

“Opitanha” Social Relations of Rural Poverty in Northern Mozambique

Inge Tvedten
Margarida Paulo
Carmeliza Rosário

R 2006: 16

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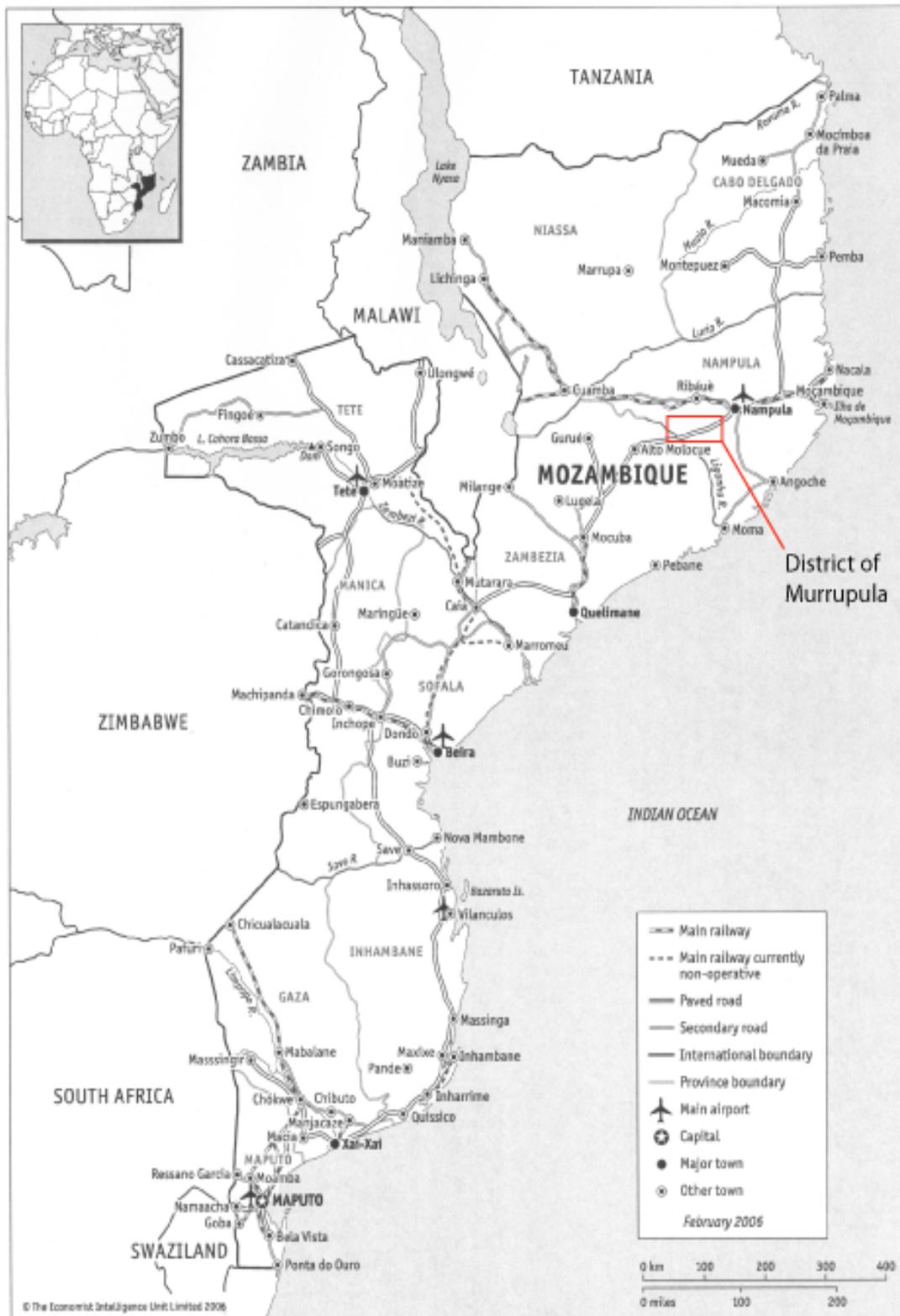
A draft version of this study was presented at the Ministry of Planning and Development in Maputo in June 2006. Staff at the Ministry gave us positive feedback and insightful comments. We hope the study in its current written form will have positive implications for the monitoring and evaluation of Mozambique's important Poverty Reduction Strategy (PARPA II).

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Map 1. Mozambique



Source: Economist Intelligence Unit

1. Introduction

Mozambique (Map 1) is one of the poorest countries in the world. The annual per capita income is 270 USD; 54 percent of the population finds itself below the national poverty line; the adult illiteracy rate is 53.6 percent; the child mortality rate is 152/1000; life expectancy at birth is 41.8 years; and the country is number 168 of 177 countries on UNDP's Human Development Index, which makes it the least developed country in Southern Africa (World Bank 2006; UNDP 2005).¹ Despite considerable advances in poverty reduction during the past few years, reducing the proportion of the population living in absolute poverty from 69 percent in 1996/97 to 54 percent in 2002/03 (INE 2004a), living conditions for too many Mozambicans, in both rural and urban areas, remain very difficult.

Research-based information about poverty is recognised as crucial for Mozambique's poverty reduction strategies as these are expressed in the Government's long-term Agenda 2025 (GdM 2003); the Five Year Plan 2005-2009 (GdM 2005a); the Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty 2006-2009 (GdM 2005b); and the annual Economic and Social Plan (GdM 2005c). The Government argues that information gathered by the evaluation and monitoring system allows for informed decision-making on eventual changes to poverty reduction programmes, and for identifying and capitalising on well-performing initiatives that can be multiplied. It is also a mechanism for keeping other stakeholders in the fight for the reduction of poverty informed, including civil society organisations and international cooperation partners (GdM 2005b: 104).

A great deal of information on issues of well-being and poverty in Mozambique already exists, through the 1997 Population and Housing Census, to be repeated in 2007 (INE 1999); the comprehensive National Household Surveys IAF 1996/97 and 2002/03 (INE 1998 and 2004a); and other more sector and topic-specific surveys (see Broeck 2005 and Isaksen et al. 2005 for overviews). It is generally acknowledged that the available quantitative data yield valuable information about the mapping, profile and determinants of poverty in the country -including differences in levels of income and consumption, employment, household composition, access to basic social services, and regional disparities (DNPO 2004; Isaksen et al. 2005). On the basis of this data, three key determinants of poverty in Mozambique have been identified, namely i) the low level of education within the family household; ii) the high levels of dependency within the family household; and iii) the low returns on economic activities in agriculture and industry compared to trade and services (GdM 2005b: 23, see also Chiconela 2004; Maximiano et al. 2005).

1.1 Study Rationale

Despite the existence of this information, it is acknowledged that more research is needed to better understand the dynamics of poverty and the coping strategies of the poor (DNPO 2004; see also Broeck 2005). In line with this, there has been a call for more qualitative analysis, looking at social organisation at the household and community levels, at poor people's perceptions of their own poverty, and at their strategies for coping with their situation and improving their lives. The current Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty (PARPA II) recognises that both quantitative and qualitative methods are important and should complement each other, but also acknowledges that this has only partially been achieved in Mozambique (GdM 2005b). This realisation of the importance of combining quantitative and qualitative analysis should be commended. Quantitative

¹ The Human Development Index measures longevity, educational attainment and income (UNDP 2005).

studies are often insufficient to answer questions on the processes and dynamics of poverty (Kanbur 2001; see also Jerve et al. 2003). Furthermore, qualitative studies often fail to have an impact because they do not sufficiently relate to ongoing policy initiatives, and pay insufficient attention to sampling issues, making it difficult to generalise conclusions (Carrier and Miller 1999; see also Uphoff 2001).

This study is an answer to the call for qualitative studies on poverty in Mozambique. It will use existing quantitative data on poverty as its point of departure, and focus on the qualitative issues of cultural perceptions and the social relations of poverty in a geographically confined area. The study has a particular focus on the poorest sections of the population. Fifty-four percent of the population of Mozambique has been defined as poor (INE 2004a; see also DNPO 2004). We argue that development policy and aid have been hampered by a limited emphasis on distinguishing between different levels and types of poverty below set poverty levels – effectively defining the majority of people in countries like Mozambique as target groups while bypassing the most deprived sections of poor populations. Research shows that reaching the very poorest and most marginalised requires targeted rather than “trickle down” policies and interventions (CPRC 2004). “The poorest” will be defined in terms of income and consumption, as well as local perceptions about who the poorest are. The Makwa term “*opitanha*”, used in the title of this study, denotes the very poorest and most marginalised in the communities we have studied.

Qualitative studies are important for the evaluation and monitoring of poverty reduction policies for several reasons. Firstly, they can contextualise and inform the quantitative data and correlations by testing causal hypotheses on the ground. Secondly, they can be used to discover processes and interdependencies related to non-tangible dimensions of poverty such as vulnerability and powerlessness that are not easily captured by quantitative analysis. Thirdly, they can be used to test out or reassess central concepts and units of poverty analysis such as notions of “poverty” and the “household”. And fourthly, qualitative methods make it possible to involve the poor themselves in analysis of their own situation in ways that are difficult with formal questionnaire surveys (Mikkelsen 2005). Several qualitative studies on poverty already exist in Mozambique (see, for example, Adam and Coimbra 1996; DNPO 2001; Mate et al. 2005; Cruzeiro do Sul 2006). They all yield valuable information, but we will also argue that their reliance on questionnaire surveys results in their missing out on several core issues of cultural perception and social relationship that are important for a profound understanding of poverty. Poor people act and respond on the basis of their own (*emic*) perceptions of their situation and what is needed to improve it, which does not necessarily correspond with statistical units of analysis, aggregates and correlations.²

In this study, poverty will be broadly understood as a lack of freedom to meet the daily needs of individuals and their dependants, and poverty reduction entails expanding those freedoms (Jerve et al. 2003). As such, poverty involves the lack of income and assets needed to attain basic necessities (alleviated through a combination of increased *opportunities* and increased *capacity* to capitalise on available opportunities); a sense of voicelessness and powerlessness in relation to the institutions of society and the state (alleviated through increased *empowerment*); and a vulnerability to adverse shocks, linked with the ability to cope with them through social relationships and legal institutions (alleviated through increased *security*). As we see it, this closely corresponds to the somewhat broader and more general definition of poverty used in PARPA II, in which poverty is seen as the “[im]possibility due to incapacity or lack of opportunity of individuals, households and

² In line with this, a poor man in our area of study will often *not* spend his hard-earned harvest income on food and other basic necessities as rational economic models assume. Rather, on the basis of equally rational socio-cultural models he will buy a *capulana* for the woman (or women) in his life. This will not only enhance his self-esteem and status with the woman, with her family and in the community at large. It will also strengthen his social relations and options for support beyond the immediate harvest in a matrilineal society where the woman’s family is central.

communities to have access to minimal conditions according to the basic norms of society" (GdM 2005b: 9).

This is no place for theoretical discussions about poverty, but a few conceptual clarifications are necessary. The socio-economic conditions in the area of study are the outcome of complex historical developments; external structural, political and economic processes to which the population has to relate as best it can; and the population's own practices of complex social relationships and cultural constructions. In line with Bourdieu (1990), we hold the view that political and economic structures do have a powerful, even determining effect upon human action and the shape of events, but that a focus on human agency and ordinary lives is important in explaining processes of internal differentiation and social mobility.

Furthermore, development and development interventions are to a significant extent framed in notions of modernity, defined as "images and institutions associated with Western-style progress and development in a contemporary world" (Knauff 2002: 18). The challenge in development is the articulation between these images and "tradition", often associated with rural life and customary values and relationships. Tradition is not, as we see it, a static entity but constantly reinvented and used strategically in people's coping strategies, and as such is an integral part of the development process.

The household is, finally, a central unit of analysis in development literature. While we see the need for a practical statistical unit, anthropology has pointed out the increasing permeability and inconsistency of households as social entities. Ferguson (1999) has described the household as "a nexus of overlapping interests and activities whose (sometimes very temporary) coherence in itself is an achievement and not something pre-given". While maintaining a focus on the household as an analytical unit, we will also relate to its permeability through, for example, the crucial role of the matrilineal family and high divorce rates (Fox et al. 2005).

The study focuses on the district of Murrupula in the Nampula province, and is the first in a series of three comparative qualitative studies on poverty in Mozambique that will also include the city of Maputo in 2007 and the district of Machanga in Sofala in 2008 (see Chapter 6). All three study areas will be revisited and changes monitored after three years. Nampula is located in northern Mozambique, and is the second most populous province in the country, with an estimated population of 3.9 million people (INE 1999; see EIU 2006 for updated figures). Despite favourable agricultural conditions, 53.6 percent of the population in Nampula finds itself below the poverty level, making it the province closest to the national average of 54.1 percent (DNPO 2004; Fox et al. 2005). Murrupula is a rural district in the interior of the province with a population of 110 000, of whom approximately 29 000 live in the district centre (INE 1999; pers. comm. Murrupula District Administration). The District is divided into three Administrative Posts, and seven areas under an equal number of traditional leaders (*régulos*). Murrupula has a number of characteristics that make it representative of the northern region of the country in terms of population profile, political affiliation, socio-cultural characteristics, sources of income and poverty (see Chapter 3).

1.2 Key Findings

The study is introduced by a presentation of quantitative data on poverty in Mozambique and Nampula, underlining the fact that, despite important recent advances in poverty reduction, Mozambique and Nampula continue to be poor; the situation is especially severe in relation to income and consumption, child mortality, school attendance, health and other poverty indicators. We continue by pointing out three broad development trends that may have significant implications for places like Murrupula in the future. One is increasing urbanisation through rural-urban

migration; the second is an increase in the proportion of female-headed households and signs of a feminisation of poverty; and the third is the HIV/AIDS infection rate, which is still comparatively low but likely to escalate. Finally, we present the political economy of the District of Murrupula, underlining the central role of local government in development and development interventions - but also the current importance of traditional authorities, necessitating a degree of cooperation.

In line with the Terms of Reference (Appendix 1), the study takes the key determinants of poverty defined in the National Household Survey (INE 2004a) as its points of departure and focuses on the household as a decision-making unit and the social relations of poverty.

Intra-household relationships: We find that the definition used in the National Household and Expenditure Survey (INE 2004a), upon which much aggregated data is based, misses out on important intra-household relationships. The survey defines people "living under the same roof" as belonging to the same household, while a definition focusing on people "eating from the same pot" would better reflect realities in Murrupula. There are people who live under the same roof but do not eat from the same pot, and there are people who eat from the same pot but live under different roofs. Moreover, the continued importance of the matrilineal kinship system, making the mother's brother a key person in her social network; the responsibility of many households for extended family members outside their own household unit; the polygamy that is still practised; and the many single mothers who stay with their original household instead of establishing their own household unit all complicate the notion of the household as an analytical unit.

Extra-household relationships. Despite provisions in the new Local Authority Act (RdM 2005) for stronger local responsibility for development policies and poverty alleviation, we find that the State and government institutions are conspicuously absent in people's coping strategies. This is particularly the case for the poor sections of the population, for whom the matrilineal extended family and traditional authorities (*régulos* and *cabos*) are seen to have much more important roles. The very poorest and most destitute are often marginalised and excluded even from such relationships, as they do not have the resources to contribute in a context of generalised poverty where reciprocity is central. Better-off households are characterised by more extensive social networks, not only within their own extended family and in the community, but also outside these, including relations with government institutions.

Relations of employment and income. Agriculture continues to be the dominant source of subsistence and income in Murrupula. Most households have alternative sources of income, but these normally yield very small and unpredictable returns. The division of responsibilities and labour between men and women remains segregated, although decisions on consumption and expenditure are largely shared. The potential for higher agricultural production and income exists, but is inhibited by a combination of low local purchasing power; limited access to other markets and exploitative relations with external traders; and by local socio-cultural processes (including witchcraft) that inhibit larger production units through social sanctions. While most households remain dependent on low-level, primarily subsistence production, the better educated are leaving to seek employment elsewhere and younger members focus on small-scale trade and informal sources of income that at least temporarily detach them from agriculture as such.

The poor and education. People in Murrupula are well aware of the importance of education, and the long-term possibilities it implies for income generation and upward social mobility. Despite this, school attendance and the level of education is low, and the drop-out rate is high, particularly among girls. With one exception, there are no schools beyond EP1 (Grade 5), and some households live too far away from schools for the children to attend. While an equal number of girls and boys start school, girls tend to drop out after 3-4 years (i.e. before becoming functionally literate) because parents cannot afford to pay for school uniforms and utensils, girls are needed to take care of

siblings or to work, or they get pregnant and (in some cases) marry. The few cases of children who continue their education are usually from better-off families who can send them to relatives in the district centre, or are taken care of by churches or other non-governmental organisations. With currently hardly any employment opportunities in the district and its immediate vicinity, few people find it realistic that *their own children* will be able to improve their lives through education.

In addition to these topics, room was left in the Terms of Reference for pursuing additional determinants of poverty found to be important during the course of the study. We have found two broad topics to be particularly relevant. One is the continued power and influence of what we will provisionally call *history* and *traditional culture*. These are issues that are difficult to understand and assess thoroughly during a short period of study and would merit further research, but are nevertheless too important to leave out of a study of social relations of poverty. The first particularly relates to the aftermath of the war, which has had significant physical as well as socio-cultural implications. People are still dispersed; they are sceptical about the State and its intentions; and there is a sense of distrust in people beyond the immediate family. The second refers to the continued importance of socio-cultural tradition for social relationships, primarily the matrilineal kinship system and the importance of witchcraft and sorcery for social relations and agricultural production.

The second additional topic is the issue of *health*. We have found the high incidence of illness and child mortality (80 percent of the households surveyed had at least one sick household member during the two weeks prior to our survey, and 55 percent of the households have lost at least one child before it reached five years of age) to have significant implications for socio-cultural perceptions, for agricultural production and income, and for the sense among the poorest of being trapped in poverty and vulnerability. Despite living in fertile areas, people suffer from malnutrition, and a number of curable diseases from malaria to leprosy are prevalent. Knowledge of the importance of a varied diet and access to animal proteins is limited, and many (including the large number of very young mothers) tend to postpone going to health posts or health centres until after having visited a traditional doctor or the person in question is very sick. With the distances involved and the lack of proper transportation (a bicycle is normally the only available means), this is often too late.

In sum, our study on rural relations of poverty in Murrupula reveals a situation with structural constraints particularly related to agricultural production and marketing, and a State considered to be virtually absent. People are generally poor, with low levels of income and consumption, but there are also important internal processes of differentiation. While traditional support structures based on the extended family and the *nihimo* are still intact and important, poverty nevertheless tends to exclude the very poorest in a system where the poorest sections of the population simply cannot afford to support anyone other than their own immediate household. Better-off households, having experienced upward social mobility, have normally been able to establish and maintain relationships with people outside the immediate community, whether in educational institutions, the church or other external relationships.

1.3 Methodology

Much effort has been expended on discussing the pros and cons of quantitative and qualitative methods in poverty research, and the possible merits of combining the two approaches (see Little 1991 and Mikkelsen 2005 for overviews). Kanbur (2001) summarises the differences between the two approaches in relation to key aspects of the research process (with the first mentioned referring to qualitative and the second to quantitative research) as follows:

- Type of information on population: non-numerical and numerical
- Type of population coverage: specific and general
- Type of population involvement: active and passive
- Type of inference methodology: inductive and deductive
- Type of disciplinary framework: broad social sciences and neo-classical economics

With regard to the strong points of each approach for poverty analysis, Chambers (himself an anthropologist) has identified the main strengths of quantitative approaches as follows (Chambers 2001):

- Time-series comparisons to identify trends in whatever dimensions are measured.
- Cross-section comparisons between different individuals, households, groups and communities.
- Estimates of prevalence and distributions within population areas.
- Correlations which raise questions about causality and co-variant changes.
- The credibility of numbers in influencing policy-makers.

Our point of departure in this study is that quantitative data (as it appears in INE 1998, 1999, 2004 and DNPO 2004, 2005, for instance) is important for the analysis and monitoring of poverty in Mozambique. However, we will also argue (still with Kanbur 2001) that certain important dimensions of poverty need qualitative analyses, particularly with regard to the following areas of concern.

One is the very notion of poverty. Quantitative studies tend to focus on income, consumption and other material aspects of poverty, while it is increasingly acknowledged that poverty is multidimensional and also involves issues of powerlessness and vulnerability. These can best be understood through qualitative studies focusing on systems of meaning ("culture" in the anthropological vocabulary) and social relationships.

A second is the options qualitative research offers for better insight into causal processes. While statistical analysis can indicate causal relationships statistically through regression, more grounded analysis is often necessary to understand these processes at the level of decision making units (individuals, households, communities). Statistical explanations must be accompanied by a *causal story*, and micro-level studies can help develop and formulate hypotheses about such links.

The third and related advantage is the options for more accuracy and depth of information on issues that need a broader contextualisation than survey methods can supply. People do not live their lives in isolated "units of analysis" captured by statistical methods, but as part of complex relationships in and between households, communities or other social groups. Qualitative studies can *inform* central units of analysis to have them better reflect reality, while acknowledging the statistical requirements for general applicability.

There is broad agreement that the best and richest approach to poverty analysis and monitoring is to combine the two approaches (Mikkelsen 2005). A number of "paradigms" have been developed for this purpose, including the "sustainable livelihoods" approach, where the multi-dimensional aspect of poverty is captured through the identification of the capital assets of the poor (i.e. physical, financial, human, social and natural capital) (Rakodi 1999). The approach is best implemented through multi-disciplinary teams, due to its complexity. While these and other similar approaches (see Moser 2006, forthcoming) are "good to think with", they are rarely carried out in any

systematic way, perhaps precisely because they are complex and transgress disciplinary boundaries.³

As Kanbur (2001: 11) states, moreover, there is often a nagging feeling of irreducible tradeoffs and a loss of information and effectiveness in the "forced marriage" of approaches. Our approach is one of sequencing rather than mixing quantitative and qualitative ways of doing research. Still according to Kanbur (2001: 13), "the purest form of this is for each approach to do its best, untainted by the other, and then to use the results to triangulate and to inform the next stage of design of each, rather than forcing a combination which might not be appropriate".

In line with this, we will take existing quantitative data on the mapping, profile and determinants of poverty in Mozambique and Nampula as our points of departure (see Chapter 2), and seek to contextualise and inform them through a mixture of a localised survey and qualitative methodologies in Murrupula. Ideally, anthropological methods are based on participant observation and long-term fieldwork (a year in a community is often considered a minimum among academic purists), reflecting the belief that only through long-term involvement is it possible to understand and reflect social and cultural conditions from the subjects' own points of view. The qualitative methods used in this study, based on fieldwork of three weeks' duration, in essence substitute for the long-term fieldwork with one important qualification: while for decades anthropology was dominated by middle-aged European men in need of a long period of familiarisation, anthropology has "come home" through the increasing involvement of anthropologists who themselves are part of the socio-cultural setting under study. Our team reflects this: two of the team members are Mozambican women, and one of them is a Makwa from Nampula.

Looking at our approaches and methodologies in more detail, the area of study was chosen through a combination of factors. For the first of the planned three studies on the social relations of poverty we sought a rural area in northern Mozambique. Nampula was chosen as the province closest to the national averages in key indicators, including the proportion of the population below the poverty line. Murrupula was chosen through a combination of its representativeness in terms of location (the majority of the population live in the interior of the province), development indicators and practical considerations: one of the team members was already familiar with the district and its administration, which facilitated our entry.

In Murrupula, the choice of areas was made in close cooperation with the district authorities. They showed a keen interest in the study from the start, and identified the Administrative Posts of Nihessiue and of Chinga as two contrasting cases: one, as they argued, was more developed and pro-government, while the other was heavily influenced by the war and Renamo and less developed. In each Administrative Post, two sub-areas (*cabos*) were chosen with the same objective of identifying representative areas in cooperation with the Head of the Administrative Post and relevant traditional leader (*régulo*). Finally, particular villages (*povoações*) in each *cabo* were selected in cooperation with the relevant headman or *cabo*. Our impression is that the traditional leaders in the areas we studied have a very deep and accurate knowledge and understanding of local conditions and variations in levels of poverty and destitution, between villages as well as between households.

In the areas identified, we carried out a limited survey of 120 households with the aim of collecting data on key variables related to socio-economic conditions and social relations of poverty (see Annex 2). Questions were also designed with reference to their applicability in the two forthcoming

³ Applied poverty studies in Mozambique seem to be dominated by economists and anthropologists. Conspicuously absent are political scientists, who would have an important role in studying political processes around poverty reduction policy-making and issues of decentralisation of responsibilities for implementation (see MacDonald et al. 2005 for an exception).

studies in this series (one in Maputo City and one in Sofala) for comparative purposes.⁴ Although not representative in any scientific sense, the survey gives an indication of the extent to which the areas under study are representative of socio-economic conditions in the district and province at large. In addition, it helps to establish patterns and regularities against which the qualitative information can be measured. Households in the four *cabos* were selected through random sampling, with the enumerators interviewing every fifth household they encountered within their area of responsibility.

All the households are identified by *localidade*, *cabo* and *povoação* as well as by the formal name and nickname of the household head ("*conhecido por...*" is normally the best way to locate people in Murrupula), making it possible to locate the same household at a later stage. This way, the three qualitative studies on the social relations of poverty in Mozambique will yield panel survey data from a total of 360 households, with an additional approximately 60 households added through in-depth interviews.

In addition to the options for relating our qualitative methods and analysis to some key numerical data, doing localised surveys of this type also makes it possible to compare statistical information on poverty with *emic* (i.e. people's own) perceptions and definitions. Before describing our qualitative methods in more detail, let us give an illustrative example of the relevance of such comparison. Through the survey, we have identified variations in levels of poverty on the basis of indicators such as income, consumption and ownership of key assets. The differences in income and consumption in a rural area such as Murrupula are not substantial, but would probably be considered "significant" by quantitative analysts had the sample been more representative. In parallel with the survey, we carried out an exercise of wealth ranking in all of the four *cabos* under study (see below). We found a high degree of correspondence between the communities' perceptions of degrees and types of poverty and well-being, focusing on five categories of poor and three categories of non-poor. Significantly, the poorest are not only associated with people and households with the lowest level of access to income and material means, but also with people and households who are marginalised and socially excluded and without access to social relationships outside the households. This points towards the importance of social relationships in the issue of poverty and vulnerability.

