

# CMI REPORT

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## 'Opitanha' Revisited Assessing the Implications of PARPA II in Rural Northern Mozambique 2006-2009

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Assessing the Implications of PARPA II in  
Rural Northern Mozambique 2006-2009

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Map 1: Mozambique and Project Field Sites



## 1. Introduction

This report is part of the efforts to monitor and evaluate the implications of Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategy PARPA II (GdM 2005). Three qualitative and participatory studies have already been carried out in three different areas of the country: One in the District of Murrupula in Nampula Province (Tvedten, Paulo & Rosário 2006); one in four *bairros* in the capital Maputo (Paulo, Rosário & Tvedten 2007); and one in the district of Buzi in Sofala Province (Rosário, Tvedten & Paulo 2008). Each of these studies is to be followed up in order to ascertain changes in social relations and cultural perceptions of poverty and well-being, by visiting the same local administrations, the same communities and the same households after a period of three years. This report is the first in the series of the three such follow-up studies, with the Maputo and the Buzi studies planned for 2010 and 2011, respectively.

There have been considerable efforts to monitor and evaluate Mozambique's poverty reduction strategy. Among the most important endeavours are the Government's annual assessment of its Economic and Social Plan (*Balanço do Plano Económico e Social*); the joint evaluation process between the Government and donors (Joint Review and Performance Assessment Framework); key publications from the National Institute of Statistics (INE) including the Census (2009), the Multiple Indicator Survey (2009) and the National Household Survey (forthcoming 2010); and a number of individual studies from Mozambican as well as international organisations (World Bank, 2005; UNICEF, 2006; Hanlon & Smart 2008, RoM 2008). In addition, an Impact Evaluation Report (RAI) of PARPA II as a whole was recently carried out (MPD 2009) – supported by a number of individual evaluation studies (see e.g. Kelly 2009; Roque 2009). Our qualitative studies draw heavily on the (primarily quantitative) data from these reports, and are meant to substantiate and complement them. As we have argued with reference to Kanbur and Scaffer (2007), qualitative information is useful for the following reasons. They:

“...improve household survey design; interpret counterintuitive or surprising findings from household surveys; explain the reasons behind observed outcomes; probe motivations underlying observed behaviour; suggest the direction of causality; assess the validity of quantitative results; better understand conceptual categories such as labour, the household etc.; facilitate analysis of locally meaningful categories of social differentiation; provide a dynamic dimension to one-off household survey data.”

We have done this with the following points of departure (see Tvedten, Paulo & Rosário 2006 for more details): In terms of our *analytical approach*, we hold the view that socio-economic conditions of poverty and well-being are the outcome of a combination of historical developments and structural, political and economic conditions on the one hand, and the population's own practices of complex social relations and cultural constructions on the other. Political and economic structures have a powerful, even determining effect upon human action and the shape of events, but there is also room for human agency and ordinary lives in the form of strategies and actions for social mobility (Bourdieu 1990; Ortner 2006). A proper understanding of the relative importance of structural constraints and human agency is vital for the design of poverty reduction policies.

Closely linked to this is our *definition of poverty*. Poverty is broadly understood to be defined by a lack of income and assets to attain basic necessities in the form of food, clothing and shelter (alleviated through a combination of increased *opportunities* and an increased *capacity* to capitalise on available opportunities); a sense of voicelessness and powerlessness in relation to institutions of society and the state (alleviated through increased *empowerment*); and vulnerability to adverse shocks, linked with the ability to cope with them through social relationships and legal institutions

(alleviated through increased *security*). 'The poor' have been identified through a combination of quantitative data on income and consumption, and local *emic* categorisations of who the better-off, the poor and the destitute are. We combine this with a focus on the pillars defined as particularly critical for poverty reduction in the PARPA, which are i) governance; ii) human capital; iii) economic development, and iv) the cross-cutting issues of gender and HIV-AIDS.

In terms of *methodology*, we use a combination of interviews with key stakeholders in government, the district administration and the communities; adapted household surveys with a particular focus on social relationships; and a set of participatory methods in each study site. The survey has been done with 120 family households that are to be revisited in the second round of studies (i.e. as 'panel data'). The participatory methods include *histograms* (to map processes and events considered particularly important for the current socio-economic conditions of well-being and poverty); *community mapping* (to map the institutions and people considered most important for relating to contemporary conditions of well-being and poverty); *wealth-ranking* (to capture the community's own perception of poverty and well-being and categories of the destitute, the poor and the better-off); Venn-diagrams (to identify social relations and networks used by the different categories of poor and better-off as part of their coping strategies); and *force-field analysis* (to capture perceptions of the conditions [political, economic, socio-cultural] that may inhibit or accelerate change and development in the community).

This follow-up report should preferably be read together with the baseline report '*Opitanha. Social Relations of Rural Poverty in Northern Mozambique* (Tvedten, Paulo & Rosário 2006), which contains relevant contextual information about Mozambique, the province of Nampula and the district of Murrupula. The report and accompanying brief are available on [www.mpd.gov.mz](http://www.mpd.gov.mz) and [www.cmi.no](http://www.cmi.no) in English and Portuguese.

Chapter 2 of this report contains a critical assessment of the current status of Mozambique's poverty reduction strategy and of the RAI in particular, which is meant to "[not] only be the instrument for cross-checking all the sources and types of relevant information, but an analytical and explanatory document for addressing the issues of attribution (relationships between causes and effects) (GdM 2005:154). Chapter 3 addresses the critical issue of governance, with a particular focus on the Murrupula District Administration and its relation to traditional community institutions. District administrations are, so to speak, on the implementation end or 'front line' of the government's efforts to reduce poverty. In Chapter 4, we will discuss and analyse the changes in poverty and well-being that have taken place the past three years in the district of Murrupula, focussing on the areas of concern highlighted in PARPA II as well as those highlighted by the population itself. Chapter 5 concludes the study and gives a set of preliminary recommendations.

## 2. The Poverty Reduction Strategy

With PARPA II coming to an end, Mozambique and its donors have gone through a period of ten years with an active poverty reduction strategy. While practically all countries in sub-Saharan Africa have such strategies, Mozambique is unique in the sense that it has been unusually poor and received an unusually large amount of development aid. The country is currently ranked as number 172 out of 177 countries on UNDP's Human Development Index (UNDP 2009), and development aid is approximately USD 1.9 bn and constitutes more than 40 percent of the country's state budget (OECD/DAC 2010). While other global or cross-national processes such as climate change, the food crisis, international trade, foreign direct investments and migrant remittances may be more important for poverty and well-being in many developing countries, one can safely say that aid matters in the case of Mozambique.

There have been positive indicators in terms of overall poverty reduction in the country with the official consumption-based poverty headcount having been reduced from 69 percent in 1997, to 54 percent in 2003,<sup>1</sup> and several important social indicators such as primary school enrolment, reduction in child mortality, and access to potable water showing positive signs (INE 2009, see also Kelly 2009 for an alternative deprivation-based approach). However, there is a great deal of uncertainty as to the poverty headcount for 2008/09, with rumours pointing to a still unpublished figure in the 55-60 percent range (Mozambique News Reports and Clippings 3 May 2010). There are also worrying developments following from the continued high degree of aid dependence; low levels of goal fulfilment in other areas of poverty reduction such as agricultural production, gender equality and child nutrition; continued large regional discrepancies in consumption as well as social indicators; and indications that the very poorest sections of the population – including many women – may be in the process of being excluded from ongoing developments (Hanlon and Smart 2008; Tvedten, Paulo & Montserrat 2008; Waterhouse 2009).

Taken together, this should lead to a principal debate about aid and development in Mozambique between the government and donors, in addition to the more technical deliberations that have come out of the annual Joint Reviews (PAP 2009) and the RAI exercise (MPD 2009). At one level this relates to the very notion of development, variously seen as “an ideal, an imagined future towards which institutions and individuals strive” and “a destructive myth, an insidious, failed chapter in the history of modernity” (Edelman and Haugerud 2005). It relates to the very rationale of the idea of aid and social engineering for development, with influential commentators such as Jeffrey Sachs (2005) arguing that ending poverty requires a doubling of aid and William Easterly (2006) arguing equally forcefully that aid is part of the problem rather than the solution to poor country's problems.

While debates at such a level of abstraction may not be very constructive as Mozambique is entering into a new five year planning stage, they do point in the direction of more practical issues that *should* be discussed. One such issue is the high degree of *aid dependence* in Mozambique and its implications for national ownership of the development process (Renzio and Hanlon 2009). The proportion of aid to the Gross National Income is exceptionally high in the country with limited signs of decline. Foreign aid (ODA) currently makes up 42 percent of the state budget. This in itself makes the country dependent on foreign funding for its development programme, and vulnerable to

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<sup>1</sup>The RAI (MPD 2009:6) has recently concluded that the PARPA has verified “the effectiveness of this strategy to attain a reduction in the levels of absolute poverty; promote rapid economic growth in a sustainable way; and give relevant information as regards the best approach for the next operational Five year Programme of the Government” – which to us seems like an overly optimistic and premature conclusion given what is stated above and that the poverty headcount is not yet known.

changes in the level and timing of support.<sup>2</sup> Changes in aid to selected sectors appear in Table 1. Moreover, legitimate questions have been posed as to the real impact of the government in relation to the near-continuous negotiations with donors through the Joint Review Process and the large number of bilateral agreements (PAP 2009). Some commentators have argued that this dependency compels the government to be primarily accountable towards the donor community at the expense of the population it is to serve – pointing towards the rapidly decreasing voter turnout in elections as an indication of such a process (Whitfield 2009).<sup>3</sup>

**Table 1.** *Aid to Mozambique, Selected Sectors 2006-2008 (Constant 2007 USD Millions)*

Sector	2006	2007	2007
Social infrastructure	659	784	909
Economic infrastructure	275	241	182
Agriculture	71	61	115
Budget support	272	313	452
Support to NGOs	5	4	4
Other	198	277	188
Total	1480	1680	1850

Source: OECD-DAC.

Looking more explicitly at the *development policies* effectively advocated through the PARPA, these are framed within a neo-liberal development paradigm where the private sector is seen as the main engine for growth and poverty reduction – with an ‘enabling’ state being given the responsibility for ‘social development’ (GdM 2005). This is to some extent a reflection of an early struggle in Mozambique between a neo-liberal market model advocated by the IFIs (the ‘winner’), and a Nordic model in which the state has a more interventionist role in development (the ‘loser’) (Renzio and Hanlon 2009)<sup>4</sup>. The prevailing poverty reduction policies may also be seen as combining a liberal economic ‘trickle down’ policy with an emphasis on the social sectors – where the idea is that with improvements in human development (education, health) the poor will be able to relate constructively to economic opportunities. The challenge here is that the poorest currently seem to be effectively marginalised and excluded both from economic and social developments, finding themselves in positions of destitution or chronic poverty (Hanlon 2007; Roque 2009; see also DfID 2005).

Discussions are also warranted as regards the most efficient *channels of aid* in Mozambique. While the IMF and World Bank as international financial institutions have had a strong impact on changing economic policies and development paradigms since 1975 and onwards, bilateral donors seem to have an exceptionally strong influence on aid priorities through the increasing importance of budget support (currently making up 24 percent of the total aid) and its accompanying joint review process. The UN system, often seen to have a higher level of representativeness and political legitimacy, seems to have a relatively limited influence beyond its role in connection with emergencies (such as WFP), producing data on development (such as UNICEF and UNDP), and

<sup>2</sup> This has recently been highlighted as the G-19 donors of budget support withheld funds to pressure the government on concessions related to issues of good governance (Media-Fax 25.03.2010).

<sup>3</sup> There are also commentators who argue that the apparent ‘pathological equilibrium’ (Renzio and Hanlon 2009:265) in the relationship between the government and donors is a state of affairs that is acceptable to both: the donors are ‘allowed to’ carry forward interventions for the social sectors and the fulfilment of the MDGs, while the government is allowed to defer governance reforms including fighting corruption.

<sup>4</sup> The ‘Nordic Model’ has lately gained some more credibility, even among former critics, who saw it as ‘socialism in disguise’, as the Nordic economies have managed to combine a high level of social capital and security with being among the most competitive economies in the world.

pushing more restricted agendas with limited impact (such as UNFPA and UNIFEM).<sup>5</sup> Also the NGO-sector, often credited for being in more direct contact with the poor as the ultimate target group of aid, seems to be relatively weak in terms of its influence on the development agenda compared to the situation in other countries (Lewis and Kanji 2009).

In the PARPA, poverty is broadly defined as “the impossibility, owing to inability and/or lack of opportunity for individuals, families and communities to have access to the minimum basic conditions, according to the society’s basic standards” (GdM 2005: 8). While this opens up a potentially complex set of approaches and analyses (what are the factors and processes defining ‘opportunities’ and how do these vary between different settings?) and poverty (what are, and who shall define, “the society’s basic standards”?), the target usually referred to is to reduce the consumption-based poverty headcount from 54 percent in 2003 to 45 percent in 2009 (DNPO 2004; GdM 2005). PARPA II is framed in a set of macro-economic policies<sup>6</sup> and centred on four pillars of intervention to attain this goal – each with their own specific sub-targets and indicators. The pillars are i) governance, ii) economic development, iii) human capital and iv) cross-sectional issues (GoM 2005:2). The pillars have been further sub-categorised into the areas reflected in Table 1 below.

**Table 1.** *The Main Pillars of the PARPA*

<b>‘Pillar’</b>	<b>Topic</b>
Macro-economics	Macro-economic growth and stability Management of public finances
Governance	Reform of public sector Decentralisation Reform of the justice system
Economic Development	The financial sector The private sector Agriculture Infrastructure Energy
Human Capital	Health Education Water and sanitation
Cross-sectional topics	Environment Gender HIV-AIDS Food security

Unfortunately, the extent to which the overall objective of reducing poverty has been reached remains uncertain, as the follow-up of the 2003 “*Inquérito aos Agregados Familiares sobre Orçamento Familiar, IAF*” (INE 2004) had not been finalised at the time of writing. The follow-up study will be published in 2010. However, the RAI presents a large quantity of data on the extent to which the more specific targets related to each individual pillar have been reached. As seen from Table 2, the targets have far from been fully met. The achievement rate varies from 52 percent for the human resources pillar to 0 percent for the governance pillar, with a relatively large proportion of the targets either not having relevant data available (47 percent) or being ‘without goal’ (15 percent).

<sup>5</sup> The United Nations is not part of the Programme Aid Partnership (PAP) framework.

<sup>6</sup> In the RAI, ‘macro-economy and poverty’ is introduced as the first of five separate ‘pillars’, but this was not the case in the original PARPA II document.

**Table 2.** *Goal Achievement of PARPA II (per cent)*

Goal	Macro-economy	Governance	Economic Develop.	Human Capital	Transitional Issues	Total
Reached	33	0	35	52	12	31
Not reached	11	14	43	19	12	22
Not available	56	0	18	29	70	47
Without goal	0	86	4	0	6	15

Source: MPD 2009.

These results, as presented by the RAI, raise two important issues that should be further analysed and discussed before entering upon a new poverty reduction programme of this type. One of them concerns the reasons for the non-fulfilment of such a large proportion of the goals originally set for the PARPA. Central questions posed in such an exercise should be:

1. Is the main challenge to be found in the formulation of the policies and their targets as such, which raises questions of the donors' political objectives, institutional knowledge and competence in aid organisations, vested interests among northern partners, etc?
2. Or is the challenge to be found on the recipient side in the form of resistance to governance reform, weak implementation capacity, alternative agendas or skewed power relations between decision-makers and the target population?
3. And what are the most effective sectors and channels to reach the poorest sections of the Mozambican population that are the main target group for the country's poverty reduction policies?

The second issue concerns the issue of impact assessments or 'attribution'. The system of verification of the impact of the poverty reduction strategy is primarily based on quantitative data and correlations between input (aid) and output/outcome (physical outputs/changes in consumption), but there remain large question-marks about the actual causality between the two. This partly relates to the problem of isolating aid from other factors that influence poverty and well-being (see above). Economists, including those who have worked with such issues in Mozambique, generally seem to be 'qualified optimists' in this regard: While acknowledging that results for economic growth are at best dubious, they tend to identify positive implications at the micro level that may have positive developmental effects in the longer run (Sachs 2005; Arndt et al. 2009).

However, the challenge of measuring the implications of the PARPA for poverty reduction in Mozambique is also related to the fact that many aspects of poverty, as defined by the PARPA, simply cannot be quantified. As we have argued several times in our reports, quantitative data yield valuable information about the mapping, profile and determinants<sup>7</sup> of poverty, but need to be contextualised and qualified by qualitative analyses to better understand the coping strategies of the poor and the dynamics of poverty over time.

This series of reports is a modest attempt to do that. Through a combination of quantitative and qualitative data, we seek to show and explain what is happening when the PARPA poverty reduction policies and their accompanying interventions reach the level of local communities like Murrupula, who have social realities and cultural perceptions of their own.

<sup>7</sup> On the basis of data from the 2002/2003 National Household Survey IAF, Chiconela (2004) defined three key determinants of poverty in Mozambique, namely i) the low level of education in family households; ii) the high levels of dependency within the family household; and iii) low returns from agriculture compared to other economic activities.

### 3. The District Administration and Economy

#### 3.1 Background

The district of Murrupula, which is the subject of this study, is located in the northern province of Nampula in Mozambique (Map 1). The general history, political economy and socio-economic characteristics of the province were outlined in our first report from Murrupula (Tvedten, Paulo & Rosário 2006), but a few updates are constructive. During the period 2006-2009 the province has become the most populous in Mozambique with 4.1 million inhabitants, which is 20 percent of the country's total population of 20.5 million (INE 2009). It also has the highest population density, with 50 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup>, against a national average of 26. At the same time, Nampula has experienced one of the highest urbanisation rates in the country, and Nampula city is now the third largest city in Mozambique with 477.000 inhabitants (INE 2009). Politically, Frelimo seems to be gaining ground at the expense of Renamo. In 2009, Frelimo and Guebuza won 66.8 percent of the votes in the presidential election (up from 50 percent in 2004), and Renamo and Dhlakama won 27.4 percent (down from 44 percent in 2004). At the same time, voter turnout remained low with 37.8 percent (EISA 2009).

In terms of poverty headcount, data from 1996/97 and 2002/03 suggest a reduction in Nampula from 68.7 percent to 53.2 percent (Table 3). Unfortunately, data for 2008/09 are as already noted not yet available at the time of writing.

**Table 3. Poverty Headcount by Province**

Province	1996/97	2002/03	2009/10
Urban	61.7	51.6	n.a.
Rural	71	55.2	n.a.
Niassa	69.9	49.5	n.a.
Cabo Delgado	56.8	62.8	n.a.
Nampula	68.7	53.6	n.a.
Zambézia	68.0	45.0	n.a.
Tete	80.3	58.7	n.a.
Manica	62.3	44.4	n.a.
Sofala	88.2	34.1	n.a.
Inhambane	83.8	81.1	n.a.
Gaza	65.4	59.7	n.a.
Maputo	64.8	71.0	n.a.
Maputo City	47.3	53.2	n.a.
All	69.1	54.1	n.a.

Source: Fox et al. 2005; INE 1998 and 2004.

Looking more specifically at changes in the socio-economic characteristics in the province, Table 4 presents data from the National Household Survey (IAF) for 2002/03. With the results from the similar 2008/09 survey still not accessible, we have had to rely on the most recently available data from other sources - that may not be strictly comparable - to indicate trends (INE 2009).

