

## Monitoring and Evaluating Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategy PARPA 2006-2008

A Synopsis of Three Qualitative Studies  
on Rural and Urban Poverty

Inge Tvedten  
Margarida Paulo  
Carmeliza Rosário

**R 2009: 5**



# Monitoring and Evaluating Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategy PARPA 2006-2008

A Synopsis of Three Qualitative Studies on  
Rural and Urban Poverty

Inge Tvedten (CMI)  
Margarida Paulo (UEM)  
Carmeliza Rosário (AustralCowi)

**R 2009: 5**

### **CMI Reports**

This series can be ordered from:

Chr. Michelsen Institute  
P.O. Box 6033 Postterminalen,  
N-5892 Bergen, Norway  
Tel: + 47 55 57 40 00  
Fax: + 47 55 57 41 66  
E-mail: [cmi@cmi.no](mailto:cmi@cmi.no)  
[www.cmi.no](http://www.cmi.no)

Price: NOK 50

Printed version: ISSN 0805-505X  
Electronic version: ISSN 1890-503X

Printed version: ISBN 978-82-8062-339-3  
Electronic version: ISBN 978-82-8062-340-9

This report is also available at:  
[www.cmi.no/publications](http://www.cmi.no/publications)

### **Indexing terms**

Mozambique  
Poverty

### **Project number**

27042

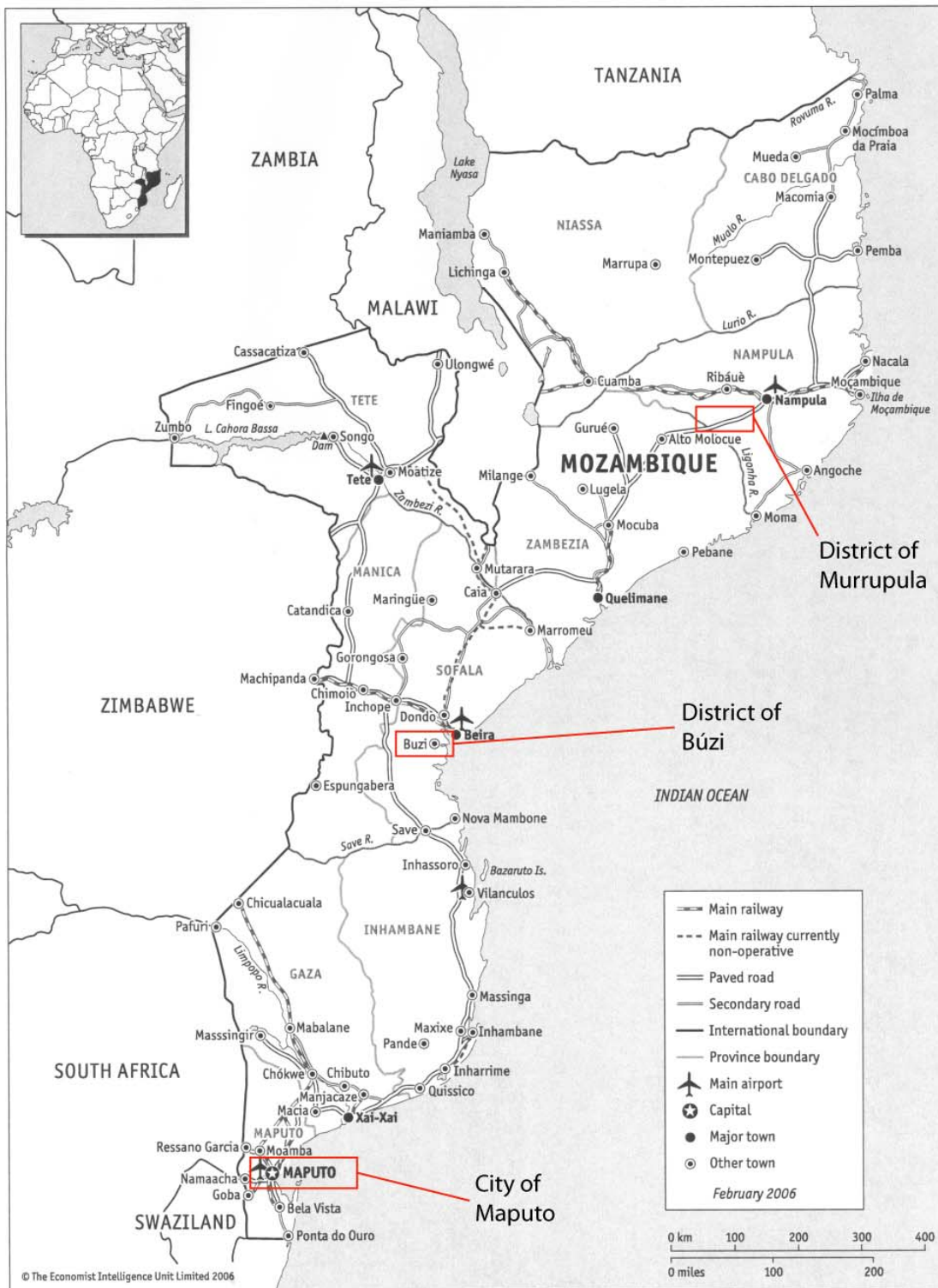
### **Project title**

Qualitative studies on poverty in Mozambique 2006-2011

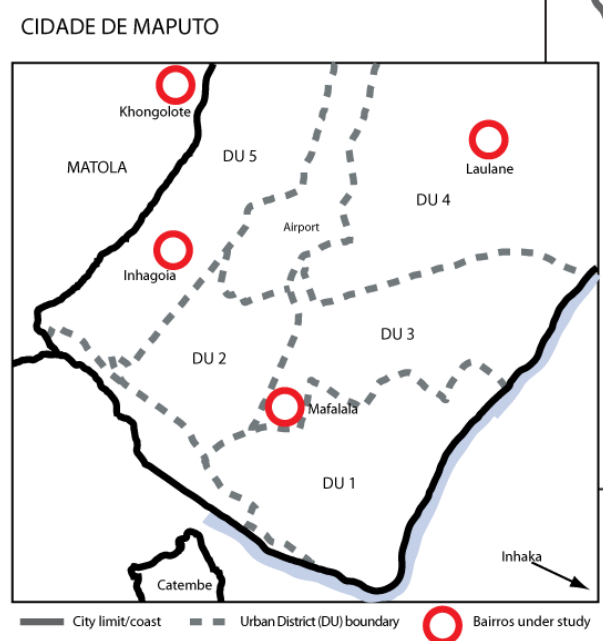
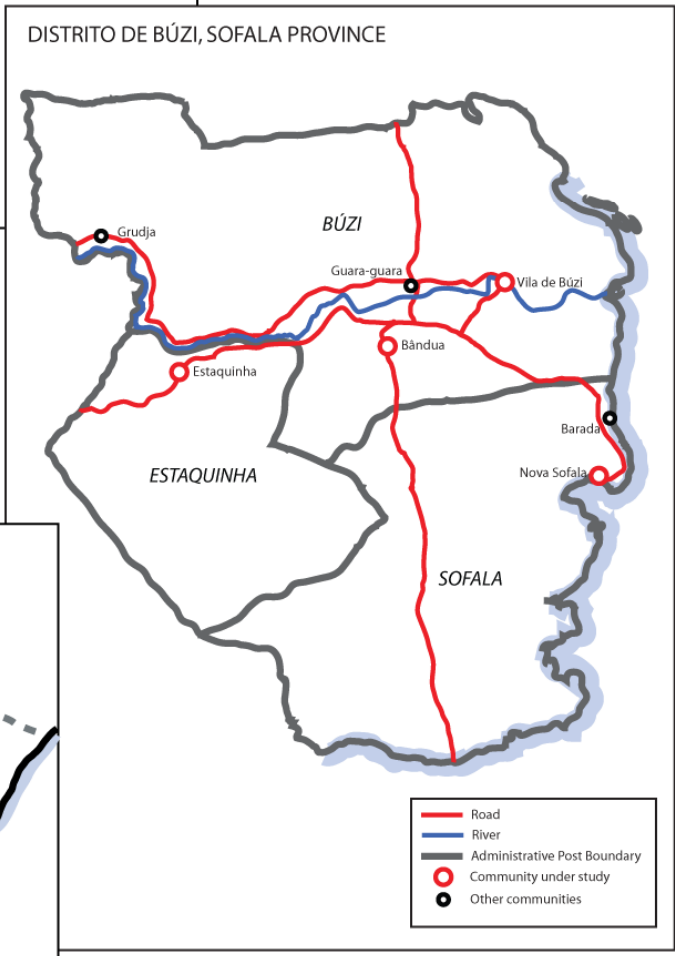
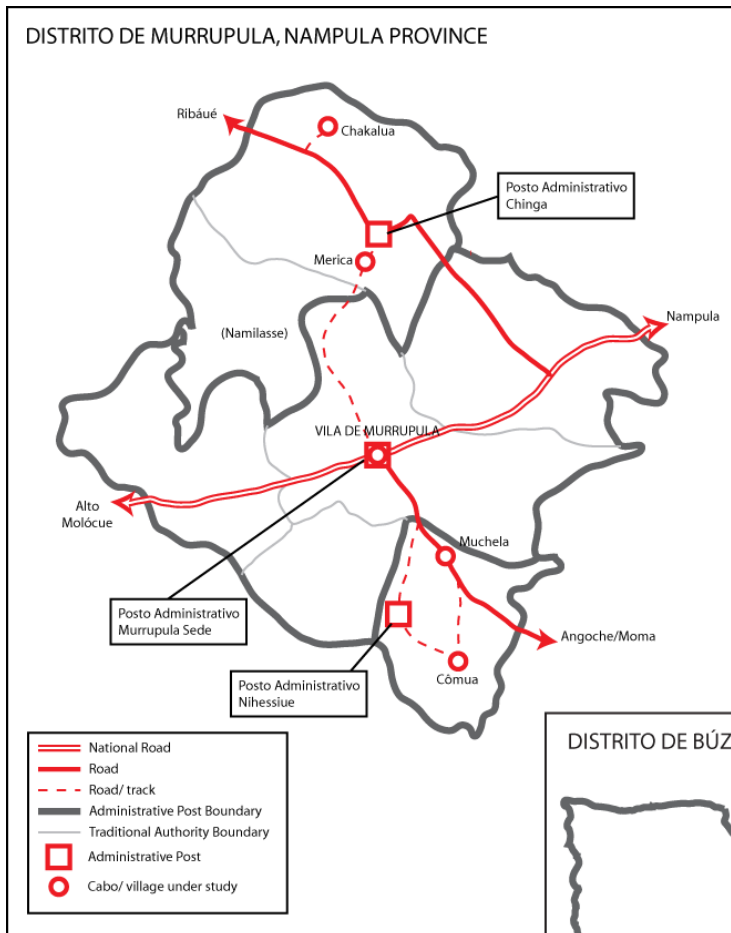
## Contents