In addition to participant observation and semi-structured interviews with key persons in various institutions such as the district administration, administrative posts, schools, health centres, farmer associations, political parties, mosques and churches and commercial outlets, we have used the following qualitative methods (see Mikkelsen 2005).

Histograms. The objective was to ascertain the history of the area under study, with an emphasis on events and processes that have been particularly important for current socio-economic conditions of well-being and poverty. Discussions and record taking (ideally done by the group itself) were done in groups of approximately ten people, mainly elders with historical memories. The group itself decided what point in time of history to start.

Community mapping. The objective was to map the institutions considered most important by the community. A group of approximately five people (of whom at least some should be able to read and write) was asked to draw a map of the community, entering only institutions and people that were considered central and leaving out others. The group itself was asked to define the borders of

⁴ In line with this, questions regarding the presence of non-household members within the household premises were included, not because we expected such presence to be prevalent in a relatively stable rural community such as Murrupula, but because we expect it to be common in more permeable urban and migrating communities in Maputo and at the coast of Sofala.

their "community", with the facilitator explaining that it could be everything from the global, the national and the regional to the very local level. The map-drawing was followed by a discussion with the facilitator to explain further the choices and priorities made.

Force-field analysis. The objective was to capture perceptions of what conditions may inhibit or accelerate change and development in the community. A group of approximately 12 people selected from different social groups (income, gender, age) was asked to i) identify important events/processes leading to the present situation in the community, ii) identify the kind of situation they would like to have in their communities in ten years, iii) identify conditions inside and outside of their community that might inhibit it from reaching such a state of affairs, and iv) outline what they thought could be done to bypass such constraints. The discussions were also noted in writing.

Wealth ranking. The objective was to capture the community's own perception of poverty, and different levels and types of well-being and poverty. A group of 12 people was asked to i) define what poverty means for them, ii) identify the most important conditions that separate the poor from the less poor, iii) list the local names/idioms for different categories of well-being and poverty, and iv) identify households belonging to each category.

Venn diagram. In-depth interviews were done with households selected from the different categories identified through the wealth-ranking process. The interviews were done on the basis of a semi-structured interview guide to secure comparability and Venn diagrams. The household was asked to select institutions/people it considered particularly important for its well-being. Names were written on paper circles of three different sizes and linked to a centre circle, representing their own household, in accordance with their importance. The diagrams thus reflect both the type of intuitions/people that are important, and their degree of importance.

Our general perception is that the participatory research methods functioned very well. People rapidly understood the idea of the exercises, and appreciated the possibility of discussing and presenting important aspects of their own communities and households (in addition to the group directly involved, most exercises also gathered an interested audience). Putting down the outcome of their deliberations on paper also gave people a feeling of participation in and influence over the research on their own communities. All results have been saved on paper and on film, and will be revisited when follow-up studies are undertaken in three years' time. The analytical outcome and relevance of the exercises for our study of poverty and well-being will be discussed as we go along.

1.4 Report Outline

In Chapter 2 we present quantitative expressions of poverty as points of reference for the following qualitative analysis. We start by briefly placing Mozambique in a Southern African perspective to include some of the broader development trends, and then present data on Mozambique and Nampula to highlight similarities and differences.

Chapter 3 provides background information on the area under study, on the assumption that the political, economic and socio-cultural context is important for understanding the social relations of poverty. A brief history emphasising how Murrupula has been constrained in its development through the late colonial era, the Frelimo socialist experiment and the war is followed by an outline of the responsibilities of the District Administration; the role of traditional authorities; and the overall social and economic situation in the district.

Chapter 4 is one of the two main chapters in the report. Built around the survey undertaken for this study, it outlines socio-economic conditions and determinants of poverty with a focus on

employment and income, education and health. It also looks at the implications of geographical space or distance to the main economic and population centres for poverty and poverty alleviation.

Chapter 5 focuses on the issue of the social relations of poverty, and processes of impoverishment, marginalisation and social exclusion. Its point of departure is people's own *emic* perceptions of poverty, pursuing relationships of different categories of the poor within the household with the extended family, traditional institutions and the State.

Chapter 6 concludes, draws some preliminary policy implications and outlines the follow-up to the current study in urban Maputo and coastal Sofala respectively.

2. Quantitative Expressions of Poverty

As argued in the introduction to this study, the combination of quantitative and qualitative data represents the best approach to the monitoring and evaluation of poverty. Aggregate data on income, consumption and other quantitative information is useful as it measures poverty in ways that can be easily understood, compared and related to material investments and social targeting. Qualitative data for its part is necessary to describe the complexity of contexts, social relations and individual subjectivities and how this affects people's own strategies for alleviating poverty. The purpose of the current chapter is to outline the quantitative expressions of poverty in Mozambique and the province of Nampula so as to serve as contextualisation and points of reference for the subsequent analysis of social relations of poverty in the District of Murrupula.

2.1 Poverty in Mozambique

Mozambique remains one of the poorest countries in the world despite a sharp reduction in the incidence of poverty from 69 percent to 54 percent during the past few years (INE 2004a; DNPO 2004). Data positioning Mozambique in a sub-Saharan perspective provide a useful reminder that there is still a long way to go before most Mozambicans can live lives free from poverty and destitution. And data comparing Mozambique with other countries in Southern Africa point towards important development trends that are likely to affect Mozambique as well as places like Murrupula in the years to come.

Table 1 presents key data on poverty and vulnerability for sub-Saharan Africa and Mozambique, revealing a serious situation for the Mozambican population in terms of such key expressions of poverty as per capita income (with a sub-Saharan average of USD 1,856 as against USD 1,117 in Mozambique), adult literacy (with a sub-Saharan average of 61.3 percent as against 46.5 percent in Mozambique), and life expectancy at birth (with a sub-Saharan average of 46.1 as against 41.9 percent in Mozambique).⁵ The most important data set showing a trend in the right direction is the under-five mortality rate, which is often considered one of the best indicators of well-being and poverty as it combines influences from income, the general level of education, and health. This dropped dramatically in Mozambique from 219/1000 in 1996/97 to 152/1000 in 2002/03, which is lower than the sub-Saharan average of 168/1000. At the same time, however, there is uncertainty about the accuracy of the figure and its distribution within the population. The most recent Human Development Report (UNDP 2005) states that the child mortality rate among the poorest 20% of the population in Mozambique is 277/1000, which is the second highest in the world. And the child mortality rate in Nampula is 220/1000 (MdS 2005).

⁵ Aggregate data of this type varies between different sources. For comparative purposes we will refer to World Bank (2006) and UNDP (2005) data in the coming tables, underlining variations from national data when relevant.

Table 1: *Basic Social Indicators, Sub-Saharan Africa and Mozambique*

Indicator	Sub-Saharan Africa	Mozambique
GDP per capita	1,856	1,117
Agriculture (% of GDP)	16.0	21.6
Industry (% of GDP)	31.8	31.2
Services (% of GDP)	52.2	47.2
Life expectancy (years)	46.2	41.9
Fertility rate (births per woman)	5.3	5.4
Mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)	100.5	104.4
Under-five mortality rate (per 1,000 live births)	168.2	151.6
Maternal mortality rate (per 100,000 live births)	940/100,000	1100/100,000
Ratio girls/boys in primary/secondary school	83.6	82.3
Primary school completion rate	61.7	29.0
Adult literacy rate (%)	61.3	46.5

Source: UNDP 2005; World Bank 2006

Compared to other countries in Southern Africa, Mozambique remains the poorest in terms of human development measuring income, longevity and educational attainment (UNDP 2005). Table 2 below lists the countries in the region in terms of their human development rank and development index. Three additional types of data are presented that stand out as particularly relevant for Mozambique, indicating development trends in neighbouring countries that are likely to affect Mozambique and places such as Murrupula in the future.

Table 2: *Human Development Indicators, Southern Africa and Mozambique*

Country	HDR (out of 177)	HDI Value	Urban Population	Proportion FHH	HIV/AIDS Infection
Mozambique	168	0.379	30.1	16	16.1
Zambia	166	0.394	35.7	23	17.0
Malawi	165	0.404	16.3	27	14.1
Angola	160	0.445	40.0*	27 *	5.9 *
Lesotho	149	0.497	51.6	-	23.2
Swaziland	147	0.498	23.5	26	33.4
Zimbabwe	145	0.505	34.9	33	20.1
Botswana	131	0.565	53.8	52	24.1
Namibia	125	0.627	32.4	55	19.6
South Africa	120	0.658	56.1	42	18.8

Sources: UNDP 2005, World Bank 2006, United Nations 2004, World Bank 2005, UNAIDS 2006, * Recent (2006) National Data

One is the relatively low urbanisation rate in Mozambique, compared to other countries in the region, of 30.1 percent (INE 2004a; see also United Nations 2004).⁶ This is likely to be related to factors such as colonial policies of decentralisation and late independence; the implications of the war of 1983 to 1992; and the dominance of agriculture in the country. With peace and economic

⁶ Even this may be high. A change of definition of urban areas between the 1996/97 and 2002/03 Household Surveys increased the urban population by 50 percent (Fox et al. 2005).

development, it is probable that the urbanisation rate in Mozambique will increase significantly in the future. According to the United Nation's World Urbanisation Prospects (UN 2004), Mozambique has the highest urban growth rate in sub-Saharan Africa at 6.1 percent. Studies show that increased urbanisation in countries in the region has led to positive macro-economic developments, but there are also clear indications of an urbanisation of poverty (Kamete, Tostensen and Tvedten 2003). There are signs of such a trend in Mozambique. The 2002/03 Household Survey (INE 2004a) shows that while rural poverty decreased from 71 percent to 55 percent between 1996/97 and 2002/03, the decrease in urban areas was from 62 to 51 percent. Maputo, by far the largest city in Mozambique and a likely trendsetter, saw an actual increase in the incidence of poverty from 47.3 percent to 53.2 percent in the same period (Fox et al. 2005).

A second type of data relates to the proportion of female-headed households. Here Mozambique has a lower rate than other countries in Southern Africa, with 16 percent in 2002/03 (INE 2004a). The low proportion in Mozambique may be related to the continued dominance of agriculture, rural living and tradition; the limited economic independence of many women; and the influence of Islam, particularly in the northern parts of the country where the proportion of female-headed households is lowest. However, there seems to be an important process of change here. Many single, divorced or widowed women seem to move in with their own extended family and "disappear" from statistics on household heads, particularly in matrilineal societies in the north. With current changes in the system of kinship and descent, economic development and urbanisation, Mozambique may see an increase in the number of female headed households, as have other countries in the region which have gone through similar developments (Bridge 2001). This will change the profile of poverty in the country and the nature of the social relations of poverty, probably towards a "feminisation of poverty", as seen in other countries in the region (Chant 2003). In line with this change, the bottom quintile in Mozambique saw the highest increase in female household heads between 1996/97 and 2002/03 (Fox et al. 2005).⁷

The third aspect in which Mozambique shows special characteristics is that of HIV/AIDS prevalence. Only 16.1 percent of the population are believed to be infected (UNAIDS 2006), a rate lower than in all the other countries in the Southern African region except Angola. The relatively low incidence of HIV/AIDS in Mozambique is believed to be related to the war; the size and rural characteristics of the country, leaving many communities relatively isolated; and apparently more stable household units, particularly in the northern Muslim parts of the country. The high incidence of HIV/AIDS in urban centres, in the Beira, Nacala and other "corridors" and along the coast, with higher population movements, seems to support such a thesis (Mds 2005). The HIV/AIDS infection rate is expected to increase considerably by the year 2015 (UNAIDS 2006). Much has been written about the implications of a higher HIV/AIDS ratio for the incidence and profile of poverty in Mozambique (Arndt 2002; Petty 2004). It is likely to affect access to agricultural labour and production as the most able-bodied members of the population become ill and die; access to social services through a reduced number of teachers and nurses; and the dependency ratio in households and extended families, which will increase with more mouths to be fed by a smaller number of people – in addition to the obvious and serious psychological effects on families and communities of much higher death rates.

2.2. Poverty in Nampula

Looking at Mozambique and Nampula in more detail (Table 3), the general trend in the incidence and profile of poverty should be well known by now (see, for example, DNPO 2004a; Chiconela

⁷ In countries with high levels of development and incidence of female-headed households (such as South Africa and Namibia), studies indicate that the trend has turned in the sense that poor female headed households are often better off than poor male-headed households through the creation of strong matri-focal networks (Chant 2003).

2004; Fox et al. 2005). There has been an overall reduction in poverty from 69 percent to 54 percent. The incidence of poverty is particularly high in the provinces of Inhambane and Maputo, and lowest in the province of Sofala and the City of Maputo. The province of Sofala has seen the most dramatic reduction in the level of poverty. Mozambique's northernmost province of Cabo Delgado and southernmost province of Maputo are the only provinces that have seen an increase in poverty.

Table 3: Poverty Measure by Province

Province	1996/97	2002/03	Percent reduction
Urban	61.7	51.6	- 10.1
Rural	71	55.2	- 15.8
Niassa	69.9	49.5	- 20.4
Cabo Delgado	56.8	62.8	+ 6.0
Nampula	68.7	53.6	- 15.1
Zambezia	68	45	- 23
Tete	80.3	58.7	- 21.6
Manica	62.3	44.4	- 17.9
Sofala	88.2	34.1	- 54.1
Inhambane	83.8	81.1	- 2.7
Gaza	65.4	59.7	- 5.7
Maputo	64.8	71	+ 6.2
Maputo City	47.3	53.2	+ 5.9
All	69.1	54.1	- 15

Source: Fox et al. 2005

According to some observers a key reason for the strong poverty reduction performance is an equal growth and distribution in consumption, with Mozambique's level of inequality being relatively low (see, for example, Fox et al. 2005). Efforts are still made to explain the large differences in poverty incidence and poverty reduction between provinces, and between the northern, central and southern parts of the country (Broeck 2005). The main explanations relate to the implications of the so-called "peace dividend"; favourable agricultural conditions; and improved marketing options in rural as well as in urban areas. Nevertheless, there is also a widespread perception that sampling errors have played a role, particularly in the cases of Sofala (with the most dramatic decrease in poverty) and Cabo Delgado (one of the two provinces where poverty has increased) (DNPO 2004; see also Isaksen et al. 2005).

The incidence of rural poverty in Mozambique dropped more than the incidence of urban poverty in the same period (DNPO 2004; Fox et al. 2005). Also, in this case there is uncertainty attached to the figures. The Government changed its definition of an urban area between the two national household surveys, increasing the urban population in Mozambique by 50 percent (Fox et al. 2005). Official data show a reduction in poverty for rural areas from 71 percent to 55 percent (i.e. 16 percent) and for urban areas from 62 percent to 52 percent (i.e. 10 percent) (INE 2004a). There is no evident explanation for the slower reduction of poverty in urban areas. One possible reason is that it is primarily the poorest rural dwellers who migrate to urban areas, and another is the increased cost of living in cities and towns, coupled with weakening informal support structures.⁸ Complicating all

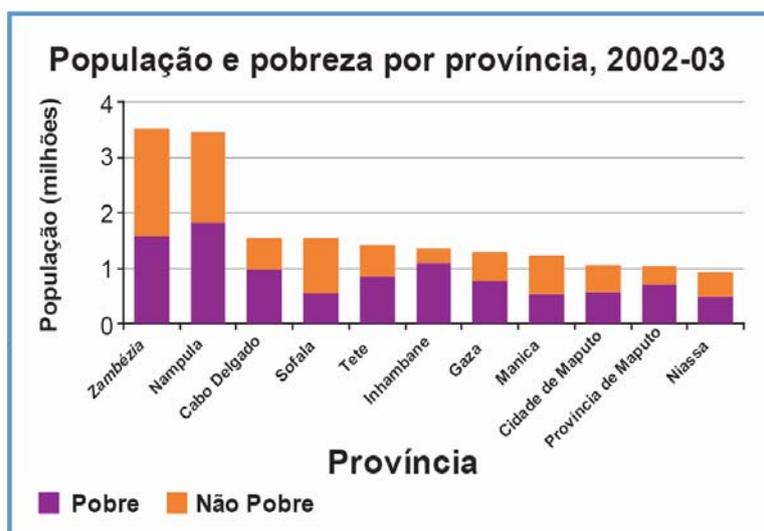
⁸ These will be among the hypotheses to be tested in the upcoming study of urban social relations of poverty in Maputo.

this is the fact that the general trend is broken in the case of Nampula, where urban areas have seen a more positive development in terms of poverty reduction than rural areas.

Also of relevance to our study is a widespread perception among Mozambicans that their conditions have *not* improved as much as quantitative data on well-being and poverty imply. Fifty percent of households in Mozambique believe that their conditions have deteriorated between the two surveys, and only 21 percent believe they have improved. Among the poorest quintile, 59 percent believe that their situation has worsened and only 14 percent that it has improved, as against 41 percent and 30 percent respectively among the best-off quintile (INE 2004a). Such perceptions are likely to have implications for people’s strategies and perceptions of their options for poverty reduction and social mobility.

Finally, Figure 2 below is a useful reminder of the prevalence of poor people (rather than poverty) in Mozambique: with around 38 percent of the population in Mozambique residing in the two northern provinces Zambézia and Nampula, the largest number of poor live in these provinces.

Figure 1. Population and poverty by province, 2002/03



Source: MPD 2006

Moving on to the more explicit characteristics of poverty and well-being in Nampula (Table 4), the province exhibits the poverty headcount (52.6 percent) closest to the national average of 54.1 percent. Furthermore, measures of the depth of poverty (poverty gap) and the severity of poverty (squared poverty gap) are close to the national averages (Fox et al. 2005).

Otherwise Nampula reveals figures below the national average for income and consumption. The former is the lowest in the country with a per capita monthly income of MT 229, as against a national average of MT 325. And the latter is MT 238,310 as against a national average of MT 324,394. The table also reveals poorer figures than the national averages for education. Nampula has one of the lowest primary net enrolment rates of 36.7 percent, as against the national average of 61 percent. Moreover, it has the second highest illiteracy rate, with 65.1 percent as against a national average of 53.6 percent. In health, Nampula has one of the highest total fertility rates in the country at 6.2, and the second highest child mortality rate at 220/1000. Only the HIV/AIDS infection rate of 8.4 percent is less severe than the national average of 13.6 percent, most likely

stemming from a combination of the continued importance of tradition in terms of household and family organisation; the distance from major population movement corridors; and the prevalence of Islam (MdS 2005; Fox et al. 2005).

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

Items	Mozambique	Nampula
Geography		
Land area (km ²)	799,380	81,606
Population	19.8	3.6
Population density (per km ²)	21.6	40.0
Rural / urban population (%)	68.8 / 31.2	70.2 / 29.8
Household characteristics		
Average household size	4.8	4.4
Dependency ratio (%)	99.0	102.1
Female headed households (%)	16	15.4
Economic activities		
Economically active population (%)	83	87.6
Self / family employment (%)	87.7	89.2
Proportion employed in agriculture (%)	80.5	82.8
Per capita monthly income (MT)	325	229
Per capita monthly expenditure (MT)	324,394	238,310
Households owning a bicycle (%)	28.1	26.7
Households owning a radio (%)	45.5	48.3
Education		
Primary net enrolment rate (%)	61	46.3
Male illiteracy rate (%)	48.7	36.7
Female illiteracy rate (%)	68	81.4
Health		
Infant mortality rate (0-1 yrs)	124	164
Child mortality rate (0-5 yrs)	178	220
Chronic malnutrition (0-5 yrs)	41	42
Total fertility rate	5.5	6.2
HIV/AIDS (15-49 years)	13.6	8.1
Poverty indicators		
Poverty headcount (%)	54.1	52.6
Poverty gap / depth (%)	19.9	18.7
Squared poverty gap /severity (%)	9.9	8.6

Sources: World Bank 2006; Fox et al. 2005; INE 1999, 2004a.

In the following chapters, we will go beyond the aggregate data on poverty to look at socio-economic conditions and the social relations of poverty in the District of Murrupula, in order to understand better the dynamics of poverty, the coping strategies of the poor, and possible measures to alleviate poverty in districts such as the one in focus in this study.⁹

⁹ There is no directly comparable data for the District of Murrupula itself: The 1997 Census data is older and has a more limited range of socio-economic information. And the two National Household Surveys of 1996/97 and 2002/03 are designed to be representative at national and provincial levels.

3. Background to Study Area

The province of Nampula is located in northern Mozambique, sharing borders with the provinces of Cabo Delgado to the north-east, Niassa to the north-west and Zambézia to the south (see Map 1). The province is well endowed with rainfall, averaging 1059 mm per year, is considered one of the most productive areas in the country, and is normally divided into a coastal, a central and an interior region with reference to environmental and economic characteristics. Agriculture is the dominant economic activity, historically with a mixture of small-scale, mainly subsistence agriculture and larger units producing cash crops such as cotton, cashew and tobacco (DNPO 2000; Cruzeiro do Sul 2002; EIU 2006a). At the coast, fishing and coconut farming are additional important sources of subsistence and income. Except for agricultural processing plants, there is only a small number of larger industrial enterprises in Nampula. The principal port for the province is Nacala on the northern coast of the province. Tourism is not yet developed, but the historically important Ilha de Mozambique (i.e. Mozambique's first capital) draws visitors.

Nampula has an estimated 3.9 million inhabitants in 2006 (INE 2004a; see EIU 2006 for current estimates). According to the last Census (INE 1999), 74.9 percent of the population live in rural areas, and 25.1 percent in urban areas, including a population of 303,000 in the provincial capital Nampula, the largest urban centre. The dominant ethno-linguistic group is the Makwa, comprising 90.2 percent of the population. Islam is the main religion in the province, at an estimated 39.1 percent of the population, followed by Catholicism at an estimated 27.3 percent (DNPO 2000). Many people also adhere to "traditional" beliefs, where ancestors play a central role. The strong (albeit changing) tradition of matrilinearity has implications not only for land distribution and inheritance patterns, but also for the social relations of well-being and poverty. Politically, Renamo has had a strong standing in Nampula with 26 and 32 of the province's 50 seats in Parliament in the 1994 and 1999 elections. In the most recent 2004 election, Armando Guebuza won 49.8 percent and Afonso Dhlakama 44.0 percent of the votes in the presidential election and Frelimo won 27 of the 50 seats in Parliament – albeit with a voter turnout of only 32.3 percent.

Murrupula is one of 21 districts in the province, and has a population of 101,745 or three percent of the total resident population of Nampula (INE 1999). The District is located on the border between what has been defined as the central and interior parts of the province (Cruzeiro de Sul 2002). The district centre (*Vila de Murrupula*) has a population of 28,929 (INE 1999). Murrupula is located 80 km from the provincial capital Nampula and approximately 50 km from the border with the province of Zambezia. The District covers an area of 110,867 sq km, giving a population density of 37 per sq km, which is close to the provincial average of 39 inhabitants per sq km (DNPO 2000). The four geographical areas selected for this study are located within two of the three Administrative Posts in the District, namely Nehessiue and Chinga (see Map 2).¹⁰ The third Administrative Post is Murrupula. The population in the District and its Administrative Posts, according to the 1997 census, is given in Table 6.

¹⁰ The map is drawn on the basis of a combination of a hand-drawn map used by the district administration and a map produced by the Ministry of Agriculture for their purposes. Area and political borders are therefore not accurate, but indications.

Table 5. *Population in Murrupula District*

Area	Men	Women	Total
A.P. Murrupula (incl. Vila)	34,390	35,450	69,840
A.P. Chinga	3,439	3,362	6,801
A.P. Nehessiue	12,381	12,723	25,104
District of Murrupula	50,210	51,535	101,745

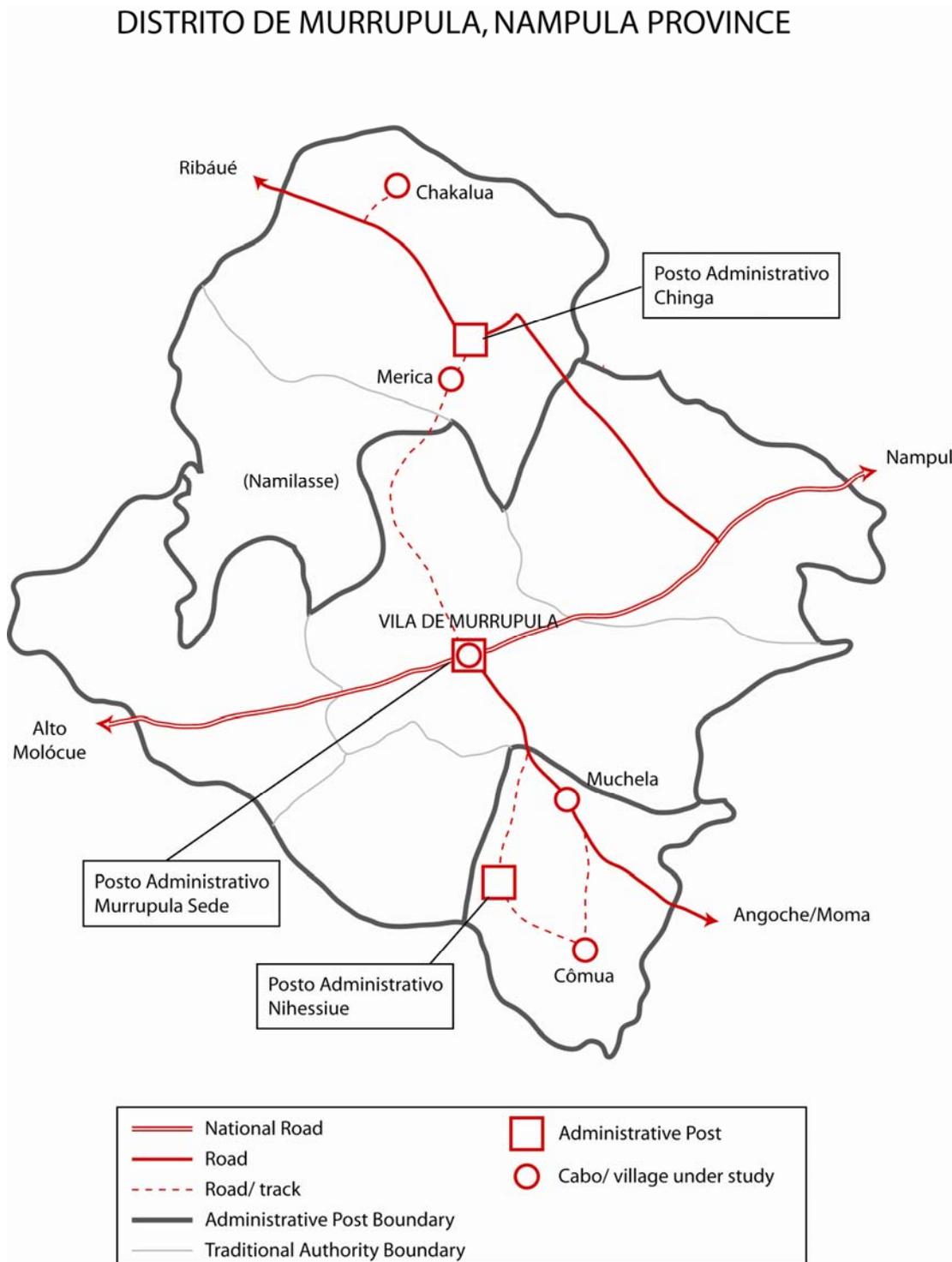
Source: INE 1999

3.1 Brief history

The socio-economic conditions of well-being and poverty in Nampula and its districts are the outcome of complex historical processes. The history of the province of Nampula can be traced back to the original Bantu migrations around 300 AD; the arrival of Arab traders from around 400 AD; the arrival of Portuguese colonisers in 1500 AD; and Zulu migration in the 19th century and other occurrences (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983; Newitt 1997; Sheldon 2002; pers. comm. S. Sætersdal). More recent developments, however, have had a more direct impact on current socio-economic conditions and relations of poverty. These include the late colonial period, leading up to independence in 1975; the implementation of socialist policies from the mid-1970s; the civil war from the early 1980s to the early 1990s; and the privatisation of the economy from the early 1990s. Pitcher (1998) argues that these processes disrupted rather than developed and transformed communities and agrarian relations. A dominant theme in the pages that follow is the temporary impact of these external forces on community organisation and the concomitant continuing importance of traditional authorities, as well as on agricultural production and the concomitant continuing importance of subsistence agriculture.