**Table 4.** *Basic Social Indicators, Mozambique and Nampula*

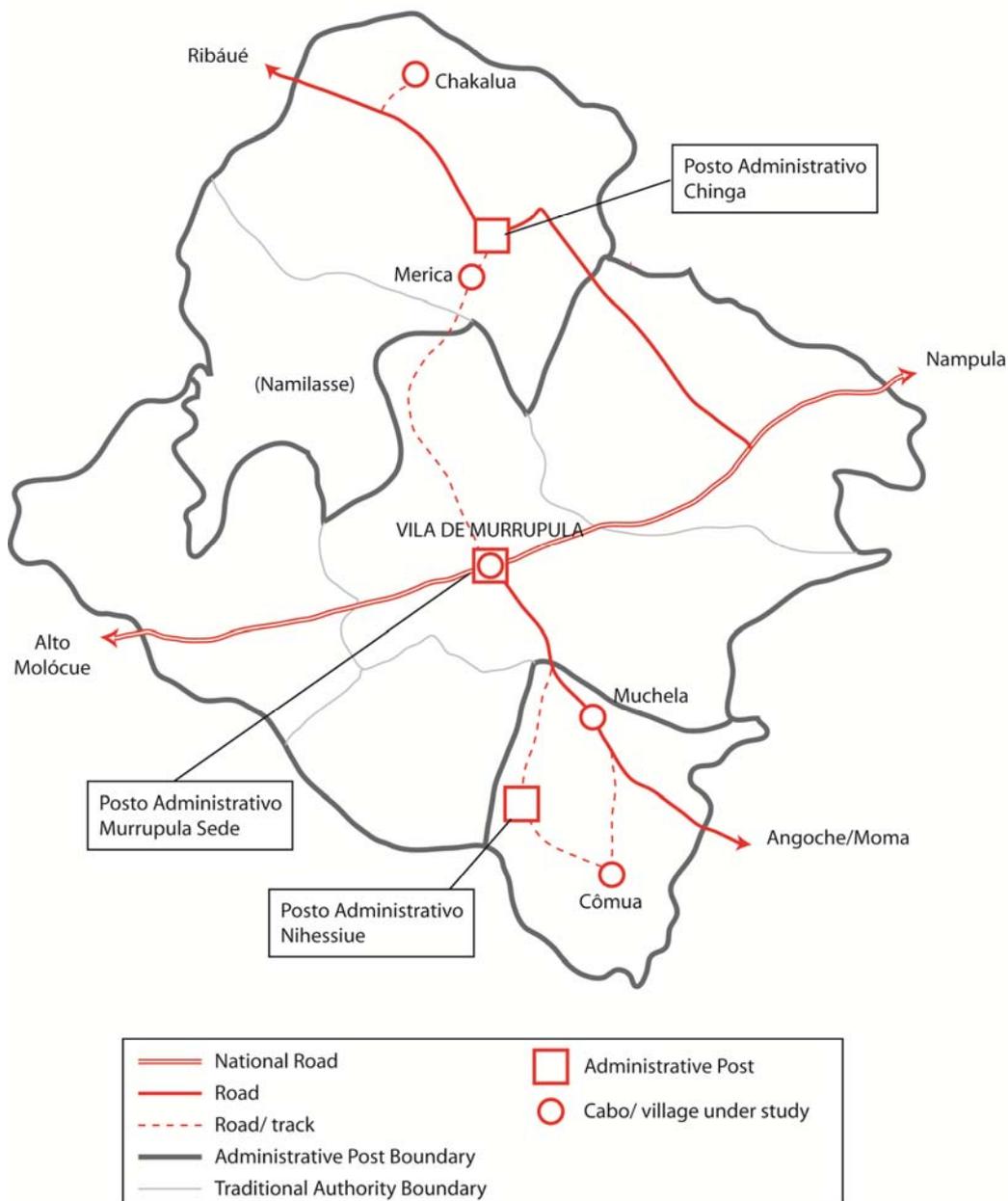
Items	Mozambique 2002/03	Nampula 2002/03	Nampula 2009/10
<b>Geography</b>			
Land area (km <sup>2</sup> )	799,380	81,606	81.606
Population	19.8	3.6	4.0
Population density (per km <sup>2</sup> )	21.6	40.0	48.8
Rural / urban population (%)	68.8 / 31.2	70.2 / 29.8	71.4/28.6
<b>Household characteristics</b>			
Average household size	4.8	4.4	4.0
Dependency ratio (%)	99.0	102.1	n.a.
Female headed households (%)	16.0	15.4	24.5
<b>Economic activities</b>			
Economically active population (%)	83	87.6	71.2
Self / family employment (%)	87.7	89.2	n.a.
Proportion employed in agriculture (%)	80.5	82.8	83.4
Per capita monthly income (MT)	325	229	n.a.
Per capita monthly expenditure (MT)	324,394	238,310	n.a.
Households owning a bicycle (%)	28.1	26.7	35.2
Households owning a radio (%)	45.5	48.3	46.4
<b>Education</b>			
Primary net enrolment rate (%)	61	46.3	49.4
Male illiteracy rate (%)	48.7	36.7	46.5
Female illiteracy rate (%)	68	81.4	77.4
<b>Health</b>			
Infant mortality rate (0-1 yrs)	124	164	127
Child mortality rate (0-5 yrs)	178	220	140
Chronic malnutrition (0-5 yrs)	41	42	51
Total fertility rate	5.5	6.2	5.9
HIV/AIDS (15-49 years)	13.6	8.1	n.a.
<b>Poverty indicators</b>			
Poverty headcount (%)	54.1	52.6	n.a.
Poverty gap / depth (%)	19.9	18.7	n.a.
Squared poverty gap /severity (%)	9.9	8.6	n.a.

Sources: INE 2004; Fox et al. 2005; World Bank 2006 and INE 2009.

### 3.2 Administration and Governance

The district of Murrupula is one of 21 districts in the Nampula province (see Map 2). It consists of three administrative posts (Murrupula, Chinga and Nehessiu) and a total of six localities, the smallest formal administrative unit. According to the national censuses, the population in the district has increased from 101.745 in 1997 to 140.311 in 2007 (INE 2009). This represents an annual population increase of 3.3 percent. According to the District Administration, the population increase has been particularly high in the Murrupula Administrative Post, which is primarily made up of the district centre Vila de Murrupula and communities along the National Road passing through on the way to the central and southern parts of Mozambique (official census data at the level of Administrative Posts were not yet available at the time of writing).

### DISTRITO DE MURRUPULA, NAMPULA PROVINCE



**Table 5.** *Population in the District of Murrupula 1997 and 2007*

Area	1997	2007
P.A. Murrupula	69,840	n.a.
P.A. Chinga	6,801	n.a.
P.A. Nehessiue	25,104	n.a.
Total	101.745	140.311

Source: INE 2009.

Coming into the district of Murrupula in November 2009, after a period of 3.5 years, changes were immediately noticeable. The main road from the city of Nampula to Murrupula had improved considerably, and we saw more houses and agricultural fields (*machambas*) along the road. The junction between the main road and the side-road to the Vila had grown, with the informal markets being much larger and a number of new permanent commercial outlets as well as family dwellings. Approaching the Vila itself, this had also grown in size as evident from a much larger informal market, new public buildings (including a secondary school) and the large number of new houses in the *bairros* that we passed. The premises of the District Administration itself had been renovated and a new building housing the “Murrupula District Secretariat” had been constructed. However, the most striking change was apparent as it became dark in the afternoon. The Vila had received electricity since we were last there, and along the main street a number of houses and parts of the market were lit up with people frequenting the streets and back-alleys in a way they did not do before.

Visiting the district administration itself the day after our arrival to have meetings and discuss developments, revealed that this also stood in stark contrast to its state during our first meetings in 2006. The number of employees had increased from 54 to 67, several members of staff had received or were in the process of receiving additional education,<sup>8</sup> and while all data and other information were received type-written or hand-written in 2006 we were now given all relevant reports on a memory-stick. The District Administration was still dominated by men, with only 10 percent being women and with no women in management positions.

With the current system of governance and district administration, the Frelimo government (effectively the provincial government) still appoints management staff. The Murrupula District Administrator as well as the Permanent Secretary were the same as in 2006, but the Head of the Secretariat was new and transferred from another district. We also found the same heads of the three Administrative Posts in the district. Their working conditions and status had been enhanced by the building of separate office space (Nehessiue) and a formal dwelling for the *chefe de posto* (Chinga). In addition, the formal government structures had been extended from five to six localities (*localidades*). The status and roles of the *chefes de localidades* were still unclear, being without any resources and fighting small battles for political and social space with the traditional leaders (*régulos* and *cabos*).

The number of traditional leaders on the state payroll in the District remains the same as in 2006, with seven Régulos, 35 Cabos and 130 Chefes de Povoações. Their ‘balancing act’ is still one of relating to the formal government structures from which they receive remuneration, while maintaining their relation to ‘tradition’ and popular support. While the relationship between the formal political structures and the traditional leaders was one of tension and uncertainty in 2006 (most traditional leaders did not yet receive salaries at that time), the relationship is now more

<sup>8</sup> This is part of the PPFDF-programme (*Programa das Finanças Descentralizadas*) to boost the competence and capacity at the district level. While important, it has also led to management staff being away for long periods of time. At the time of our visit, a total of 15 staff members were said to be involved in the programme.

'settled' as a combined result of 'co-optation' and clarification of roles. All *régulos* (MT 600 per three months) and *cabos* (450 MT per three months) now receive salaries.

Murrupula has traditionally been a Renamo area, and we showed in our first report that the parts of the district with the strongest Renamo support (Chinga, and the locality of Namilasse in particular) had been marginalised from ongoing development interventions. The District Administration has apparently shifted strategy by focussing more of their attention on these areas.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps partly as a result of this, the political landscape seems to have shifted towards Frelimo and Armando Guebuza at the expense of Renamo and Afonso Dhlakama (Table 5) – with the increase in voter turnout from 22 percent in 2004 to 36 percent in 2009 suggesting a change from political 'resistance' or 'fatigue' to government 'support' or 'co-option'

**Table 6. Results Presidential Elections in the District of Murrupula 2004 and 2009**

Item	2004 (Actual)	2009 (Sample)
Turnout (of registered voters)	21,8	35,8
Guebuza	49,6	67,8
Dhlakama	42,3	27,5
Others	8,2	4,6
Blank & invalid	8,3	18,2

Source: EISA (2004 data); pers.comm. Joseph Hanlon (2009 data).

With the system of appointing rather than electing district administrations, the Institutions for Community Participation and Consultation (IPCCs) have become the main channel of accountability between the administration on the one hand and traditional leaders and the population on the other. Such institutions, of which the three tiers of Consultative Councils are the most important, were established in 2006 as a result of the Law on Local State Bodies, LOLE (RdM 2005). PARPA II refers to the IPCCs as an essential instrument in the implementation and monitoring of PARPA II, and the principal forums where local administrations will assess the "quality, utility, accessibility and sustainability" of the development interventions envisaged in PARPA II (Orre et al. 2009).

The District Consultative Council (CCD) in Murrupula was in the process of being established when we did our fieldwork for the first report in 2006. In addition to representatives for the administration and traditional authorities, the CCD includes representatives of civil society, the churches, the private sector and 'people of particular esteem'. The number of members of the CCD was 58, with 30 percent being women (which is in line with the prescriptions in the law). Since then, three Administrative Post Consultative Councils (CCPAs) and six Local Development Committees (CDLs) have been established. The CCD meets regularly, four times a year, while the CCPAs and CDLs have more sporadic meetings. In one of the *cabos* we worked, the CDL had nine members who each had their particular area of responsibility (security, roads, water, the environment, gender, etc.). We took part in one of their meetings and their work is taken seriously. However, without any resources the only option they have for actually doing something tangible is to relate to NGOs. In this particular case, three NGOs were formally established in the area, but are not currently engaged in any activities. The main role of the Consultative Councils has, as we shall see below, become that of relating to the process around the '7 million MT' Local Initiative Investment Budget, OIIL (now the District Development Fund, FDD).

<sup>9</sup> This is particularly the case for Namilasse, which is the only *localidade* with new administrative buildings and solar panels and which has received new social infrastructures both for education and health.

### 3.3 Economic Development

The information provided by the Murrupula District Administration in its *Plano Económico e Social e Orçamento Distrital*, PESOD (GdDdM 2009), other related documents and interviews give a relatively positive assessment of developments in the district over the past three years. There has been a small increase in the financial transfers to the District Administration as such, but its own revenue from taxes and fees still represents a very small part of the funds available (Table 7). The number of NGOs active in the district has increased from six to eight, even though we shall see that their levels of activity vary greatly. The NGOs are *Visão Mundial*, *Concern*, *Olipa Odes*, *Care*, *Adap/Sf*, *Miranda Agrícola*, *Save the Children* and *Igreja Católica*.

**Table 7.** Annual Budgets for the Murrupula District Administration (in MT)

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
1.013.571	1.181.943	1.354.535	1.322.383	1.359.291

Source: GdDdM 2009.

At the same time, there has been considerable investment in physical infrastructure, which is usually funded through the relevant line ministries – often in cooperation with NGOs. These include improvement of roads and the repair of two key bridges connecting the administrative posts of Chinga and Nehessiué to the Vila (through a special Government Road Fund); provision of potable water (even though we shall see that many of the wells do not function properly); the building of three new health units (increasing the number from 11 in 2005 to 14 in 2009) and the construction of a large number of primary school buildings (from 87 in 2005 to 112 in 2009). The most important physical infrastructures constructed in the period 2006-2009 are listed in Table 8.

**Table 8.** New Physical Infrastructure 2006-2009

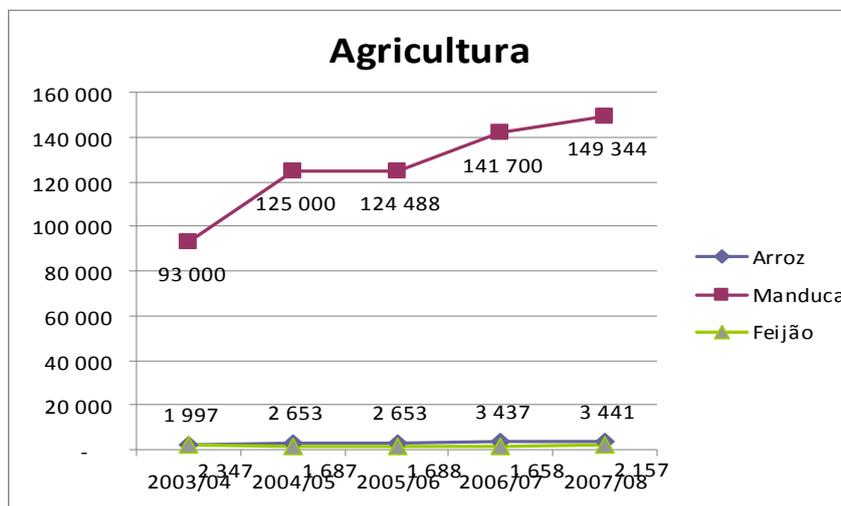
Type	Number
Construction of public buildings	11
Construction of dwellings for public employees	9
Rehabilitation of roads (km)	16.7
Construction of classrooms	23
Construction of health facilities	3
Construction/repair of bridges	2
Construction of wells (' <i>furos abertos</i> ')	119
Construction of market stalls (Vila public market)	39
Construction of stops ( <i>paragens</i> ) for semi-public transportation	4
Construction of solar-panels for public buildings	3

Source: GdDdM 2009.

Looking at the dominant agricultural sector, development efforts have taken place under the auspices of the programme "*Revolução Verde*" – albeit with only seven agricultural extensionists in the 'front line'. Production of the staple cassava (*mandioca*) increased considerably between 2006 and 2008, while the production of crops such as rice, beans and vegetables has not increased (Figure 1). As regards domestic animals, the number of chickens and goats in the District has decreased during the period in question while there has been an increase in the number of cattle from 1524 to 2312, mostly owned by private investors from Nampula City and beyond (see below). Mining in the district has increased, but so has the number of illegal diggers (*garimpeiros*). Mining activities

officially produced 4.29 kg of gold, 454 kg of rose quartz (*quartzo rosa*) and 742 kg of green tourmaline (*turmalina verde*) in 2008 (Pers.comm. Head, District Services for Economic Activities).

**Figure 1.** Production of Main Agricultural Crops in Murrupula 2003-2008



Source: GdDdM 2009.

The most important private investments in the Murrupula District in period 2006-2009 are: the introduction of electricity from Cahora Bassa in 2007, with a total of 795 private consumers in 2009; the construction of antennas and establishment of mobile telephone-links (Mcel and Vodacom) that now reach all the main population concentrations in the district; and the building of a total of 23 mills (*moageiras*) throughout the district. A point to which we will later return,, another significant development is the privatisation of large tracts of agricultural land. These are primarily purchased by outsiders. We will finally mention two institutions that are seen as important for local developments in other districts in Nampula but still absent in Murrupula (see Tvedten, Paulo & Tuominen 2009). There are no banks or other financial institutions for saving and drawing money, and there is no community radio that serves as an important vehicle for information dissemination and communication in other districts (see also Rosário, Tvedten & Paulo 2008).

In terms of direct investments for development and poverty alleviation, the “7 million MT scheme” is the one with the largest potential (MPD 2009, see also Orre et al. 2009). At the time of our original study in March 2006, this was still on the drawing board, and the first projects were initiated in 2007. The goals, structure and processes related to the scheme have been accounted for in detail in our earlier reports (see particularly Rosário, Tvedten & Paulo 2008). In short, the objective is to contribute to development and poverty alleviation through the allocation of funds for projects primarily in agriculture and food production, small-scale industries and employment creation, and trade and commerce. The funds are loans, to be repaid over a period of one to six years. Allocations are to be made through a participatory process involving the three tiers of the Consultative Councils (see above), and the final allocations are to be made by the District Consultative Committee in consultation with the District Technical Team.

As we shall substantiate in more detail later, we believe that direct financial transfers of this type have a considerable potential for poverty alleviation. The type and number of projects that have received funds in Murrupula is shown in Table 9. The most common projects are related to

agricultural production; commercialisation of agricultural products; and rural *cantinas*.<sup>10</sup> The total size of the annual allocations has been 5.2m MT in 2007 (105 projects), 4.9m MT in 2008 (77 projects), and 6.6m MT in 2009 (77 projects). The proportion of projects allocated to associations has dropped from 67 percent in 2007, to 27 percent in 2008 and to 7 percent in 2009. The proportion of project funds allocated to women has been 7 percent in 2007, 8 percent in 2008 and 36 percent in 2009 – with the increase in 2009 reflecting that some women received relatively large funds rather than an increase in the number of projects headed by women.

**Table 9.** Allocation of Funds under the 7 million MT Scheme 2007-2009

Item	2007	2008	2009
Number of projects	48	105	68
- Agricultural production	4	25	39
- Employment Creation	24	27	9
- Trade/commerce	20	53	20
Proportion associations (%)	67	27	7
Proportion women (%)	7	8	36
Value of projects (MT)	5,208,402	4,964,875	6,630,660

Source: GdDdM 2009.

Having argued that the '7 million MT scheme' is potentially important, there are serious problems related to its implementation that may jeopardise its actual impact. At one level, the increasing importance of projects in agriculture and trade/commerce at the expense of projects for employment creation (i.e., mainly small scale production enterprises) means that fewer people are affected by the scheme and the diversification of the local economy will not take place as envisaged. Moreover, the drop in the proportion of associations, primarily in agriculture, reflects problems with this type of organisation,<sup>11</sup> and also implies that the number of people directly affected by the scheme is reduced. Finally, and with reference to our findings about the pivotal role of women in Murrupula for development and poverty alleviation, which we will discuss in detail below, the limited number of women involved in the scheme is a matter of concern. Practically all the beneficiaries of the scheme who have repaid funds ("only one of 30 million has been paid back" according to the District Administration) are women.

Perhaps more serious for the sustainability of the scheme is the widespread perception of 'political favouritism' and 'corruption' involved. While the formal process of applying for projects at the lowest level of Local Development Committees seems to work satisfactorily in Murrupula (even though a formal process of this type, by its very nature, excludes the very poorest), people complain that they lose control of the process as it moves up the system to the final decision and that only 'the rich' and the 'powerful' end up getting funding. The problem can be exemplified by the list of people receiving funding for agricultural projects in one of the *cabos* we worked. Out of 18 projects, an agricultural extension officer with 15 years of experience from the area could not recognize eight of the names (meaning that they came from outside the area); four locals were not primarily farmers and had not been on the list of original applications sent from the Local Development Committee; and only six of the successful candidates were local associations/farmers with a potential to use the funds in accordance with their objectives.

<sup>10</sup> Other projects include mills, carpentry shops, tailors, forest exploitation, saw mills, motorcycle workshops, fishmongers, butchery, stationers, snack bars, grocery stores, latrine construction, cashew tree spraying and chicken farming, demonstrating a wide variety of plans and initiatives.

<sup>11</sup> One possible explanation is that people associate 'associations' with the detested state-run 'cooperativas' established after independence.

