 4 pessoas mais velhas que a mãe para falarem com ela. (Pareja, Nampula peri-urbano) (263)*
264. *...se precisarem mais pessoas, para fazer parte de explicador de TT, **estaria pronto**, porque as pessoas daqui não estão abertas, o TT é boas coisa ate se o TT fosse como uma semente eu ia tirar meu dinheiro para comprar essa planta para pôr na minha casa. (Hombre, Nampula peri-urbano) (264)*
265. *P- Para mim, bem sei que o TT falou mais sobre a violência doméstica bem, eu sei que **nós aqui temos mais problemas ligados a economia**, difícil a pessoa fazer uma boa economia, porque a pessoa não sabe, dai que o TT deveria nos ensinar a fazer economia.(...)*
*Também **em relação ao tempo acho que o tempo é muito pouco** sugeria que fosse umas duas semanas para serem 24 sessões isso a pessoa poderia ficar bem actualizada. (Hombre, Nampula peri-urbano) (265)*