All four processes created political instability and economic uncertainty in the province and districts such as Murrupula. The Portuguese substituted the traditional Makwa authorities (with the *mwene* or chief as the central authority) with their own system of *régulos* (reminiscent of the *mwene*), *cabos* (adjuncts to the *régulo*) and *reis and rainhas* (lineage kings and queens). Many of these community leaders had limited local legitimacy. They were primarily used to collect taxes, act in land conflicts, settle domestic disputes and in some cases to manage agricultural production for the colonisers. However, the traditional system survived amidst oppression, marginalisation and impoverishment due to its closeness to the population and their need for some type of representation. The Portuguese forced African farmers to produce cotton, cashews, tobacco and other cash crops on their own land, but also developed large plantations where people worked as forced labour. Cotton was particularly important, as implied by the title of the book "Cotton is the Mother of All Poverty" (Isaacman 1996). Within the economic constraints of the colonial system, African families had to balance the demand for the production of cash-crops with their own production of food crops, with the latter suffering due to limited access to productive means, labour and time. In this way, family agriculture remained subsistence oriented and with low levels of production.

Map 2



The development strategy of Frelimo following independence in 1975 was to try to abolish private companies, eliminate traditional authorities and reduce the role of the family sector. The new approach emphasised state farms, state control of trading networks, and collective production. The Government also encouraged the formation of communal villages, where village presidents, party secretaries and dynamism groups were responsible for political mobilisation and economic development (Pitcher 1998: 124). The deep roots and continued importance of customary political and productive practices all contributed to the limited success of the Frelimo experiment. Politically, the authorities installed by Frelimo never really gained a foothold, and traditional authorities seem to have increased rather than decreased their influence in districts such as Murrupula during this period. For family farmers, artificially low prices for marketed crops, an absence of agricultural implements and a lack of consumer items contributed to their continued subsistence orientation and low levels of productivity.

The escalating war between Frelimo and Renamo from 1983 further destabilised Nampula, with the destruction of schools, health posts, collective fields and other institutions introduced by Frelimo taking place all over the province. As Frelimo concentrated its forces and defence around the most important economic areas, Renamo had easier access to more marginal areas such as Murrupula (Pitcher 1997). Chinga (Namilasse) soon became a major Renamo base for northern Mozambique. Support for Renamo was fuelled by the movement's strategic ideology of respect for customary practices and traditional authorities. The war in Murrupula was particularly destructive and gruesome, with many people being killed and others fleeing to population centres (including the Vila of Murrupula) for protection or deep into the countryside to hide. Both cash crops and food crops became very difficult to produce due to the lack of productive means and the security situation. More than other periods, the war brought poverty, insecurity and instability to Murrupula – which again seems to have enhanced the basis for tradition and traditional authorities.

A fourth dramatic change came in the late 1980s with the introduction of capitalist and market principles. Following the end of the war in 1992, former production units in cotton, cashews and tobacco were restructured and sold to private enterprises (often in the form of joint ventures), with Nampula becoming a major Mozambican producer of all these crops (DNPO 2000). Space was also created for individual farmers to expand production of cash-crops (mainly cotton and cashews), and Indian traders, in particular, set up extensive trade networks. Nampula saw increasing inequality between a small number of large private producers and the vast majority of small-scale farmers. In more marginal districts such as Murrupula, the implications of the privatisation have so far been contradictory. With peace and ample access to land, the potential for the expanded production of both food crops and cash-crops is there, but, as we shall see, private traders and marketing options are conspicuously absent or exploitative. In a situation of poverty and vulnerability within an increasingly commoditised socio-economic context, moreover, tradition in all its forms continues to have an impact on the lives of the people of Murrupula.

The broad historical trends outlined above find resonance in peoples' *emic* perceptions of important events in their own history, as these were expressed through the process of producing local histograms (see Section 1.3). People also attach importance to more immediate incidents that have shaped their own community and perceptions of vulnerability and powerlessness. These include references to natural phenomena and wild animals; hunger and malnourishment; apparently small, inexplicable incidents; and changes in terms of trade and other external conditionalities. The *emic* histories are also noteworthy for two other reasons: one is the omission of incidents related to the State (including elections and the appearance of State institutions such as schools and hospitals), and the other is an emphasis on the importance of external aid organisations since the end of the war. As argued in the Introduction, people's accounts of their own histories are important, not primarily for their degree of "objective historical truth" but for what they say about what people believe has shaped (and hence may shape) their destiny.

Looking at one of the histograms in detail (see Appendix 3), history in one of the *cabos*, as told and agreed upon by a group of 12 elder men and women, started with the account of a horrible war that took place "many years ago".¹¹ The warriors were dreadful, and people in the area would find the bones of their own children in their own food. Two natural phenomena (both around 1940) were further emphasised, with an earthquake "destroying dwellings and fields" and an eclipse "making many people turn to religion". "Beating sticks" and "work without pay" are associated with the colonisers of the 1960s. Two other incidents emphasise their vulnerability under the Portuguese: they put "papers with our names on in a box", and "dug five meter deep holes all over the area", neither of which, people still argue, they really understand the reasons for. From the end of the 1960s people were "afraid of the war at night", and things became particularly brutal around 1970 "when the Portuguese understood that they would lose the war".

Little was related from the period immediately after independence in 1975, except that it brought "less suffering". The group also laughingly accounted how they wondered about what the new government wanted when they were all given "stamps" (*carimbos*), referring to polio vaccination campaigns leaving permanent marks on people's arms. The first sign of the new war was on 3 October 1978, when an airplane circulating over Murrupula "brought the war". Eight years later "Samora died", and "another war" (denoted *a outra guerra de zagaias*) took place around 1990 and was particularly brutal, with "guerrillas without clothes on" - which most likely refers to desperate soldiers and bandits who took over the fighting when the war came towards an end. The year 1992 is noted for the presence of a lion that "killed and destroyed crops", again underlining a sense of vulnerability. Finally, the post-war era is primarily associated with the arrival of different non-governmental organisations, with no mention of the State, local government or democratic elections. As we shall see in the coming section on the Murrupula District Administration, this at least partly reflects a *de facto* near absence of the State in the areas most heavily associated with Renamo until around 2000.

3.2 District Administration

The district level of Mozambique's political economy has a considerable bearing on people's everyday lives, well-being and poverty, and the role of district authorities is envisaged as increasing substantially under the new policy of decentralisation (see GdM 2005a; RdM 2005). The Murrupula District Administration is located in *Vila de Murrupula* ("the Vila"). The Vila is not only central for housing key political and economic decision-making bodies, but also as an important economic and socio-cultural point of reference for Murrupula's primarily rural population.

The District Administration is currently made up of a total of 54 staff ("we should be more, but many have died the last couple of years" according to one employee). It is headed by a District Administrator; a recently employed Permanent Secretary, and heads of departments of administration and accounting respectively. The office premises are spacious, but worn down and without copying machines, computers or any other facilities necessitating electricity. Writing is done on old manual typewriters, and budgeting and financial recording are often done with pen and pencil. According to one employee, the one thing that has facilitated work in the last few years is the mobile phone, but the net still only covers parts of the District.

Despite difficult working conditions, it is our impression that the Administration is hard-working and committed. It presents its Economic and Social Action Plan (PES) and the main challenges ahead with authority. And it is aware of the potential implications of the current decentralisation policy as this is expressed in the new Local Government Act "LOLE" (RdM 2005), although it is

¹¹ According to Mr. Steinar Sætersdal (pers. comm.) this may refer to the Zulu invasion in the late 19th century.

less certain about central government's strategy for its implementation. Having more control of decision-making and the budget is seen as important for developing the District, and their expectation is that at least some of the decentralisation initiatives will be implemented in 2006. Planning and coordination of activities is currently done through an annual District Consultative Council (*Conselho Consultivo Distrital*) involving the Administration, traditional authorities and other community leaders prior to the submission of the *Plano Económico e Social do Distrito*; through monthly meetings (*Sessão Ordinária Mensal*) including Heads of Administrative Posts (*Chefes do Posto*) and District Directors of line ministries; and through regular meetings between the district and provincial administrations. There are also two Consultative Councils per year at the level of the Administrative Posts. However, it is readily acknowledged that they currently have little control over budgets and that the bulk of decisions are taken at central and provincial levels, leaving little room for *de facto* decision-making.

The system of planning, budgeting and development implementation in Murrupula District is in a situation of considerable change. As perceived by the District Administration, the aim of the new Local Authority Act is to decentralise responsibilities both for the overall development of the District and for more specific sectors such as health, education, agriculture and roads – epitomised by the notion of District Government (*Governo Distrital*), which has already been implemented in Murrupula. The most concrete expectation is related to an annual transfer of 7 billion MT to be used for investment purposes, based on the District's own priorities. They also expect (although underlining that this is still unclear to them) to be given increased funds for activities related to education, health, agricultural development and roads through transfers of resources currently administered by the provincial administration. As the District Administration sees it, the new decentralised system will also include improved funding at the level of the Administrative Posts and Localities (including small investment budgets), and salaries (or "compensation") for the two highest levels of traditional authorities (*régulos* and *cabos*), with tri-monthly remuneration of MT 750,000 and MT 450,000 respectively. Formally, the key aspects of the Local Government Acts are (see RdM 2005; see also Macdonald et al. 2005):

Box 1: On key aspects of LOLE

- To effectively contribute to the country's sustainable development and towards the PARPA's objectives
- Make the district the main territorial unit of the organization and main operation site of the State's Local Administration and the basis for the development, economic, social and cultural planning
- Guarantee that the province promotes/executes central policies, defines local policies, coordinates, supervises and supports the district's actions and respective DAs
- Guarantee public institution structures' suitability for a greater organizational efficiency and, consequently, contribute to the country's development
- Restructure the organization and functioning of the DAs towards increased opportunities, efficiency and efficacy in the mobilization of rational and optimized resources

The District is divided into three Administrative Posts (see Map 2). Murrupula covers the largest area and has the largest population (Table 5), and includes Murrupula Vila. Nihessiue and Chinga are located in the southern and northern parts of the District respectively, with the former bordering the province of Zambezia (District of Gilé) and the latter the District of Ribáue in Nampula Province. The Nihessiue Administrative Post is situated 30 km from Vila Murrupula, and is located in old buildings left by an international NGO. There are hardly any people living in the area where the administrative post is located; there are no other public institutions nearby; and the road leading there is a dead end, with hardly any traffic. There are concentrations of population in the area

administered by the Post, but these are far away from the Post itself. Chinga is located 42 km from the Vila. The Administrative Post is more centrally located there, adjacent to the main road to Ribaué and in a locality which also houses a primary school, a health post and a recently established small open market. In both cases the roads are bad and transportation to the District Centre difficult. A bridge on the road between Chinga and Murrupula Vila is currently destroyed, requiring a detour that nearly doubles the distance.

According to the District Administration, the two Administrative Posts have contrasting political and socio-economic characteristics, with the former being more developed and the latter less developed and "more difficult to relate to" as the District Administrator put it. Chinga (particularly the Namilasse area) housed a large and important Renamo base during the war, and was basically ignored by the District Administration until around 2000 (Accord, pers. comm.). There is now a more active policy of incorporating the area into the District and its development efforts. The *Chefes do Posto* are experienced government employees, but are working under difficult circumstances. One of the Heads currently has no staff at all, and the other has three. Only one of the Administrative Posts can be reached by cellphone, with the other depending on irregular radio contact. The only means of transportation available for the Post are small motorcycles, which are frequently out of order and/or petrol. Furthermore, the *Chefes* have very small budgets to work with, beyond what is necessary to cover salaries and other running costs. All this contributes to the fact that the roles of the administrative posts and their *Chefes* are still unclear for large numbers of the population they serve.

The administrative level of Locality (*Localidade*) has been implemented for the Administrative Post of Murrupula with the localities Murrupula Vila, Kazuzu and Namitotilane, but only partially for Nihessiue and Chinga. In Nihessiue, two areas covering about 40 percent of the administrative area are currently designated as Localities, but only one Head of Locality has been appointed. In Chinga, only Namilasse is declared a *Localidade*. As a former Renamo stronghold, the Post has been given the label Political Locality (*Localidade Política*), with the official appointment of a Frelimo member as *Chefe de Localidade*. This points towards a complicating factor in the administration of the District, namely, unclear boundaries between the State and the Frelimo Party which has particular implications in an area where Renamo has been (and still is) considered an important political force.

In addition to the District Administration *per se*, the line ministries represented in the District are currently administered through parallel line ministry structures, but the district directors meet regularly with the district administration and are aware of the plans for increased autonomy and reorganisation towards a "District Government". The educational sector in the Murrupula District is currently made up of 87 Primary Education 1 schools (Grades 1-5), five complete primary schools (Grades 1-7), and one secondary school located in the Murrupula Vila (Grades 8-10). In 2005, 27,029 pupils in Grade 1-9 classes (up from 22,422 in 2004) were taught by 385 teachers, giving an average of 70.2 pupils per teacher. There are no available figures on the proportion of children of school age who actually attend school. The health sector in the District consists of four health centres (*centros de saúde*); two health posts (*postos de saúde*); and seven first aid posts (*postos de socorro comunitários*). Agricultural sector activities are primarily carried out by 15 agricultural extension officers working through a total of approximately 100 agricultural associations. Finally, the police and the judicial system are present in the form of a small police force, a district court and a local prison.

Having outlined the public administration of the Murrupula District, perhaps the most striking feature that we note is the extent to which the populations of Nihessiue and Chinga consider the State to be absent from their communities and households. Both in the mapping of important community institutions and in the Venn diagrams where people were asked to list individuals and

institutions important for them (see Section 1.3), government institutions only rarely appear, despite the fact that they are represented in both administrative areas and that people are well aware of their presence in Murrupula Vila. Our analysis will also show that the poorer households and individuals are, the *less* relevant they find government institutions to be and the *more* relevant they consider the extended family, matrilineage and traditional authorities.

The structures and systems of traditional authorities are still very much intact in the Murrupula District, and their influence is considerable. There are altogether seven *régulos* in the District, and each has a clearly defined geographical area of responsibility (see Map 2).¹² Each area is further sub-divided into *cabos*, which is a term used for both the area as such and the headman (*cabo*) in charge of it. The *cabos* act as representatives of the *régulo* in their respective areas, but they also have a certain autonomy. In the Nihessiu area where *régulo* Pepa resides there is a total of four *cabos*, and in the Chinga area where *régulo* Namacorro resides there are two *cabos*. Each *cabo* again has a system of village heads or *chefes de povoações*. These report to the *cabo* (and through him to the *régulo*) to keep them informed about developments in the relevant village. In addition to these, there are also traditional systems of a Council of Elders (*Conselho de Anciões*) and local, communal police and courts.

Below this level there is a system of "kings" and "queens" (*mwene* and *apwiamwene* in the Makwa language). These are heads of matrilineal clans or *nihimos* (see Chapter 5), and have specific tasks related to internal *nihimo* matters concerning social guidance and conflicts over land and commodities. Finally, traditional leaders of importance are sorcerers or witchdoctors (*feiticeiros*). They not only have influence over issues of physical and mental health *per se*, but also over other areas of life in the community where witchcraft (*feitico*) is involved, relating to processes ranging from agricultural production to social control of individuals considered "different" by the community. In one of the *cabos*, the *cabo* estimated the total number of *feiticeiros* to be between 35 and 40.

While the *régulos* and *cabos* as political authorities retain a role and influence in their traditional areas of responsibility, perhaps the most noticeable feature is the extent to which their roles interrelate with those of the State. At one level, both the District Administration and the Heads of Administrative Posts emphasise how they depend on traditional leaders to fulfil their roles, because "they have close contact with their populations and know what is going on", as one of the *Chefes do Posto* put it. In line with this, *régulos* and *cabos* not only call public meetings on behalf of State representatives, but they normally also take part in such meetings. Similarly, the Heads of Administrative Posts bring the traditional leaders along with them to meetings at the provincial level. Finally, there are several cases of "cross-overs": in one of the Administrative Posts the *régulo* was *Chefe do Posto* for a period. In another a *cabo* has an important role as head of the school board for a ZIP (*Zona de Influência Pedagógica*) covering seven primary schools. And there are areas within the Administrative Posts that have still not been defined as *Localidade* and where the *cabo* functions as Head.

The close relationship between the State and traditional authorities has been *de facto* recognised through the collection of taxes and fees from the population under their jurisdiction. *Régulos* and *cabos* normally collect the person tax of MT 15,000 per year, the bicycle tax of MT 140,000 per year, and the daily tax of MT 3000 levied on traders (*comerciantes*) who sell their goods in public places. The *régulos* and *cabos* receive a percentage of what they collect as compensation (*compensação*) for their work. According to the District Administration, this is 20 percent and 5 percent of what they collect, respectively. With the planned reintroduction of salaries for *régulos*

¹² The first map we were given by the District Administration to support our work showed the seven areas with the name of the relevant *régulo*, which indicates the importance attached to them by the Administration.

and *cabos* as part of the new Local Government Act, interdependence between the State and traditional authorities will become further formalised. As we shall see, the practical implications of the relationship between the State and traditional authorities will vary with the historical and current conditions in the area in question. It is clear, however, that in the Murrupula District an active and targeted poverty reduction policy cannot be carried out currently without the active involvement of traditional institutions.

Having given an account of the administrative system and political processes in Murrupula, we will end this section with a presentation of people's own perceptions of what they see as the most important institutions for themselves and their community, whether at national, provincial, district or community levels. As explained in Section 1.3, a group of people drawn from a combination of community leaders and people with higher education (normally teachers) was asked to draw a map of such institutions. In all four study areas, the groups chose to draw a map of their immediate community, with emphasis on traditional authorities, non-governmental organisations, party structures, churches and private houses (usually representing people who had "made it" economically), rather than government institutions. No one included the district administration and only one *cabo* included the administrative post, both of which have been given key roles by Government in poverty alleviation. Each drawing session was followed by discussions about why particular institutions were emphasised, others were less emphasised, and yet others were excluded from the map, discussions which largely confirmed the importance of traditional institutions. One noticeable exception is the role of the Party, which in Muquela (i.e. the community with the longest history of inclusion into government-controlled areas and closest to the district centre) was considered important, but without being directly associated with the State as such.

Appendix 3 includes an example of one of the maps drawn. It is one of the simplest maps, and is perhaps most revealing for what it does not include as for what it includes (see Appendix 3 for an example of a more elaborate map). Whereas a number of government institutions are omitted (including the administrative post, the health post and most schools), practically all the mosques and churches are included as being important. Churches and mosques are important not only in practical and economic terms (very few of them have any money, food or other means to distribute), but mainly as social arenas and sources of comfort in difficult times. Also included are the houses of the main traditional leader (the *cabo*) and of the Party secretary (who in this case is a Party person with local roots). Three other institutions have been included: one is a mountain on the outskirts of the community, which was very important as a refuge during the war. The second is a *machamba* and cattle farm, owned by a person from outside the community, which is considerably larger than any local farm. And the third is a drawing of the only house with a zinc roof in the community, a sign of economic success and upward social mobility. As we shall see in Chapter 5, the importance of the extended family, the *nihimo* and traditional leaders is reaffirmed when households are asked to identify the most important persons and institutions in their coping strategies.

3.3 The District Economy

As noted above, the financial basis for the Murrupula District is currently in a transitional phase. The District has hitherto received earmarked funds from central and provincial government for its own administrative costs, and parallel funding through line ministries for activities related to health, education, agriculture and social security. The new Local Government Act (LOLE) envisages higher financial autonomy and decentralisation of responsibility for planning and implementation (RdM 2005; see also MacDonald et al. 2005). Funds will still be transferred from central and provincial government, but with fewer strings attached and with better options for keeping funds from locally generated taxes, fees and other sources of income.

The District Administration is in the process of preparing for such a situation. Table 6 presents the District's *Plano Económico e Social* (PES) for 2006, as this was submitted to the Government in September 2005. As seen from the table,¹³ the primary funding source is the State budget, with MT 31,326.75 bn. The District also envisages funding from external sources (NGOs) of MT 1,672.24 bn, and its own income from taxes and fees of MT 599,56 bn. The bulk of the expected cost is related to education, district administration, agricultural services and health. Notably, no budgeting is provided for administrative posts, localities or public works (the Ministry of Public Works is not represented in the District). Of the running costs (*despesas de funcionamento*) of MT 24,326.76 bn, as much as MT 18,636.76 bn is budgeted for "salaries and remuneration", MT 1,433.75 bn for "other expenditures" and MT 4,229.50 bn for goods and services ("*bens e serviços*"). Only MT 8,727.24 bn is budgeted for investments, of which most is the promised MT 7 billion that is part of the new decentralisation initiative. At the time of our study, the Head of Finance indicated that the District would actually receive only MT 21 bn (63 percent) of the sum budgeted for. Furthermore, the MT 7 bn for investments had not yet been received.

Table 6: Budget for Murrupula District, 2006 (MT bn).

State Organs	Total Budget	Finance Sources		
		EU	Taxes	Donors
District Administration	12,415.81	10.743,57	599.56	1,672.24
Administrative Offices	0.00	0.00		
Localities	0.00	0.00		
Health Services	1,952.65	1,952.65		
Education Services	17,757.97	17,757.97		
Agriculture Services	7,72.52	7,72.52		
Welfare Services	100.40	100.40		
Cultural Services	0.00	0.00		
Law Services	263.65	263.65		
Mineral Services	0.00	0.00		
Trade Industry Services	0.00	0.00		
INEFP Distr. Delegation	0.00	0.00		
Labor Services	0.00	0.00		
Fisheries Services	0.00	0.00		
Public Works Prov. Dir.	0.00	0.00		
Total Budget	32,998.99	31.326.75	599.56	1,672.24

Source: PES 2006, District of Murrupula

Given the substantial challenges in the Murrupula District and the political signals of decentralisation of responsibilities for poverty reduction policies, the budget of MT 32,998.99 bn for a population of over 100,000 does not seem particularly high. Another noticeable feature of the budget is the very low figure for local revenue. This stands in sharp contrast to the proportion such revenue normally represents for local governments in Southern Africa (see Fjeldstad et al. 2005).

The dominant economic activity in the District of Murrupula is agriculture, and its small-scale industries and commerce are practically all related to this sector. The District's own data show that the total area under production in the 2004/05 agricultural season was 38,131 hectares (Ha) with an estimated total production of 109,131 metric tons (mt). Table 7 below shows the estimated production of each individual crop, which is dominated by the main subsistence crops cassava

¹³ The budget has been followed up and changed by hand and is at times difficult to interpret, but does give an indication of the plans and expectations of the Administration.

(*mandioca*) and maize (*milho*), and the main cash crops tobacco, sorghum and rice. Although the figures should be treated with caution, they indicate low levels of production compared with the national averages, considerable variation between seasons, and low production, particularly of fruits and vegetables. Nevertheless, according to the District Administration cash crops accounted for 38,200 mt out of total production of 109,309 MT.

Table 7: Agricultural Production in the District of Murrupula, 2004/2005

Crop	Hectares	Production	Hectares	Production
Cassava	18,533	93,000	18,720	94,000
Corn	2,845	2,731	2,995	2,875
Peanuts	2,935	1,937	4,993	3,295
Rice	2,458	1,194	930	679
Mapira	3,379	2,298	5,070	3,448
Nhembe Beans	3,852	1,733	1,338	602
Boer Beans	1,580	711	2,000	900
Mexoueira	296	181	348	212
Sesame	106	48	34	15
Sunflower	92	28	17	5
Horticultural	15	22	195	292
Sweet potato	194	388	1,491	2,982
Total	36,285	104,871	38,131	109,309

Source: Direcção Distrital de Agricultura, 2006

There is no strong tradition of cattle-herding in the District, with a total number of only 559 head of cattle registered in 2005. The most common domestic animals are chickens and goats (Table 8). The District has considerable forest areas that are important for domestic use, but logging for commercial purposes is primarily undertaken by private interests from outside the District, on the basis of licences.¹⁴ Finally, there is an increasing interest in inland aquaculture (*piscicultura*) with the establishment of a total of 235 fish ponds throughout the District.