The importance of improving the implementation of the '7 million MT scheme' is not only related to its impact for development and poverty alleviation, but also the political credibility of the government that initiated it. Practically everybody in our survey and interviews knew about the scheme and had opinions about it. People were very vocal in their complaints about unfair distribution and alleged corruption and this may seriously jeopardise the legitimacy of local government as the funds are seen as one of the few real contributions it makes to local communities.

### 3.4 Human Resources

Looking at human development in the form of education and health, we have already shown that a large number of schools and classrooms have been constructed in the district. Official data also show that both enrolment rates and attendance rates have increased. However, such data conceal continued problems in the primary school system in Murrupula. Taking one primary school in the district as an example, the director estimates that "more than half" of the students still do not go to school citing "long distances" and that "the parents don't see the value of education" because they "want their sons to work and daughters to marry" as the main reasons. Table 10 below shows that the total number of pupils graduating from 7<sup>th</sup> grade is only 15 percent of the number starting in first grade, which indicates a high drop-out rate. Moreover, while there are more girls than boys starting school in 1<sup>st</sup> grade, the table shows that girls still have a stronger tendency to drop out than boys.

**Table 10:** *School Attendance in a Primary School(EP2) in the District of Murrupula*

Class	Boys	Girls	Total
1 <sup>st</sup>	387	411	798
2 <sup>nd</sup>	353	328	681
3 <sup>rd</sup>	284	199	483
4 <sup>th</sup>	208	148	356
5 <sup>th</sup>	176	118	294
6 <sup>th</sup>	59	42	101
7 <sup>th</sup>	68	55	123
Total	1535	1301	2836

The director of the school also claims that there are two problems that have become more acute over the past three to four years. One is that a number of the new teachers who are sent to "remote areas" like his have inadequate education (at his school, half the teachers only have Grade 8), and often don't take their role seriously enough. They have family and friends in the Vila or Nampula City, and repeatedly fail to return for days after vacations and weekends. A second point relates to the importance of having something to feed pupils, who often stay away from home for many hours and may arrive home only after dark. The school gardens are difficult to maintain, do not produce enough and are seasonal. Even very small contributions such as a piece of bread would, he claims, increase school attendance significantly.

Two other important developments in the educational sector in the past three years are the establishment of a Secondary School (*Escola Secundária*) in the Vila of Murrupula, and the extension of the system of adult education (*alfabetização*). The Secondary School was established in 2007 with support from the State and the Catholic Church. The Director of the school is from Murrupula, and it currently boasts 2505 students. Approximately 50 percent of the students are from the Murrupula District, and around 30 percent are girls (37 percent in 8<sup>th</sup> grade and 22 percent in 12<sup>th</sup> grade). The director told us that the school has many good students who could contribute to

development in the district, but that most feel compelled to leave after graduation in order to find employment. The number of people who take part in adult education or adult literacy programmes in the District has increased from 10.708 in 2005 to 24.700 in 2009 (GdDdM 2009 and pers.comm). The programme is free of charge, and we heard a lot of references to it during our work. Some claim that it has helped them continue normal education that they had dropped out of for various reasons, and some were thrilled to tell us that for the first time in their lives they could write their own names.

The difficult act for poor people of balancing their economic situation with investments in their children's education and health is amply demonstrated by the fate of yet another educational initiative, which is a small number of kindergartens (*Jardim Infantil*) that have been established in the district by the *Serviços Distritais da Mulher e Acção Social* with support from UNICEF and/or the Catholic Church. In one of the *cabos* where we worked, the Catholic Mission built a new kindergarten in 2007 and attracted a number of children who got to play, learn basic literacy and receive a small meal. However, when in early 2009 the Church had to stop offering free education and food for the children, and instead charged 10 MT per month, practically everybody stopped coming and activities closed after a couple of months.

In our 2006-report (Tvedten, Paulo & Rosário 2006), we emphasised the serious challenges related to health and nutrition in the Murrupula District. Official data showed high rates of malaria and tuberculosis, and accompanying alarming figures for malnutrition and child-mortality – with the latter amply illustrated from our own survey showing that 54.1 percent of the households had seen at least one of their children die before the age of five years. At the same time, the hospital in the Vila did not have a single qualified medical doctor, and we revealed a deep scepticism towards the intentions and competence of the health personnel in the smaller health units. In fact, we argued that health and the practical and emotional implications of the high child mortality rates was probably a more important determinant of poverty than education – in a setting where many were in the process of losing faith in education as a way to lift oneself out of poverty due to the impossibility of getting employment.

While we shall see that the health situation in Murrupula is still serious, there have been important advances during the past 3-4 years. The hospital has become considerably better equipped, and now has a medical doctor. The number of health units in the district has increased from 11 to 14. More patients are being treated, and there is also a deliberate policy of counselling, particularly with respect to children's eating habits. Many more cases of HIV-AIDS are being recorded, which is primarily the outcome of increased and improved testing (see below), and the number of recorded leprosy cases has reduced from 160 in 2005 to 25 in 2008 – mainly thanks to a project run by the Catholic Church (GdDdM 2009). At the community level, the deep scepticism towards the Health Posts established in 2006 has changed, to a large extent as a result of a deliberate strategy by the health personnel to work with local traditional leaders to convince the population of their good intentions (Tvedten, Paulo & Rosário 2006). In one Health Post, the average number of consultations per day in October 2009 was the same as it was per week in March 2006.

Still, there are continued serious challenges in the health sector.<sup>12</sup> There has not been any real change in the staple diet in the district towards less use of *mandioca*, which contributes to a continued problem of malnutrition (see below). There are still large parts of the district where people do not have adequate access to health units, defined in the PARPA as being able to reach such a unit within a maximum three hours. Certain medical conditions are still believed to be

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<sup>12</sup> In an interview, the medical doctor at the Murrupula hospital, who had grown up and been educated in Maputo, told us that he was shocked when he arrived Murrupula and had no idea that health conditions were so serious in parts of the country.

outside of the realm of the formal medical system, such as childbirth (maternity sections in the local Health Posts are rarely used). Many people with serious medical conditions refuse to be taken to hospital in Nampula City, as the combined result of general apprehension of leaving home and fear of not getting adequate access to food and other necessities while there (pers.com. Murrupula Hospital's medical doctor).

### 3.5 Cross-sectional Issues

We stated above that our first impression upon arriving at the Vila of Murrupula after a period of three years was one of change, but also that some things had clearly not changed. There was, for example, still an almost complete absence of women selling in markets and other public economic spaces. Among the sales persons in a total of 110 market stalls in the main informal market, we counted only four women. This points to the *marginal position of women* in key areas of the economy. In our first report we emphasised women's position and role in education, with women and girls having much lower literacy and school attendance rates, and in health with women being particularly affected by the high child mortality rate and poor maternal care. As shown above, there have been some improvements in these areas. The issue of gender is still not high on the agenda of the District Administration, but gender inequality and the central importance of women's empowerment for economic and social development has come out clearly in our work in the communities this time. While there is ample evidence from Nampula that women with economic decision-making power tend to spend a larger share of their income on education and health than their male counterparts (see e.g. Tvedten, Paulo & Tuominen 2009), we will also show that men's continued control of the exchange and marketing of agricultural and other products has detrimental effects for the well-being of households.

In 2006, there was very little information available from the District Administration and health authorities on the issue of HIV-AIDS. National data sets showed a prevalence of 8.1 for the province of Nampula as a whole, compared to a national average of 13.6, and this has now been adjusted to nine percent for the northern provinces compared to a national average of 15 percent (MISAU, quoted in Mozambique News, Reports and Clippings 26 March 2010). During our fieldwork in Murrupula in 2009, we experienced a noticeable change in the openness about this issue. One main reason seems to be the fact that testing is now done at the hospital in Murrupula, resulting in a dramatic increase in the number of recorded HIV-AIDS cases in the district from 105 in 2006 to 875 in 2008 (pers.com. Murrupula Centro de Saúde). Having said this, the awareness and availability of means of protection does not seem to have changed much. Again according to the District's medical doctor, contraceptives available at the health units in the district are still infrequently used. And according to a nurse at the hospital "the majority" of people in the district do still not know how the disease is transmitted and how to avoid it. Attempts to involve traditional authorities in the dissemination of information about HIV-AIDS have not been very successful.

The challenges related to *food security* in the District of Murrupula are not primarily of access to food as such, but to the poor nutritional value of the dominant diet. As shown above, the production of *mandioca* has increased dramatically, at the same time as production of other more nutritious crops and vegetables has not increased among small-holders (Pers.com. District Directorate of Agriculture). The continued emphasis on the low-nutrient *mandioca* is a puzzle for several reasons. The neighbouring district of Ribáue has a much more varied agricultural profile with people producing a lot of vegetables; the many new commercial farmers in the District have a more varied production; and the demand for other crops from *comerciantes* is high. Except for 'tradition', one likely reason is that *mandioca* is very easy to plant and does not require much weeding in a context where access to labour is perhaps the main constraint to production. The chronic malnutrition rate among children in Nampula is 51 percent, which is the second highest in the country (INE 2009).

*Environmental issues* were not prominent in our discussions with the District Administration. Seasonal changes in rainfall and temperature were largely seen as 'natural' by our informants, even though we shall see that there is a widespread perception that the variations have been exceptionally large the past 3 to 4 years. Murrupula is generally not affected by other natural calamities such as cyclones and floods. Both the administration and the population in general complain that goods and foodstuffs have become much more expensive the past 3-4 years, but this was primarily explained with reference to 'greedy traders' rather than 'the global food crisis' or other factors of that nature.

### 3.6 Summing Up

This chapter, aggregate political, economic and social data from Murrupula indicate that there have been positive developments in the district in the period 2006-2009. In particular, the district administration has improved both in terms of its facilities and the qualifications of its staff; there have been a number of important investments in physical infrastructure, including the road network, electricity and mobile phone coverage; the local economy has received an 'injection' in the form of the 7 million MT scheme; the educational sector has been given a boost through the construction of new schools and classrooms, a new secondary school and increasing efforts in the area of adult education; and the health sector has improved its quality through better access to qualified personnel and equipment. In the next chapter, we will assess the extent to which these changes have led to real improvements in poverty and well-being for the population in the district by focussing on the same four *cabos* and the same 120 households and individuals that were part of our study in 2006.

## 4. Dynamics of Poverty and Well-Being

### 4.1 Introduction

Arriving at one of the *cabos* in Murrupula to begin our work in the villages, we stumbled upon an annual ceremonial feast (*sataka*) to celebrate the beginning of the agricultural season and to maintain important contacts with ancestors. The occasion demonstrated an aspect of Mozambique's efforts for development and poverty reduction that is too often overlooked. With the heavy dependence on quantitative data and numbers we tend to "compartmentalise" people's lives into political, economic and social spheres while in fact, they are closely linked by social relationships. The scene comprised around 100 men, women and children from the local neighbourhood. The key persons were the headman or *cabo* (who was organising the event and trying to maintain order) and the local witchdoctor or *curandeiro* who was shouting his messages as people were dancing around him to the beat of drums. The *sataka* ceremony is considered absolutely essential in order for the harvest to be successful.

Immediately upon our arrival at the *cabo* we could sense changes in the physical environment compared to our visit three years ago. Several houses in the area where the ceremony took place now had tin roofs. Motorbikes (*motas*) were parked outside several homesteads. Many people were nicely dressed, with clothes purchased in a new local market. We passed several large agricultural fields that were not there in 2006. At the same time, however, the people largely appeared to be the same. Men dominated the scene to the extent where they made up 90 percent of those who remained towards the end of the two days of ceremonial celebration. Many very young girls were pregnant or with children. Many of the children appeared to be severely malnourished. The many people who became exceedingly intoxicated after two days of ceremonial drinking of the local brew *oteka* gave an aura of hopelessness and despair in the midst of the celebration of the agricultural season and well-being.

All this points towards what we will argue is the central feature of development in Murrupula these past three years. The implications of the changes in physical and economic infrastructure that we outlined in the preceding chapter have – so far – led to an increasing differentiation between some of the people who have been in a position to exploit the new opportunities, the majority of people who strive to improve their lives but remain poor, and some people who are destitute and seem completely detached from ongoing development. Before going into more detailed findings about changes in poverty and well-being in Murrupula, with reference to our survey and qualitative methodologies, we will highlight three key issues that we have found to be particularly significant for the socio-economic dynamics in the four *cabos* where we worked. These are agricultural production, gender relations and health. The first is central because of its pivotal role in the livelihood of the population; the second because gender relations not only reflect inequalities but also inhibit further socio-economic development; and the third because illness and death have social and economic implications way beyond the mere incidents themselves.

### 4.2 Key Dynamics of Poverty

**Agriculture.** The four *cabos* Cômua, Muquela, Merica and Chakalua (see Map 2) are all predominantly rural agricultural communities with no formal employment opportunities except in public administration, education and health, which are out of reach for the local population. While we shall see that some improvements have taken place in terms of access to income from the informal economy, agriculture remains the central determinant of poverty or well-being. Limited

access to land, labour and markets seriously jeopardises people's livelihood options, and ample access to these factors of production and exchange secures well-being and involves opportunity for further upward socio-economic mobility.

Cômua and Muquela are located in the southern parts of the district. They are considered to be the least fertile among the four *cabos*, but at the same time the best located in relation to the Vila and other markets (pers.com. head of *Serviços Distritais de Actividades Económicas*). Merica and Chakalua are considered fertile agricultural areas but are also, as already noted, the most marginal in political and economic terms. We showed in our first report how traders hardly found their way to the latter areas, and when they did pass by, they tended to pay extremely low prices for agricultural products.<sup>13</sup>

Two changes in agriculture between 2006 and 2009 seem to be particularly significant. Firstly, we found a number of large agricultural fields (*machambas*) that were not there three years ago. In one of the *cabos*, a total of six *machambas* of between 50 and 100 hectares, which is very large compared to the average small-holder size of 1-2 hectares, had been cleared. While this shows the potential for agriculture in the district, however, practically all the *machambas* had been established by outsiders. The owners come mainly from Nampula City, but there are also examples of owners from other provinces.<sup>14</sup> Local informants told us that they had been hired to clear the land, which is very hard work for very low pay (in one case a young man spent three days destumping a field of 20x 25 meters for 50 MT). At the same time, they complain that they do not get employment in the production process as such.

The *machamba*-owners confirmed this, by saying that they preferred to hire labour from other districts "because they work better". The real reasons seem to be that hired external labour live away from their families and are more stable as they do not have their own *machambas* to attend to and that they have less bargaining power and can be paid less. In the four *cabos* then, the larger-scale commercial developments have as yet limited implications for poverty alleviation and well-being – even though they may encourage some local farmers to increase and diversify production.

The second and perhaps most striking change in the *cabos* is the increase in marketing outlets. This not only pertains to the extension of the semi-formal markets referred to above, but also to smaller markets in the villages. Having said this, the importance of geographical location is demonstrated by the fact that the *cabos* with the easiest access to the Vila and closest to traffic corridors (Muquela on the way to Angoche and Moma and Merica/Chinga on the way to Ribáue) have seen the largest changes in this respect. While one bag of cassava flour sold for 150 MT in the most distant *cabo*, Chakalua, during the last harvest (*campanha*), it sold for 200 MT in Muquela, 400 MT in the Vila and up to 800 in the City of Nampula.

In Merica/Chinga, the two marketing stalls in 2006 had increased to 15 in 2009 and largely serve people passing through and people working on the new commercial agricultural enterprises mentioned above. The main change with regard to the sale of local agricultural products is that *comerciantes*, mainly from Nampula City, have established semi-permanent sales points (small warehouses or *armazéns*) at two locations in the *cabo* where local farmers can sell their produce. In 2006, *comerciantes* passed through at very irregular intervals, forcing people to sell for whatever price they demanded at that particular point. While the prices for most agricultural products have

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<sup>13</sup> At that time, the shortcut from the Vila was also closed due to the collapse of a bridge – forcing people from the Vila to take a long detour.

<sup>14</sup> There was considerable local controversy over the way the land had been transferred. Land of this type is communal and non-negotiable under Mozambican law. While community leaders claimed that the land had been lent for free to the external farmers for a period of 15 years, people in the community were convinced that it had been sold.

increased with the new system, for those in a position to do so it still pays off to transport the products to the Vila or to the city of Nampula.

In Muquela, the large Cavina market has been established. What started with a few farmers who sold their products along the road on Sundays in late 2006 has now developed into a major market for farmers in the south-eastern part of the district and traders from Nampula City, Angoche, Moma and beyond. For those with an agricultural surplus and in a position to sell, competition between traders has led to the highest prices for agricultural products in the district outside of the Vila. To underline the change that has taken place, local *comerciantes* complain that the farmers in the *cabo* no longer sell to them but wait until the day of the Cavina market “even though we have supplied people here with what they need for a long time”.<sup>15</sup>

In Cômua and Chakalua, which are the most marginally located *cabos*, very little seems to have happened in terms of agricultural production and marketing. Farmers complain that traders do not appear, and that they themselves have to transport the goods to places like Muquela, Merica or the Vila. None of these areas are served by minibuses (*chapas*) or other types of transport, and even with a bicycle it will take hours. The better-off and larger producers are in a position to take their produce to the semi-urban centres themselves by hiring transport, but the majority of small producers still have very limited marketing outlets.

In all four *cabos*, households with limited access to land and labour and no alternative income options remain in very difficult circumstances and are particularly vulnerable. The only option for many of the very poorest is to work as agricultural labourers in the fields of others through the system of *ganho ganho* or *tototo*. According to local community leaders, the importance of *ganho ganho* has increased the past three years. Local farmers who have been able to exploit the new marketing opportunities increasingly use local labour to expand their *machambas* and operations.

**Gender.** Gender came out as an issue in our group discussions in 2006, confirming stereotypical impressions of the division of domestic, subsistence and income-generating labour between men and women, and our survey data did show significant differences in household characteristics, income and assets between male- and female-headed households.<sup>16</sup> Another study in Nampula (Tvedten, Paulo & Tuominen 2009) confirmed many of our findings, but also showed significant differences in gender relations and the position of women in rural (Mossuril) and urban (Nampula City) areas – underlining the fact that gender relations are not static.

Coming back to Murrupula in 2009, our survey, focus group interviews and general observations confirmed the systematically disadvantaged situation of women and female-headed households in the area. The situation for many of the female-headed households has actually deteriorated in important areas such as agricultural production, income and education, and we found no examples of female-headed households that have made significant improvements in their living conditions over the past three years among our case studies. Neither did we find any significant change in the role of women in the community – still representing a small minority of community leaders.

At the same time, group discussions with women indicate that they are aware of their subordinate position and what that implies for the household well-being. Returning to this in more detail later, they told tales of heavy workloads at home and in the *machambas*, of how their husbands insisted on selling at the markets and only brought home a part of what they actually earned, and how they

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<sup>15</sup> The importance of this market is further underlined by teachers, who complain that particularly boys stay away from school in important seasons to prepare for the Cavina market.

<sup>16</sup> In our random sample survey (Tvedten, Paulo & Rosário 2006), we came out with only 10 percent female-headed households. This is likely to be an under-representation, in a province where the overall proportion of female-headed households has been calculated at 24.5 percent (INE 2009, see below).

still had to ask the husband for money for education and medicines – but also how they were trying to change the nature particularly of their economic relations.

What this reveals is the importance of involving women in Mozambique's development strategy and its accompanying programmes and projects, not only because women find themselves in an inferior position vis-à-vis men, but also because a stronger role by women in households and communities will favour overall socio-economic development. Changes in structural conditions and the role of women (as in urban Nampula) show that there is a basis for alterations in gender relations (Tvedten, Paulo & Tuominen 2009) – even, as we shall see, in a heavily patriarchal setting like Murrupula.

**Health.** We have found the health situation to be the third main determinant of poverty and well-being in Murrupula.<sup>17</sup> Frequent illness among household members has implications for production and income, not only directly by keeping individuals away from subsistence and income generating activities, but also indirectly. Somebody else usually has to stay home from the *machamba* to take care of the sick family member; opting for traditional treatment is expensive; and taking the sick family member to health post or hospital may take days and implies additional costs for the family.