Table 8: Animal Production in the District of Murrupula, 2003/2004

Cattle breeding Species	2003	2004
Bovine	534	588
Goats	23,560	23,600
Pigs	4,339	4,348
Lambs	4,215	4,270
Chickens	50,100	50,800
Rabbits	2,385	3,420
Total	85,133	86,026

Source: Direcção Distrital de Agricultura, 2006

As we shall see in the coming chapters, agriculture is the dominant economic activity in our areas of study. While local farmers argue that their area is generally fertile and rain is usually ample, they are also faced with severe structural problems. They particularly highlight limited access to

¹⁴ The Catholic Mission located just outside the Vila apparently also has interests in the logging business.

effective means of production (with the large majority still using the traditional hoe); inadequate access to agricultural labour (being difficult to find beyond traditional systems of labour exchange and expensive); and difficult access to external markets and concomitant low prices for their products from traders coming to their areas at the time of the *campanha*. There is no readily available access to formal credit except through associations (see below), and customary systems of rotating saving funds (*stique/ikirimo*) are not very common.

The District Administration is keenly aware of the "exploitative nature" of the relationship between farmers and traders (*comerciantes*), as they put it. It sees two interlinked problems related to the bargaining position of the farmers. One is that farmers do not plan well and tend to sell their products at the same time, directly following harvest. The other is that prices obtained from traders are far too low compared to what the products sell for in the main population centres and markets, including Nampula. Strongly arguing that the days of marketing boards and fixed prices are over, the agricultural development strategy of the District focuses on support to associations (*associações*) to combat their comparative disadvantage. Through such associations, farmers are expected to improve their systems of production with better agricultural methods, as well as their bargaining position vis a vis traders. Associations are also meant to be sources of credit. In 2005, there were 107 groups/associations in the District with a total of 2,463 members. Of these, 1,713 were men and 750 were women. According to the District Administration, these associations "benefited around 8,621 people" (GDM 2005b: 3). The associations are organised into 10 Unions (*Foruns*), of which three currently are formalised (*escritura pública*) and seven are in the process of becoming formalised. There are also 16 special women's groups. While the associations have important functions, we shall also see that their effectiveness is hampered not only by limited resources from the State and the two NGOs that are particularly active in this area (CONCERN and CLUSA), but also by local socio-cultural constraints related to this type of organisation.

Practically all of the small-scale industries in the District are related to the agricultural sector. According to the District Administration, the district boasts two processing plants for cashew nuts; 16 grain-mills; two saw mills; and one factory for the shelling (*descasque*) of rice. There is also a small mining industry, with a total registered production of 7,500 grammes of gold in 2005.

Commercial outlets in the Murrupula District are totally dominated by informal markets and the informal economy. There are no formal, licensed stores, either in the *Vila* or in smaller population centres, with the exception of a few food and drink outlets along the National Road that primarily service travellers passing by the district. All sales of processed food and commodities are undertaken by individual traders, primarily from Nampula. The main market for local products is situated in the Vila, with approximately 50 traders selling basic foodstuffs, second-hand clothes, meat (mainly chicken and pork), fish (mainly small krill) and a few more specialised commodities such as agricultural tools and bicycle spare parts.

Due to severe problems of communication and transport, most people in the District's rural areas primarily depend on traders coming to their villages to buy agricultural products or sell commodities. Many traders do both, which puts them in an even stronger bargaining position. One example of this is a widespread exchange of agricultural products for dried fish at the end of each harvest, with the terms of trade heavily in favour of the *comerciantes* from Angoche and Moma. Prices for agricultural products seem to decrease and prices for commodities to increase the farther away from the main commercial centres (i.e. Nampula City and Murrupula Vila) one gets.

The road network and transportation has a major impact on the development of the District, both socially (in the form of access to hospitals, schools and other social institutions) and economically (in the form of access to markets for the sale of agricultural products and purchase of goods). Murrupula is connected by National Road 285 to the north and Nampula City and to the south with

Alto Molócue in Zambezia Province. The road is tarred, but narrow and full of potholes, which cause serious accidents. For the populations in the areas of study, the road to Angoche and Moma is of particular importance for people in Nehessiue, and the road to Ribáue is of particular importance for people in Chinga. Beyond these, the road network is non-existent or very poor. Many people in Nehessiue and Chinga live 5-10 km from any road, and many roads can only be used on bicycles or motorcycles, particularly in the rainy season.

We end this chapter by presenting the Murrupula District Administration's own perceptions of the principle obstacles to development in the Murrupula District (Governo do Distrito de Murrupula 2005: 7).

Box 2: *District Perceptions of Main Development Challenges*

- Weak participation from vendors in the sales of equipment and agricultural tools
- Deficient control of the agricultural commercial activity
- Weak coverage of drinkable water supply
- Irregularities in the supply of electrical energy
- Lack of teachers and health sector personnel
- Late arrival of the free distribution book
- Lack of facilities for the Administrative Offices' secretaries and residence of their respective chiefs
- Lack of residencies for some of the district directors and teachers of the Murrupula High School

4. Socio-economic Determinants of Poverty

Having described the political and economic context of the District of Murrupula, we now move on to take a closer look at the conditions of poverty and well-being in two of the district's three Administrative Posts. In Nihessiue we will focus on *Cabo Muquela* and *Cabo Cômua*, and in Chinga on *Cabo Chakalua* and *Cabo Merica* (see Map 2). More specifically, the purpose of this chapter is to assess the relevance and significance of the three major poverty determinants defined in the National Household Survey (INE 2004a; GdM 2005) for the District of Murrupula. These are: low levels of education within the household; high levels of dependency within the household; and low levels of income from agriculture and industry. We will also assess the importance of other variables deemed particularly significant during the course of our survey, including health and geographical space.

The Chapter will be based on the quantitative survey carried out for this study (see Section 1.3 and Appendix 2). Economic differentiation in Nihessiue and Chinga in terms of income and assets is very limited, with the large majority being very poor or poor and a small minority being better off. As this is not statistically significant, we will in the coming pages focus on the general level of poverty with reference to income, expenditure and assets, while analysing inequality and processes of economic differentiation in Chapter 5.

The survey is based on the household as the central unit of analysis, in line with common practice. The household is seen as representing the main social group involved in the process of making decisions about production and income, expenditure, education and health, and other aspects of well-being and poverty. Having said this, anthropology has long problematised the household as a social unit of analysis (see Chapter 1). There has been a shift away from the perception of the household as a bounded social unit, towards a view which stresses its permeability in form and structure with internal relations significantly affected by social, economic and political processes outside them. Furthermore, there has been a move away from understanding the household as a coherent social unit mobilising around common interests to a perception of the household as a locus of competing interests, rights, obligations and resources, particularly around gender. While the focus will be on the household as a social unit in this chapter, we will return to some of these issues in Chapter 5.

4.1 Household Composition and Dependencies

The National Household Survey (INE 2004a) has defined a household as 'people living under the same roof'. However, our survey shows that this does not fully coincide with the social organisation of households in Murrupula. There are people who live under the same roof without sharing resources in kind or cash (i.e. do not "eat from the same pot"), and there are people who live under different roofs but do "eat from the same pot". In our survey we have defined the household as "One or more persons, who are not necessarily related by kin and who do not necessarily live under the same roof, who share and use the same resources". The definition assumes that the interviewee will be able to identify the people who "eat from their pot", and hence who belong to their household. It takes in household members normally residing outside the dwelling (such as children studying away from home and receiving resources in kind or cash), as well as people sleeping under different roofs but eating from the same pot (such as polygamous units).

Of the 120 households interviewed, 91 percent were male headed and 9 percent were female headed. This is a considerably lower incidence of female-headed households than the national and

Nampula averages of 16 percent and 15 percent respectively (INE 2004a). One reason may be more stable conjugal unions in rural areas such as Murrupula. A second may be easier entry into marriage for single mothers in a setting where children belong to the matrilineage (in the province of Nampula 48 percent of all girls under 20 years of age become pregnant) (Mds 2005). A third may be the easier inclusion of single mothers into their natal families in areas with an uxori-local residence pattern (i.e. where a married couple settles with the wife's family).

The average age of household heads is 42 years (Table 9). Male household heads tend to be younger (average 41 years) than female household heads (average 56 years). The relatively high average age may be related to the generally high age of a population where many younger people have not returned after the war or have left their communities in search of employment and better conditions in the bigger population centres. Most female-headed households are made up of divorced or widowed women. In a matrilineal setting such as Murrupula, divorce is relatively easy and common, and women tend to leave men when the latter lose strength and become less productive. Notably, a considerable number of the interviewees did not know the age of the household head.

Table 9: *Age of Household Head, by Sex of Household Head*

Age category	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Less than 25 years	11.9	13	.0	0	10.8	13
26 – 35	24.8	27	9.1	1	23.3	28
36 – 45	14.7	16	9.1	1	14.2	17
46 – 55	11.0	12	9.1	1	10.8	13
More than 55	14.7	16	27.3	3	15.8	19
Don't know	22.9	25	45.5	5	25.0	30
Total	100.0	109	100.0	11	100.0	120

The average number of household members is 5.1 (Table 10). This is higher than the national average of 4.8 and the Nampula average of 4.4 established by the National Household Survey (INE 2004a). Male-headed households in our survey are generally larger (5.2 members) than female-headed households (3.9 members), which coincides with the trend in the National Household Survey. The difference in household size may partly be due to the expansion of the household to include members not living under the same roof but eating from the same pot, who account for 13 percent of the sample.

Table 10. *Number of Household Members by Sex of Household Head*

Household members	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
1-2	11.9	13	36.4	4	14.2.	17
3-4	31.2	34	27.3	3	30.8	37
5-6	29.4	32	27.3	3	29.2	35
7+	27.5	30	9.1	1	25.8	31
Total	100	109	100	11	100	120

The households are typically composed of a mother and father, and up to 3 dependent children under the age of 15 years (Table 11). Male-headed households typically also include siblings and other relatives, from either the husband's or the wife's extended family. Female-headed households rarely include children, due to the high age of female household heads, who have children who have already left the household. At the same time, female-headed households contain other kin members such as nephews, nieces and grandchildren. Fifteen percent of the households include the children of deceased extended family members. Taking children as "dependants" *per se*, the households in Nihessiue and Chinga do have a heavy burden (see below).

Table 11. Household Member Categories by Sex of Household Head

Household members	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Spouse	97.2	106	18.2	2	90	108
Parents	0.9	1	0	0	0.8	1
Children	81.7	89	63.6	7	80	96
Grand-children	6.4	7	9.1	1	6.7	8
Nieces/nephews	6.4	7	18.2	2	7.5	9
Siblings	4.6	5	0	0	4.2	5
Other relatives	20.2	22	0	0	18.3	22
Non-relatives	1.8	2	0	0	1.6	2

Spouses in the majority of households (61.7 percent) live together without any formal marriage contract, while 26.6 percent are married in church or mosque or by civil law (Table 12). The former include people who have gone through traditional marriage ceremonies, implying that they are accepted by the extended family and *nihimo* as partners. The low proportion of female-headed households in the sense of a woman with children who has not been married (i.e. who is not divorced and not a widow) is a peculiar feature of the Murrupula social formation. Again, the relative ease with which women with children in matrilineal society can marry or become included in their natal family is a possible explanation.

Table 12. Civil Status by Sex of Household Head

Civil status	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Single	0.9	1	9.1	1	1.7	2
Married	28.4	31	9.1	1	26.6	32
Consensual union	67.9	74	0	0	61.7	74
Separated/divorced	0	0	9.1	1	0.8	1
Widowed	1.8	2	72.7	8	8.3	10
No information	0.9	1	0	0	0.8	1
Total	100.0	109	100.0	11	100.0	120

Our survey also found a lower incidence of polygamy (3 percent) than was found in the National Household Survey for Mozambique and Nampula (see Chapter 2). One reason may be that Murrupula is located in the interior of the province, where the Christian influence is stronger than

the Islamic (see below). It may also be explained by general poverty in the area we have studied: most polygamous relationships seem to occur with men who are older and economically well-off. Of the three polygamous relationships in our survey, two are of men over 45 years of age with incomes considerably higher than the average.

In terms of the stability of conjugal unions, religious affiliation seems to work in two opposing directions. The majority (42 percent) of households are Christian (mainly Catholic) and 24 percent are Muslims. The perception of the people is that religion has positive implications for the stability of households. At the same time, as many as 33 percent say that they also adhere to traditional beliefs (*epepa* or *mukutho*) in which the roles of matrilineage and *nihimo* are important, making conjugal unions less significant. Household stability and internal household relationships have probably been more directly affected by the war and poverty over time. While 71 percent of the household heads were born and have always lived in the *cabo* where they currently live, 20 percent of the households have at least one member who was displaced (*deslocado*) during the war. And there seems to be a general acceptance that a woman may leave a man who has proved unable to take proper care of her economically or who otherwise treats her badly.

The implications of household composition and dependency for poverty and poverty alleviation depend to a large extent on intra-household decision-making and the distribution of responsibilities. We will discuss some quantitative expressions of intra-household relationships here, returning to this issue in more detail in Chapter 5.

The issue of the intra-household distribution of responsibilities is often addressed in quantitative surveys with a version of the question "Who makes the decisions in the household?" The answer is almost invariably the man, as this is publicly expected in the Mozambican socio-cultural setting. We have found this subject to be considerably more complex. Our data implies that decisions are often taken by the man and the woman together - even though the (public) implementation of such decisions may be undertaken along gender lines. Moreover, children are often very important for daily chores in agriculture, small-scale trading and domestic responsibilities such as taking care of younger siblings, which questions the notion of "dependency".

In the daily chores, women are mainly responsible for activities that relate to household management, such as cooking, gathering wood, collecting water, looking after the dwelling and looking after children. Men, on the other hand, are responsible for activities involving greater physical strength, such as constructing the house and preparing fields for farming as well as economic relations outside the household. Men decide what and how much to crop, how much to keep and how much to sell. Children are from an early age socialised into such activities along gender lines. Less arduous but time-consuming agricultural tasks such as weeding and harvesting are usually carried out by all the household members, including children of both sexes.

Larger decisions on income expenditure are taken by the head of household, irrespective of sex (Table 13). Even in households with a male household head larger decisions with implications for the household's welfare seem to be taken by both men and women. Health is a good example, as it takes a considerable toll on both the time and resources of households (see below). Our survey shows that looking after the sick within the household is a shared responsibility between the husband and wife. However, when it comes to extra-household medical care, it is a gendered activity. If the household family member who is ill is a male, he will most likely be accompanied to the health unit by the male head of the household. Similarly, if it is a female, she will be taken to the health unit by the wife of the head of the household.

Table 13. *Decision-Making on Income Expenditure*

Decision-maker	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Head of Household	62.4	68	90	9	64.7	77
Men	18.3	20	0	0	16.8	20
Women	0	0	0	0	0	0
Men and Women	18.3	20	0	0	16.8	20
All Household	0.9	1	10	1	1.7	2
Total	100	109	100	10	100	119

Having said all this, our survey also confirms that the household is not an isolated independent unit but heavily dependent on other social entities around it. People were first asked to identify the last serious problem the household faced, and who was approached to solve it. Problems were primarily related to death and disease and conflicts related to adultery. The majority of households turned to relatives or representatives of the *nihimo*. Police or other government institutions are marginal in conflict resolution. Furthermore, people were asked to identify the main problems in their community, and to whom they turned to solve these. As seen from Table 14, the main problems were identified as theft, alcohol abuse and adultery. To solve these issues, people primarily turned to traditional leaders (*régulos* and *cabos*), then to the community tribunal and the police.

Table 14. *Main Problems Identified by Sex of Household Head*

Problem	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
No problem	15.6	17	27.3	3	16.6	20
Drinking	23.9	26	27.3	3	24.2	29
Adultery	17.4	19	0	0	15.8	19
Theft	25.7	28	36.4	4	26.7	32
Land conflicts	9.2	10	9.1	1	9.2	11
Water conflicts	1.8	2	0	0	1.6	2
Other	6.4	7	0	0	5.8	7
Total	100	109	100	11	100	120

In sum, the households in Murrupula are larger than the averages defined for Mozambique and Nampula in the National Household Survey. The households also contain a large number of dependants, including children of deceased relatives. Most conjugal relationships are informal and based on traditional marriage ceremonies, which also reflects the continued importance of matrilineage for larger household decisions. The proportion of female-headed households is low, contradicting national trends of the feminisation of poverty (see Chapter 2) and reflecting the continued importance of tradition in Murrupula. While our survey confirms the relationship between household size and dependency rates and poverty, we have also shown that the household is a complex social unit. Decision-making seem to be more shared, and the dependence on external institutions more pronounced, than is often assumed.

4.2 Agriculture, Income and Expenditure

The main economic activity in Nihessiu and Chinga is arable agriculture (Table 15). Production is carried out with a low level of technology, thus depending on the physical strength of members of the household. Practically all the households have their own fields or *machambas*, and there is no scarcity of land as such, even though land close to water sources (rivers and lakes) is subject to dispute. There are also large areas of land that are left fallow, either because of land-mines or because atrocities committed during the war made them unusable due to evil spirits (*fantasmas*).

Table 15. *Agricultural Possessions by Sex of Household Head*

Agricultural possessions	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Fields	100	109	100	11	100	120
Goats	41.9	39	25	2	40.6	41
Pigs	28	26	12.5	1	26.7	27
Chickens	87.1	81	87.5	7	87.1	88
Ducks	2.2	2	12.5	1	3	3
Livestock	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	13	12	12.5	1	12.9	13

Households produce mainly for subsistence, using their own household labour. Close to 80 percent do not use any kind of technique to fertilise their fields, 13 percent use manure, 3 percent use field rotation, and the remaining 4 percent "turn the soil". The main subsistence crops produced are cassava and maize, often supplemented by peanuts and mushrooms. Hardly anyone produces vegetables and fruit, due to a combination of a lack of tradition, a lack of information about their nutritional value and the distance to markets that will pay for them. Animal husbandry is common, but mainly in the form of small domesticated animals. No local households possess cattle. There are cattle and larger commercial farms in some of the study areas, but these are invariably owned by outsiders.

Despite the fact that they practise subsistence farming, most households are able to sell some of their agricultural produce for cash (see Table 16). The main cash crops are maize, peanuts, sorghum and, in a few cases, rice and beans. More male-headed households sell agricultural products (82 percent) than do female-headed households (46 percent), and the former have higher revenues. Income from agriculture remains low.¹⁵ The majority of the households earned less than 250,000 MT in the last agricultural season (*campanha*). Only 16 percent of the households were able to earn more than 750,000 MT.

Table 16. *Income from Agricultural Production by Sex of Household Head*

Agricultural income	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
< 250,000	39.8	35	80.0	4	41.9	39
251,000 -500,000	29.5	26	20.0	1	29.0	27
501,000 -750,000	13.6	12	0	0	12.9	12
751,000- 1,000,000	11.4	10	0	0	10.8	10
1,000,000 <	5.7	5	0	0	5.4	5
Total	100.0	88	100.0	5	100.0	93

¹⁵ Income figures are typically under-reported and should therefore be taken as indications rather than absolute figures.

As noted in Chapter 3, the establishment of associations is the main strategy of local government in its efforts to support local farmers. Associations are primarily meant to support the introduction of improved agricultural methods, introduce savings and credit schemes and enhance the bargaining position of farmers vis-a-vis traders. In Niheissie and Chinga, 8 percent of the households are members of associations, which are primarily related to agricultural production and marketing. Associations potentially have an important role, but, as we shall see in Chapter 5, they suffer from wariness and distrust in these communities resulting from the war and poverty.¹⁶

Over half the families (54 percent) in Niheissie and Chinga have alternative income generating activities (Table 17), which are generally closely related to agriculture. The main alternative activity is 'ganho-ganho', which refers to a person working in other people's fields in exchange for remuneration in cash or kind (often dried fish or a local brew called *oteka* or *kapanka*). The second alternative activity is informal trade, with agricultural produce being sold or bartered, either at small local markets or to travelling *comerciantes*. The third includes non-agricultural production such as crafts (straw mats, straw baskets and clay pots), the production and sale of home-made beverages, carpentry and tailoring. Wood collection or charcoal production is not an alternative source of income in the area, as wood is readily available.

Table 17. Income from Non-Agricultural Activities by Sex of Household Head

Non-agricultural income	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
< 250,000	56.9	33	75.0	3	58.1	36
251,000-500,000	24.1	14	0	0	22.6	14
501,000 – 750,000	12.1	7	25.0	1	12.9	8
751,000 – 1,000,000	1.7	1	0	0	1.6	1
1,000,000 <	5.2	3	0	0	4.8	3
Total	100.0	58	100.0	4	100.0	62

Revenues resulting from these alternative sources of income are low: for more than half the households with such income they amount to less than 250,000 MT a month. Only 5 percent of the households are able to earn more than 1,000,000 MT.

Some households (42 percent) also have income from animal sales (Table 18). As we shall discuss in more detail below, animals are normally sold (rather than kept or consumed) in times of severe food crisis or when special needs arise for education, health or compensation for adultery or other offences committed by family members. Male-headed households have larger herds and a larger variety of animals, including chickens, goats and pigs. More female-headed households (60 percent) than male-headed households had sold animals prior to the survey, underlining their vulnerability. None of the households has livestock, which is considered the most profitable domestic animal. For the majority of the households, their last sale of animals was for less than 250,000 MT.

¹⁶ A farmer heading an association in Chinga had received oxen from an NGO to try to introduce animal traction, but nobody wanted to work with him, arguing that the oxen were really his and he just wanted free labour.

Table 18. *Income from Sale of Animals by Sex of Household Head*

Income from animals	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
< 250,000	66.7	30	80.0	4	68.0	34
251,000-500,000	20.0	9	20.0	1	20.0	10
500,000 <	13.3	6	0	0	12.0	6
Total	100.0	45	100.0	5	100.0	50

Only 13 percent of the households receive support from external institutions, normally in relation to projects linked to associations. No one receives support from the National Institute for Social Security (INSS), the institution which supports vulnerable households. Furthermore, only 1 percent of the households participate in traditional saving systems (*stique/ikirimo*). The limited importance of traditional rotating systems may again be the outcome of the wariness and mutual apprehension created during the war, and the fact that poor households simply do not have anything to invest.

No household in the areas of study has formal employment. Few people are qualified, and there is hardly any such employment available in the communities, except in schools and health posts. According to the *régulos* and *cabos*, the few younger people from Nehessiue and Chinga who have higher education have moved out, primarily to Nampula City. Local people in formal employment positions would represent a very important example for households who cannot now see the value of education for *their* children (see below).

Finally, only 7 percent of the households in Nihessiue and Chinga receive remittances from family members outside the community (Table 19). In similar social settings in other countries in the region, remittances play a vital role for the rural economy. On the other hand, as many as 32 percent of the households claim that they support relatives outside the household. These are primarily extended matrilineal family members, but also include children from other relationships.¹⁷ Our survey shows that 75 percent of the households have some kind of contact with Nampula or the Vila, but we know too little about the role and content of such urban-rural linkages in Murrupula, as in Mozambique in general.

Table 19. *Received Remittances by Sex of Household Head*

Reception of remittances	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Yes	5.5	6	18.2	2	6.7	8
No	94.5	103	81.8	9	93.3	112
Total	100.0	109	100.0	11	100.0	120

Turning to expenditure, this was assessed using six specific categories: food, cleaning/hygiene products, health, education, clothing and transport. Overall expenditure was very low (Table 20). Very few households (5 percent) had incurred any expenditure on transport in the two weeks prior to the survey and only 30 percent of the households had spent anything on clothing, education and health. This means that most of the household expenditure is oriented towards basic consumption, such as food and cleaning/hygiene products. However, even in these categories only a little over

¹⁷ Both the issue of remittances and support to children from other relationships are classical areas of under-reporting in socio-economic surveys.

half the households (56 percent) had spent anything during the two weeks prior to our survey. The large majority of households produce most of their food supply, and have very little income to supplement this with purchased food or other commodities.

Table 20. Household Expenditure by Sex of Household Head

Expenditure	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
No expenditure	15.9	17	63.6	7	20.3	24
< 25,000	27.1	29	9.1	1	25.4	30
26,000-50,000	15	16	0	0	13.6	16
51,000-100,000	10.3	11	18.2	2	11	13
101,000-150,000	8.4	9	0	0	7.6	9
150,000 <	23.4	25	9.1	1	22	26
Total	100	107	100	11	100	118

A particular note should be made of expenditure on clothing. Though rare, it involves relatively high amounts of money when undertaken. Among the 30 percent of the households who had spent anything on clothing, the amounts ranged from 25,000 MT to over 150,000 MT. ‘*Capulanas*’ (traditional skirt attire) cost between 25,000 and 100,000 MT and carry a particularly strong symbolic power. Through the ‘*capulana*’, men reassert their ability to provide for their spouse and family as well as their relationship with the wife’s extended matrilineal family. As one teacher put it: “A man in this community who cannot afford a *capulana* for his woman is not a man”.

A less socio-culturally embedded type of expenditure is that of taxes. Seventy-eight percent of the households had paid head-tax or taxes for bicycles or the sale of goods at markets in the year prior to the survey. As noted in Chapter 3, collection is undertaken by local authorities who know the areas well, and are effective. These are all taxes with no returns from the State, and people complain about paying these taxes “without getting anything back from the Government”, as one put it. As we shall discuss later, people are more positive about paying fees or taxes for services rendered, such as education, health, water or electricity.

For the households that had spent money on education and health, the expenditure was in general very low – below 25,000 MT. Many households, as we shall see, do not use these institutions at all. And the education and health services available in the area are relatively cheap, even though there are certain “hidden fees” people have to pay to get through the systems. Female-headed households spend less on education than male-headed households, which probably relates to their demographic composition (see above).

Male-headed households also spend more on health. This is partly related to the fact that their households are bigger. Another reason is related to the type of health care service used: formal health care services, particularly regarding pre-natal and child-care, is virtually free. Male-headed households seem to seek traditional doctors more frequently; they are more expensive than formal health care services (one *curandeiro* we interviewed charged between 35,000 and 45,000 MT per consultation).