The frequent death of children also sets in motion processes that often have longer-term ramifications. In addition to long periods of grief and mourning (a ceremony usually takes 3-7 days and people will visit the cemetery daily for up to 40 days to fulfil cultural expectations), early deaths very often lead to witchcraft accusations that may involve entire extended families and effectively paralyse relationships. Moreover, high child mortality is likely to be the main reason behind the exceptionally high fertility rate in Nampula of 6.5 per woman (MISAU 2005). This means that many women spend large parts of their adult life pregnant or breast-feeding small children, which limits their working ability and flexibility for finding alternative sources of income.

As we have already indicated, health is probably the area that has seen most overall improvement since 2006. More health facilities have been established, the quality has improved, and people consult the formal health system more frequently than in 2006. Our data will also reveal small improvements in the frequency with which household members are sick. Nevertheless, the increase in HIV-AIDS cases, several outbreaks of cholera (that people say have killed “many people”) and the continued problem of malnutrition among children testify to the continued health hazards.

### 4.3 Household Characteristics

The analysis that follows will be based on a combination of the survey of 120 panel-households in the four *cabos* carried out in 2006 and 2009, and the qualitative and participatory methodologies done with focus groups at the same points in time. In the survey, we managed to locate 85 percent of the same households. Missing households were, to the extent possible, substituted with new households with the same basic characteristics (age and sex of household head). Of those whom we could not locate, five had passed away; three had moved away, and seven could not be re-identified.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> In the first IAF-study (INE 2004; Chiconela 2004), education rather than health was singled out as the main social determinant of poverty and well-being. However, our studies show that people's belief in education as a way out of poverty is declining. Most youngsters who do finish school still do not find employment, and there is a growing sentiment that teachers do not behave like role-models for children, particularly for girls.

<sup>18</sup> Our means of identification was a combination of the names of the *cabo* and the village (*povoação*), and the name and nickname of the household head (with the latter turning out to be most important). In the few cases where people could not be identified, they had given false names and nicknames in 2006 – for whatever reason.

The people who originally participated in the focus groups in 2006 were sought and identified through a combination of discussion with the community leaders (who took part in or observed the exercises in 2006) and photographs. Our estimate is that approximately 50 percent of the people were the same and thus continuity was secured, with the remaining participants having been called in to the group discussions to substitute the ones who could not be identified or located (most often, they were busy in their *machambas*). Due to the perceived importance of gender issues discussed above, we also called an additional group of women to further substantiate key gender issues.

As argued in our earlier reports, we see the household as the basic social and economic unit in the communities in question. At the same time, we have argued that no household can function in isolation and will depend on external social relations with the extended family, the community, civil society institutions, the state, etc., for their well-being (Tvedten, Paulo & Rosário 2006). In fact, a main conclusion in our 2006 report was that one of the most salient characteristics of the better-off households was their extensive sets of social relationships, whereas the poorest were characterised by limited relationships beyond their own household unit. We also emphasised how the household is a flexible and permeable unit, changing over time, and with people 'eating from the same pot' being the most important characteristic defining a household for the local population.<sup>19</sup>

As seen from Table 11, the average size of male-headed households (MHH) in our survey has increased from 5.2 to 5.5, while the average size of female-headed households (FHH) has decreased from 3.9 to 3.4 between 2006 and 2009. From Table 12 it appears that the increase in the size of MHH primarily reflects an increase in the proportion of close relatives as household members (siblings, nephews/nieces and grandchildren). This points towards increasing responsibilities for taking care of youngsters who find themselves orphaned or without support for other reasons. The decrease in the size of FHH reflects a parallel process where older women increasingly find themselves alone. They may not be able to take care of younger relatives – and other relatives are not able to take care of them. As we noted earlier, the social exclusion of elders, who traditionally have been taken care of well by their extended family, is one of the most dramatic implications of the impoverishment of parts of the population in contemporary Mozambican society.

**Table 11. Number of Household Members by Sex of Household Head (Percent)**

Household Members	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
1-2	11.9	9.4	36.4	42.9	14.2	13.3
3-4	31.2	21.7	27.3	28.6	30.8	22.5
5-6	29.4	31.1	27.3	21.4	29.2	30.0
7+	27.5	37.7	9.1	7.1	25.8	34.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<b>Average</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>5.5</b>	<b>3.9</b>	<b>3.4</b>		

<sup>19</sup> Recent data from INE (2009) puts the average size of households in Nampula at 4.4. The differences can only be explained by our differences in household definitions. We argued earlier that the INE definition of people 'living under the same roof' and 'eating from the same pot' does not reflect realities on the ground. In fact, according to our definition 15.8 percent of all household members live outside the main household dwelling.

**Table 12.** Household Member Categories by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

Household members	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Spouse	97.2	98.1	18.2	28.6	90	90.0
Parents	0.9	0.9	0	0.0	0.8	0.8
Children	81.7	82.1	63.6	64.3	80	80.0
Grandchildren	6.4	11.3	9.1	14.3	6.7	11.7
Nieces/nephews	6.4	9.4	18.2	7.1	7.5	9.2
Siblings	4.6	7.5	-	-	4.2	6.7
Other relatives	20.2	11.3	-	-	18.3	10.0
Non-relatives	1.8	-	-	-	1.6	-

At the same time, there are indications that the proportion of female-headed households in Murrupula is on the increase. The share of female-headed households for the Nampula province as a whole has increased from 15 percent to 24.5 percent between 2003 and 2009 (INE 2004, 2009), and the 10 percent included in our survey is likely to be an under-representation. Our data do reveal small signs of change in the position of women in Murrupula; for example, with more women living with men in marital or consensual unions being considered household heads in 2009 than in 2006 (representing 28.6 percent of the total with separated, divorced and widows making up the rest, see Table 13). Nevertheless, the likely increase in the proportion of female-headed households points primarily towards ongoing processes of social exclusion of women and our data show a systematically disadvantaged situation for female-headed households. At the same time, marriage is increasingly formalised with a number of consensual unions from 2006 having been turned into formal marriages by 2009 – implying a stronger dichotomy between the formally married women and women heading their own households.

**Table 13.** Civil Status by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

Marital status	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Single	0.9	.0	9.1	14.3	1.7	1.7
Married	28.4	51.9	9.1	14.3	26.6	47.5
Consensual union	67.9	46.2	-	14.3	61.7	42.5
Separated/divorced	-	-	9.1	14.3	0.8	1.7
Widowed	1.8	1.9	72.7	42.9	8.3	6.7
No information	0.9	-	-	-	0.8	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

All this illustrates that households are flexible and permeable units of social organisation that meet the challenges of poverty and well-being the best they can. To core units of a husband, his wife or wives and their children are added other relatives as well as non-relatives, who may stay with the household for longer or shorter periods of time. Some members – a total of 16 percent in both 2006 and 2009 – are considered part of the household unit even though they do not live under the same roof. Some people have a strong influence on household decision-making and resources even though they are not formally part thereof – in matrilineal settings like Murrupula primarily maternal uncles or other male matrilineal relatives.

The incidents with the potentially strongest implications for household poverty and well-being are separation and divorce. Divorce is relatively easy to accomplish both in traditional Macua culture and under the relevant version of Islamic *sharia* laws in Nampula (Tvedten, Paulo & Tuominen 2009). Under the former, a woman can leave a man who does not treat her and her children properly or who does not take adequate care of them in terms of food and other basic necessities. Under the latter, men can more easily divorce than women who need to have the backing of all-male religious councils of elders (*maulana*) to do so. However, women do have the right to leave a man who does not support her or is infertile. In both cases, the socio-economic implications of divorce may be devastating, particularly for women with children who will have problems marrying again. Single women with children are still considered 'second rate' in Murrupula.

#### 4.4 Employment and Income

We have maintained in this series of studies that despite the focus on the social sectors in Mozambique's current poverty reduction strategy, employment and income are key to the dynamics of poverty and well-being in areas like Murrupula. This is not only because money is increasingly important to secure the basic necessities in life, such as food, clothes and shelter (through a process of what we have called 'commodification' of social relationships), but also because employment and income are necessary to access education, health and other similar social services. For the better off, we have seen, commodities have also become an increasingly important way to demonstrate wealth and influence.

As seen from Table 14, farming remains the main source of employment and income for the large majority of households in Murrupula. There is a small increase in the proportion of households claiming public- or private sector employment as their main source of income, and a small decrease in the proportion of households having informal economic activities as their main source. *No* female-headed households have main sources of income from sectors other than agriculture.

**Table 14.** *Main Occupation of Household Head (Percent)*

Main Occupation of HHH	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Public sector employee	0.9	1.9	-	-	0.8	1.7
Private sector employee	0.9	1.9	-	-	0.8	1.7
Farmer	92.7	93.4	90.9	92.9	92.5	93.3
Fisherman	-	0.9	-	-	-	0.8
Informal sector employee	5.5	0.9	-	-	4.9	0.8
Occasional/seasonal empl.	-	0.9	-	-	-	0.8
Student	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pensioner	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed/domestic	-	-	9.1	7.1	0.8	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Having said this, there has been an increase in the share of households who have *alternative* income from the informal sector from 51.7 to 58.3 percent between 2006 and 2009 (Table 15). The main areas of expansion are craftwork and traditional medicine, primarily sold to the increasing number of people passing through or frequenting markets in Murrupula. The largest decrease in informal economic activities is in people moving around individually to sell products (*venda ambulante*), which is probably related to the increase in the number of permanent markets discussed above. *Ganho-ganho* is still the most important informal economic activity for male- and female-headed households alike.

**Table 15.** *Households with Income from Informal Economic Activities (Percent)*

Type of Informal Economic Activity	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
No income	46.8	39.6	63.6	57.1	48.3	41.7
Artefacts	15.5	17.2	-	16.7	14.5	17.1
Traditional medicine	1.7	10.9	-	33.3	1.6	12.9
Beverage sales	15.5	9.4	25.0	16.7	16.1	10.0
Informal sales (fixed)	-	3.1	-	0.0	-	2.9
Informal sales (moving)	32.8	7.8	50.0	0.0	33.9	7.1
Construction	6.9	4.7	0.0	0.0	6.5	4.3
Carpentry	-	3.1	-	0.0	-	2.9
'Pwati'	1.7	4.7	25.0	16.7	3.2	5.7
'Ganho-ganho'	39.7	35.9	50.0	33.3	40.3	35.7
Other	15.5	29.7	0.0	0.0	14.5	27.1

The income from informal economic activities in the month prior to the survey had not changed much since 2006, and remains low (Table 16). This implies that it is an important addition to – and not a substitute for – agriculture as a source of subsistence and income for people in Murrupula (see below). Sixty percent of households involved in such activities earned less than 250 MT per month from these activities in 2009, while 10.1 percent earned more than 750MT. The latter is a slight increase from 2006 when it was 6.2 percent, and points towards the increasing differentiation between households. No female-headed households earned more than 500 MT from informal economic activities.

**Table 16.** *Income from Non-Agricultural Activities by Sex of Household Head the Month Prior to the Survey (Percent)*

Non-agricultural income	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
No income	46.8	39.6	63.6	57.1	48.3	41.7
< 250	56.9	57.8	75.0	83.3	58.1	60.0
251 - 500	24.1	21.9	0	16.7	22.6	21.4
501 – 750	12.1	12.5	25.0	-	12.9	11.4
751 – 1,000	1.7	3.1	-	-	1.6	2.9
1,001 <	5.2	7.8	-	-	4.8	7.2
Doesn't know	-	1.6	-	-	-	1.4
Total	100	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The continued dominant importance of arable agriculture as a source of livelihood in Murrupula is amply demonstrated by the fact that practically all households possess fields or *machambas* (Table 17). Domestic animals, particularly chickens and goats, are also important but possessed by fewer households in 2009 than in 2006. This is a worrisome development, since such animals serve as important buffers, both for consumption and income. Female-headed households generally have fewer domestic animals than male-headed households, with the exception of chickens.

**Table 17. Agricultural Possessions by Sex of Household Head (Percent)**

Agricultural Possessions	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Field	100.0	100.0	100.0	92.9	100.0	99.2
Chickens	87.1	67.9	87.5	75.0	87.1	68.5
Ducks	2.2	7.1	14.3	0.0	3.0	6.5
Goats	41.9	45.2	28.6	25.0	41.0	43.5
Pigs	28.0	19.0	14.3	-	27.0	17.4
Other	12.9	14.3	14.3	12.5	13.0	14.1

The importance of agriculture is also clear from Table 18, showing that the proportion of households with income from the sector in the last harvest has increased between 2006 and 2009. While 22.5 percent of the households had no income from agriculture in 2006, this is reduced to 11.8 percent in 2009. The reduction is strongest among female-headed households, where more than half had no income from agriculture in 2006 and less than one quarter in 2009. However, this may equally well reflect that their poverty compels them to sell parts of the little they have, rather than a 'surplus' as such. At the same time, there has been a dichotomisation between a majority who still sell for very limited amounts – primarily because they do not produce sufficiently for exchange – and an increasing minority who sell for more than 1000 MT.<sup>20</sup> This group also includes farmers who earn considerably more than 1000 MT (the highest income recorded was 7.000.00 MT ).

**Table 18. Income from Agricultural Production at last Harvest by Sex of Household Head (Percent)**

Income from Agric. Products	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
No income	19.3	10.4	54.6	23.1	22.5	11.8
<250	39.8	30.5	80.0	50.0	41.9	32.4
251 - 500	29.5	9.5	20.0	30.0	29.0	11.4
501 - 750	13.6	18.9	-	10.0	12.9	18.1
751 - 1.000	11.4	12.6	-	10.0	10.8	12.4
1.001 <	5.7	28.4	-	-	5.4	25.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The main reason for the increase in earnings from agriculture seems to be higher prices for agricultural products. Recorded price changes varied somewhat between the different groups we asked, and Table 19 below shows an estimated average. The price increase is lowest for the staple *mandioca*, which, as we saw in the last chapter, has increased its share of total production. This means that the farmers who manage to diversify their production are in the best position not only in terms of nutritional value of the subsistence part of their production but also in terms of earnings.

<sup>20</sup> We have indications that the sums given are underestimates for all levels, but the trend is most important and still relevant. One estimate by a community leader suggests that farmers in a year with good rains produce an average of 20 bags of cassava (*mandioca seca*), 12 bags of peanuts (*amendoim*) and three bags of maize. In years of bad rains the equivalent average production will be 10, two and one bag respectively (see Table 19 for price-changes).

**Table 19.** *Price to Producer of Agricultural Products 2006-2009*

Product	Unit	Price 2006	Price 2009
Cassava	Bag	100	150
Maize	Bag	180	360
Rice	Tin-can	35	100
Beans	Kg	4	20
Peanuts	Kg	8	13

However, the increase also seems to reflect a change in production towards a conscious rotation of products in the *machambas* (Table 20). This has been actively propagated by the agricultural extension services as the most relevant improvement, in a setting where very few farmers have access to animal manure and know about chemical fertilisers – and even fewer would be in a position to buy chemicals if they knew about them. As noted above, there are only seven agricultural extensionists in the entire district of Murrupula, and the potential role of agricultural extension seems grossly underutilised.

**Table 20.** *Main Method of Fertilization in Agricultural Field (Percent)*

Main Method of Fertilization	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Crop rotation/ fallowing	3.7	52.8	-	53.8	3.3	52.9
Natural compost	13.8	.0	-	7.7	12.5	.8
Fertilisers	-	.9	-	-	-	.8
Other	0.9	2.8	-	-	0.8	2.5
None	81.7	43.4	100.0	38.5	83.3	42.9

We indicated above that possession of domestic animals is important, but has decreased over the past three years. While 15.8 percent of the households had no animals in 2006, this had increased to 23.3 percent in 2009 (Table 21). Possession of chickens has seen a particular decrease, and people complain that chickens are constantly being wiped out by disease. For households with domestic animals, an increasing minority make money out of them (Table 22). In 2006, only 12 percent made more than 500 MT, while 21 percent did so in 2009. Still no households in our sample possess cattle.

**Table 21.** *Households with Domestic Animals*

Domestic animals	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
No animal	14.7	20.8	27.3	42.9	15.8	23.3
Chickens	87.1	67.9	87.5	75.0	87.1	68.5
Ducks	2.2	7.1	14.3	0.0	3.0	6.5
Goats	41.9	45.2	28.6	25.0	41.0	43.5
Pigs	28.0	19.0	14.3	-	27.0	17.4
Other	12.9	14.3	14.3	12.5	13.0	14.1

**Table 22.** *Income from Sale of Animals by Sex of Household Head the Year Prior to the Survey (Percent)*

Income from animals	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
No animal	14.7	20.8	27.3	42.9	15.8	23.3
< 250	66.7	59.1	80.0	50.0	68.0	58.3
251-500	20.0	22.7	20.0	0	20.0	20.8
501 <	13.3	18.1	0	50.0	12.0	20.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The picture that has been painted in this sub-chapter of changes in employment and income in Murrupula between 2006 and 2009 is one where agriculture remains the key activity both for subsistence and income, where informal activities have become more important as a secondary source of income, and where formal employment is still practically non-existent. At the same time, there has been an increasing differentiation between the majority who remain destitute or poor, and a minority who manage to exploit the new opportunities in market access. The potential for agriculture in the area is clearly revealed by the growing number of commercial producers exploiting the ample access to fertile land and cheap labour referred to in the preceding chapter.

For the majority, structural constraints inhibit a further expansion of their agricultural activities. Focus group discussions from 2006 as well as from 2009 reveal that access to land as such is not considered a significant constraint, even though it may become so in some areas if the current expansion of commercial farming continues. The level of technology is still very rudimentary and clearly inhibits larger effective expansions of *machambas*, but at the same time labour is very cheap for those who are in a position to pay for it. In the first report we strongly emphasised the constraining role of the inadequate access to markets in Murrupula, as people either could not sell surplus or had to sell it at very low prices. While this is still the case, particularly in the more remote areas, we have also shown that this is the area that has seen the most significant improvements both in terms of markets *per se*, and prices for agricultural products.

The most important structural constraint for further expansion of agriculture seems to be labour. While we have seen that most households are relatively large, the actual labour access is determined by a number of factors. One common complaint is that young household members are not interested in taking part in hard agricultural work, and they tend to involve themselves in the informal economy until they have to take on family responsibilities and are forced to return to tilling the land. We have also argued that the detrimental health situation in Murrupula means that many productive household members – including pregnant women – are forced to stay out of the fields at critical moments of production. Perhaps most importantly, however, poverty itself forces many households to work as labourers in the fields of others through the system of *ganho ganho* at critical moments in their own productive cycle. The most important remedy to this situation, to which we will return in the concluding chapter, seems to be interventions that support increased efficiency and productivity in agriculture and continued improvements in market access.

## 4.5 Assets and Consumption

The assets of households and individuals reflect their economic position in terms of poverty and well-being, but they are also important markers of identity and socio-cultural position. What the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1986) once called “the social life of things” refers to the idea that people use assets to signal who they are. This is particularly the case for the better-off, who have

real choices as to what they buy and in what they invest. For the poorest, lack of assets will reflect their poverty rather than their individual choices.

As seen from Table 23 below, there have been relatively few changes in asset ownership among the 120 households in our survey between 2006 and 2009. The basic assets that people use in their daily lives (*chairs, tables, tableware, hoes, machetes and axes*.) have all seen a slight increase in terms of the proportion of households that own them, both among male- and female-headed households. While production assets are owned by practically every household assets like tables and chairs, however, are still owned by only 9 and 32 percent of the households, respectively. These may not be crucial for the households in the same way as production assets are, but being able to pull out a chair and sit by a table when receiving visitors (which all except for the most marginalised frequently do) is an important sign of hospitality and social inclusion.

**Table 23. Asset Ownership by Sex of Household Head (Percent)**

Asset	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Radio	61.5	50.9	28.6	7.1	57.6	45.8
Music player	2.9	1.9	.0	.0	2.5	1.7
Cellular phone	3.8	4.7	7.1	7.1	4.2	5.0
Bicycle	58.7	59.4	28.6	7.1	55.1	53.3
Motorbike	3.8	10.4	-	-	3.4	9.2
Bed (not mat)	39.4	41.5	21.4	21.4	37.3	39.2
Table	7.7	9.4	7.1	7.1	7.6	9.2
Chairs	26.9	34.9	7.1	7.1	24.6	31.7
Tableware	62.5	68.9	71.4	57.1	63.6	67.5
Hoe	98.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.3	100.0
Machete	92.3	91.5	78.6	71.4	90.7	89.2
Axe	73.1	78.3	64.3	57.1	72.0	75.8

Among the commodity-assets, ownership of bicycles has actually seen a decrease between 2006 and 2009. A bicycle is important to be able to transport agricultural goods and other products to markets for sale, and it may be crucial for the ability to, for example, get sick family members to health units quickly. The most significant data here is the very low ownership of bicycles among female-headed households, which has dropped from 29 to 7 percent. It is very rare to see women in Murrupula cycling, which reflects their inferior economic position as well as cultural prohibitions against women riding bicycles. Also radio ownership has dropped, and is lower than reported in other studies (INE 2009). The absence of a local radio station or 'community radio' in Murrupula may be one reason for this. Cellular phones, which also have important practical as well as social status connotations, have seen a slight increase in ownership but still remain very low, at five percent, despite the extension of the cell phone network (see Chapter 3).

Perhaps the most unanticipated information in Table 23 is the increase in the ownership of motorbikes. Our data show that it is primarily male-headed households in Chakalua and Merica, with the best options for increased agricultural production and income, who have bought such bikes. They cost 17.000 MT, which is a large amount of money in the context of Murrupula. Having come into a position to buy a motorbike is a clear sign of increased wealth. But it is also a sign of the importance attached to commodities, as signs of authority in communities where this matters. A number of the people we met who had bought motorbikes were community leaders (*régulos* and

*cabos*). In one case, the motorbike had only gone a few kilometres, was put in front of the homestead during the day for everybody to see, and safely guarded in the house during the night.

The changes in income and asset ownership recorded are partly reflected in the changes in household expenditures in 2006 and 2009 (Table 24). The proportion of households with no expenditure the week prior to the survey decreased from 20 to 13 percent, but remains very high at 50 percent for female-headed households. At the same time, the proportion of households who spent less than 250 MT has increased significantly between the two points in time. This is likely to primarily reflect the timing of the exercises. While the first study was done at the end of the agricultural season and into the harvesting period, when people sell their products (March 2006), the last was done at the beginning of the season when resources, particularly for those who depend solely on agriculture, were in the process of drying up and before new crops could be harvested and sold (November 2009). This is also likely to be the main reason for the decrease in the proportion of households who spent more than 1000 MT the week prior to the survey.

**Table 24. Household Expenditure the Week Prior to the Survey(Percent)**

Household Expenditure	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
No expenditure	15.9	7.5	63.6	50.0	20.3	12.5
< 250	27.1	74.5	9.1	50.0	25.4	71.7
251-500	15.0	14.2	-	-	13.6	12.5
501-1000	10.3	2.8	18.2	-	11.0	2.5
1001-1500	8.4	.9	-	-	7.6	.8
1501 <	23.4	-	9.1	-	22.0	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100	100.0	100.0	100.0

This seems to be confirmed by changes in the types of items households had bought the week prior to the survey (Table 25). Households spent a smaller proportion of their total expenditure on food items in 2006 than in 2009, reflecting the fact that in November 2009 their food resources were in the process of drying up. This is coupled with a reduction in the expenditures on all other items with the exception of health consultations and medicines, to which people have to give priority, and transportation. The latter points towards the increased contact by the better-off male-headed households with (semi-) urban centres such as Murrupula Villa and Nampula City, a point to which we will return below. Female-headed households have seen a decrease in their expenditures and do not have any expenditure on transport – reflecting their poverty, dependence on subsistence agriculture as well as their social immobility.

**Table 25. Average Weekly Expenditure for Selected Consumption Items (MT)**

Consumption item	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Food products	42.55	63.39	9.55	22.14	39.53	58.57
Cleaning products	17.36	12.78	1.36	2.57	15.89	11.59
Clothes	23.87	16.46	22.73	2.86	23.77	14.88
School material	5.13	3.82	1.59	.00	4.80	3.38
Medicines/consultations	4.90	4.82	1.81	.71	4.47	4.34
Transport	4.30	11.04	-	-	3.90	9.75
Other expenses	-	5.49	-	1.00	-	4.97
Total	98.11	117.8	35.41	29.28	92.35	107.48

Table 25 shows that there has been an increase in average total expenditure per week from 92.4 MT in 2006 to 107.5 MT in 2009. However, this does not only reflect increased consumption but also increasing prices for consumption items. Table 26 shows perceived price differences for key items such as fish, clothes, soap and sugar in 2006 and 2009.<sup>21</sup> Fish is very important as a source of protein in an area with few domestic animals and a heavy reliance on the nutrient-poor cassava or *mandioca*. Our data also show that while 66 percent of the households stated that they had not cut any consumption items to compensate for price increases the week prior to the survey in 2009, a 'luxury' commodity such as clothes was the most commonly cut item (22.5 percent) among the households who were forced to reduce their expenditure for that reason. Female-headed households report lower prices for a number of products than male-headed households. This may reflect women's more limited involvement in market exchange, but may also reflect superior bargaining abilities (see below).

**Table 26. Price Differences on Selected Consumption Articles 2008- 2009 (One year) (MT)**

Consumption article	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Fish	18.18	35.09	11.43	25.00	29.61	60.09
Clothes	61.29	103.57	37.50	71.88	98.79	175.45
Soap	10.80	16.40	11.25	15.75	22.05	32.15
Sugar	17.44	22.85	19.60	25.00	37.04	47.85
Other	109.11	192.27	6.66	10.56	115.78	202.82

One type of expenditure with a potentially large impact on the household economy is that of taxes. We showed in our first report from 2006 that people, in principle, are to pay a person-tax, a bicycle-tax, and taxes for commercial activities. We also argued that tax-collection was relatively efficient, in that it was carried out on behalf of the state by traditional leaders (*régulos* and *cabos*) who know their communities well and had a personal interest in collecting taxes as they were economically rewarded for it. As seen from Table 27, however, the proportion of households paying taxes actually reduced between 2006 and 2009, from 77 to 68 percent. This reflects reduced economic activity as well as reduced bicycle ownership among the poorest (verified by the low proportion of female-headed households paying taxes), as well as the fact that the leaders themselves are likely to have become more lax as in 2009 their payment is 'fixed' at MT 450 per three months (1<sup>st</sup> level) or 250 MT per three months (2<sup>nd</sup> level) – rather than 'result-based' as in 2006.

**Table 27. Tax Payment Year Prior to Survey (Percent)**

Tax payment	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Yes	83.5	74.5	9.1	14.3	76.7	67.5
No	16.5	25.5	90.9	85.7	23.3	32.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Finally, in this section, let us look at developments regarding the issue of decision-making related to household expenditure (Table 28). While men still have the 'upper hand' and are the principal decision-makers for larger investments, our case studies and focus group discussions show that

<sup>21</sup> These items are among the most expensive households purchases, and they are only bought at irregular intervals or not at all. This explains why prices per unit are so high in relation to total weekly expenditure.

women have a relatively strong influence regarding decisions on daily expenditure for food and other necessities. Within male-headed households, the proportion of households who claim that both men and women take part in decision-making has seen an increase from 18 percent in 2006 to 44 percent in 2009. This may indicate a change towards a stronger position of women in male-headed households, possibly as a result of the increasing importance of agriculture where women have a central role. In female-headed households, the men who take part in decision-making will usually be their maternal uncles (i.e., mother's brother) or eldest brother, and the increasing involvement of men in decision-making in such households probably reflects their economic hardship. Focus group discussions show that women, more than men, tend to make decisions that are more beneficial to the well-being of the household as a whole (see also Tvedten, Paulo and Tuominen 2009).

**Table 28. Decision-Making on Income Expenditure (Percent)**

Decision-maker	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Head of household	62.4	55.7	90	64.3	64.7	56.7
Only men	18.3	-	-	-	16.8	-
Only women	-	-	-	14.3	0	1.7
Men and women	18.3	44.3	-	21.4	16.8	41.7
All households	0.9	-	10	-	1.7	-
Total	100	100.0	100	100.0	100	100.0

## 4.6 Education and Health

We saw in Chapter 3 that the number of schools and classrooms constructed in the Murrupula district has increased since 2006, reflecting a government policy favouring education as a way out of poverty. At the same time, we emphasised in our first report in 2006 that people in Murrupula did not seem to share this conviction. On the one hand, many households still kept their children away from school or took them out to work or marry, while on the other, many complained that even children who did get an education had problems finding employment and often ended up working in the *machambas* or the informal economy as many of their less-educated peers.

As seen from Table 29 below, this is reflected in the 120 households taking part in our survey in 2006 and 2009. Among heads of households, 50 percent of the male-heads and 79 percent of the female-heads have no education at all and only 10 percent of male-headed households and none of the female-headed households have EP2 (7<sup>th</sup> Grade) or higher. Looking at changes in the highest educational level in the households as a whole, they actually report a (considerably) higher proportion of households without educated members and a (slightly) higher proportion with higher education in 2006 than in 2009. This means that since 2006 household members with education have left and/or new household members in the least educated households don't go to school, and that some household members who had lower education in 2006 have managed to obtain EP2 or secondary/basic education among the better educated households during the three years in question.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> It may also reflect a different composition in terms of education among the 15 households that had to be substituted in the 2009 survey, but the trend should still be relevant.

**Table 29. Highest Level of Education in Household by Sex of Household Head (Percent)**

Highest level of education in HH	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
None	20.4	35.8	20.0	50.0	20.3	37.5
Literacy	18.5	10.4	10.0	28.6	17.8	12.5
EP1	51.9	33.0	60.0	14.3	52.5	30.8
EP2	7.4	12.3	10.0	-	7.6	10.8
Secondary /basic	0.9	6.6	-	7.1	0.8	6.7
Middle School	0.9	1.9	-	-	0.8	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The limited school attendance is verified in Table 30, showing an actual reduction in the proportion of school-going age children (i.e. 6-15) who go to school from 81.7 percent in 2006 to 69.9 percent in 2009. The decrease is particularly high in female-headed households (at 15 percentage points), again underlining the social isolation and difficult economic circumstances of such households in Murrupula. Among those who are not studying, the reasons vary considerably between male- and female-headed households, as well as for boys and girls (see Table 31 and 32). In male-headed households, it is noticeable that the argument that the household “cannot afford” to send their children to school was less prominent in 2006 than in 2009 – also with respect to girls. There are no school-going age boys among the female-headed households, but the issue of affordability is prominent for girls among such households.

**Table 30. Proportion of Households with Children at School Age Who Study (6-15 yrs)**

School-Going Age Children	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Yes	80.6	69.4	90.0	75.0	81.7	69.9
No	19.4	30.6	10.0	25.0	17.3	30.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Table 31. Main Reasons for Not Studying – Boys**

Main reason for not studying	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Cannot afford	11.1	-	-	-	11.1	-
Not interested	11.1	15.8	-	-	11.1	15.8
Too young	33.3	36.8	-	-	33.3	36.8
School too far	11.1	31.6	-	-	11.1	31.6
Disabled/ill	22.2	10.5	-	-	22.2	10.5
Finished	11.1	-	-	-	11.1	-
Just moved in	-	5.3	-	-	-	5.3

**Table 32. Main Reasons for Not Studying – Girls (Percent)**

Main reason for not studying	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Cannot afford	42.9	.0	-	50.0	37.5	8.3
Not interested	-	30.0	-	50.0	-	33.3
Too young	14.3	40.0	100.0	-	25.0	33.3
School too far	14.3	30.0	-	-	12.5	25.0
Disabled/ill	14.3	-	-	-	12.5	-
Finished		-	-	-	-	-
Just moved in	14.3	-	-	-	12.5	-

We argued earlier in this report that the health situation has significant implications for poverty and well-being in Murrupula, not only for the sick themselves and their productive capacity, but also in terms of longer-term ramifications. Illness and death sets in motion socio-cultural processes with negative implications for social relationships, for example through witchcraft accusations, and is a major reason for the high fertility rate in the area, which has negative implications for the productive capacity of women in particular. At the same time, we showed that there have been substantial changes in the health situation in Murrupula between 2006 and 2009. The competence and capacity of medical staff has improved (i.e. through the arrival of a medical doctor), and people use the local medical institutions more frequently.

While it is difficult to isolate the implications of improved preventative health services and access to health institutions through other avenues, our survey indicates improvements in the health situation among the 120 households we follow. As seen from Table 33, the proportion of households with sick household members two weeks prior to the survey dropped between 2006 and 2009 – even though it is still high at 66.7 percent (down from 80 percent).

**Table 33. Households with One or More Sick Member Two Weeks Prior to the Interview (Percent)**

Proportion with sick household member	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Yes	79.8	67.0	71.8	64.3	80.0	66.7
No	20.2	33.0	18.2	35.7	20.0	33.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Data on households with one or more chronically ill person and households with children dying before the age of five years have also seen improvement (Table 34). Of course, this is difficult to explain, at first glance. The only way the proportion of 'chronically ill' can be reduced is by those who were chronically ill in 2006 passing away and new cases not appearing. Assuming that a large proportion of those considered chronically ill have HIV-AIDS, deaths among this group should be 'compensated for' by new cases (as shown, responsible medical officers in Murrupula argue that the prevalence of HIV-AIDS is increasing). What the data *may* indicate is that the perception of what is considered 'chronic illness' has changed through improvements in the access to health services.

**Table 34. Households with One or More Chronically Ill Household Member (Percent)**

Chronically Ill	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Yes	24.8	13.2	36.4	14.3	25.8	13.3
No	75.2	86.8	63.6	85.7	74.2	86.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The reduction in the proportion of households with one or more child dying before the age of five years is equally difficult to explain – as are the changes in the perceived reasons for child mortality (Table 35 and Table 36). Except for the alternative that none or few of the 15 percent of the 120 households that had to be substituted have experienced child mortality, the only possible explanation is that people in 2009 were more ‘optimistic’ with regard to their health situation and somehow ‘suppress’ heart-rending health-related information such as child mortality – or, alternatively, that they exaggerated the incidence of these conditions in 2006, when they probably were more uncertain about our intentions as ‘researchers’.

**Table 35. Households with Children Dying before the Age of 5 yrs (Percent)**

Number of child mortalities	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
None	45.9	60.4	36.4	57.1	45.0	60.0
1	21.1	13.2	36.4	35.7	22.5	15.8
2	17.4	12.3	9.1	7.1	16.7	11.7
3	9.2	9.4	-	-	8.3	8.3
4+	6.4	4.7	18.2	-	7.5	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

**Table 36. Perceived Reasons for Child Mortality by Sex of Household Head (Percent)**

Causes of mortality	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Malaria	15.3	42.9	14.3	-	15.2	37.5
Cough	15.3	4.8	28.6	-	16.7	4.2
Abdominal pain	27.1	42.9	28.6	33.3	27.3	41.7
Don't know	42.3	7.1	28.8	-	40.8	6.3

Seen together with our qualitative information from focus group and in-depth household interviews, there is a basis for arguing that education as a means of escaping poverty is in the process of losing ground and credibility, particularly among the poorest households in Murrupula. At the same time, the health situation seems to be improving – albeit from a very poor point of departure. While the main challenge for education seems to be to improve quality, the main challenge for the health system seems to be to further enhance access to health facilities and continue the work to bridge the gap with traditional health practitioners.

## 4.7 Social and Cultural Capital

As emphasised throughout this series of reports, poverty and well-being are determined by a combination of material poverty in the form of income and assets on the one hand and social relationships with the extended family, community institutions, civil society and the state on the

other. The latter is vital in order to understand conditions of powerlessness and vulnerability – and options for upward social mobility. In our first report from Murrupula, we found clear correlations between the degree of poverty and the occurrence and types of social relationships. The poorest households were characterised by a very limited set of relations on which to draw, both in their daily lives and at times of crisis, while the better-off were characterised by much more extensive relationships with the extended family, community institutions, civil society as well as the state.

In 2009, it seemed the proportion of households with 'no problems' had dropped considerably, from 24 to 2 percent (Table 37). While problems of adultery and deaths were recorded with less frequency in 2009 than in 2006, problems of income, lack of basic necessities and health were more frequent. The strong focus on health underlines the serious health conditions in Murrupula, but also reflects the increasing attention to health and possible cures. The overall most common problems for households in Murrupula continue to be lack of income, health and premature deaths.

**Table 37.** *Last Family Problem in Need of External Assistance to be Solved (Percent)*

Type of family problem	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
No problem	24.8	1.9	18.2	-	24.2	1.7
Adultery	15.6	8.5	9.1	7.1	15.0	8.3
Illness	16.5	34.9	27.3	42.9	17.5	35.8
Death	22.0	9.4	36.4	14.3	23.3	10.0
Housing	1.8	3.8	-	-	1.7	3.3
Lack of income	2.8	13.2	-	-	2.5	11.7
Inadequate production	3.7	4.7	9.1	-	4.2	4.2
Lack of food	0.9	9.4	-	-	0.8	8.3
Other	11.9	14.2	-	35.7	10.8	16.7

Regarding the external social networks used to solve household problems, the importance of the immediate family actually increased from 79.1 to 87.3 percent between 2006 and 2009 (Table 38). Formal public institutions (such as the police and tribunals) as well as the traditional authorities and clans continue to be far less important. The category 'other' includes health institutions. This points towards the continued 'privatisation' of family problems in settings like Murrupula, and the concomitant perception of the traditional community authorities and the state as being of limited relevance for solving problems in people's daily lives. Keeping problems 'private' in this way adds to the hardships of the poorest families, that often have less access to resources, in both economic and human development terms, than the better-off.

**Table 38.** *Main Source of Attempted Family Problem Resolution (Percent)*

Source of problem resolution	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
No problem	24.8	1.9	18.2	-	24.2	1.7
Police/tribunal	-	1.9	-	-	-	1.7
Trad. authorities/clan	-	-	-	-	-	-
Family/friends	78.0	86.5	88.9	92.9	79.1	87.3
Other	22.0	11.5	11.1	7.1	20.9	11.0

Looking at the main types of community conflicts, these are largely the same in 2009 as in 2006 (Table 39). Drinking is still considered the most important social problem in the community, and primarily involves 'traditional' drinks such as *oteka* (made of sorghum) and *cabanga* (made of maize). Drinking is not only a 'social' event, but also an integral part of economic and social activity. We have seen that payment for labour through *ganho ganho* is often done in the form of traditional alcoholic beverages, and social events such as births, marriages, burials and other ceremonies usually involve drinking. Drinking *oteka* is also seen by men as a way to gain strength to work in the *machamba*. However, traditional leaders pointed to drinking as an increasing problem in their communities. Other community problems highlighted are adultery and theft of property. The desperation of poor people in the communities is amply demonstrated by the fact that theft of crops and domestic animals – against which there are strong cultural prohibitions – is reported to be on the rise.

**Table 39. Most Common Type of Community Conflicts (Percent)**

Type of community conflict	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
No conflict	15.6	14.2	18.2	28.6	15.8	15.8
Drinking	23.9	24.5	27.3	21.4	24.2	24.2
Adultery	17.4	13.2	0.0	14.3	15.8	13.3
Theft	25.7	21.7	36.4	14.3	26.7	20.8
Land conflicts	9.2	8.5	9.1	14.3	9.2	9.2
Water conflicts	0.9	5.7	0.0	7.1	0.8	5.8
Other	7.3	12.3	9.1	0.0	7.5	10.8

People increasingly turn to traditional authorities (*cabos* and *régulos*) to solve community problems – with an increase from 55 to 76 percent in the proportion of households seeing this as the main source of community conflict resolution between 2006 and 2009 (Table 39). The importance attached to the police and tribunals has decreased from 21 to 10 percent, indicating that state institutions are still not very prominent in the types of rural communities in question.

**Table 39. Main Source of Attempted Problem Resolution (Percent)**

Problem resolution	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Village head	55.4	75.8	50.0	80.0	55.0	76.2
<i>Régulo</i>	3.3	4.4	-	10.0	3.0	5.0
Religious authority	-	-	-	-	-	-
Police	9.8	4.4	25.0	10.0	11.0	5.0
Comm. tribunal	9.8	5.5	12.5	0.0	10.0	5.0
Other	21.7	9.9	12.5	0.0	21.0	8.9

Having said this, we have also argued that the 'antagonism' between traditional and state authorities we found in 2006 seems to have given way to more cooperation – partly through 'co-optation' as more community leaders receive remuneration from the state and partly because traditional leaders see that they can enhance their status and influence by being associated with state interventions in the form of schools and hospitals, for example. Traditional authorities continue to solve 'traditional problems' such as witchcraft accusations, land conflicts and adultery, but will take serious cases like murder and theft of valuable property to the police in Murrupula Vila. Interestingly – because it

stands in stark contrast to other primarily Muslim districts in Nampula where we have worked (Tvedten, Paulo and Tuominen 2009) – religious authorities are not consulted for community conflicts.