Thirty percent of the households exchanged goods through bartering in the two weeks prior to the survey. Despite their importance, such expenditure is not seen as “expenses” by the people we have interviewed, and hence is not easily captured through surveys. Normally these exchanges were

payments for services rendered in the fields through '*ganho-ganho*'. The most common products bartered were cassava and maize for dried fish, brought by traders from the coast. As noted in Chapter 3, the exchange rate is normally in favour of the fish-trader.

Asset ownership indicates the general level of well-being or poverty, as well as vulnerability (Table 21). Almost all the households in the survey possess agricultural tools, such as hoes, *machetes* and axes. A fairly large proportion of the (male-headed) households have radios and bicycles, although our impression is that a large part of them are out of order. Bicycles and radios are important in rural areas such as Murrupula: radios expand their vision of the world, and bicycles are a key means of transportation. Notably, very few households have either a house built of cement and zinc or cattle, the two most coveted assets.

Table 21. Asset Ownership by Sex of Household Head

Asset	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Hoes	99.1	108	100	11	99.2	119
Machete	76.1	83	72.7	8	75.8	91
Axe	67.9	74	63.6	7	67.5	81
Radio	66.1	72	9.1	1	60.8	73
Bicycle	64.2	70	18.2	2	60	72
Hi-fi (battery)	14.7	16	0	0	13.3	16

To sum up, Nihessiue and Chinga are heavily dominated by arable agriculture. Most households also have smaller domesticated animals, but no household has cattle. The level of income is very low. While the number of *machambas* and production is relatively high, income from agriculture is poor due to extremely low prices at the end of the season. Most people have some type of non-agricultural income, but this yields very low returns, partly due to the relative isolation of the areas and difficult access to the main markets. Expenditure is also generally low. For well-being and social security, the ownership of animals seems to be more important than non-agricultural sources of income, as argued by the National Household Survey (INE 2004a).

4.3 Education and Health

The educational level within the household is defined as another central determinant of poverty in Mozambique (INE 2004a; DNPO 2004). The level of education in Chinga and Nihessiue is generally very limited, and women and female-headed households have lower formal education than men and male household heads. Historically, this is attributed to the context of colonial education policies for indigenous Mozambicans, which for a long time did not encourage literacy. In addition, a long post-colonial civil war did not allow for an effective extension of the school network to the rural areas until the 1990s. Our data show that younger household heads have a higher level of education than do older household heads. Sixty-three percent in the age group of 26-35 years have reached EP1, as against 32 percent in the age group of over 55 years. Currently, the low level of education is related to a limited access to schools in parts of the areas under study, as well as to the priorities and choices made by households concerning education. The latter is a major reason for the lower level of education among girls.

Table 22 shows the level of education among household heads. As seen, close to 40 percent of the household heads have no education at all and 40 percent have up to five years education, which is

normally considered to imply functional illiteracy. "Alphabetisation" refers to adult literacy courses supported by Government and NGOs and run by local people who can read and write, apparently without really making people literate. Only 2 percent of the household heads have more than five years of education. Among male household heads, 35 percent have no education, and among female household heads the figure is 55 percent.

Table 22. *Educational Level by Sex of Household Head*

Educational level of hhh	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
None	34.9	38	54.5	6	36.7	44
Alphabetisation	22.0	24	18.2	2	21.7	26
EP1 (5 th Grade)	41.3	45	27.3	3	40.0	48
EP2 (7 th Grade)	1.8	2	0	0	1.7	2
Total	100.0	109	100.0	11	100.0	120

Looking at the total population, 20 percent of the households have no members with any education, and only 9 percent have members with more than Grade 5 (EP1). EP1 attainment seems to be independent of the gender of the household head, but male-headed households seem to be in a better position to reach higher educational levels (see Table 23). Literacy is also related to an ability to communicate in Portuguese. Fifty-four percent of the households have members who speak the language, and the majority of these are adult male household members.

Table 23. *Highest Level of Education in Household by Sex of Household Head*

Highest level of education	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
None	20.4	22	20.0	2	20.3	24
Alphabetisation	18.5	20	10.0	1	17.8	21
EP1	51.9	56	60.0	6	52.5	62
EP2	7.4	8	10.0	1	7.6	9
Second/basic	0.9	1	0	0	0.8	1
Middle School	0.9	1	0	0	0.8	1
Total	100.0	108	100.0	10	100.0	118

Our impression is that parents currently see few incentives for education beyond EP1. With one exception, there are no schools beyond 5th grade in Nihessiue and Chinga. Sending children away for further education will require them to leave the village and few households seem to be able to afford this. Sending children away also means losing valuable agricultural labour. In addition, high levels of education seem unnecessary in an environment where subsistence agriculture is the main source of income, and few are exposed to the options that education offers.

Our survey indicates that school attendance is high among both boys (85 percent) and girls (84 percent), but this does not coincide with data from the local school authorities.¹⁸ According to local

¹⁸ School attendance seems to be another type of data with frequent errors, as most parents know that they are supposed to send their children to school.

school officials in Nihessiue, non-attendance reaches 30 – 40%. And an overview of school attendance in Chinga shows that while a relatively equal number of boys and girls start school, girls drop out much earlier. In Grade 1, the total number of boys was 255 and girls 222, while the equivalent figures in Grade 5 were 67 and 27.

The most frequent reason given in our survey for boys not attending school was the belief that they are still too young when they are six years old. In the case of the girls, the main reason given was financial difficulties.¹⁹ This seems to indicate that when a household is faced with the possibility of having to choose between a boy and a girl attending school, the households will rather invest in the boys. No household presented pregnancy or wedlock as reasons for not attending school, but school officials say that these were among the main reasons for girls dropping out earlier than boys.²⁰

Our group discussions and in-depth interviews in Chinga and Nihessiue show that people are aware of the importance of education for future well-being and social mobility. At the same time, however, many people do not seem to believe that *their* children will attain a sufficiently high educational level to make this happen. Non-attendance is high, and the poorest tend to take their children out of school when they are needed for work, looking after siblings or other tasks. People see a link between the level of education and the general level of well-being and poverty, but without available employment opportunities people do not see that investments in education will improve the situation for *their* household.

We have found health to have a more direct bearing on production, income and well-being in Nihessiue and Chinga than seems to be assumed in the National Household Survey (INE 2004a). Illnesses are frequent in our study area: 80 percent of the households had at least one member who had fallen ill within the two weeks prior to the survey. Twenty-five percent of the households have at least one member with a chronic disease and 55 percent of the households have experienced at least one of their children dying. A high incidence of child mortality has a strong impact on households, beyond the pain of losing a child. Children constitute valuable labour; the high death rate is a major reason for the high fertility rate; and the average of 6-7 pregnancies has significant implications for productivity (MdS 2005).

Forty percent of the respondents do not know the reason for the death of their child. The most common reasons given by those who think they know are belly aches (*dor de barriga*), cough or flu, and malaria (see Table 24). Children's deaths are linked to poor water quality, exposure to mosquitoes and bacteria and to weakened immunity systems due to malnourishment. There is normally sufficient food, but the diet is very limited, with cassava and maize supplemented by peanuts or mushrooms. There is very little animal protein, vegetables or fruit. According to the local nurses, most people do not realise the importance of this for their health. An additional reason is the apparently large number of very young mothers in the areas. Schools report a number of girls as young as 12 years of age who get pregnant. Some of these leave their households to stay with the father of the child, and will often simply not know how to take care of small children.

¹⁹ Primary schools are in principle free of charge except for the cost of uniforms, paper and pencils, but in practice parents argue that they have to make additional contributions.

²⁰ This omission could be because girls who have married have ceased to be part of the household. It may also be that girls who have become pregnant are no longer considered school-aged girls.

Table 24. *Perceived Reasons for Child Mortality by Sex of Household Head*

Causes of mortality	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Malaria	15.3	9	14.3	1	15.2	10
Cough	15.3	9	28.6	2	16.7	11
Belly aches	27.1	16	28.6	2	27.3	18
Don't know	42.3	25	28.8	2	40.8	27
Total	100	59	100	7	100	66

Despite responses in our survey showing that households go to the nearest local health unit when they have sick household members, the local health units we have interviewed argue that many households do not attend and they have not registered high child mortality rates.²¹ With a total of only two health posts in Nihessiue and Chinga, the majority of the population in the two Administrative Posts has long distances to travel to formal health units. With the frequency of illness and difficulties with transportation, many wait until it is too late. The First Aid Posts that have been established in the District have a potentially important role. The staff are local people with some type of training (in some cases from having worked in health units during the war), but they are still few and far between.

While the use of health posts seems over-reported, it is equally likely that the use of traditional doctors (*curandeiros*) is under-reported. Only 16 percent report that they see traditional doctors first when household members get sick. Besides the issue of distance and the inaccessibility of formal health institutions, people perceive many illnesses and misfortunes as being caused by others through witchcraft and sorcery and therefore need somebody who can look into that aspect as well. There are many *curandeiros* who know the effects of plants and other remedies and have an important psychological role, but their activities also have negative implications through the personification of witchcraft accusations. The potential gain from a closer cooperation between formal health units and traditional leaders is well exemplified in Chinga: according to the new nurse there, the health post had only 300 patients in the whole of 2005.²² Early in 2006, the nurse took the initiative in organising public meetings with the *régulo* and *cabos* in the area to explain the role of the health posts and that it was there to help them and for no other purpose. During the first three months of 2006, the number of patients increased to 700.

To sum up, education is perceived by the population in Nihessiue and Chinga as being potentially important for future well-being and employment. However, many do not see the immediate advantage in the difficult situation in which they find themselves and keep children out of school to take care of the more pressing needs of work and child-care. It is also difficult for many to see the use of education in a setting with no formal employment opportunities. Perhaps to a larger extent than seems to be implied in the National Household Survey (INE 2004a), health has immediate implications for well-being and poverty. The health situation in Nihessiue and Chinga is very poor, with negative implications for general well-being and agricultural production. The high child mortality rate is particularly detrimental. Besides building up the health network, closer cooperation between the formal and informal health institutions seems vital.

²¹ This is yet another classical error in surveys. People are well aware of the "superiority" of formal medicine and the concomitant "backwardness" of traditional medicine. They report that they use the former, while they really trust and use the latter, particularly for diseases that have no obvious cause.

²² As with much else in former Renamo-dominated Chinga, health services are politicised. Parts of the population apparently considered the health unit to be "government" and thereby "Frelimo", and believed that it was there to punish the population.

4.4 Rural Place and Social Space

Anthropological literature on poverty has long stated the importance of place (see, for example, Gupta and Ferguson 1997). Factors such as access to resources, local economic structures, the presence or absence of institutions, particular sets of social norms and specific demographics greatly impact on the outcome and profile of poverty in a particular place. As shown in Chapter 3, the two Administrative Posts and four *cabos* where our study has been carried out are located in different parts of the District. With the historical implications of the war and the present poor road network and communications, distances of a relatively few kilometres are in fact considerable (see Map 2).²³ Distances are not only a question of physical space: a teacher in the *cabo* of Cômua told us how the excited children run to the window every time a car arrives, but never notice or discuss aircrafts flying over the village, simply because they cannot comprehend them or where they are going.

Comparing the information collected in the four different *cabos*, we will assess the significance of different variables and their impact on poverty. The Administrative Post of Chinga and the cabos Merica and Chakalua are the most distant and isolated in the district, not only because of the condition of the road and the physical distance to the Vila of Murrupula and the National Road, but also because of their isolation during the war (see Chapter 3). The Administrative Post Nihessiue and the cabos Cômua and Muquela are less distant from the Vila and the National Road, and have been more directly incorporated into government structures both during and since the war.²⁴

In the more distant and isolated *cabos* of Merica and Chakalua, the number of farmers engaged in selling their agricultural produce is smaller (see Table 25). The greater the distance to the main markets, the lower the number of people engaged directly in the market. Data from the survey and group discussions indicate that in the case of Chakalua, which is the most distant *cabo*, only farmers with the capacity to sell relatively large quantities will sell their produce. This is probably explained by the fact that these farmers do not sell directly to the market but to wholesale buyers who come to their village to buy their products.

Table 25. *Households Selling Agricultural Products per Cabo*

Sale of products	Cômua		Muquela		Chacalua		Merica		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
Yes	90	27	86.7	26	70	21	66.7	20	78.3	94
No	10	3	13.3	4	30	9	33.3	10	21.7	26
Total	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	120

Cabo Muquela and Cabo Cômua are the places where more animals are owned and sold (Table 26). These cabos are also located closer to the markets. There was some mention of development projects, which had introduced animal rearing in the Nihessiue Administrative Post. This may have contributed to an increase in the local animal population and the undertaking of this income generating activity.

²³ This also seems to be the case for government employees and researchers. Whereas people in the closest and most accessible *cabo*, Muquela, complained that they were constantly visited by such outsiders, people in the other three *cabos* told us they only rarely had visits from government employees from outside their own district and had never been visited by researchers.

²⁴ Cômua is currently more isolated due to the destruction of the bridge over the Natere River, as mentioned in Chapter 3, but this is in the process of being repaired.

Table 26. Households Owning Animals per Cabo

Animal ownership	Cômua		Muquela		Chacalua		Merica		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
Yes	37.9	11	62.1	18	48	12	42.9	9	49.5	50
No	62.1	15	37.9	11	52	13	57.1	12	50.5	51
Total	100	26	100	29	100	25	100	21	100	101

In Cabo Muquela, which is closer to Murrupula, there were fewer people with an income from "alternative activities" than in the other more distant cabos (Table 27). This may be explained by the fact that the market and services of Murrupula are too close for this type of activity to be worth developing in Muquela, and by a smaller need for such activities due to there being more commercial agriculture there.

Table 27. Households Having Alternative Sources of Income Per Cabo

Alternative Income	Cômua		Muquela		Chacalua		Merica		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
Yes	53.3	16	26.7	8	53.3	16	73.3	22	51.7	62
No	46.7	14	73.3	22	46.7	14	26.7	8	48.3	58
Total	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	120

Cash expenditure in Cabo Muquela is more common than in other cabos, with 100 percent of respondents having spent money on goods or services in the two weeks prior to the survey (see Table 28). In transport, in particular, the other cabos had almost no expenditure. People from other cabos may from time to time take a *chapa* for a specific reason. But using transport seems to be much more common in Muquela.

Table 28. Cash Expenditure

Cash Expenditure	Cômua		Muquela		Chacalua		Merica		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
Yes	86.7	26	89.7	26	75.9	22	66.7	20	79.7	94
No	13.3	4	10.3	3	24.1	7	33.3	10	20.3	24
Total	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	120

Expenditure in Muquela is higher in several other categories: clothing, medication, food and cleaning products. This shows how Muquela, being closer to Murrupula, is also more integrated into social and economic life outside Muquela, while the other cabos, further away or less accessible, seem to function in a more isolated and "one-unit" mode.

The more distant cabos are from the district capital, the higher the number of illiterate household heads (Table 29). The cabos in this case are from Chinga Administrative Post. But it is not only distance that matters, it is also access and isolation in relation to the State. Even development projects were started in this area only a few years ago. State institutions and services are still recent and viewed with suspicion and the State views the area with just as much suspicion.

Table 29. *Educational Level of Household Heads by Cabo*

Educational level of hhh	Cômua		Muquela		Chacalua		Merica		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
None	16.7	5	23.3	7	50	15	56.7	17	36.7	44
Alphabetisation	30	9	26.7	8	16.7	5	13.3	4	21.7	26
EP1	46.7	14	50	15	33.3	10	30	9	40	48
EP2	6.7	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1.7	2
Total	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	120

In cabos Cômua and Muquela, roughly half the interviewees had completed at least EP1 and in these cabos, household spending on education was higher. The only cabo where education levels reached EP2 was Cabo Cômua, where there is a EP2 school. There are only EP1 schools in the other areas studied.

Ill health occurs in a fairly similar pattern across all the cabos, with the exception of Cabo Muquela, which appears to be the place with the highest incidence (Table 30). Mortality rates were similar in all the cabos, except for Cabo Merica, where they seem to be lower. Cabo Muquela is the place with the highest number of child deaths per household.

Table 30. *Proportion of Households with Sick Family Members per Cabo*

Disease	Cômua		Muquela		Chacalua		Merica		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
Yes	73.3	22	100.0	30	76.7	23	70.0	21	80.0	96
No	26.7	8	0.0	0	23.3	7	30.0	9	20.0	24
Total	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	30	100	120

The particular situation in Cabo Muquela could be due to the fact that it is more densely populated. Population pressure on health services is probably higher in this cabo than in other areas. Population pressure may also be increasing the pollution of water and degradation of soils and resources. In addition, in the case of an epidemic households are more subject to disease transmission than in less populated and isolated areas.

In Chacalua and Merica a health post has only recently (since 2005) started functioning. As indicated above, suspicion in relation to state-provided health services is high in these cabos, with their long history of isolation from state institutions.

The results above show that if distance matters, history and the relationship with state institutions play a significant role as well. Muquela, closer to Murrupula and with better access, seems to be more integrated and to benefit from relatively better services. Cômua, even though more distant and less accessible, benefits from the presence of state institutions such as the only EP2 school in the areas studied. Merica and Chacalua, much less accessible and having experienced a historically difficult relationship with the state due to the dominance of Renamo, are also more institutionally isolated.

4.5 Socio-Economic Vulnerability

The data clearly shows that earnings from agriculture, animal rearing and alternative income generating activities are low, rendering the majority of the population of this area vulnerable to poverty. There is also no access to formal employment or to other formal income generating activities. Female-headed households, in particular, seem less able to access monetary income.

Expenditure levels are equally low, again with female-headed households having less capacity to spend and less access to valued goods, such as bicycles, tin-roofed houses, and so on. This may be a direct consequence of a weaker ability to access monetary income.

Conclusions on income generation and expenditure should always be approached with care, as respondents are often reluctant to expose the real value of their earnings. What can be said for sure is that this is a population that is highly dependent on agriculture for their subsistence, and agriculture is also the most important income generating activity available and one on which other economic activities depend.

After cross-analysing income generation patterns with the different vulnerability factors found in the National Household Survey and other related studies - such as household dependency, levels of education and agricultural income - we have found that these variables do play important roles in the generally high levels of poverty in Chinga and Nihessiue. However, we have also found that health is a very important factor, which impinges not only on productivity and income but also on socio-cultural well-being. Moreover, small households with not many people available to farm and produce what is the main source of income seem to be at a particular disadvantage. In line with this, female-headed households and widows constitute the most vulnerable group in terms of low income and lack of assets.

With their generally low level of income and assets and the vulnerability implied by reliance on a small number of sources for subsistence and income, most households depend on the social relationships they manage to establish with their extended family, the *nihimo*, the State, the church and NGOs for their coping strategies. For the better-off households, such relationships are vital for their options for further social mobility. Such social relations of well-being and poverty are the topic of the final chapter of this report.

5. Perceptions and Social Relations of Poverty

In the preceding chapter, we identified the main determinants of poverty, including low levels of agricultural income and education and an extremely poor health situation. The large majority of households in Chinga and Neheissue, we concluded, are poor or destitute. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse perceptions of poverty and well-being and the social relations of poverty in the areas under study in order to understand better the dynamics of poverty and the coping strategies of the poor. Our point of departure is that people act on the basis of their own *emic* perceptions of their socio-economic position, and that social relationships are at the very heart of the social fabric in areas like Murrupula.

One of the main theoretical contributions to the relationship between structure or social systems, individual agency and social relationships is Bourdieu (1990; see also Waquant 1992). He holds the view that social systems do have a powerful, even determining effect upon human action and the shape of events, but also emphasises human agency and ordinary lives. The approach highlights economic positions and social asymmetry as the most relevant dimension of both structure and action. Moreover, instead of assigning priority to structure *or* agency, Bourdieu emphasises the primacy of *relations*. Society does not consist of bounded units of individuals or households, he maintains, it expresses the sum of the connections and relationships in which people find themselves. We will argue that the poor's ability to cope with and improve their situation depends to a significant extent on their ability to establish and maintain relationships with social institutions outside their own.

Anthropological research on poverty also emphasises how human action can be seen in terms of relatively *ad hoc* and short-term moves shaped by immediate problems to be solved and gains to be won, or in terms of plans that are more long range (Ortner 1984; Bourdieu 1990). Intrinsic in the long-term planning perspective, demanding a minimum level of economic resources, is a sense of motive and action as shaped by images and ideals of what constitutes goodness in people, in relations and in conditions of life. *Ad hoc*, short-term decision-making is instigated by abject poverty as a material condition and state of mind or *emergencies* in Douglas' (1982) terminology, often compelling the very poorest to act in ways that may have negative consequences for their options for social mobility. The relevance of this for our study is indicated by the fact that very few of the households we have interviewed related to our question of what they expected the situation for their community and themselves to be in five years' time, normally arguing that they only live "day by day" (*dia por dia*) or that this is in the hands of God (see Annex 2).

In the following, we will first assess people's own perceptions of poverty in their community and what characterises the poorest and the better-off households and individuals. The analysis is based on focus group interviews and "wealth ranking", as described in Chapter 1. Significantly, the definitions applied are not only linked to material resources of income and assets, but also to people's social relationships or degree of social inclusion and isolation (or "social capital"). We then proceed to pursue the types of social relationship in which the poor and the better-off are involved, using Venn diagrams and case-studies as the central methodologies (see Chapter 1). We find that while the better-off households are involved in a broad range of relationships with the extended family, traditional institutions, the State and civil society, the poorest are characterised by a much narrower range of relationships, focusing on their immediate family. For the very poorest and most destitute, the inability to repay in this type of family-based reciprocal relationship tends to marginalise and exclude them even from such networks.

5.1 Perceptions of Poverty and Well-Being

Characteristics of poor communities

Referring to our discussion about the relationship between *structure* and *agency* in the introductory part of this study, people seem to make a clear distinction between the reasons for the poor conditions in the community as such and the poverty and well-being of individual families.²⁵ Although there were local variations between the four different *cabos* under study and between men and women, people primarily focused on external structural constraints when asked to identify the reasons for the current situation of poverty in their communities (Table 31). The factors identified were:

Table 31: *Emic Perceptions of Characteristics of Poor Communities*

Structural conditions	Social conditions
Lack of employment Lack of hospital/health post Lack of (higher level) schools Lack of roads/bridges Lack of potable water Poor agricultural production Low profits from agriculture Lack of factories/processing plants Lack of shops and markets Inadequate contact with government Inadequate contact with NGOs	Ignorance/personal weaknesses Poor cooperation in households Adultery Alcohol/drug abuse Thieves in the community Many widows and orphans Old people unable to work

In the focus group discussions, people in the four *cabos* tended to emphasise the exclusion of their community from what they perceive as important for development and their own well-being. The expectations were primarily directed towards the State for health posts, schools, potable water and roads, but also for issues that the State perceives as the responsibility of the market (see Chapter 3). Increased agricultural production is largely seen to rely on a government supply of improved agricultural gear and methods. Improved prices for agricultural products is seen to depend on State price regulations and the establishment of factories (for processing local produce such as cotton, tobacco and cashews) is seen to depend on State intervention. In fact, “unscrupulous” (*sem escrupulos*) entrepreneurs and traders are seen as a major reason for the low returns in agriculture and the lack of local economic enterprises. A perceived inadequate contact with the Government and NGOs underlines the importance attached to external intervention for improving conditions in the communities.

While group discussions in Muchela, Cômua and Chacalua primarily focused on structural conditions for explaining the poor conditions in their communities, the population in Merica (which, as we have seen, was until recently largely cut off from government contact) also focused on internal conditions. The discussion focused on the importance of “ignorance” (*ignorância*) among

²⁵ This does not mean that people have a clear analytical perception of the differences. Our job as researchers is to present *emic* perceptions of the population itself as they were presented to us, and to analyse them. The *emic/etic* distinction is central in all social science research (see Little 1992).

the population, arguing that many people did not understand the importance of using the health facilities and schools that are accessible and instead resorted to *curandeiros* and taking their children out of school to work or marry. They also emphasised that many households “do not work well together” (*não trabalham bem em conjunto*), and that too many people abuse alcohol and commit adultery, which creates problems for the community and themselves. A particular point was also made of widespread theft, largely explaining this as being the result of poverty. Finally, emphasis was given to the problem of age and fatigue. People have a hard life, and when they reach around 40 years of age they do not have the strength to work hard in the fields any longer. Some lamented that the problem will only increase as many younger people leave the community, while others argued that this is perhaps the only way to improve the situation: people who go the city of Nampula and other places where conditions are better can at least make a living for themselves and perhaps also support their families in their areas of origin.

Separate discussions in women’s focus groups largely confirmed the general arguments from the larger mixed groups (dominated by men), but tended to emphasise the constraints related to the division of responsibility and labour among men and women. Some openly argued that women should have more say in their communities (referring to the fact that all the traditional leaders are men), while others emphasised that many women are ill treated by their unemployed and drunk husbands and have to work too hard. Others said that women rarely had direct contact with representatives of the State and NGOs, as they tended to work through the community leaders, who mainly related to other men in public. Women do, however, give their opinion in the Council of Elders and other family-based institutions.

The apparent discrepancy between the perceived current irrelevance of the State (see below) and considerable expectations as to what the State can and should do is a significant challenge for the Government. As we have seen, the Government invests limited resources in rural districts such as Murrupula, and the expectations of the population in small places such as Nehessiue and Chinga are not likely to be met in the foreseeable future. As we shall conclude in the final chapter, this means that interventions have to be carefully prioritised and planned in cooperation with the local population.

Characteristics of poor households

While there is broad agreement that Nehessiue and Chinga are poor communities, people also have clear perceptions that some are poorer than others. Poverty at the level of households and individuals is primarily associated with access to money and material means, but also with access to key social relationships. People associate economic differentiation with recent developments of privatisation and what we may call a “commodification” of relationships, and argue that people were more equal both under the Portuguese (“when we all suffered”, as one put it) and under the early Frelimo regime (“when the Party decided everything” as a *cabó* stated). Significantly, the groups were much more open to discussing poverty than well-being, and the poor than the better-off. Economic differentiation is not only associated with differences in the social organisation of the household, agricultural production and income (see below), but also with witchcraft. Better-off people are widely seen as having become better off at the expense of others, and by “exposing” well-being people are afraid of repercussions.