This does not mean that religion and religious institutions are not important for people in their daily lives – even though as many as 29 percent (2006) and 27 percent (2009) claim that they do not belong to any congregation (Table 40). As argued in our first report, people use churches and mosques actively not only for spiritual comfort, but also as a social meeting place and a source of support for people in need. In one of the *cabos* alone, in Murrupula, we identified nine churches and two mosques. Islam seems to be gaining ground at the partial expense of Catholicism among the households that make up this survey. Some Catholic households have also moved to one of the many new evangelical churches in the district.<sup>23</sup> One reason for the increasing prominence of the Islamic faith may be its active stand in support of poor people, through the collection charity funds (*zakat*) during the Friday services.

**Table 40. Most Common Religion Practised in the Household**

Religion	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Catholicism	30.3	21.7	45.5	21.4	31.7	21.7
Islam	24.8	28.3	18.2	42.9	24.2	30.0
Other Evangelical	13.8	21.7	18.2	14.3	15.0	20.8
None	30.3	27.4	18.2	21.4	29.2	26.7
Other	0.9	0.9	-	-	0.8	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Together with religion, tradition as measured by people's practice of ancestral beliefs still has a strong hold on people – even though some of the households interviewed in 2006 claim that they did not practise such beliefs any more in 2009 (Table 41). We saw, in the introduction to this chapter, how they are seen as vital for good rains and agricultural production, but they are also practised in parallel with other religious ceremonies at births, marriages and burials. While there is reason to believe that they are equally important for the poor and the better-off, the increasing costs associated with involving *curandeiros* and making the necessary sacrifices in terms of drinks and food prevent some of the poorest from following their traditions and securing vital relationships with ancestors and contemporaries alike.

**Table 41. Practices of Ancestral Beliefs (Epepa and Mukutho) (Percent)**

Practising Beliefs	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Yes	70.9	69.4	81.8	78.6	72.2	65.0
No	29.1	30.6	18.2	21.4	27.8	35.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Two interventions for enhancing social relationships and capital in Murrupula that are often promoted by state and donor organisations still meet with limited success. First, the creation of

<sup>23</sup> One of the *cabos* has five such churches: União Baptista, Paz de Cristo, Arco Iris, Testemunho de Jesus, and Assembleia de Deus.

associations (Table 42) has been endorsed by the Ministry of Agriculture as an important way of enhancing production and empowering poor farmers in their relations with traders. There are a few successful associations, including some that have benefited from the 7m MT scheme (see above), but only 7.5 percent of the households were members in 2009, which is a reduction of 1.7 percentage points from 2006.

**Table 42. Membership in Associations per Household (Percent)**

Membership in Associations	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Yes	9.2	8.5	9.1	0.0	9.2	7.5
No	90.8	91.5	90.9	100.0	90.8	92.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The very low number of households in Murrupula participating in savings groups is a second indication of the limited basis for collective action in poor rural communities like Murrupula (Table 43). Only 0.8 percent had at least one member taking part in such activities both in 2006 and 2009. One reason for this may be simply that there is not enough money to set aside for this type of investment, but it may also reflect a lack of trust between people who live under very difficult circumstances and are forced to think primarily about themselves.

**Table 43. Households Participating in Saving-groups (stique/ikirimo) (Percent)**

Participation in Savings Groups	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Yes	.9	.9	-	-	.8	.8
No	99.1	99.1	100.0	100.0	99.2	99.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Looking at changes in the use of public institutions (Table 44), the Administrative Posts have seen fewer people consult them in 2009 than in 2006. This may stem from the fact that, while they were still relatively new in 2006, people have discovered subsequently that they do not have tangible resources or projects and hence find them less relevant. Also, consultations with the tribunal and the police have dropped from 42 to 6 and from 27 to 13 percent, respectively. Contacts with Agriculture and Social Action have increased a little among the households in our survey – notably only among male-headed households. The high level of contact with the public notary reflects the need for people to acquire identity cards for the general election in 2009. As most of these institutions are located in the Vila of Murrupula, they are less used by the very poorest than by the better-off. This is not only because of the costs for transportation and accommodation, but also because contacting them requires a minimum level of relevant ‘cultural competence’ in the sense of knowing what to do, being able to present one’s case, and (often) being able to sign one’s name.

**Table 44.** *Use of Services from Public Institutions the Year Prior to the Interview (Percent)*

Type of Public Service	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Adm/ Adm. Post	55.0	35.8	18.2	21.4	51.7	34.2
Agriculture	7.3	8.5	-	-	6.7	7.5
Social Action	-	6.6	-	-	-	5.8
Records/Notary	27.5	75.5	9.1	57.1	25.8	73.3
Police	26.6	13.2	27.3	14.3	26.7	13.3
Tribunal	42.2	6.6	40.0	0.0	42.0	5.8

While some households do then receive external support from public institutions and donors, the large majority depend on establishing social relationships on a personal basis with family, friends and traditional institutions for coping in their daily lives as well as for getting through times of crisis. After revisiting in 2009 households that made up our case studies in 2006, our basic conclusions that the better-off households have a wider set of social relationships than the poorer, still stands. Many better-off households have used their networks to further improve their situation, while the very poorest seem trapped in their poverty as they have no or very few social relationships with resources to help them.

Particularly significant is the fact that the proportion of households that have Nampula City as their main destination for visits outside the village, rather than Murrupula Vila, has increased from 25 percent in 2006 to 37 percent in 2009 (Table 45). These are all male-headed; the majority of female-headed households did not leave their villages in 2009. Having such contact requires access to money for transportation, as well as people to stay with while in Nampula. Contact with the city entails a number of advantages, such as selling products for higher prices, having access to a wider variety of goods, and having better access to education and health institutions. We have also argued elsewhere (Rosário, Tvedten & Paulo 2008) that households and individuals who find themselves in what we have called the 'rural-urban interface' are exposed to alternative ways of living that are important for their own strategies for social improvement.

**Table 45.** *Main Destination for Visits Outside Village of Household Members (Percent)*

Main destination	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Nampula City	25.3	36.8	-	-	22.2	32.5
Vila Murrupula	35.4	34.9	54.5	35.7	37.8	35.0
Within district	8.9	5.7	0.0	7.1	7.8	5.8
Other province	1.3	2.8	0.0	-	1.1	2.5
Other district	22.8	-	27.3	-	23.3	-
Other	6.3	11.3	0.0	-	5.6	10.0
None	-	8.5	18.2	57.1	2.2	14.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

## 4.8 Perceived Directions of Change

As argued in our first report from Murrupula, people's perceptions of poverty, well-being and social change matter – as their own understandings form the basis for social action and strategies. People who don't think they can improve their life may give up trying to make more out of it (being

trapped in what some have called a 'culture of poverty'), while people who think their own situation is improving (or see that the situation of people around them improves) may invest more effort and resources in further improvements.

From such a perspective, people in Murrupula are acting in a context where they see positive change (Tables 45 and 46). The main cause of concern is that female-headed households remain the most pessimistic, both with regard to perceived changes in their own situation over the past three years and their expectations for the coming three years. 42 percent of the female-headed households think that their situation has deteriorated and only 21.4 percent think that it improved between 2006 and 2009, with the equivalent figures for male-headed households being 19.8 and 53.8 percent. The expectations of future change largely confirm this dichotomy: 72.6 percent of the male-headed households think that their situation will improve over the coming three years (i.e., between 2009 and 2012), while only half of the female-headed households think so.

**Table 45.** *Perception of Changes in Household the Past Three Years (Percent)*

Direction of Change	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Improved	45.9	53.8	18.2	21.4	43.3	50.0
Maintained	18.3	26.4	9.1	35.7	17.5	27.5
Worsened	34.9	19.8	72.7	42.9	38.3	22.5

**Table 46.** *Expectations of Change in Household the Coming Three Years (Percent)*

Direction of Change	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Will improve	67.0	72.6	36.4	50.0	64.2	70.0
Will maintain	14.7	18.9	27.3	21.4	15.8	19.2
Will worsen	14.7	8.5	36.4	28.6	16.7	10.8
No answer	3.6	-	-	-	3.3	-

Interestingly, male- and female-headed households are much more in accordance with regard to development in the community at large (Tables 47 and 48). Around 65 percent of both categories believe that conditions in their communities have improved over the past three years. They mainly point to visible physical improvements in the form of schools, clinics, mills, roads and markets for explaining why they are positive – and not to less tangible indicators such as drunkenness, assaults, adultery and conflicts over land and water that we have seen are largely at the same level in 2006 and 2009. An even larger proportion (72 percent) believes that the situation in their community at large will change the coming three years.

**Table 47.** *Perception of Changes in the Community the Past Three Years (Percent)*

Direction of Change	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Improved	58.7	65.1	27.3	64.3	55.8	65.0
Maintained	11.0	22.6	18.2	28.6	11.7	23.3
Worsened	17.4	11.3	18.2	7.1	17.5	10.8
No answer	11.9	0.9	18.2	-	12.5	0.8

**Table 48.** *Expectations of Change in Community the Coming Three Years (Percent)*

Direction of Change	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2006	2009	2006	2009	2006	2009
Will improve	70.6	74.5	63.6	50.0	70.0	71.7
Will maintain	11.0	17.9	9.1	21.4	10.8	18.3
Will worsen	10.1	7.5	9.1	28.6	10.0	10.0
No answer	8.3	-	18.2	-	9.2	-

To exemplify this development, we will end this section by quoting the list of improvements in *Cabo Muquela*, as it was given to us by one of the community leaders (Table 49). The challenge, then, is to see the improvements in physical infrastructure translate into improved conditions for households and individuals.

**Table 49.** List of improvements in *Cabo Muquela*(2006-2009)

Expansion of the local school: In 2008, the Naha Primary School was upgraded from the category of Primary School to Comprehensive Primary School. The school has 6 male teachers and 686 students between grades 1 and 6;

Drilling more wells: In 2006 there were 2 wells in *Muquela*, with another 4 being drilled, totalling 6 wells in the entire *Cabo*; of these, only one well is currently in operation. The others are out of order due to wearing of the soles, and since no water-well management committees were created, there is nobody to repair the damage;

Rehabilitation of *Muquela's* main road: In 2008, *Muquela's* main road was widened. This widening of the road enabled greater circulation of vehicles (transport of goods and passengers), reduced the number of pedestrian and cyclist accidents resulting from a dispute for road space with cars, allowed products produced in *Muquela* to be distributed to other markets, and enabled the development of trade in *Muquela*;

Shops opened in the centre of the locality – these shops sell the basic necessities (soap, salt, sugar, oil, etc.) and manufactured products from the city of *Nampula*;

Opening local agricultural fairs, where farmers can sell their produce and buy other products needed;

Increase in family income in 2008. This increase results from the increase in cashew nut production in the region and an increase in the demand for this product by agricultural traders;

In 2009 there was a reduction in the number of cholera-related deaths compared to previous years. The number of deaths reduced because with the increase in the sale of agricultural produce, some people are able to buy bicycles and consequently reach the *Nihessiue Health Centre* in time to receive treatment for their illness;

Between 2006 and 2009 there was an increase in the number of cattle and goats in *Muquela*. These animals are the result of government-financed livestock promotion and investments made by some farmers to turn a profit on the income derived from the sale of agricultural produce.

#### 4.9 Social Relations of Poverty and Well-being

In our analysis of changes in poverty and well-being in *Murupula* between 2006 – 2009, we have emphasised how there have been improvements, particularly in physical infrastructure and market access, even though it has varied somewhat across the four different *cabos*. At the same time, our data have shown that while some households have been in a position to exploit these opportunities, the majority have not seen major change in their socio-economic situation.

These findings are largely confirmed through the individual case studies we have followed up (see Tvedten, Paulo and Rosário 2006). Revisiting the same households in 2009, the general impression is that most of them have experienced incidents where they have had to relate to their vulnerability as poor rural household units. While many claim that their agricultural production (and in some cases also agricultural income), access to education, health units, potable water, etc., have improved, they have also had to relate to sick or dying household members, failed harvests, stolen property, increased prices on basic necessities and other sudden shocks that have inhibited them from enhancing their socio-economic situation.

'Fátima Xavier' was living together with her old disabled mother and two children when we met her in 2006. She had been divorced six years earlier, and moved back to her mother's place. According to Fátima herself, she had not received anything from her husband and did not get any support for her children. The 'new' extended family lived in a dilapidated house, and was in a dismal state as their main source of income – support from an uncle who worked in Nampula – had disappeared when he died. They were making a living out of Fátima's small-scale pottery work, feeding pigs for a neighbour against pay in possible off-spring, and a small *machamba* that in 2006 only produced *mandioca*.

Visiting her again in 2009, Fátima's mother had died, her oldest son had quit school to help her, her youngest son still went to school "but is not really interested", and she had another child with a man who she claimed had promised to support her but never did. She had tried to go to the local *cabo* to have him talk to the father's family, but said that "they don't listen to people like me". Fátima's house was in an even poorer state than in 2006, with part of the roof missing. She had given up her small pottery-business (as people only buy plastic things, she argued); one of the pigs she had kept had died and the owner took the other back; and her *machamba* had been expanded a little but still contained only *mandioca*. Her son worked hard to help, but the two of them could not do much to expand production on their own. In fact, the son had to work for others (*ganho ganho*) at peak times of production to be able to make ends meet. People in the neighbourhood did not help, but when things were really difficult she did get a little help from her church. Fátima could still not see a way out of a situation that she herself described as "miserable".

But there are also cases of households that have been able to exploit the new opportunities. 'Abacar Amisse' was a hard-working farmer living with his wife, their three children and the wife's mother when we met them in 2006. He had a house with a thatched roof and four rooms, and an extension where he kept his agricultural products and some goats and chickens. The land belonged to the wife's family, but it was Abacar who, in practice, took all major decisions. He had two *machambas* of approximately 1.5 hectares each close to the homestead, and one smaller *machamba* a bit further away, in which he grew rice. He worked hard with his wife, and used external labour at critical moments that he paid in kind or cash (being a Muslim, he explained, he did not want to pay in the traditional brew *oteka* as is common when labour is exchanged). His production was good, and he managed to sell more than half of his produce. Both his school-going aged children attended school, and he was teaching at the local *madrassa* (Muslim school) in his spare time.

Coming back in 2009, his agricultural operation had expanded – but so had his social responsibilities. His house had been improved with a tin roof, and he had added an extra room. His own family had increased with twins, and his wife's sister with three children as well as their brother (who was mentally handicapped) had also settled close to his homestead and, in practice, became his responsibility. The two main agricultural fields had been extended to around 2.5 hectares, and his mixed crops seemed to be growing fine. The rice-field was also extended. Abacar explained his expansions by saying that he himself worked very hard, and that he had more family members to help him. He also still hired labour. While Abacar had more mouths to feed, the improved agricultural production and prices for agricultural products had made it possible for him

to earn more than he did in 2006. He had bought a radio and a bicycle since last time we met, and his children continued in school. Acabar had lots of plans for further expansion of his agricultural operations.

We have also followed 'extreme' cases of wealth and poverty that illustrate the 'drama' involved for some people in rural communities like Murrupula: 'Francisco João' was one of the most productive and expansive farmers we met in Murrupula. However, as a newcomer to the area, he worked against many odds including limited access to land and labour, witchcraft accusations from people in the local community, and exploitation from *comerciantes* who made him sell his vegetables and tobacco for very low prices. In 2009, we learned that he had given up and moved back to Ribáue with his family, where he apparently had returned to his former position as a supervisor at a large commercial farm.

One of the most dramatic cases of utter poverty we encountered in 2006 was a female-headed household consisting of a mother in her mid-forties, her two daughters of 12 and 14, who both had their own children, and a son of 16. None of them received support from the fathers of their children. The household lived under very precarious conditions, and only had a small *machamba* next to their dwelling. All the women in the family had AIDS. The mother had a meagre income from making mats (*esteiras*), and the boy was responsible for the family's agricultural cultivation. Coming back in 2009, we learned that one of the household head's daughters and two of her grandchildren had died. As the mother had become too sick to do any work, the boy had tried to expand the *machamba* but had met with resistance from community leaders and neighbours (a result, a neighbour claimed, of the continued stigma of AIDS). A few months before our arrival they just left, and all we found was a collapsed dwelling.

Before summing up this section, let us finally relate to the issue of gender relations which we have argued is important for two reasons. One is the increase in the proportion of female-headed households, that we have seen are systematically disadvantaged in economic as well as in social terms. The other is the constraint on socio-economic development that the present patriarchal socio-cultural structure in places like Murrupula represent. The excerpt below is from a discussion with a women focus group in *Cabo Muquela*. It reveals women's pivotal role for the well-being of the family and their limited decision-making power – and an apparent awareness of gender relations and what they entail.

"The women of Muquela play an important role in the life and organisation of the family and the community. Essentially, women are responsible for domestic activities and for guaranteeing agricultural production to support their families. The group of women present at the discussion elected the following activities: i) Domestic chores: carrying water, cleaning house, preparing children for school, preparing meals, etc.; ii) cultivating their *machamba*: women must work in the family *machamba(s)* - the product of this work will guarantee the family's support; iii) organise products for sale: women are responsible for organising surplus for sale at the market or fair; iv) sale of traditional drinks: as a way of guaranteeing more income for the family, women prepare drinks to be sold from home; the money obtained from the sale of these drinks is used to buy clothes for the family; v) Caring for household children and getting them organised for school; vi) caring for the family's health: women are responsible for taking care of the children and their husbands; and vii) sexually satisfying their husbands.

Women also play a central role as educators in the home, since they are the ones who coordinate their children's and husband's activities, and they are the ones who ensure a balance in the home, as they themselves say, "households without a woman to coordinate things are disorganised and the men who live there are weaker because they do not eat properly, and as a result they are not respected in the community".

In this sense, the group of women indicated that which, in their understanding, are activities common to men in the region, highlighting the following: i) Clearing the land for the family *machamba(s)*; ii) selling the produce at the market and agricultural fair; iii) purchasing and repairing agricultural implements (axes, hoes, machetes, etc.); iv) building the family home; v) building barns; vi) grazing the family's livestock; and vii) seeking money for the family.

The men in Muquela are the ones who bring money into household, and women get involved in remunerated activities to help their husbands increase the family income, either because they are single and depend solely on themselves for their support, or because their husbands do not work, and they have to bring money home.

In that which concerns important decision-making processes in the home, women are always subservient to the men, generally older relatives from the woman's lineage. Generally it is the uncles from the woman's lineage who make the more important family decisions. In Muquela, for example, it is the women who produce for the family, but it is the men who sell the products.

When there is a break in trust in the management of household money, because men bring back little money from the sales at the market, or when they do not want to work, some women seek other (sexual) partners who are able to offer them better economic conditions, and in this way they are able to support their families. This situation is not something that happens openly, but it is fairly frequent.

Male dominance in Muquela is not very solid, mainly because it is the women who are involved in production and who control the circulation of money through agricultural production or the sale of alcoholic drinks from home. In order to maintain some form of authority in the home, men seek refuge in drink and in performing domestic work that requires "brute force". Refuge in drink guarantees these men some form of authority, because they can violate the women (physically and emotionally) with the excuse that they were under the influence of alcohol.

In the words of the women, it can be understood that "the men forbid the women from going to the fair because they [the men] sell the produce at a higher price, but when they return home they say the only sold a little because they use the rest of the money to buy drink. If we [women] were the ones selling the produce at the fairs, we would have more money for the household because we know how to negotiate better than the men, and with this money we could buy more goods for the household"

We showed in our first report from Murrupula how people themselves categorise the poor and the better-off, based on a combination of material poverty and social relationships (Table 50), and find the local distinctions made to be very relevant to the processes of continuity and change we have recorded and observed.

**Table 50.** *Emic Categories of Poor and Better-Off in Murrupula*

Formal categories	Emic categories
THE POOR	MACUA
The destitute poor	<i>Opitanha</i>
The chronically poor	<i>Ohawa</i>
The transient poor	<i>ohikalano</i>
THE BETTER-OFF	
The permanently rich	<i>okalano</i>
The newly rich	<i>opwalatha</i>
The worthy rich	<i>orela</i>

The destitute (*opitanha*) are extremely poor, with no real options for improving their lives without support from others. This group is largely made up of old women without family, sick or handicapped people without working ability, orphans without control of land and other means of production, and people who have lived under extremely difficult circumstances for a long time and have apparently given up making more out of their lives.

The chronically poor (*ohawa*) are very poor households, who may have able household members but who find themselves trapped in structural constraints they cannot see a way out of. They may have a high dependency rate; inadequate access to land and labour; lack the necessary economic means to invest in alternative income sources; lack human capital in the form of education and health necessary for upward social mobility; and lack external social relations or contacts necessary to overcome poverty.

The *ohikalano* or 'transient poor' are people who have access to the resources and social relations necessary to get by in a context like Murrupula, but who are still poor. They are in a position to plan for their future by making sure that their children get education, to diversify their income by having one or several of their household members working outside the *cabo* in urban or semi-urban areas, and they can expand their agricultural operation through hired labour. In sum, they are in a position to invest in future upward social mobility rather than spend all their efforts on surviving on a day-to-day basis.

The people in Murrupula also separate between three types of better-off households. However, according to the local population, only the category *okalano* or 'permanently rich' is found in the *cabos* – with the two other categories being people in the Vila or the city who have good jobs, earn enough money, and can "buy everything" as a community leader in one of the *cabos* put it. The *okalano* in the *cabos* are usually people who have inherited their wealth in the form of land or position (such as the *régulos* or *cabos*), and who have been in a position to exploit relations with institutions or people outside the local community in a way that has made it possible to enhance their socio-economic position.

## 5. Conclusions and Recommendations

This report is part of a larger exercise of monitoring and evaluating Mozambique's poverty reduction strategy, focussing on three districts in Mozambique and using a combination of quantitative and qualitative data. It has analysed the constitution and dynamics of poverty and well-being in the rural district of Murrupula in the Nampula Province, by revisiting four local communities and a total of 120 households three years after our first visit in 2006. The main conclusions and recommendations listed below will be measured up to and compared with conclusions and recommendations from similar studies in the City of Maputo (2010) and the District of Buzi (2011) at a later stage, to get an overall picture.

### 5.1 Conclusions

#### The Poverty Reduction Strategy

- Mozambique's efforts to reduce poverty are at a crossroads with the finalisation of the second Poverty Reduction Strategy, PARPA II. As indicated by the recent Impact Evaluation Report (RAI), much has been accomplished but there are still many areas in which results have not achieved what was expected or are difficult to measure. The delay in the follow-up of the 2002/03 National Household Survey (IAF), on which the major part of the assessments of poverty and well-being in the country has been based, has been problematic.
- Perhaps the greatest weakness with the global quantitative data used as principal points of reference for the monitoring and evaluation of Mozambique's poverty reduction strategy is their inability to account for the drivers of change and dynamics of poverty. To do this, a multi-disciplinary approach involving quantitative as well as qualitative and participatory methodologies should be taken into account in the formulation of new policies and interventions for poverty reduction.
- The role and impact of development aid for the socio-economic change taking place in Mozambique (i.e. the issue of causality) remains dubious. With aid representing close to 50 percent of the State budget it is likely to be important, but no thorough assessment has been carried out on the politics and impact of aid, and the implications of the country's aid dependence.

#### District Administration and Governance

- Murrupula is a rural district in northern Mozambique, and hence represents a type of context in which a large proportion of Mozambicans find themselves. Our general assessment is that substantial changes have taken place in the period between early 2006 and late 2009. This first pertains to the district administration, which has become more efficient following from a combination of a clearer definition of its administrative responsibilities, electrification and computerisation of its administrative routines, and efforts to further educate its staff in public administration.
- In terms of governance, the district is still characterised by 'upward accountability' insofar as the district management is appointed by the Frelimo government rather than elected by the population itself. At the same time, new Institutions for Community Participation and Consultation (IPCCs) are in place at the levels of the district, the administrative posts and

the villages. While far from functioning optimally, they have invigorated participation by traditional authorities, other local leaders, as well as parts of the population.

- The antagonism between the district administration and traditional authorities found in 2006, based on the long history of Murrupula as a predominantly Renamo area, has apparently eased. This seems to be the result of a combination of 'co-option' from the part of the government through the implementation of a system of remuneration of traditional authorities; an acknowledgement by at least some traditional leaders that the government has delivered primarily in education and health; and the continued authority of the traditional leaders over issues of 'tradition' such as community conflicts, land distribution and spiritual matters.

## Economic Development

- In general economic terms, the most noticeable development between 2006 and 2009 is an increase in agricultural production – particularly the staple *mandioca* – accompanied by a stronger presence of markets in the form of external *comerciantes* and local *feiras*. An increasing proportion of households sell agricultural products. At the same time, there has been very little diversification in the direction of alternative crops, which is vital for improved nutritional standards. The bulk of the production increase is accounted for by external commercial farmers, but production has also increased among local producers.
- At the same time, there are few, if any, signs of a larger diversification of the economy in Murrupula. There are still hardly any formal employment opportunities outside public administration, health and education, which are out of reach of the local population, and although an increasing part of the households in our survey have supplementary income from informal economic activities, arable agriculture remains the dominant source of subsistence and income for practically everybody.
- Our data related to employment, income and assets suggest that the majority of households have not seen any significant change for the better in the period 2006-2009, but an increasing minority have seen improvements primarily driven by increased agricultural production and enhanced prices for agricultural products. There are systematic differentiations between the communities close to (semi-) urban settings and markets and those that are not, and between male- and female-headed households with the latter still being the most disadvantaged in material and social terms.

## Human and Social Capital

- Household characteristics such as size and composition have changed between 2006-2009, underlining the flexibility and permeability of households as basic socio-economic and cultural units. Male-headed households (based on a definition of people contributing to and eating from the same pot) have increased to an average size of 5.7 members. There are also signs of an increasing proportion of female-headed households in the district, primarily implying processes of social exclusion and a feminisation of poverty.
- In education, the number of schools and teachers has increased and more students attend, but this does not seem to have been accompanied by similar improvements in the quality of education. Poorly educated teachers with limited incentives for working in rural communities remains a problem. And parents continue to take their children out of school for work (boys) and early marriage (girls).
- In health, important advances have been made in the form of an upgrading of health units. Also, a conscious strategy to reduce the population's scepticism towards the quality and intentions of the local health system, through cooperation between health personnel and traditional authorities, has improved some health indicators. Still, however, the health situation in the

district remains serious with negative implications not only for immediate well-being but also for longer-term coping strategies.

- Social relations or 'capital' continues to be centred upon the extended family (to solve domestic and other private problems) and traditional leaders and institutions (to solve community problems), with no significant increase in the utilisation of public or aid-related institutions. Religion and traditional practices such as ancestral belief systems still have a strong hold on people, with Islam and the new Evangelical churches growing somewhat at the expense of the Catholic church.

## Poverty and Well-Being

- Our quantitative and qualitative data on changes in poverty and well-being in Murrupula between 2006 and 2009 point in the direction of a three-pronged development – which largely adheres to people's own (emic) distinctions of poverty and well-being. A minority of better-off households (*okalano*) have been able to exploit the new economic opportunities in agriculture and marketing, in some cases supported by funds from the 7m MT OIIL-initiative. The majority of households find themselves in poverty or transient poverty (*ohikalano*, *ohawa*), doing their best as small-scale agriculturalists against structural constraints in access to land, labour and markets and with few if any alternative options for employment and income. On the lower end of the scale, the chronically poor and most destitute (*opitanha*) are still not able to produce and earn enough to feed their families and depend on selling their labour to other farmers, or on external support.

## 5.2 Recommendations

As Mozambique is entering a new phase of its poverty reduction strategy, the government and donors should take time to assess critical issues such as the country's dependence on aid; the current process of 'permanent negotiation' between the government and donors; the relative utility of the different channels and sectors of aid to reach the goal of poverty reduction; and a possible exit strategy, at least in some sectors, to reduce the intensity of engagement.

### General Recommendations

- In general terms, our findings from Murrupula clearly suggest that support to agricultural production is absolutely essential for accomplishing further poverty reduction. Practically all households depend on the sector, and there are very few indications that alternative sources of employment and income will take the place of agriculture in the foreseeable future.
- Our study has also revealed the significant importance of (semi-) urban population centres – with markets for agricultural products and access to commodities and social services – for socio-economic development in rural areas. Mozambique should develop a clear strategy for encouraging rural-urban integration, through further development of small towns and improvements in roads, transportation and communication to link rural and urban areas.
- Current gender relations in areas like Murrupula put women and female-headed households in a systematically disadvantaged position, which also hinders further economic development by keeping women away from areas of the economy other than agriculture. While there are small signs of change, the importance of gender equality and women's empowerment for well-being should be pursued through central opinion-makers such as traditional authorities and religious leaders.
- We have also exposed an increasing differentiation between the better-off, the poor and the destitute, which necessitates a diversified strategy for poverty reduction. The first group currently benefits from the ongoing liberalisation of markets for land, labour and commodities.

The second group will need more effective interventions to remove structural constraints in areas like agricultural technologies, credit and market access. The third group will need targeted social protection measures directed towards the affected households and individuals – including women and the elderly.

## District Administration and Governance

- Ideally, the strengthening of the competence and capacity of the district administration should be followed up with further decentralisation of decision-making power and access to economic resources for investments in productive and social sectors from the central and provincial to the district level in order to enhance the credibility of government in development.
- Before such a move, however, the experiences and areas of improvement for the implementation of the 7m MT local investment scheme should be assessed. We have argued that the scheme has a considerable potential for local political participation through the IPCCs and generation of employment and income, but that it currently suffers from inadequate transparency and involvement of the poorer parts of the population.

## Economic Development

- In arable agriculture, the current process of 'private' ownership of large tracts of land should be investigated and assessed. Communal land as such is, in essence, not a significant constraint on agricultural production in places like Murrupula, but may easily become one if large-scale 'privatisation' continues.
- With labour being a significant constraint on agricultural production for the poor, enhanced production and income should first and foremost be sought through improved technologies and diversification of crops. For this to happen, the agricultural extension services must be strengthened.
- While much is happening in terms of access to markets for agricultural products, neither the smallest, most marginal, nor the largest local producers have optimal access. For the former, marketing associations should be encouraged by the agricultural extension services to enhance their bargaining power vis-à-vis traders. For the latter, improved access to transportation to reach larger markets in district and provincial centres, where prices are higher than they are locally, should be encouraged.
- Informal employment and income have become more important, particularly for people living in the proximity of population centres or traffic arteries, but the markets suffer from the heavy concentration around a limited number of services and products. A diversification of services and products should be encouraged, ideally through local civil society organisations and international NGOs that are closest to people's lives and challenges.
- The very poorest are trapped in their poverty for a number of reasons, but one of them is lack of access to credit to make the necessary first small investments in agriculture or the informal economy. There are a number of NGOs with considerable experience in this area in Nampula, and their work should be encouraged and extended to rural agricultural communities with a particular focus on reaching the poor and women.

## Human and Social Capital

- Education has seen improvement in terms of the number of schools, classrooms and teachers. However, little progress has been made in reducing drop-out rates and there are few, if any, indications of improvements in the quality of education. In addition to investments in the quality of teacher education (which is a national responsibility), pecuniary and other incentives

to entice teachers to stay in rural schools and community-based systems of feeding the smallest children while at school should be prioritised.

- The health sector has seen improvement through a combination of enhanced qualities of health services and a better understanding among the local population of the value of formal health services compared to traditional ones. Emphasis should now be given to extending these services to the most marginal communities, possibly through the establishment of small mobile community health units or by supplying the most distant communities with transportation for easier access to the nearest health unit.
- Two of the main hazards to human life in Murrupula are related to the poor quality of water and poor nutritional standards, indicated by frequent outbreaks of cholera and the high child mortality rates in the area, respectively. New wells have been drilled the past three years, but the speed should be increased. There is also an urgent need to diversify food production and consumption, and educate parents about the importance of a varied diet, particularly for their children.
- Another severe problem, both from a gender and health perspective, is the high frequency of child-mothers. Resting on a combination of Macua matrilineal tradition and poverty where parents marry their daughters off to reduce expenses and in the hope of establishing benevolent social relationships, this has serious social as well as psychological implications. More efforts should be made to inform traditional and religious leaders as well as health personnel about the perils of early motherhood.
- There is ample evidence that small-holders who manage to cooperate through associations become stronger both with regard to production and marketing of their products. Efforts to promote associations among men and women have not met with much success in Murrupula, but renewed efforts should be made, possibly by explicitly favouring associations in the allocation of funds from the OIIL-initiative.
- We have emphasised how socio-cultural conditions in local rural communities continue to have a strong impact on poverty and well-being. From a poverty and development perspective, some of these have positive implications and should be encouraged – such as strong extended family networks, the matrilineal tradition maintaining women's relationships with their natal family; the role of religious institutions; and traditional systems for maintaining social order.
- Others seem to have more negative or dubious implications from a poverty and development perspective, such as contemporary gender relations, the early involvement of children in adult life, continued beliefs in the role of witchcraft and traditional medicine for solving health-related and physical problems, and the processes of social exclusion of people who do not 'fit into' the community and social networks – such as older women and orphans.
- While none of this is easy to change rapidly through direct interventions, and is more likely to change slowly over time, the most effective channel for possible interventions is through traditional and religious leaders and local civil society organisations that still do have strong influence in local communities.

## Questionnaire

Nr. Questionário	_ _ _ _	<b>Códigos</b>
Entrevistador	_ _ _	
Nr. da entrevista	_ _ _	
Localidade	_____	
Cabo	_____	
Povoado	_____	
Distância da Sede		
Distrito	_ _ _  km	
Data	_ _ _ / _ _ _ / _ _ _	
Hora de Início	_ _ _ : _ _ _	

Bom dia (boa tarde), o meu nome é \_\_\_\_\_ e sou entrevistador para a Austral-COWI, Lda. Neste momento estamos a conduzir um estudo sobre a pobreza em Moçambique. Passaremos algum tempo na sua comunidade a conversar com várias pessoas. O Sr.(a) foi escolhido(a), entre outros(as) da comunidade para falar um pouco sobre o seu agregado familiar e a sua condição de vida. Todas informações aqui recolhidas são privadas e confidenciais e serão usados apenas para efeitos deste estudo, sem qualquer referência ao seu nome ou a qualquer outro membro da sua família.

Há três anos atrás estivemos nesta mesma comunidade e entrevistámos várias famílias. Agora voltámos e gostaríamos de entrevistar as mesmas famílias. Se você ou alguém do seu agregado não foram entrevistados há 3 anos, significa que houve uma família que não conseguimos encontrar. A sua foi escolhida para a substituir.

O agregado foi entrevistado há 3 anos?  _ _ _  <i>Se 01 passe para questão 1.</i>	01 Sim 02 Não
SE NÃO, ENTREVISTADOR POR FAVOR EXPLIQUE PORQUÊ  _ _ _   _____	01 Agregado mudou-se 02 Agregado não pôde ser localizado 08 Outro (especifique)

<p>1. Qual a relação do entrevistado com o agregado?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 01 passe para questão 4.</i></p>	<p>01 Chefe do agregado</p> <p>02 Esposa(o)</p> <p>03 Outro adulto do agregado</p>
<p>2. Sexo do entrevistado</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Homem</p> <p>02 Mulher</p>
<p>3. Qual a idade do entrevistado</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>99 Não sabe</p>
<b>CARACTERIZAÇÃO DO CHEFE DO AGREGADO</b>	
<p>4. Nome do chefe do agregado familiar</p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>5. Qual o nome pelo qual o chefe do agregado é mais conhecido?</p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>6. Há 3 anos atrás este era o chefe deste agregado?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 01 passe para questão 8.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>7. Se não, porquê?</p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>8. Sexo do chefe do agregado</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Homem</p> <p>02 Mulher</p>
<p>9. Qual é a idade do chefe do agregado?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>99 Não sabe</p>
<p>10. Qual é o estado civil do chefe do agregado?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 01 passe para questão 15.</i></p> <p><i>Se 04 ou 05 passe para questão 14.</i></p>	<p>01 Solteiro</p> <p>02 Casado (igreja, civil, tradicional/nikah/mahari ou misto)</p> <p>03 Casado de facto (apenas vivem juntos, sem terem feito cerimónia)</p> <p>04 Separado/Divorciado</p> <p>05 Viúvo</p>

<p>11. A/O esposa(o) do chefe do agregado é o mesmo que há 3 anos atrás?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>12. O chefe do agregado está presentemente numa relação poligâmica (o chefe tem várias esposas ou o marido da chefe tem várias esposas)?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>13. O chefe do agregado já estava numa relação poligâmica há 3 anos atrás?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 01 passe para questão 15.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>14. O chefe do agregado era casado há três anos atrás?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>15. Qual é a principal ocupação do chefe do agregado?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>[01] Funcionário público</p> <p>[02] Empregado sector privado</p> <p>[03] Camponês(a)</p> <p>[04] Pescador</p> <p>[05] Proprietário / Negócio informal</p> <p>[06] Trabalho ocasional ou sazonal</p> <p>[07] Estudante</p> <p>[08] Reformado</p> <p>[09] Desempregado / Doméstica</p>
<p>16. Qual é o nível de escolaridade do chefe do agregado?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Nenhum</p> <p>02 Alfabetizado</p> <p>03 EP1</p> <p>04 EP2/Elementar</p> <p>05 Secund./Básico</p> <p>06 Médio</p> <p>07 Superior</p>
<b>DEFINIÇÃO DO AGREGADO</b>	
<p>17. Quantos membros tem o agregado familiar? (pessoas que comem da ou contribuem para a mesma panela, mesmo que não vivam na casa. Não esquecer de incluir as crianças e a pessoa entrevistada)</p> <p> _ _ </p>	
<p>18. Qual a relação de parentesco que tem cada membro do agregado com o chefe do agregado? (quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias)</p>	

<p> __ __  Chefe             __ __  Esposa(o)             __ __  Filhos</p> <p> __ __  Pais             __ __  Irmãos             __ __  Sobrinhos</p> <p> __ __  Netos             __ __  Outros parentes             __ __  Sem parentesco</p>	
<p>19. Quais as idades dos membros do agregado? (<i>quantas pessoas existem em cada uma das seguintes categorias</i>)</p> <p> __ __  menos de 15 anos</p> <p> __ __  15 anos – 64 anos</p> <p> __ __  65 anos ou mais</p>	
<p>20. Quantos destes membros <u>não</u> faziam parte do agregado há 3 anos atrás?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 22.</i></p>	
<p>21. Qual a relação de parentesco que cada novo membro do agregado tem com o chefe do agregado? (<i>quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias</i>)</p> <p> __ __  Chefe             __ __  Filhos             __ __  Outros parentes</p> <p> __ __  Esposa(o)             __ __  Pais             __ __  Sem parentesco</p>	
<p>22. Destes membros do agregado quantos <u>não</u> vivem na casa?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 24.</i></p>	
<p>23. Qual a relação de parentesco que cada membro do agregado ausente tem com o chefe do agregado? (<i>quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias</i>)</p> <p> __ __  Chefe             __ __  Filhos             __ __  Irmãos</p> <p> __ __  Esposa(o)             __ __  Pais             __ __  Outros parentes</p>	
<p>24. Quantos dos membros do agregado são membros deste agregado por morte dos responsáveis pelo seu sustento?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 26.</i></p>	
<p>25. Qual a relação de parentesco que estes membros têm com o chefe de família? (<i>quantos membros existem nas seguintes categorias</i>)</p> <p> __ __  Filhos da irmã             __ __  Filhos do irmão</p> <p> __ __  Netos             __ __  Irmãos</p> <p> __ __  Outros parentes             __ __  Sem parentesco</p>	