In line with this, our invitation to the groups to respond to our question of “How can you tell if a family is poor or not” was primarily answered by referring to characteristics of poverty.²⁶ The clearest definition of well-being came from a group in Chacalua, which stated “[i]f *you want to meet*

²⁶ As always when people come from outside to inquire about poverty, of course the population also sees a self-interest in emphasising poverty rather than well-being.

the well-off in this community you look at the type of houses. Their houses are built with cement and zinc, and they have lots of trees in the yard." A house made of cement and with a zinc roof is considered important as a sign of modernity and development, and represents a considerable investment.

As seen from the table below, the perceived characteristics of poor households focus on lack of money, food and material means. In addition, lack of agricultural tools, bicycles and livestock were emphasised. Tools are central for agricultural production; a bicycle is central for transporting goods and people; and livestock is central for food security, savings and social status. The characteristics given were largely the same in the four *cabos*, and were summed up in Chacalua, where the group agreed that what characterises a poor family is that it "[d]oes not have the means to solve its problems".

Table 32: Emic Perceptions of Characteristics of Poor Households

Material characteristics	Social characteristics
Do not have enough food	No uncle to advise the family
Do not have agricultural tools	No children
Do not have money	Depend on others for food
Do not save	Do not listen to advice
Do not keep livestock	
Do not have a bicycle	

The groups also emphasised three social conditions characterising poor households. One was the absence of an uncle to advise the family. As already indicated, the mother's brother has a key role in matrilineal societies, not only to advise but also to help with money and other material means in times of real need or crisis, including longer term investments, such as in education. A second was the absence of children. Not having children was seen as a sign of poverty, because children represent an important source of labour and a potential future source of income and well-being. Having children was also seen as a confirmation of manhood and womanhood and a blessing in its own right. The third social characteristic of poor households was dependence on others for food. Discussions around this issue not only emphasised the lack of food *per se*, but also the vulnerability and humiliation resulting from depending on others for one's own well-being.

As perceived by the population itself, then, the poor are primarily characterised by a lack of money, food and tools for agricultural production. The emphasis on livestock shows that economic items not only have economic importance, but may also have important socio-cultural value. The key social characteristics of poor households thus differ somewhat from those identified by national surveys: the level of education is not seen as a main determinant of poverty as people do not see education as significant in poor rural areas like those being studied. Furthermore, the number of children, or the dependency ratio, is not seen as central: while there are several explanations for the continued high fertility rate in areas such as rural Murrupula,²⁷ one major reason is simply that having a large number of children is considered important both economically and culturally.

²⁷ Some are related to gender relationships; some to limited knowledge and a tradition of abstinence and use of contraceptives; and some to the perceived need to produce a large number of children in a socio-cultural setting where so many children die.

Categories of poor and better off

Having discussed the characteristics of their communities and poor households, the groups were finally asked to identify typologies of poor and better-off household units. We found a strong congruence between the four communities both in terms of the concepts used and their definitions. Interestingly, most of the people in the groups defined themselves as neither poor nor well-off, even though the large majority would "qualify" as poor on the basis of economic criteria. Thus people have a clear perception of different levels of poverty and well-being, but are reluctant to define themselves as "poor" or "rich", at least not in a public setting. There are five main categories of poor household:

Ohawa – means "suffering". These are people who are poor because of age and misfortune, and who have few if any chances of doing anything about it. The group is seen to consist of elderly people, chronically sick people, widows and widowers, orphans, families with twins,²⁸ and physically handicapped people such as the blind, the paralysed or "people without fingers" (who cannot work in the *machamba* and may not get a spouse). Their poverty is based on their own inability to work, and social isolation. One of the Ohawa people identified by the Mulhania community was an elderly widow.²⁹

Case Study 1

Ohawa lives alone and her brother, who used to help her, is deceased. She is the widow of a king and when her husband died his family stripped her of everything, probably because they had not had any children. She does not have a field, only a small plot in the backyard. Her nephew (son of her deceased brother whom she also calls son) is the one who works it. She does not sell any products because production is too small. The total production lasts a month, after that she depends on her nephew. His wife does the household chores. Ohawa only cooks and washes the dishes. She has another nephew who lives in Murrupula and built the house she is living in, but he has never come back to visit her. Before her husband died she had money to buy food and clothes. Now she cannot buy anything because she does not have the strength to work in the fields. She is also too weak to go to the health post. She has gone to the witch doctor, but has not become any better. The members of her *nihimo* used to visit her when her husband was alive. Some still visited after he died and helped her with clothes, food and ploughs. But they too have died and now no one visits her.

Ohikalano – means "do not have the means to live". This category includes younger men and women who are unable to work or produce, not through their own fault but due to some type of external incident such as the loss of property, poor returns for their labour or drought or flood affecting agricultural production. In this case, too, their poverty is not seen to be the result of their own doing.

Ovelavela – means "entrapped". This category consists of single young people (normally men) who do not listen to family advice; who do not make a sufficient effort to make a living for themselves,

²⁸ As in many other African societies, having twins is considered a misfortune. People in our areas of study explained this by saying that twins suffer when it rains and that women therefore cannot work in the field.

²⁹ To secure anonymity, we have substituted real names with names of the poverty category and systematically placed people in a different *cabo* from their own.

and who have not maintained or established good relationships with their family and other people in the community. Their poverty is based on a lack of effort or desire to make more of their lives.

Case Study 2

Ovelavela is a woman, 42 years old, a widow. She was born in Ribáue and all her family also live in Ribáue. She moved to Chakalua because of marriage. Ovelavela lives with three persons. She has seven children. Five children are married and the others are young. Ovelavela has *ematha* that produces crops for consumption. Ovelavela obtained the *ematha* from her husband's family. When Ovelavela's husband was alive they had cows. Now she does not have the cows because she sold all of them to have money to care for her children. Her eldest son helps when she needs assistance. He also makes family decisions. Ovelavela is also a healer. She treats children's sickness but she does not ask for any money. When people see the cure they give her anything they want. During the conversation with Ovelavela we learned that her son is not studying because she does not have money to send him to continue his education in Mecuburi or Ribáue districts. Schools in Chakalua are free from grade one to five but after that children must go to districts with the required level. This problem not only affects Ovelavela, it also concerns many families in the cabo. People do not need to pay school fees for the children but they need to buy school uniforms and food. The school in Chakalua has a programme called Direct Help for the Community. This programme provides school materials for the children. The result of the programme is that many parents are sending their children to school. For instance, the Primary School at Chakalua has a total of 229 students, 114 of whom are boys and 115 girls. This means that both boys and girls, in this school, have similar opportunities for studying.

Wihacha – means “making oneself suffer”. It refers to young adults (primarily men) who do not follow their uncle's advice, and who are lazy, divorced because of drinking or adultery, or are alcohol and drug addicts. Poverty is seen as being self-inflicted, and the disgrace is particularly strong as they are seen to bring shame on their families. The case of a Wihacha presented below is from Chacalua *cabo*.

Case Study 3

Wihacha is a young man. He was born in Chacalua. He is 25 years old, and is single. All his family was born and lived in Chacalua. Wihacha lived in a house far away from the community. People think that he lived far away from community decision making and participation. Wihacha is viewed as a lazy man because he has a small *ematha*,³⁰ a plot of land. Wihacha has a small *ematha* because he does *pwati*, carrying products from the railway station to the village, in Namiconha locality of Ribáue. With this activity he used to earn five hundred Metical per week. According to people we contacted in the cabo, Wihacha uses the money he earns to drink. Wihacha was advised by an uncle to stop drinking and try to live a decent life but it seemed that he did not listen to the uncle's advice. His attitude of not listening to the uncle's advice leads people to think that Wihacha does not deserve any help. The community thinks that Wihacha is having the life he has because he wants it. Despite the fact that Wihacha is marginalised physically and socially from the community, the community hopes that he will change, because he is still young.

³⁰ *Ematha* in Emakwa language means a plot or *machambae*.

Opitanha – is the final category of poor and means “everything bad comes together”. It refers to older people whose wives, husbands or other family members have left them; people who do not have relatives in the village; people who are the victims of calamities caused by other people or by nature; people who grow old without children; and those who are unable to work their land due to physical deficiencies. While people in this category are generally pitied and supported, we shall see that their very poverty inhibits them from entering more permanent relationships with others as they are not in a position to give anything in return in an impoverished context where people simply cannot afford to have outstanding claims.

Case Study 4

Opitanha is a woman of around 40 years of age, living in Mulhaniua. When we met her, she was very sick and said that she was suffering from pneumonia. Her dwelling was in poor shape, and she said that she had only two small fields around her house. Her misfortune started when her husband left her and went to Nampula five years ago. They were already poor then, and as she originally came from Zambézia she had no one to turn to and was not able to go back to her own family. With her lived one of her own daughters, who had three children, and her granddaughter, who seemed to be 13 or 14 and was pregnant with her second child. They all seemed apathetic, and claimed that they had only the fields to live from. None of them received support from the fathers of their children. Most of the interview was undertaken with Opitanha’s son, who was 15. He said that he had gone to school for two years, he spoke Portuguese, and seemed very bright. He made a little money from working in other peoples’ fields, which, he argued, made their own fields suffer. He simply could not see any way out of their problems. He claimed that they had no family or friends, and that even neighbours did not help them. “People will not help somebody as poor as us” he says, “because they know we cannot give them anything in return” (an indication of their total social isolation is the fact that nobody turned up to listen during our visit, which was very unusual).

In sum, the conception of poor households is of three main types. The first (*Ohawa* and *Ohikalano*) is of households and individuals who are poor due to physical limitations or misfortune. They are seen as deserving help in times of crisis, but tend to lack necessary support in the form of more enduring social relationships. The second type (*Wihacha* and *Ovelavela*) is that of households and individuals who have violated socio-cultural norms through relationships with others or their own behaviour. They are normally not seen as deserving help, and many live in isolation and are accused of witchcraft and other negative socio-cultural features. The final category of *opitanha* combines the two and consists of destitutes unable to improve their lives. Other people in the community may understand and sympathise with their condition, but they tend to be excluded from social networks.

Our observation is that discussion on the five categories of poverty primarily focused on the role of men, with the exception of widows and divorcees in the *ohawa* and *opitanha* categories. This reflects a widespread perception that men are responsible for the well-being of their household, and that they are to blame if the household suffers. Female-headed households are still seen as “victims” through divorce, widowhood, unwanted pregnancies or other misfortunes. Moreover, women and their children have the option of seeking support from their maternal uncle or returning to their family, and hence have a wider social network than many men have. There is also a tendency to perceive poor young people as being more responsible for their own poverty than older people, who are more easily seen as “victims”.

Having presented the five poorest household categories in Nehessiue and Chinga, we will now present the three categories of better-off household identified by the communities. People in the groups agreed that these represented a small minority of households in their villages, and that none of them were really "rich". This term was primarily reserved for large cattle and land owners who have farms in their areas but live elsewhere (see Chapter 3).

Okalano – means "those who have". The category includes young adult men and women who have good agricultural production, who are successful in all they do, who have money, and who learn well and are capable of putting what they learn into practice. They are hard-working people who deserve what they have. In the box below we will give details of an Okalano in Chacalua.

Case Study 5

Okalano is a man. He was born in Chacalua. He is 40 years old, is married and has eight children. Four children are married and the others are young. He lives with five people in his house. Okalano thinks that children are important because they can help the family in domestic tasks. Two of Okalano's children study in the primary school in Chacalua. He thinks that boys and girls have similar opportunities for study. Okalano has two *ematha* where he produces crops for consumption and selling. He inherited the *ematha* from his maternal uncle. He also raises animals. Okalano has family living in the cabo but he also has family living in Nampula. He frequently visits them. Okalano's family in Nampula helps him with clothes and he also helps the family with food (dry manioc and peanuts among others). Besides the big *ematha*, Okalano has a net for fishing in the river inside the cabo. The fishing is only for consumption. He also makes and sells *nipa* (alcoholic drink made from cane or cashew fruit). Okalano is *humo* of his family. He has a relationship with the community leaders, who help him when necessary. The community leaders help him when he has a problem, but when he needs money his family always helps.

Opwalatha – means "those who have a lot". This refers to young adult men or women between 20 and 30 years old, but they have "everything" and are in a position to give work to other people in the community. Their wealth is partly from birth and luck, and partly from hard work.

Orela – means "fertility". The category includes people who produce a lot and know how to make the most of the help that they get; they are lucky people who receive support when they ask for it from people in the village and outside; and they are people who have money to invest. They are also known as *folgados*, which means "people without financial problems".

Opwalatha and *orela* families are rare in Nehessiue and Chinga. People argue that it is difficult to become rich in their areas, but that there are people who work hard who move to places like Nampula City and Zambeze Province where the opportunities for doing business are better. People in the groups also noted that many young people move to Murrupula Vila or to Nampula because they do not like hard agricultural work, but that most of them come back. A *cabo* in one of the groups lamented the fact that the young men in particular complain about rural life and traditions and leave for town life to become rich, but they always come back to the village when they get into trouble.

People in Nehessiue and Chinga, then, have clear perceptions of what constitutes poverty in the community and in households, and know who belongs to different categories of poor and better-off.

The general perception is that their communities are “poor and traditional”, and notions of development are framed in perceptions of modernity as epitomised by the “brick house with a zinc roof”. While the situation in the communities is largely seen as the outcome of external structural constraints that should be remedied by the State, differences between households and individuals within the structural constraints are seen as subject to more complicated forces: the better-off are so due to a combination of hard work and luck, but also through the use of witchcraft. Among the poor majority, clear distinctions are made between people who are poor through no fault of their own and people who are poor because of personal shortcomings.

5.2 Relations of Poverty and Well-Being

The relationship between *culture* as perceptions, ideas and knowledge or “systems of meaning” treated in the section above, and actual *acts* and relationships to be treated below, is a complicated one that has preoccupied social scientists for centuries. People act with reference to structural constraints and material conditions of poverty, but also on the basis of their own cultural perceptions of their situation and their chances of improving their lives.³¹ In the last part of this chapter, we will focus on the social relationships that the poor and better-off enter as part of their coping strategies, which are central not only for surviving in a context of profound poverty but also for options for upward social mobility.

No household in Neheziue and Chinga can cope as an isolated social unit. Households and individuals relate to others for political, economic and socio-cultural reasons in their daily lives, as well as in times of special need. The extent and nature of these relationships have a strong impact on the household’s access to resources in the form of money, material support and labour - and thus have implications for the dynamics of poverty in the form of processes of marginalisation and social exclusion as well as upward social mobility.

To pursue the extent and nature of social relations of poverty, we have carried out in-depth interviews and constructed Venn diagrams (see Chapter 1). The households were identified by the groups carrying out the wealth ranking discussed above, and were systematically selected from the different categories of poor and less poor. While the groups readily identified poor households, they were reluctant to identify the better-off household units because of the notion of links between wealth, witchcraft and possible social sanctions. The better-off households were therefore identified directly by traditional leaders and by approaching households that we could see from dwellings, fields and possession of animals were among the better-off in the communities.

The households were asked to identify who were the most important institutions and individuals for their coping strategies and well-being (see Chapter 1). In the following, we will pursue these relationships more systematically by first presenting three extended case studies, and then analysing key relations of poverty within the household and between the households and the extended family or *nihimo*, traditional authorities, and the State with our case-studies as points of reference. We will end the chapter by looking more explicitly at processes of marginalisation and exclusion.

Mr. Francisco João was 38 years old, and had a wife and four children. He was one of the most productive and best-off farmers in Nihessiue. Born in *cabo* Cômua, he left to join the Frelimo army at the end of the 1980s, with Ribaue as his base. During his stay there he met his wife, Maria. When he left the army he settled with her family “as traditions say”, and worked partly at a commercial farm and partly in the fields of his wife’s parents. He had a good life, and says that he learnt a lot from working on the *fazenda*. Five years ago the couple decided to move back to Neheziue:

³¹ In anthropology, this is epitomised in the so-called “culture of poverty” debate instigated by the American anthropologist Oscar Lewis (Lewis 1966; see also Goody and Eames 1996).

Francisco lost his job at the commercial farm; he and his wife lost three children during the course of a few years; and he wanted to work for himself and see what he could do as a farmer. Maria's parents supported the move, as they "had seen that I could take good care of my wife", as Francisco said.

Coming back to his area, he said it had changed a lot since he left. Murrupula Vila was bigger and with more people than when he left, but the village seemed less populous (probably, as he said, because many people had left during the war). He could get more things at the market in the Vila, but was surprised that most people in the village did not seem to be better off after several years of peace. Settling close to his old parents (where only a divorced sister with two children still lived), the couple started to clear two *machambas* to grow cassava, maize, peanuts and other food crops. However, Francisco also wanted to grow cash-crops that could give him an income, and decided to try his luck with tobacco and onions – the first because he thought it would pay well and the second because the crop kept well in a setting where the market was far away. To do this he needed more *machambas*. Francisco said this was more difficult than expected because people seemed to be sceptical about him and his new ideas, but eventually he was given an area of land by his maternal uncle. He obtained seeds for vegetables by contacting the agricultural administration in Murrupula, and at the time of our visit he was producing crops on an estimated 12 hectares.

At the same time, the couple tried to establish themselves socially. Pedro took an active part in community meetings held by the *régulo* and *cabo*, with the *cabo* taking an interest in him, as he saw that Francisco worked differently and harder than most people in his area. Together the couple also became active in the Catholic Church. In addition, Francisco tried to join one of the associations supported by an NGO, albeit with less success (being told, as he put it, that he was not "poor enough"). His remaining four children (one boy of 13 born in Ribaue and three between 2 and 7 years of age) all started school. Through his contacts in the Catholic Church the eldest boy was admitted to EP2 at the Catholic Mission outside Murrupula, and the two other children (one boy and one girl) of school age study at the village school. When we interviewed Francisco and Maria, their main complaint was that it was difficult to find friends in the area. Maria was homesick for Ribaue, and went there quite frequently to visit her family and take a few things to sell at the market there, where prices were higher.

Even though Francisco was one of the most active and innovative farmers we met during our fieldwork, he still struggled hard to increase his production and income. He presented two main complaints to us. One was the resistance he met in the community. He knew people talked about him using witchcraft and had "people working for him at night", as he put it. It was nearly impossible to get people to work for him, and he and his family had to clear the fields by themselves with help only from some young boys. And hardly anybody bought his produce. He realised that most people had no money to buy foodstuffs, but he also lamented that they did not want to buy his vegetables because they "only eat cassava and maize". His second complaint was his poor options for selling and making a profit. Murrupula and Nampula were too far away and much of his produce was destroyed on the journey when he tried. Moreover, the traders who came to his area bought at *very* low prices. Maize sold for as low as 4,000 MT per kilo during the harvest (*campanha*) as against 15,000 MT per kilo at other times of the year, and the prices he obtained for his tobacco fluctuated immensely. He showed us receipts showing that in the 2003/04 season he received 8,305 MT per kilo of tobacco, and in the preceding 2002/03 season he received 13,981 MT per kilo. The only time he could sell at a good profit was when he got help from a friend with a car in Murrupula, who delivered his produce to Nampula.

As an *okalana*, then, Francisco and his family were doing well, not least because of their extensive social network with the extended family, the *cabo*, the church and the State. His two main problems were access to labour to be able to extend his production, and *commerciantes* who bought his

products at very low prices when he had no other option. With government policy addressing these constraints, Pedro and his family would be in a position to produce considerably more than they did.

Mr. Mário Quinze was around 35 years of age. He lived in Chinga with his wife and two children. One of these was from a previous marriage, and the other was with his current wife whom he married four years ago. Mário was born in Chinga, and has lived there all his life except between 1987 and 1994 when he fled the war and went to Nampula. His first wife left him about five years ago "because she wanted to go back to her house", and took three of their children with her. He remained with one, who was suffering from epilepsy.

When Mário was growing up his father worked for a Portuguese ("um colono chamado Pereira"), and from the mid-1970s he worked for himself but "became poorer and poorer" as Mário says. Coming back from Nampula he was shocked at the poverty in his village ("with people dressing in leaves"), but argued that things were better now. He had four *macambas*, and grew sugar cane in addition to cassava and maize. He worked in the fields with his wife and children, who did not go to school. Last season he sold one bag of maize for 50,000 MT, and with this he bought a *capulana* for his wife. Although the rain had been good this year his *macambas* did not look well. He blamed it on bugs, and on his daughter who "keeps singing in the field". He also said that he was not optimistic because the prices paid for his produce were getting smaller and smaller. Asked how he earned money to support his family, he said that he was a pastor in one of the Catholic churches and obtained some money from the congregation. His house and family looked unusually poor, and it turned out that he spent money on the church to make it look nice so that "more people will come" and he also sent some money to his children living with his former wife (as they went to school with support from their uncle, he hoped that they would be in a position to help him one day).

When he was in real trouble, as in 2004, when the harvest was really poor, Mário and his wife turned to her family for help. They might receive a little food, but never money. He also talked eagerly about his *nihimo* "milima", and said that he wanted to find somebody from the *nihimo* who could help him. "When two persons meet who don't know each other but discover that they are from the same *nihimo* they become family and will mutually support each other". Mário had heard about associations and other ways to improve his production, but claimed that he did not know how to join them. Mário himself had Grade four "from the old system", but did not send his own child to school and had not yet been to the hospital with his sick child "because I cannot afford it".

Mário argued that he was likely always to be poor. His life would be easier with "a bike and a radio", but his main channels of support outside his own household were with his extended family (which was poor) and his *nihimo* (from which he had still not really identified anybody who could help). His fear was that his wife would leave him since he did not manage to earn much, and that he would be alone with "the church and my sick daughter", as he put it.

Ms. Faustina Malacha was around 40 years old. She was born in Chinga, and now lived with her mother, a son who was 11 and the daughter of her sister who was eight years old. The sister recently became a widow and could not take care of her. Faustina had had a total of seven children, but six had died. She was married to an older man when she was around 15 and had three children with him, but he left her many years ago. Her mother came to stay with her in 2002. She and her husband had left for Zambézia at the end of the war, but he died and his family did not want anything to do with her. She was almost totally blind. Faustina claimed that she had no other relatives in Chinga, but acknowledged at the end of the interview that there were relatives in the area but that she did not have any contact with them.

Faustina had two small *machambas*, where she grew cassava, maize and a some peanuts. She worked the fields herself, with help from the children and the mother, who could still do small

tasks. She never grew a surplus, but made a little money by making clay pots ("I don't make much, as people here do not have money"). For the past four or five years the household had received a little support from a cousin (the son of her mother's sister) who lived in Nampula, but he had recently died and the household really did not know what to do. Faustina said that she did contact the *régulo* and *cabo* for help, but they were reluctant to come, only talked and had nothing to offer. She went to church, but as she had never been able to contribute she did not think she would get help from them. And while she had heard that it was possible to get support from the Government, she did not know how and thought it would be difficult as she did not have any "documents". She had also tried to contact the father of her son, but he refused to give her any support. The only support she had managed to get was to borrow two pigs from a neighbour with the promise that she would keep the offspring, but she feared that she might end up feeding them without getting anything in return.

Faustina feared for the future. This year the production looked promising, but normally things were more difficult. She did not have money to send the children to school (saying that she needed around MT 15,000 per term for books, pencils and other costs). No man wanted to stay with a woman who was as "old and tired" as her, as she put it. She had hoped that her son would be able to support her, but now she saw the clay pots as her best option to make the money she needed. As *ohawa*, Faustina was poor and socially marginalised. She did not have any relationships she could use to get her out of her difficult situation, and would depend on her own efforts to get by.

The three case-studies show how peoples' socio-economic positions are influenced by their social relationships. They reveal how Mr. Francisco, as head of the best-off household, maintained a variety of relationships, and used them to plan and act with the goal of securing his social position in the community and increasing his production. Mr. Mário and Ms. Faustina, as heads of a poor and a very poor household respectively, had a much more limited range of relationships. This not only contributed to their continued poverty, but also made them vulnerable.

As exemplified in Appendix 3, showing the social network of an *opitanha* and an *okalano* household respectively, the case-studies reflect systematic differences between the poorest and the less poor: the former tend to have a much more limited social network with limited material content, primarily related to the immediate household and extended family. And the less poor tend to have a more extensive network, with their extended family, in the community with traditional authorities, the church and so on, as well as outside their community, including relationships with the State. The relationship between socio-economic position and the extent and nature of social relationships as we have found them in our case-studies is summed up below.³²

Intra-household relations

Poverty influences intra-household relationships. The level of well-being in a household has to do not only with the resources flowing into such units, but also with the way in which such resources are controlled, used and redistributed through social relationships. This involves relations between men and women, as well as the status and role of children.

As part of the central role of men in the family economy (see Chapter 4), the allocation of income seems to be largely controlled by them. They are the ones who decide when and what to invest in the farm, and are in a position to decide on other types of expenditure, including non-productive consumption such as alcohol and tobacco. As part of women's role in harvesting and domestic chores, they largely control the utilisation of food items produced by the household itself. For larger

³² The case-studies are all written out, and obviously give a more varied and complex picture than is possible in a short summary.

immediate expenses, such as for *curandeiros* or visiting health posts, decisions are usually made jointly. With the control of children vested in the matrilineal family, longer-term investments such as in education are normally taken with the involvement of a maternal uncle or other members of the woman's extended family.

Having a large number of children is important for both the poorest and the better-off families, as children can help with jobs both in the home and on the family farms. Children are considered to be adult when they have passed initiation rites, and from then on they do the tasks of men and women respectively. Children are also a "burden" in the sense that they *consume*, but people do not seem to perceive it that way. There are poor households in our case-studies which include small children "given" to them by other relatives to ease the burden of childlessness (*athu ahinyara*). Only the *very* poorest seem compelled to allot children to others, as when pregnant young girls are sent to the father of the child, if he accepts it.

While male household heads have a strong influence on the intra-household allocation of resources, they are also in a weak position if they do not manage to secure a minimal level of household well-being. In line with this, our case-studies show that poor households are more permeable than better-off ones, with women in the former frequently leaving their husbands and taking their children with them to their own family. In addition to the daily stress on the household resulting from being poor, poverty seems to make households less stable.

The Extended Family and *Nihimo*

Practically all the households emphasise the importance of the extended family and *nihimo*. The significance of the extended family is indicated by the fact that maternal cousins consider themselves to be "siblings", and maternal sons, daughters, nieces and nephews are all considered "children". Within the matrilineal system, a man gives preference to helping his nieces and nephews rather than his own children. In other words, a maternal uncle is socially more relevant than a father.