<p>33. Quem do agregado consegue falar mais português?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Os homens adultos</p> <p>02 As mulheres adultas</p> <p>03 Os jovens homens (12-18 anos)</p> <p>04 As jovens mulheres (12-18 anos)</p> <p>05 Os meninos (menores de 12)</p> <p>06 As meninas (menores de 12)</p> <p>07 Todos adultos</p> <p>08 Todos jovens</p> <p>09 Todas crianças</p> <p>10 Todos membros do agregado</p>
<b>EDUCAÇÃO</b>	
<p>34. Qual o nível de escolaridade mais elevado atingido no agregado?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Nenhum</p> <p>02 Alfabetizado</p> <p>03 EP1</p> <p>04 EP2/Elementar</p> <p>05 Secund./Básico</p> <p>06 Médio</p> <p>07 Superior</p>
<p>35. Quantas crianças em idade escolar existem no agregado familiar? (dos 6 aos 15 anos)</p> <p> _ _  Rapazes       _ _  Raparigas       _ _  Total</p> <p><i>Se o total = 00 passe para questão 38.</i></p>	
<p>36. Destas, quantas <u>não</u> estão a estudar?</p> <p> _ _  Rapazes       _ _  Raparigas       _ _  Total</p> <p><i>Se o total = 00 passe para questão 38.</i></p>	
<p>37. Indique a razão principal por desistente (não necessita repetir se a razão for a mesma entre diferentes desistentes do mesmo género)</p> <p> _____  Rapazes</p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____  Raparigas</p> <p> _____ </p>	

<b>SAÚDE</b>									
<p>38. Quantas pessoas do agregado ficaram doentes nas duas últimas semanas?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 40.</i></p>									
<p>39. Qual o primeiro local onde foram para ser tratadas? (<i>especifique o lugar por cada doença, se a doença e o lugar forem os mesmos, não precisa repetir</i>)</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">Lugar</th> <th style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">Doença</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td> _ _   _____  _____  </td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> _ _   _____  _____  </td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> _ _   _____  _____  </td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	Lugar	Doença	_ _   _____  _____		_ _   _____  _____		_ _   _____  _____		<p>01 Posto de Saúde 02 Centro de Saúde 03 Hospital 04 Enfermeiro 05 Curandeiro 06 Farmácia 98 Outro (especifique)</p>
Lugar	Doença								
_ _   _____  _____									
_ _   _____  _____									
_ _   _____  _____									
<p>40. Há algum membro do agregado que sofra de doença crónica ou prolongada?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Sim 02 Não</p>								
<p>41. Quantas crianças faleceram neste agregado antes de completar 5 anos?</p> <p> _ _  Rapazes       _ _  Raparigas       _ _  Total</p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 43.</i></p>									
<p>42. Quais as razões principais para essa(s) morte(s)?</p> <p> _____   Rapazes</p> <p> _____  </p> <p> _____  </p> <p> _____   Raparigas</p> <p> _____  </p> <p> _____  </p>									
<b>MOBILIDADE</b>									
<p>43. O chefe do agregado vivia neste local há 3 anos atrás?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 01 passe para questão 45.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim 02 Não</p>								

<p>44. Onde vivia o chefe do agregado antes?</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 Nampula</p> <p>02 Vila de Murrupula</p> <p>03 Outro local do distrito (especifique)</p> <p>04 Outra cidade na província (especifique)</p> <p>05 Outra cidade fora da província (especifique)</p> <p>06 Outro (especifique)</p> <p>99 Nenhum</p>
<p>45. Para que lugares fora da zona costumam ir com mais frequência os membros do agregado? (mencione até 3)</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p> <p><i>Se 99 passe para questão 49.</i></p>	<p>01 Nampula</p> <p>02 Vila de Murrupula</p> <p>03 Outro local do distrito (especifique)</p> <p>04 Outra cidade na província (especifique)</p> <p>05 Outra cidade fora da província (especifique)</p> <p>06 Outro (especifique)</p> <p>99 Nenhum</p>
<p>46. Quem do agregado costuma viajar mais?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p>	<p>01 Chefe</p> <p>02 Esposa(o)</p> <p>03 Filhos/enteados</p> <p>04 Pais/sogros</p> <p>05 Irmãos</p> <p>06 Sobrinhos</p> <p>07 Netos</p> <p>08 Outros parentes</p> <p>09 Sem parentesco</p>
<p>47. Quanto tempo costuma ficar esse membro do agregado, quando viaja?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p>	<p>01 Menos de 1 dia</p> <p>02 Menos de 1 semana</p> <p>03 Menos de 1 mês</p> <p>04 Menos de 1 ano</p> <p>05 Mais de 1 ano</p>

48. Qual costuma ser a razão principal (aquela que acontece mais vezes) dessas viagens?   _ _ _   _____		01 Pesca 02 Negócios (sem ser para pesca) 03 Visitas familiares 04 Compras 05 Saúde 06 Educação 98 Outro (especifique)
<b>BENS E PADRÕES DE CONSUMO</b>		
49. Que bens possui a família?	50. Possuía estes bens há 3 anos atrás?	
01 Possui 02 Não possui 03 Possui mas está estragado/avariado	01 Sim 02 Não 03 Já estava estragado/avariado	
Rádio  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Aparelhagem  _ _ _	_ _ _	
TV  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Vídeo/VCD/DVD  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Geleira  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Congelador  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Celular  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Bicicleta  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Motorizada  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Carro  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Cama (não esteira)  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Mesa  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Cadeiras  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Talheres  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Enxada  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Catana  _ _ _	_ _ _	
Machado  _ _ _	_ _ _	

<p>51. Qual o material do telhado/cobertura da casa do agregado?</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 Palha/vegetação</p> <p>02 Chapa de zinco</p> <p>03 Telha</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>52. Qual era o material do telhado/cobertura da casa há 3 anos atrás?</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 Palha/vegetação</p> <p>02 Chapa de zinco</p> <p>03 Telha</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>53. Qual o material das paredes da casa do agregado?</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 Maticado</p> <p>02 Blocos</p> <p>03 Chapa</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>54. Qual era o material das paredes da casa do agregado há 3 anos atrás?</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 Maticado</p> <p>02 Blocos</p> <p>03 Chapa</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>55. Quantas divisões tem a casa do agregado?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p>	
<p>56. Quantas divisões tinha a casa do agregado há 3 anos atrás?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p>	
<p>57. A casa tem energia eléctrica? INCLUI GERADORES</p> <p> _ _ _ </p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>58. Quanto gastou na <u>semana passada</u> nos seguintes artigos:</p> <p>Produtos alimentares        _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Produtos de limpeza        _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Roupa/vestuário            _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Produtos escolares        _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Medicamentos/consultas    _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Transporte                  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Outras despesas (especifique)  _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p> _____ </p>	

<p>59. Desde o ano passado, diga que produtos ou artigos sentiu que aumentaram mais de preço? (liste os três principais)</p> <p>1. _____ </p> <p>2. _____ </p> <p>3. _____ </p>																	
<p>60. Quanto pagava no ano passado, e quanto paga este ano por esses produtos ou artigos? (<i>diga na mesma ordem que colocou na questão acima</i>)</p> <table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Produto/quantidade</th> <th>valor ano passado</th> <th>valor este ano</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>1.</td> <td>_____ </td> <td>_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt</td> <td>_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2.</td> <td>_____ </td> <td>_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt</td> <td>_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3.</td> <td>_____ </td> <td>_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt</td> <td>_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Produto/quantidade	valor ano passado	valor este ano	1.	_____	_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt	_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt	2.	_____	_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt	_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt	3.	_____	_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt	_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt	
	Produto/quantidade	valor ano passado	valor este ano														
1.	_____	_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt	_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt														
2.	_____	_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt	_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt														
3.	_____	_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt	_ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt														
<p>61. Quais foram as categorias de despesas em que foram obrigados a cortar (deixar de comprar ou pagar menos) por causa do aumento dos preços?</p> <p>1.  _ _ _    _____ </p> <p>2.  _ _ _    _____ </p> <p>3.  _ _ _    _____ </p>	<p>01 Produtos alimentares</p> <p>02 Produtos de limpeza</p> <p>03 Iluminação</p> <p>04 Água</p> <p>05 Roupa/vestuário</p> <p>06 Material escolar</p> <p>07 Medicamento/consultas</p> <p>08 Transporte</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> <p>99 Nenhuma</p>																
<p>62. O agregado pagou algum imposto no <u>último ano</u>?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para a questão 64.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>																
<p>63. Quanto pagou o agregado de impostos, no <u>último ano</u>, nas seguintes categorias:</p> <p>Pessoal (para a totalidade do agregado)       _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Bicicletas       _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Comercial       _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Agrícola       _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Outro   _____        _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p>	<p>98 Não sabe</p> <p>99 Nenhum</p>																

<p>64. Que produtos trocou nas últimas duas semanas por outros produtos?   _ _  (preencher apenas se não trocou produtos)  <i>Se 99 passe para questão 65.</i></p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>Produto entregue</td> <td>Produto recebido em troca</td> </tr> <tr> <td> _____ </td> <td> _____ </td> </tr> </table>	Produto entregue	Produto recebido em troca	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	<p>99 Nenhum</p>
Produto entregue	Produto recebido em troca												
_____	_____												
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_____	_____												
<b>ATIVIDADES DE RENDIMENTO NÃO AGRÍCOLAS</b>													
<p>65. Quantos membros do agregado têm emprego com salário regular ou beneficiam de reforma?   _ _   <i>Se 00 passe para questão 67.</i></p>													
<p>66. Qual a soma do rendimento mensal dos <u>salários</u> e <u>reformas</u> de todas as pessoas que possuem emprego com salário regular?   _ _ </p>	<p>01 &lt; 250MT  02 251MT a 500MT  03 501MT a 750MT  04 751MT a 1.000MT  05 1.001MT a 1.500.MT  06 1.501MT a 2.500MT  07 2.501MT a 5.000MT  08 &gt; 5.000MT</p>												

<p>67. Que outras actividades de rendimento são levadas a cabo no agregado, e quanto rendeu no mês passado?</p> <p> _ _  (preencher apenas se não leva a cabo nenhuma outra actividade)</p> <p><i>Se 99 passe para questão 68.</i></p> <p>Artesanato                    _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Medicina tradicional        _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Produção de carvão/lenha    _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Fabrico/venda de bebidas    _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Loja                            _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Banca                          _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Venda ambulante             _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Construção                   _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Carpintaria                  _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Serralharia                  _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Electricista                  _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Pwati                          _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Ganho ganho                 _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Outro  _____             _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Outro  _____             _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Outro  _____             _ _ _ _ .  _ _ _ _ </p>	<p>99 Nenhuma</p>
<p>68. Para além das actividades de rendimento, algum membro do agregado recebe assistência ou apoio monetário de alguém de fora do agregado?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 70.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>69. De que pessoas/entidades recebe, e quanto recebe mensalmente?</p> <p>ONGs                          _ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt    _ _   _____ </p> <p>INSS                          _ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt    _ _   _____ </p> <p>Acção Social                 _ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt    _ _   _____ </p> <p>Familiares de fora do agregado  _ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt    _ _   _____ </p> <p>Vizinhos/amigos             _ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt    _ _ </p> <p> _____ </p> <p>Outro  _____             _ _ .  _ _ _ _  Mt    _ _   _____ </p>	<p>Se forem produtos escreva os seguintes códigos nas caixas ao lado:</p> <p>01 Roupa</p> <p>02 Comida</p> <p>03 Diversos</p> <p>98 Outros (especifique)</p>

<p>70. Algum membro do agregado participa de algum grupo de poupança/stique/ikirimo?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 73.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>71. De quanto em quanto tempo contribui para a poupança/stique/ikirimo?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Todos dias</p> <p>02 1 vez por semana</p> <p>03 De quinze em quinze dias</p> <p>04 1 vez por meses</p> <p>05 Irregularmente</p>
<p>72. Quanto gasta, em média na poupança/stique/ikirimo, de cada vez que contribui para a poupança?</p> <p> _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p>	
<b>ACTIVIDADE AGRÍCOLA</b>	
<p>73. A família possui machamba?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 78.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>74. Que método de fertilização usa normalmente na(s) sua(s) machambas?</p> <p> _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 Rotação/pousio</p> <p>02 Adubos naturais</p> <p>03 Fertilizantes</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> <p>99 Nenhum</p>
<p>75. Que mão de obra usa normalmente para cultivar os produtos na(s) sua(s) machamba(s)</p> <p> _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 Membros do agregado</p> <p>02 Assalariados permanentes</p> <p>03 Contratados eventuais</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>76. Vendeu algum produto da última campanha?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 78.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>77. Quanto arrecadou na última campanha? (soma do arrecadado pela totalidade dos produtos vendidos)</p> <p> _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p>	

<p>78. A família cria animais?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 82.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>79. Quais os animais que o agregado cria? NÃO INCLUI BURRO, CÃO E GATO</p> <p>Galinhas  _ _ </p> <p>Patos  _ _ </p> <p>Cabritos  _ _ </p> <p>Porcos  _ _ </p> <p>Outro  _____   _ _ </p> <p>Outro  _____   _ _ </p> <p>Outro  _____   _ _ </p>	<p>01 Cria</p> <p>02 Não cria</p>
<p>80. No último ano vendeu animais?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 82.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>81. Quanto rendeu a última venda?</p> <p> _ _ _ . _ _ _ </p>	
<b>PROPRIEDADE E RELACÕES INTRA-FAMILIARES</b>	
<p>82. Como foi adquirida a machamba principal do agregado?</p> <p> _ _   _____ </p> <p><i>Se 01, 03 ou 06 passe para questão 85.</i></p>	<p>01 Não tem machamba</p> <p>02 Comprada</p> <p>03 Alugada</p> <p>04 herdada</p> <p>05 Doadada</p> <p>06 Cedida</p> <p>07 Abriu sozinho</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>83. A quem pertence a machamba principal do agregado?</p> <p> _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 Ao homem</p> <p>02 À mulher</p> <p>03 Aos dois</p> <p>04 À família do homem</p> <p>05 À família da mulher</p> <p>06 A todos</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>

<p>84. Em caso de morte do proprietário quem herda a machamba?</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 A(o) esposa(o)</p> <p>02 Todos filhos</p> <p>03 Só as filhas</p> <p>04 Só os filhos</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>85. Como foi adquirida a casa onde o agregado vive?</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p> <p><i>Se 02 ou 05 passe para questão 88.</i></p>	<p>01 Comprada</p> <p>02 Alugada</p> <p>03 Herdada</p> <p>04 Doadada</p> <p>05 Cedida</p> <p>06 Construiu sozinho</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>86. A quem pertence a casa onde vive o agregado?</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 Ao homem</p> <p>02 À mulher</p> <p>03 Aos dois</p> <p>04 À família do homem</p> <p>05 À família da mulher</p> <p>06 A todos</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>87. Em caso de morte do proprietário quem herda a casa?</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 A(o) esposa(o)</p> <p>02 Todos filhos</p> <p>03 Só as filhas</p> <p>04 Só os filhos</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>88. Quem decide como é gasto o dinheiro que a família rende de todas as actividades remuneradas e apoios externos?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p>	<p>01 Chefe do agregado</p> <p>02 Esposa do chefe</p> <p>03 O casal</p> <p>04 Um homem adulto do agregado</p> <p>05 Uma mulher adulta da família</p> <p>05 Todo agregado</p> <p>06 Cada um decide o que fazer com o seu rendimento</p>

<b>RELAÇÕES EXTRA-FAMILIARES</b>	
<p>89. Qual foi o último problema/preocupação que o agregado teve que resolver e que teve que recorrer à intervenção de pessoas de fora do agregado para o resolver?</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p> <p><i>Se 99 passe para questão 91.</i></p>	<p>99 Nenhum</p>
<p>90. A quem recorreram para resolver esse problema?</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 Polícia</p> <p>02 Representantes do Nihimo</p> <p>03 Familiares e amigos</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>91. Qual é a fonte de conflito mais comum na comunidade e que necessita de intervenção das autoridades para resolver?</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p> <p><i>Se 99 passe para questão 93.</i></p>	<p>01 Bebedeiras</p> <p>02 Adulterio</p> <p>03 Furtos</p> <p>04 Conflitos de terras</p> <p>05 Conflitos de água</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> <p>99 Nenhum</p>
<p>92. A quem recorrem, normalmente, os membros da comunidade para resolver esse problema?</p> <p> _ _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 Chefe da aldeia/povoado</p> <p>02 Régulo</p> <p>03 Autoridade religiosa</p> <p>04 Polícia</p> <p>05 Tribunal comunitário</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>93. Quais são os serviços públicos que os membros do agregado usam?</p> <p>Administração/Posto administrativo    _ _ _ </p> <p>Agricultura                                _ _ _ </p> <p>Acção social                                _ _ _ </p> <p>Registos e Notariado                    _ _ _ </p> <p>Polícia                                        _ _ _ </p> <p>Tribunal                                      _ _ _ </p> <p>Outro  _____                             _ _ _ </p>	<p>01 Usa</p> <p>02 Não usa</p> <p>03 Não existe na zona</p>

<p>94. Com que frequência usam esses serviços?</p> <p>Administração/Posto administrativo    _ _ </p> <p>Agricultura (extensionistas)            _ _ </p> <p>Acção social                                _ _ </p> <p>Registos e Notariado                    _ _ </p> <p>Polícia                                      _ _ </p> <p>Tribunal                                    _ _ </p> <p>Outro  _____                     _ _ </p>	<p>01 Pelo menos 1 vez por semana</p> <p>02 Pelo menos 1 vez por mês</p> <p>03 Pelo menos 1 vez por ano</p> <p>04 Menos de 1 vez por ano</p> <p>05 Quando precisa</p> <p>06 Nunca</p>
<p>95. Já ouviu falar dos '7 milhões' que o governo dá aos distritos para o seu desenvolvimento?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 98.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>96. Já alguma vez alguém do agregado concorreu para esses fundos?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 98.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>97. Em que área aplicaram esse financiamento?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Produção agrícola</p> <p>02 Comércio</p> <p>03 Educação</p> <p>04 Saúde</p> <p>08 Outra (especifique)</p>
<p>98. Algum membro do agregado faz parte de alguma associação?</p> <p> _ _  Homens            _ _  Mulheres</p> <p><i>Se ambos 02 passe para questão 100.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>99. A que tipo de associação pertencem?</p> <p> _____  Homens</p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____  Mulheres</p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </p>	

<p>100. Comparando com a situação da família há 3 anos atrás, como avalia a situação da família hoje?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Melhorou</p> <p>02 Manteve-se</p> <p>03 Piorou</p>
<p>101. Explique porquê</p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>102. Comparando com a situação da comunidade há 3 anos atrás, como avalia a situação da comunidade hoje?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 04 passe para questão 105.</i></p>	<p>01 Melhorou</p> <p>02 Manteve-se</p> <p>03 Piorou</p> <p>04 Não vivia na comunidade</p>
<p>103. Explique porquê</p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>104. Em que áreas mais sentiu mudança (indique as três principais)</p> <p>ESPECIFIQUE O QUE MUDOU EM CADA UMA DAS ÁREAS</p> <p>1.  _ _   _____ </p> <p>2.  _ _   _____ </p> <p>3.  _ _   _____ </p>	<p>01 Produção agrícola</p> <p>02 Comércio</p> <p>03 Educação</p> <p>04 Saúde</p> <p>08 Outra (especifique)</p> <p>99 Nenhuma</p>
<p>105. Como espera que a situação da família esteja daqui a 3 anos?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Melhorará</p> <p>02 Manter-se-á</p> <p>03 Piorará</p>
<p>106. Explique porquê</p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>107. Como espera que a situação da comunidade esteja daqui a 3 anos?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Melhorará</p> <p>02 Manter-se-á</p> <p>03 Piorará</p>
<p>108. Explique porquê</p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>Hora de Término  _ _ : _ _ </p>	

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INDEXING TERMS

Mozambique

Poverty

This report is part of a larger exercise of monitoring and evaluating Mozambique's poverty reduction strategy, focussing on three districts in Mozambique and using a combination of quantitative and qualitative data. It analyses the constitution and dynamics of poverty and well-being in the rural district of Murrupula, in Nampula Province, by revisiting four local communities and a total of 120 households, three years after our first visit in 2006. While a number of improvements have taken place in local governance, physical infrastructure and agricultural marketing options, this has so far primarily benefitted the better-off with few, if any, implications for the very poorest.