The clan or *nihimo* is a broader category of people recognising descent from the same ancestor, and who do not necessarily live in the same area. The *nihimo* is defined through the *uterine* line, which means that all men and women who descend from the same female ancestor belong to the same *nihimo*. The *nihimo* is not linked to a special area as its members have moved to different areas through the generations. The *nihimo* represents important potential relationships for those who can pursue them.

Extended families play an important role in daily life, as well as for solving problems in times of crisis such as sudden loss of income, hunger and other misfortunes. As we have seen, most young households settle close to the wife's family, and they cooperate in chores from the exchange of food to looking after children. The better-off families tend to be involved in reciprocal relationships that involve a broader range of types of support and commodities. In the very poorest families, however, even extended family relationships may be cut. Poor households simply cannot afford to have outstanding claims, and households whose family members know will not be able to give anything in return are often not supported.

Extended family members and the *nihimo* also represent a potential network outside the immediate community. This provides the opportunity for relatives to observe other ways of living and to learn how to improve their own families' living conditions. In this sense, there is a difference between families that have the opportunity to go outside the community and those that never or rarely leave. For example, people who go to places like Beira, Nampula and Zambezi provinces are more likely to bring back new ideas and material things such as bicycles, *capulanas*, light drinks and videos into

the community. People we have interviewed who have opened small businesses are often young men with experience from outside the village, who see opportunities that others do not.

Extended family relations also give access to land and labour. Traditionally, the land where families live and produce belongs to the *muthethe*, meaning the place where a given *nihimo* has always lived and families inherit the land where they live and work. Extended family members are also expected to give a hand in particular periods of the agricultural season. While land access as such does not seem to distinguish the poorest from the less poor in our context, differences in access to labour do. The poorest are often weak, and have few options for getting help from relatives to work the land as they themselves have little to contribute.

Relationships through extended families and *nihimos* are extended and cemented through marriage. Members of the same *nihimo* are advised not to marry each other, because they are considered to be related. The *nihimo* helps its members to become integrated into the community. It encourages them to observe the respective ceremonies. While marriage "alliances" are important for people's coping strategies, as they extend people's potential support network, there are indications from our case-studies that the poorest increasingly cohabit without traditional or religious marriage arrangements, which limits the role of the extended families.

The poorest households thus have more limited relationships with their extended families than the better off, with some being excluded, as they cannot fill the relationship with any material content.

Traditional Institutions

Most households listed the *regulo* or the *cabo* as institutions or people they turn to for support and help. The better-off families seem to have easier access to the *regulos* and hence indirectly to the Government (see Chapter 3), while *cabos* are more often involved in smaller family affairs, ranging from acute food shortages to funerals. They have few if any means of direct support to households, but they may mobilise support in the village or *cabo*. Our case-studies indicate that the traditional authorities primarily work with households who they think can contribute to the development of the community at large (such as *okalano*), but they may also support households in very difficult situations (such as *ohawa* and *ohikalano*).

People also relate to the council of elders and the tribunal at the community level, where various types of problem, such as adultery, theft and witchcraft, are brought. Seen from the communities' point of view, these institutions have the advantage of being able to levy fines for compensation, and cases presented to these institutions normally involve families with means.³³ Payment becomes the responsibility of the extended family if the culprit himself cannot pay. A problem is only passed on to the official authorities when the council of elders and the community tribunal are unable to resolve it. Local religious leaders may also help to resolve household and community problems. Even the smallest *cabo* in our study had more than 20 churches and mosques. Our case-studies imply that they primarily support poor older men and women (*ohawa*) with material means such as food and clothes.

Finally, the importance of witchcraft in the communities is an indication of the continued significance of "tradition" in the midst of processes of change and modernity (see Chapter 1). People believe in the presence of their ancestors in their lives, and that relationships are influenced by witchcraft and sorcery. The *curandeiros* in the community are there to remedy the harm caused by witchcraft, and they are frequently used by households. Witchcraft seems to function in two

³³ A person who commits adultery, for example, can be required to pay up to 350,000 Meticias in fines to the offended person.

main ways. First, people have a need to explain the unexplainable and painful. Death, accidents and other severe incidents are often seen to be *caused* by witches, who are frequently identified as socially marginalised elderly men and women.³⁴ Furthermore, witchcraft accusations function as a means of social conformity. People who are well off or successful in other ways are often accused of using witchcraft and are socially sanctioned.

Traditional leaders have influence over political and social issues, mobilising the community to attend meetings and solve conflicts. They are less involved in direct social and economic support, but may mobilise help in special cases. With the exception of older people in the *ohawa* and *optanha* categories, the poorest tend to be excluded, or exclude themselves, from traditional institutions because they are seen as responsible for their own poverty or as having little to contribute.

The State

Very few households identified government institutions as relevant to their coping strategies. Some people do see that the State is present in the form of schools, health facilities, roads and so on, but for most these institutions are not seen as solving their immediate problems and as we have seen many of the poorest do not use schools, health facilities or roads.

Moreover, the State is not seen to be delivering access to agricultural means, reasonable prices for agricultural products or food and clothes, which people perceive to be more immediately important. The few (normally better-off) households who indicated "the government" as an institution they would turn to in times of difficulty primarily referred to government institutions in Murrupula or Nampula, where they had received direct help.

There seem to be two relevant issues for understanding the limited credit given to the State. One is that the State is closely associated with the Frelimo party, and even though there are signs of change many are still suspicious as to its intentions. Nehessiue and, in particular, Chinga are old Renamo strongholds, and have only recently become incorporated into government policies and interventions. An older man told us that he did not want any relations with the Government, as "I will only end up in prison". Moreover, the State is normally "personalised". The most visible government representatives are the *Chefes de Posto*, who, as we have seen, have an unclear role and no resources for development intervention.

Among the most concrete interventions of the State is the establishment of associations, which, as we have seen, is an important part of the Government's development strategy and primarily involves improved agricultural methods and savings and credit schemes. Very few in our case-studies indicated that these play a role in their coping strategies. The poorest do not have the resources to invest in improved methods or take part in credit schemes, and the best off seem not to be part of the target group. The remaining farmers may see the advantages, but the cooperation the associations require seem to be affected by a basic lack of trust between people who are not relatives or close friends and neighbours.

The State is thus more acknowledged for what it does not deliver than for what it does bring to the communities and households. While this has a political overtone in the current context, the poorest also use government services to a smaller extent than the less poor do.

³⁴ "Here we have the problem of lots of children dying, because there are people who use the innocent ones to strengthen their powers of witchcraft. Last year we called the Council of Elders and made them swear in front of the whole community that they would not practise witchcraft. The problem seems to have stopped, but it is not over yet".

5.3 Processes of Marginalisation and Exclusion

In this chapter, we have seen that processes of marginalisation and exclusion take place at several levels. As shown in Section 5.1, people argue that their communities have been excluded from a number of development interventions that would have increased the community's welfare, and they tend to blame the Government for this. People still use the expression "*são eles*", originally used during the war, when referring to the current Frelimo authorities. This sense of exclusion is also related to distance and geographical isolation from the main population centres Vila Murrupula and Nampula, currently exacerbated by the breakdown of bridges on the main roads.

There is also a notion, albeit less directly expressed, that the communities are poor because of the ignorance and behaviour of the people. Poor cooperation in households, adultery and alcohol and drug abuse are seen as "social evils", but people also complain that poverty makes people tired and less capable of contributing to the community at large.

Within communities, social marginalisation and exclusion is partly related to people's perceptions of the reasons why people are poor. Households where poverty is seen as self-inflicted are largely excluded from community networks, and in particular young households in this category are seen as not deserving support.

We have also seen how the very poorest tend to be socially excluded, or exclude themselves, as they are socially stigmatised for being responsible for their own poverty or do not have options for contributing with labour or material means in a context of generalised poverty. Newcomers without either a basis in the community or relationships seem to be in a particularly vulnerable position, as we saw in the extended case-studies.

The case-studies also reveal how the poorest seem to be trapped in poverty. People are forced by their very poverty to make short-term decisions that jeopardise their longer-term options for improving their lives: by not sending children to school, eating seeds that should be used for planting in the following agricultural season, selling their few products to *comerciantes* in the community rather than in places where they would be better paid, and by going to *curandeiros* (that tend to be closer) rather than health posts. We have also seen how the detrimental conditions of lack of education, early motherhood and social isolation seem to repeat themselves between generations, as with the *opitanha* household described in Section 5.1. For this category, support and interventions must be targeted.

The majority of households in Nehessiue and Chinga are poor rather than destitute, and manage their daily lives by adjusting consumption to their production and income and make the most of their social relationships. They are most vulnerable to crisis at times of loss of productive family members or extraordinary expenses. People in this category would, as we see it, be in a position to relate constructively to development interventions, given a pro-poor approach. There are, finally, also examples of better-off households which work hard to improve their situation and upward social mobility. These households face a number of structural constraints related to the State and the market, but have the potential to become drivers of change in their communities with the right supporting policies.

6. Conclusions and Policy Implications

We introduced this study by presenting quantitative data on poverty in Mozambique and Nampula, underlining the fact that despite important recent advances in poverty reduction Mozambique and Nampula continue to be poor, severely so with regard to income and consumption, child mortality, school attendance, health and other poverty indicators. We also pointed out three broad development trends that may have significant implications for places like Murrupula in the future. One was increasing urbanisation: enhanced rural-urban migration may reflect an exodus of young people with education and possibly also the relocation of the very poorest, desperately seeking alternative livelihoods. A second was an increase in the proportion of female-headed households, and signs of a feminisation of poverty, possibly related to a breakdown of traditional social organisation and urbanisation. The third was the prevalence of HIV/AIDS, where infection rates are still comparatively low but are likely to show an increase in the future. All these trends need continued attention from government.

We continued by emphasising the central role of local government for development and development interventions. While their roles hitherto have largely been determined by central and provincial government, the new Local Authority Act gives them a more independent role both politically and financially. We argued that the District Authorities are well aware of these changes, but also underlined the importance of following up the policy with the transfer of sufficient human and economic resources. In the meantime, cooperation between the State and traditional authorities should continue to be encouraged, particularly in areas like Murrupula, which has been left out of government intervention for a long time and where people remain sceptical about government intentions.

Our study of rural relations of poverty in Murrupula has revealed a situation of severe structural constraints. Agricultural production suffers from subsistence-based technologies and limited or exploitative markets, and there is inadequate access to educational and health facilities. People are generally poor, with low levels of income and consumption, further aggravated by a severe ill-health situation. While traditional support structures within the communities are still intact and important, poverty nevertheless tends to exclude the very poorest in a context where people depend on reciprocal relationships. Better-off households which have experienced upward social mobility have normally been able to establish and maintain relations with people outside the immediate community.

Referring to the Force-Field Analysis, carried out to capture people's own perceptions of challenges and possible solutions to the problem of poverty in their communities (see Chapter 1 and Annex 3), the main points are expressed in the following quotes:

People in Murrupula (as elsewhere) tend to argue that things were better before. "We produced a lot - We bought things for low prices - We ate well - We had animals"; but also that "Lazy people used to be beaten because they did not follow rules - Shops and schools were destroyed - Government had things as if it was theirs."

As regards the situation now, "We are happy because the war has ended and we can travel - We have bicycles - There are health posts and schools", but also that "We work but do not have enough to eat, sell and plant - There are lots of things but we do not have the money to buy [them] - Commerce has expanded but the businessmen steal from the people".

In the future, people in the four *cabos* would like to have (summed up from a long list) "Employment for young people – More health posts, better schools and roads - More money and reduced prices – Wells - Shops and small industries to process our cereals – Micro-credit schemes - Places to keep our products".

Asked what may make these plans difficult to carry out, the groups mentioned "Lack of political will – Difficulties in the bureaucracy – Government not talking to other countries – Lack of organisation - Lack of honest people and documents – People do not want to contribute – People do not understand each other - People live dispersed".

The main expectation for improving conditions in communities and households is clearly directed towards the Government "in collaboration with national and international NGOs and trusted associations", as one put it. However, discussions in all the groups ended by emphasising that there were also things the local communities could do: "We would like to have the Government and the community to work together. We would like to have help in money and material. The community can help with work - To have more schools, health posts, wells, machines to powder cereals, small industries for biscuits and shops, the cabo need to organise (i.e. to contribute with labour) and contribute with money".

6.1 Policy Implications

The purpose of Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategy (PARPA II) is to improve the situation for people in areas such as Murrupula. The proposed policy implications of our study are of two different types: one relates to implications for the monitoring and evaluation of the PARPA process, and the second to possible development interventions to alleviate poverty in areas such as the Murrupula District.

- We hope to have demonstrated the utility of combining quantitative and qualitative approaches and methods in applied poverty research, and will argue for coordination or streamlining of qualitative studies to increase their utility and impact. A joint seminar should be organised between relevant policy makers and researchers.
- Certain units of analysis used in the census and IAF studies should be reassessed, or at least combined with questions putting more emphasis on the social relationships of individuals and households, to reflect better the reality of the poor.
- If the State and its poverty alleviation interventions are to have an impact, there is an urgent need to strengthen the local government's human and economic resources in line with the intentions of the Local Government Act. In order to strengthen the status and role of the State, it must be seen to deliver.
- In the foreseeable future, the State in areas such as Murrupula will continue to depend on traditional authorities for community mobilisation, development intervention and tax collection. Their role should be formalised and remunerated in line with the intentions of the Local Government Act, to secure that they work for and not against the State.
- Communities and households are largely caught up in a dependency syndrome after years of colonialism and war, but also express a willingness to contribute with what they have (primarily labour but also through fees and taxes) to improve their own situation and that of their communities. This should be better exploited through mutual "contracts" between the State and communities, including, when relevant, in partnership with civil society and non-government organisations.
- Higher agricultural production and better returns on agricultural products remain the main option for social mobility and well-being for the majority of the poorest, and should be the focus of government policies. Non-agricultural employment and income remain inaccessible for

most households in rural areas such as Murrupula, and the income of those involved in the informal rural economy (primarily young people who have not yet settled) remains very low.

- Improved access to markets (through local road networks) and improved bargaining positions *vis a vis* external traders (through associations) are the key to enhancing income and consumption from agriculture. Both should be further developed, with a focus on the active involvement of women. Market price information should be introduced through the active use of radios and other means of communication so that producers have real alternatives.
- Most people realise the potential importance of education for improving their lives, but there is access to schools only up to Grade 5 (EP 1) in the communities we have studied. Children do not go to school due to poverty and a lack of economic means; work and sibling-care responsibilities; and early marriage/pregnancies for girls, who tend to drop out first. Access to further education should be improved, and provision should be made for young mothers to continue their education after pregnancy.
- High illness and mortality rates are related to malnutrition. A continued preference for traditional doctors, a concomitant scepticism towards State health institutions; and weak sanitation networks have considerable implications for agricultural production and general well-being. Our study shows that much can be done to improve the status of the formal health system and combat malnutrition through targeted information. Particular attention should be paid to young mothers.
- The very poorest families in districts such as Murrupula are characterised by non-involvement in state and community institutions (including those of education, health, the church and associations), and are marginalised or excluded from traditional family networks due to their inability to contribute in a setting where relationships have to be reciprocal. For these families, targeted interventions are necessary not only in the form of economic resources but also by facilitating social relationships.

6.2 Further Research

The current study on social relations of poverty in the inland rural district of Murrupula is the first in a series of three studies to be carried out for the Department for International Development (DfID) in close cooperation with the Ministry of Planning and Development (MPD). The second study will be carried out in early 2007 in two or three urban *bairros* in the city of Maputo and will treat central issues of urban poverty. Urban dwellers make up 30 percent of the population in Mozambique and have seen the slowest reduction in poverty levels in the past few years, with Maputo having experienced an increase in poverty and inequality. The third study will be carried out in early 2008 in the district of Machanga in the province of Sofala in central Mozambique, with the district having representative characteristics of the rural coastal region in the central part of the country. Issues of migration and remittances will be given special attention.

Together, the studies will yield data on central features of three districts and their local government authorities, who have been given a key role in the fight against poverty through the recent Local Authority Act (RdM 2005; MacDonald et al. 2005) and PARPA II (GdM 2005: 2). The studies will also give panel data of a total of approximately 400 households through 360 questionnaire surveys and around 40 in-depth interviews. All three areas will be revisited after three years (i.e. in the period 2009-2011) to monitor changes in policy interventions, poverty and well-being.

Annex 1: Terms of Reference

QUALITATIVE STUDY ON POVERTY IN MOZAMBIQUE

Introduction.

Research-based knowledge about poverty is recognised as crucial for Mozambique's poverty-reduction strategies as these are expressed in the Government's Five year Plan (2005-2009); the Poverty Reduction Strategy process (PARPA I and II); the annual Economic and Social Plan (PES) and other policy instruments. Much information already exists, through the 1997 Household Census (to be repeated in 2007), comprehensive national household surveys (IAAF 1996/7 and 2002/3), and other more sector and topic-specific surveys (see World Bank 2005a for more information). It is generally acknowledged that available quantitative data yield valuable information about the determinants, profile and mapping of poverty in the country (DNPO 2004; Isaksen et al. 2005).

At the same time, it is acknowledged that more research is needed to better understand the dynamics of poverty and the coping strategies of the poor (DNPO 2005; see also Isaksen et al. 2005). In line with this, there has been a call for more qualitative analyses, looking at the social organisation at the level of communities and households; at poor people's perception of their own situation and at their strategies to cope with their poverty and improve their lives (World Bank 2005c; see also G20 2004).

The realisation of the importance of combining quantitative and qualitative analysis is an important point of departure. Quantitative studies are often insufficient to answer questions of dynamics and processes of poverty (Kanbur 2001; see also Jerve et al. 2003). Qualitative studies on their part often fail to have an impact because they do not sufficiently relate to ongoing policy initiatives, and pay insufficient attention to sampling issues making it difficult to generalize conclusions (Carrier and Miller 1999; see also Uphoff 2001). To have value for policy-making, monitoring and evaluation of poverty, such studies must *inform* the quantitative data and thereby add to their utility for policy-makers.

Outline of the project. The following is a preliminary outline of a proposed study on qualitative aspect of poverty in Mozambique. It will use existing quantitative data as point of departure, and focus on qualitative issues of social relations and cultural perceptions in a geographically confined area through anthropological "thick description" (a term originally coined by the American anthropologist Clifford Geertz). As such, it will function as a pilot-study for the utility of focussed qualitative analyses for poverty assessment and monitoring in the country.

It is suggested that this project should have a particular focus on the poorest sections of the population. In Mozambique, 54 percent of the population have been defined as poor (INE 2003, see also DNPO 2004). Development policy and aid have, we will argue, been hampered by a limited emphasis on distinguishing between different levels and types of poverty below set poverty levels – effectively defining the majority of people in many countries as target groups while bypassing the most deprived sections of poor populations. "The poorest" will be defined both in term of income and consumption, and the perceptions in the communities about who the poorest are (see "Methodology"). This will make it possible to make a first initial assessment of the important issues of "chronic" versus "transitory" poverty (CPRC 2004, see also DNPO 2004).

The quantitative studies mentioned above have yielded important information about characteristics of poverty in Mozambique, including differences in levels of income; employment; household composition; access to basic social services; and regional disparities (INE 2003; DNPO 2004). On the basis of these data, key determinants of poverty have been identified (Chiconela 2004; Maximiano et al. 2005). These, as well as other more localised studies to be identified, will form the point of departure for this study (see "Methodology").

Poverty will be broadly understood as lack of freedom to meet the daily needs of individuals and their dependants, and poverty reduction entails expanding those freedoms (Jerve et al. 2003). As such, poverty

involves lack of income and assets to attain basic necessities (alleviated through a combination of increased *opportunities* and increased *capacity* to capitalize upon available opportunities); sense of voicelessness and powerlessness in relation to the 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*).

With reference to existing data to be identified in the initial phase of the project, the study will initially seek to give a "thick description" of the communities under study. It will focus on the household as a decision-making unit, and a limited number of issues identified as important determinants of poverty in Mozambique (selection to be further discussed):

- *Intra-household relationships*: In order to understand how households actually respond to their own poverty and interventions to alleviate it, it is important to understand how decisions are made. The point of departure is that poverty not only has to do with the material resources flowing into these units, but also with the way in which such resources are controlled, used and allocated. A particular focus will be on differences between male-headed and female-headed households.
- *Extra-household relationships*. Most of the poorest households are not viable as social and economic units. The extended family has traditionally been an important buffer or safety net in times of severe hardships. We know that such relations easily come under stress with increased poverty and insecurity. A particular focus will be on the relative importance of extended family relationships compared to community institutions (traditional and civil) as well as public institutions of the State for peoples' coping strategies.
- *Relations of employment and income*. Poor rural households in Mozambique are traditionally heavily dependent on agriculture. The study will assess changes in division of labour and agricultural relationships with a particular focus on gender, as well as changes in the relative importance of agriculture and other sources of income such as formal employment; non-agricultural self-employment; and remittances.
- *The poor and education*. The quantitative studies on poverty in Mozambique find strong correlation between poverty and education. The study will seek to assess the perceptions of education among the poorest; and the main factors inhibiting people from sending their children to school. Particular focus will be given to gender differences and the status and role of children without education in the community.
- *Other*. Options will be kept open for including additional key determinants of poverty defined by the population under study itself.

Methodology. Due to time- and financial constraints, the pilot study will be confined to a limited geographical area. Attempts will be made to identify a District being as representative as possible in terms of basic demographic and socio-economic characteristics. Alternatively, a particularly poor District (e.g. in Inhambane) could be selected. Within the District identified, 1-3 communities ("localidades") will be selected for closer study. The team will partly work together, and partly split in two groups to cover a larger area.

The study will be initiated by discussions with DNEAP/MPD to secure its relevance; acquisition of relevant quantitative data from INE; and identification of more localised socio-economic baseline-studies in Ministries, academic institutions and in the donor-community. This will be followed by readings and preparations in Norway with both consultants present (2 weeks).

The fieldwork period will be four (4) weeks. Central qualitative methods will be participant observation; focus-group interviews; extended case-studies; and various participatory research methods. The team will also carry out a questionnaire survey, focussing on the main issues identified for study.

Output:

1. A report, including i) an introductory discussion of the role of qualitative poverty research in Mozambique; ii) an outline of demographic and socio-economic characteristics of poverty in the study area; iii) an analysis of social relations of poverty; iv) an analysis of the poor and employment, income and education; and v) conclusions and possible follow-up .
2. A seminar at the Ministry of Planning and Development in Maputo, involving Government, donors as well as members of the research community.

Personnel

1. Inge Tvedten (IT). Social Anthropologist. Chr, Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway.
2. Carmeliza Rosário (CR). Social Anthropologist. Austral Consultoria e Projectos. Maputo, Mozambique.
3. Margarida Paulo (MP). Social Anthropologist. Department of Anthropology, Eduardo Mondlane University.
4. Enumerators

Timing

1 March 2006 - 31 May 2006 (3 months). Fieldwork will take place 4 weeks from approx. 1 March - 1 April 2006.

Possible follow-up.

This is a limited pilot-study. If deemed useful by policy-makers and donors, the utility of qualitative studies of this type will increase with 2-3 similar comparative studies defined on the basis of geographical location or in terms of areas with different levels of poverty. Such studies could also be used for the monitoring the Government's poverty alleviation policies by being repeated e.g. every 2-3 years.

Annex 2: Survey Questionnaire

Nr. Questionário	_ _ _	Códigos
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 Consultoria e Projectos, 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.

1. Qual a relação do entrevistado com o agregado? _ _ <i>Se 01 passe para questão 4.</i>	01 Chefe do agregado 02 Esposa(o) 03 Outro adulto do agregado
2. Sexo do entrevistado _ _	01 Homem 02 Mulher
3. Qual a idade do entrevistado _ _	99 Não sabe
CARACTERIZAÇÃO DO CHEFE DO AGREGADO	
4. Nome do chefe do agregado familiar _____	
5. Qual o nome pelo qual o chefe do agregado é mais conhecido? _____	
6. Sexo do chefe do agregado	

_ _	01 Homem 02 Mulher
7. Qual é a idade do chefe do agregado? _ _	99 Não sabe
8. Qual é o estado civil do chefe do agregado? _ _	01 Solteiro 02 Casado igreja 03 Casado civil 04 Casado de facto 05 Separado 06 Viúvo
9. Qual é a principal ocupação do chefe do agregado? _____	
10. Qual é o nível de escolaridade do chefe do agregado? _ _	01 Nenhum 02 Alfabetizado 03 EP1 04 EP2/Elementar 05 Secund./Básico 06 Médio 07 Superior
DEFINIÇÃO DO AGREGADO	
11. 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) _ _	
12. Qual a relação de parentesco que tem cada membro do agregado com o chefe do agregado? (quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias) _ _ Chefe _ _ Esposa(o) _ _ Filhos _ _ Pais _ _ Irmãos _ _ Sobrinhos _ _ Netos _ _ Outros parentes _ _ Sem parentesco	
13. Destes membros do agregado quantos <u>não</u> vivem na casa? _ _ <i>Se 00 passe para questão 15.</i>	
14. Qual a relação de parentesco que cada membro do agregado ausente tem o com o chefe do agregado? (quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes	

<p>categorias)</p> <p> __ __ Chefe __ __ Filhos __ __ Irmãos</p> <p> __ __ Esposa(o) __ __ Pais __ __ Outros parentes</p>	
<p>15. 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 17.</i></p>	
<p>16. Qual a relação de parentesco que estes membros têm com o chefe de família? (quantos membros existem nas seguintes categorias)</p> <p> __ __ Filhos da irmã __ __ Filhos do irmão</p> <p> __ __ Netos __ __ Irmãos</p> <p> __ __ Outros parentes __ __ Sem parentesco</p>	
<p>17. Quantas pessoas que <u>não</u> pertencem a este agregado são dependentes do apoio monetário ou em géneros deste agregado?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 19.</i></p>	
<p>18. Qual a relação de parentesco que estas pessoas que não pertencem ao agregado têm com o chefe do agregado? (quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias)</p> <p> __ __ Outras esposas __ __ Pais</p> <p> __ __ Filhos de outras esposas __ __ Sogros</p> <p> __ __ Outros parentes da(o) esposa(o) __ __ Outros parentes chefe</p>	
<p>19. Quantas pessoas vivem no mesmo quintal que o agregado, mas <u>não</u> fazem parte deste agregado familiar?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 21.</i></p>	
<p>20. Qual a relação de parentesco que estas pessoas que não fazem parte do agregado têm com o chefe do agregado? (quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias)</p> <p> __ __ Filhas __ __ Outros parentes</p> <p> __ __ Filhos __ __ Sem parentesco</p>	

<p>28. 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> <p> _____ </p>	
SAÚDE	
<p>29. Quantas pessoas do agregado ficaram doentes nas duas últimas semanas?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	
<p>30. Há algum membro do agregado que sofra de doença crónica ou prolongada?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 32.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>31. Quantas pessoas sofrem de alguma doença crónica ou prolongada no agregado? (responda por categoria)</p> <p> _ _ Crianças _ _ Jovens _ _ Adultos</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(0-12 anos) (12-18 anos)</p>	
<p>32. Onde costumam ir normalmente para serem tratados os membros do agregado em caso de doença?</p> <p> _ _ _____ </p>	<p>01 Unidade sanitária local</p> <p>02 Unidade sanitária Nampula</p> <p>03 Enfermeiro</p> <p>04 Curandeiro</p> <p>05 Em casa</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>33. Algum membro do agregado <u>necessitou alguma vez de ser transferido</u> para uma unidade sanitária de nível mais alto e <u>não o pôde</u> fazer?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 35.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>34. Qual foi a principal razão para não ter conseguido ser transferido?</p> <p> _____ </p>	

<p>35. Quando um membro do agregado é internado, quem é que acompanha o doente? (leva comida e/ou fica a dormir com ele(a) na unidade sanitária)</p> <p>Se for criança (rapaz) __ __ _____ </p> <p>Se for criança (rapariga) __ __ _____ </p> <p>Se for adulto (homem) __ __ _____ </p> <p>Se for adulto (mulher) __ __ _____ </p>	<p>01 Chefe do agregado</p> <p>02 Esposa do chefe</p> <p>03 Um jovem</p> <p>04 Uma jovem</p> <p>05 Um adulto</p> <p>06 Uma adulta</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> <p>99 Não existe a categoria</p>
<p>36. Quantas crianças faleceram neste agregado antes de completar 5 anos?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 38.</i></p>	
<p>37. Quais as razões principais para essa(s) morte(s)?</p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </p>	
MOBILIDADE	
<p>38. Quantos membros do agregado sempre viveram neste local?</p> <p> __ __ </p>	<p>98 Todos</p>
<p>39. Algum membro do agregado esteve deslocado deste local durante a guerra?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 42.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>40. Em que ano se deslocou o primeiro membro do agregado?</p> <p> __ __ __ __ </p>	
<p>41. Em que ano regressou o último membro do agregado deslocado?</p> <p> __ __ __ __ </p>	
<p>42. O chefe do agregado sempre viveu neste local?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 01 passe para questão 45.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>43. Onde vivia o chefe do agregado antes de se mudar para este local?</p> <p> _____ </p>	

<p>44. Para que lugares fora da localidade/cabo costumam ir com mais frequência os membros do agregado? (mencione até 3)</p> <p> _ _ _ (preencher apenas se nenhum membro do agregado costuma viajar)</p> <p><i>Se 99 passe para questão 47.</i></p> <p>1. _____ </p> <p>2. _____ </p> <p>3. _____ </p>	<p>99 Nenhum</p>
<p>45. Quantas vezes costumam os membros do agregado viajar para fora da localidade/cabo?</p> <p>1. _ _ _ </p> <p>2. _ _ _ </p> <p>3. _ _ _ </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>46. Qual costumam ser as razões principais das viagens?</p> <p>1. _ _ _ _____ </p> <p>2. _ _ _ _____ </p> <p>3. _ _ _ _____ </p>	<p>01 Visitas familiares</p> <p>02 Negócios</p> <p>03 Compras</p> <p>04 Saúde</p> <p>05 Educação</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
BENS E PADRÕES DE CONSUMO	
<p>47. Que bens possui a família?</p> <p>Rádio _____ </p> <p>Aparelhagem/Rádio reproduutor _____ </p> <p>TV _____ </p> <p>Vídeo reproduutor _____ </p> <p>Bicicleta _____ </p> <p>Motorizada _____ </p> <p>Enxada _____ </p> <p>Catana _____ </p> <p>Machado _____ </p> <p>Outro _____ _____ </p> <p>Outro _____ _____ </p>	<p>01 Possui</p> <p>02 Não possui</p>

Outro _____ __ __	
48. Quanto gastou na <u>semana passada</u> nos seguintes artigos: Produtos alimentares __ __ __ . __ __ __ . __ __ __ Produtos de limpeza __ __ __ . __ __ __ . __ __ __ Roupa/vestuário __ __ __ . __ __ __ . __ __ __ Produtos escolares __ __ __ . __ __ __ . __ __ __ Medicamentos/consultas __ __ __ . __ __ __ . __ __ __ Transporte __ __ __ . __ __ __ . __ __ __	
49. Quanto pagou o agregado de impostos, no <u>último ano</u> , nas seguintes categorias: __ __ (preencher apenas se não pagou impostos) <i>Se 98 ou 99 passe para questão 50.</i> Pessoal (para a totalidade do agregado) __ __ __ . __ __ __ Bicicletas __ __ __ . __ __ __ Comercial __ __ __ . __ __ __ Agrícola __ __ __ . __ __ __ Outro _____ __ __ __ . __ __ __	98 Não sabe 99 Nenhum
50. Que produtos trocou nas últimas duas semanas passada por outros? __ __ (preencher apenas se não trocou produtos) <i>Se 99 passe para questão 52.</i> Produto entregue Produto recebido em troca _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____	99 Nenhum
51. Qual é o local que mais usa para fazer a troca de produtos? _____	
ACTIVIDADES DE RENDIMENTO NÃO AGRÍCOLAS	
52. Quantos membros do agregado têm emprego com salário regular ou beneficiam de reforma? __ __ <i>Se 00 passe para questão 54.</i>	

<p>63. 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>64. 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>65. Vendeu algum produto da última campanha? (soma do arrecadado pela totalidade dos produtos vendidos)</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 67.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>66. Quanto arrecadou na última campanha?</p> <p> _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ </p>	
<p>67. A família cria animais?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 71.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>68. Quais os animais que o agregado cria?</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>69. Costuma vender animais?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 71.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>70. Quanto rendeu a última venda?</p> <p> _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ </p>	

PROPRIEDADE E RELACÕES INTRA-FAMILIARES

<p>71. Como foi adquirida a machamba principal do agregado?</p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> <p><i>Se 01, 03 ou 06 passe para questão 74.</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>72. 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>73. 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>74. Como foi adquirida a casa onde o agregado vive?</p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> <p><i>Se 02 ou 05 passe para questão 77.</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>75. 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>76. 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>77. Quem é responsável, no agregado por:</p> <p>Cultivar a machamba _ _ _ </p> <p>Construir a casa _ _ _ </p> <p>Cozinhar _ _ _ </p> <p>Apanhar lenha _ _ _ </p> <p>Carretar água _ _ _ </p> <p>Tomar conta da casa _ _ _ </p> <p>Tomar conta das crianças _ _ _ </p> <p>Fazer compras _ _ _ </p> <p>Cuidar dos doentes _ _ _ </p> <p>Educar as crianças _ _ _ </p> <p>Participar das reuniões comunitárias _ _ _ </p>	<p>01 As mulheres</p> <p>02 Os homens</p> <p>03 Os jovens</p> <p>04 As jovens</p> <p>05 Todos</p> <p>06 Ninguém</p>
<p>78. 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 de família</p> <p>02 Homem</p> <p>03 Mulher</p> <p>04 Ambos</p> <p>05 Todo agregado</p>

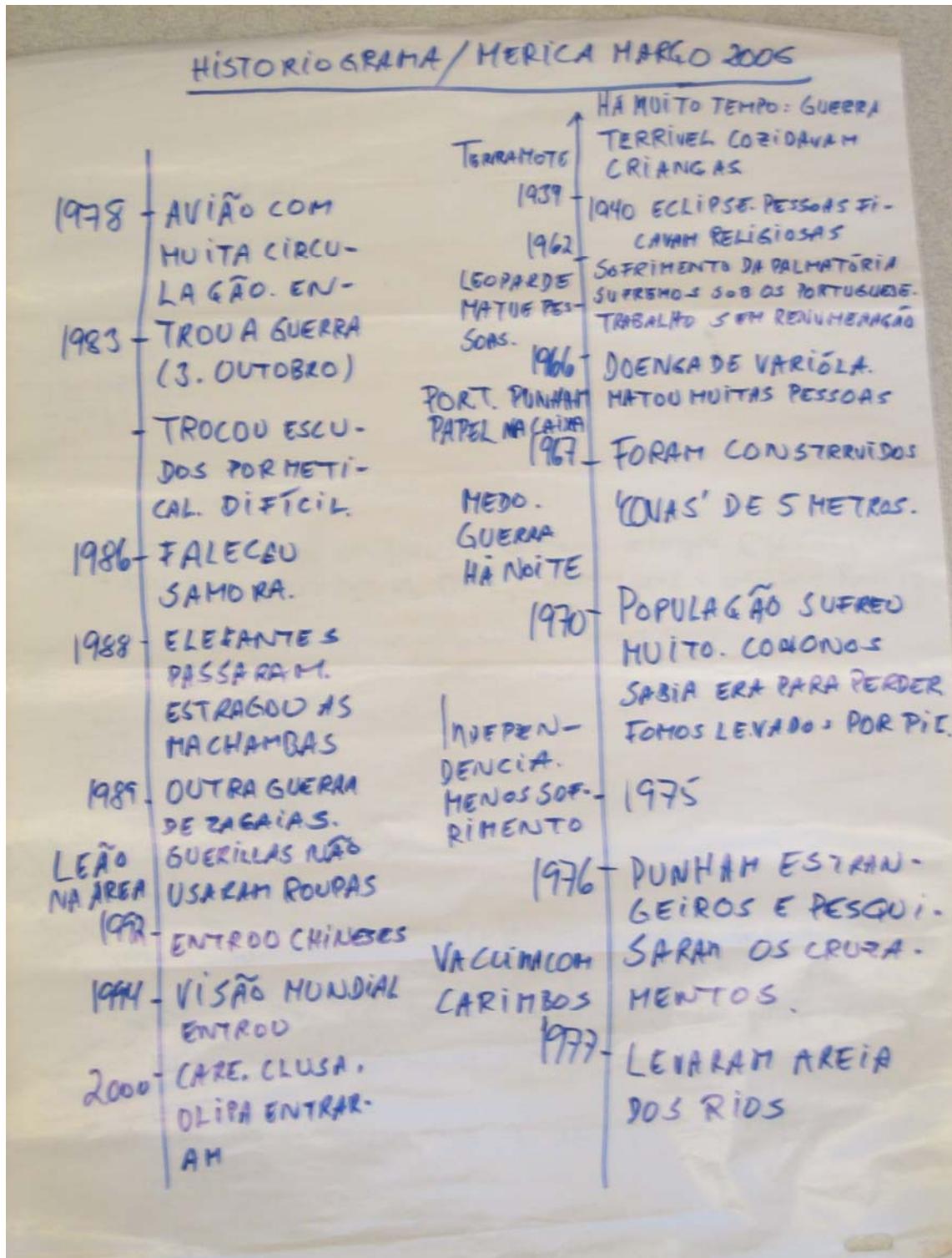
RELACÕES EXTRA-FAMILIARES	
<p>79. Qual foi o último problema/preocupação que o agregado teve que resolver e que teve que recorrer à intervenção de pessoas de fora do agregado para o resolver?</p> <p> _ _ (preencher apenas se não teve nenhum problema)</p> <p><i>Se 99 passe para questão 81.</i></p> <p> _____ </p>	<p>99 Nenhum</p>
<p>80. 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>81. Qual é a fonte de conflito mais comum na comunidade e que necessita de intervenção das autoridades para resolver?</p> <p> _ _ (preencher apenas se não existe nenhuma fonte de conflito)</p> <p><i>Se 99 passe para questão 83.</i></p> <p> _____ </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>82. 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>87. Comparando com a situação da família há 5 anos atrás, como avalia a situação da família hoje?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Melhorou 02 Manteve-se 03 Piorou</p>
<p>88. Explique porquê</p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>89. Comparando com a situação da comunidade há 5 anos atrás, como avalia a situação da comunidade hoje?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 04 passe para questão 91.</i></p>	<p>01 Melhorou 02 Manteve-se 03 Piorou 04 Não vivia na comunidade</p>
<p>90. Explique porquê</p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>91. Como espera que a situação da família esteja daqui a 5 anos?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Melhorará 02 Manter-se-á 03 Piorará</p>
<p>92. Explique porquê</p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>93. Como espera que a situação da comunidade esteja daqui a 5 anos?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Melhorará 02 Manter-se-á 03 Piorará</p>
<p>94. Explique porquê</p> <p> _____ </p>	

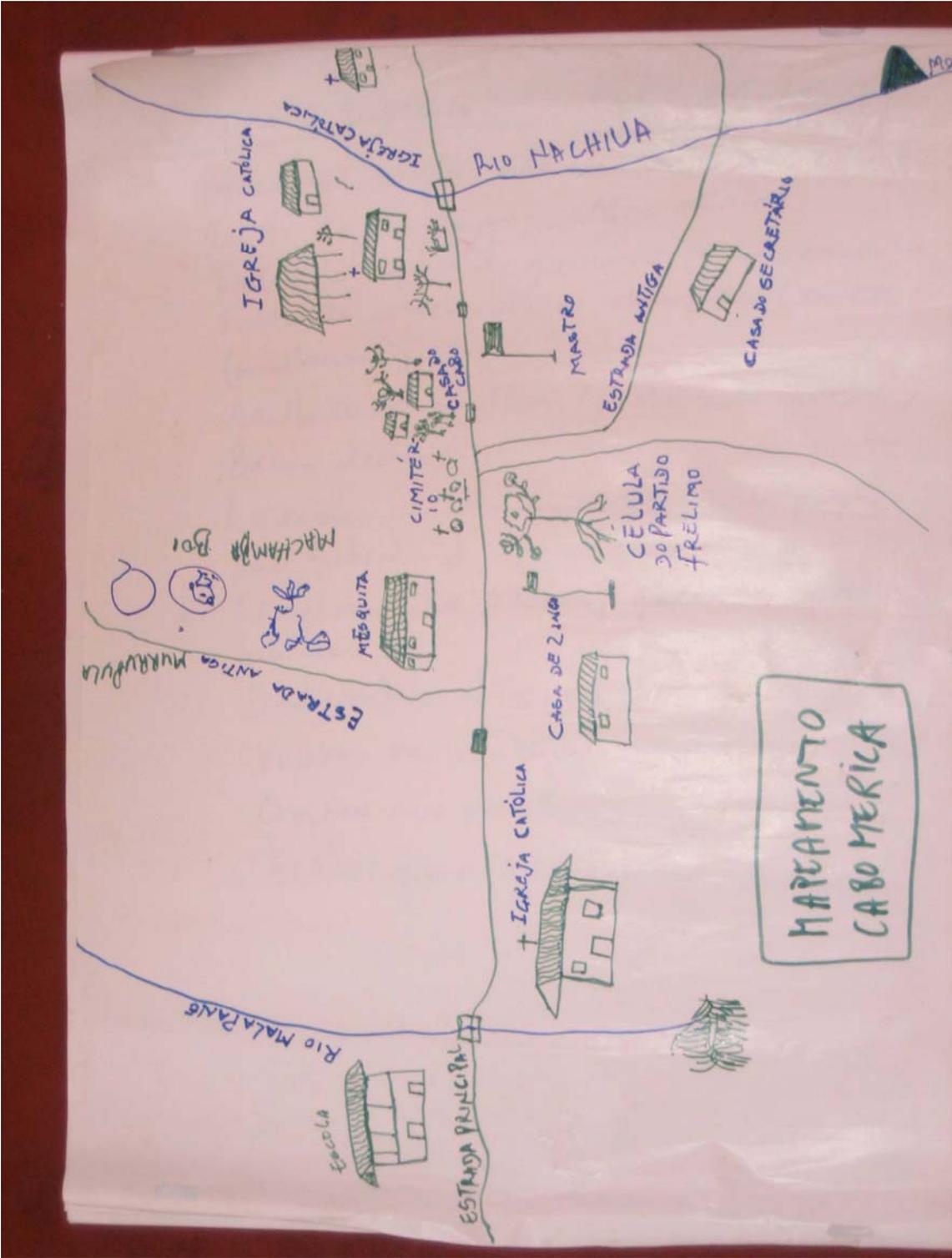
<p>Hora de Término _ _ : _ _ </p>	
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Annex 3: Illustrations of qualitative methodologies

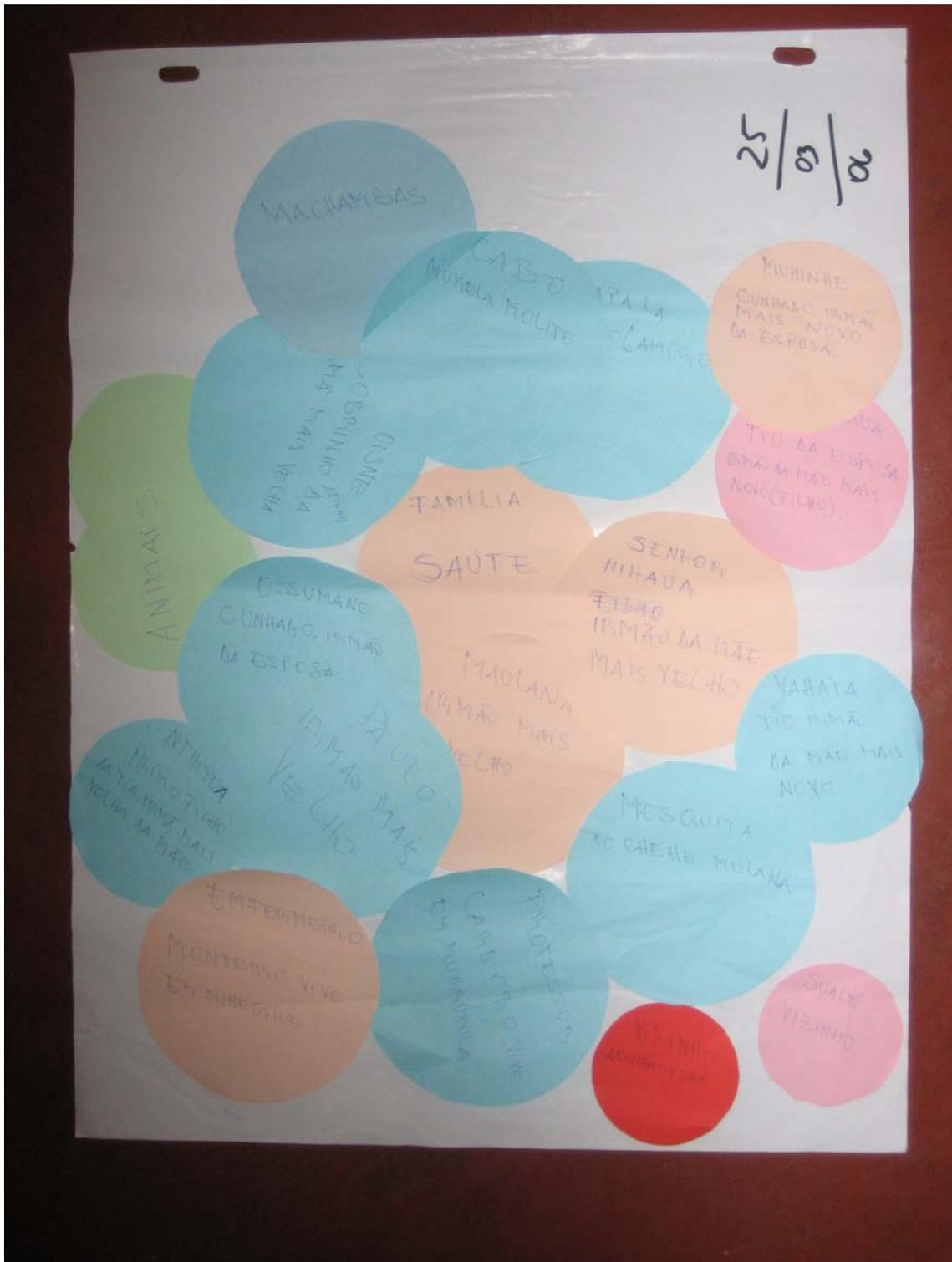
Histogramme



Community mapping (I)



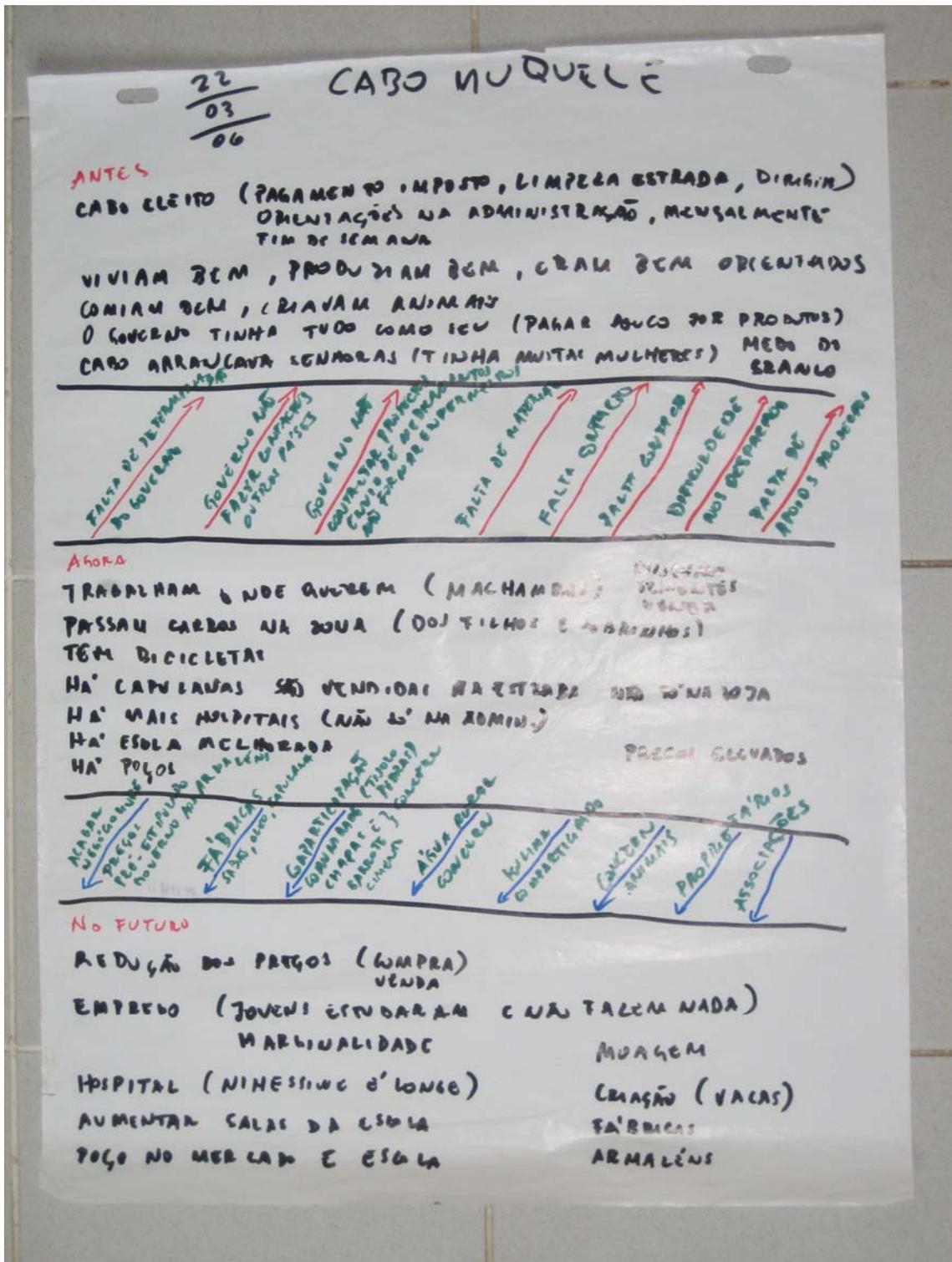
Venn diagramme (I)



Venn diagramme (II)







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SUMMARY

Research-based information is recognised as crucial for Mozambique's endeavours to reduce its poverty. This first report in a series of three qualitative studies on poverty in Mozambique focuses on the district of Murrupula in Nampula province. In Chapter 1 we argue that qualitative studies are important for the monitoring and evaluation of poverty reduction policies. They inform quantitative data and correlations by testing causal hypotheses on the ground. They discover processes and interdependencies related to non-tangible dimensions of poverty such as vulnerability and powerlessness. They test and reassess central concepts and units of poverty analysis. Finally, they involve the poor themselves in the analysis of their own situation in ways that are difficult with formal questionnaire surveys.

In Chapter 2 we present central quantitative expressions of poverty in Mozambique as points of reference. We start by outlining some of the broad development trends, including urbanisation, feminisation of poverty and HIV/AIDS, and then analyse data on Mozambique and Nampula to highlight similarities and differences. Chapter 3 provides a background profile of the area under study, predicated on the assumption that the political, economic and sociocultural context is important for understanding social relations of poverty. A brief history emphasising how Murrupula was constrained in its development through the late colonial era, the Frelimo socialist experiment and the war leads into an outline of the responsibilities of the District Administration, the role of traditional authorities, and the overall social and economic situation in the district.

Chapter 4 is built around the survey undertaken for this study, and outlines socioeconomic conditions and determinants of poverty with a focus on employment and income, education and health. It also looks at the implications of geographical space, especially distance from the main economic and population centres, for poverty and poverty alleviation. Chapter 5 focuses on the issue of social relations of poverty, and processes of impoverishment, marginalisation and social exclusion. Its point of departure is people's own emic perceptions of poverty, examining relationships between different categories of the poor within the household and the extended family, traditional institutions and the state. Chapter 6 concludes, drawing some preliminary policy implications and outlining the planned follow-up of the current study in urban Maputo and coastal Sofala respectively.

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