<b>1. Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. Analytical Framework and Methodologies.....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>3. Macro Developments .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>4. District Administration and Governance .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>5. Quantitative Expressions of Poverty and Well-Being.....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>6. Social Relations of Poverty and Well-Being .....</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>7. Conclusions and Policy Implications.....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>List of Literature.....</b>	<b>23</b>

Map 1. Mozambique and Project Fieldsites



Source: Economist Intelligence Unit







# 1. Introduction

The Government of Mozambique has set itself ambitious goals for its poverty reduction policy, as this is expressed in PARPA I (2001-2005) and PARPA II (2006-2010) (GdM 2001 and 2005). With a reduction in the poverty headcount from 69 percent in 1996/97 to 54 percent in 2002/03, the policy has already yielded positive results – albeit from a very low point of departure: Mozambique is still the fifth poorest country in the world in human development terms (UNDP 2008). The extent to which the government will reach its goal of a further reduction in the poverty headcount to 45 percent by 2010 is still uncertain. The PARPA is structured around the three thematic pillars governance, economic development and human capital, and one cross-cutting pillar including the environment, gender and HIV-AIDS. Policy implementation is accompanied by a significant monitoring and evaluation effort by the Ministry of Planning and Development (MPD), supported by several ongoing quantitative studies (see e.g. INE 2005 and 2007) and culminating with the third National Household and Expenditure Survey to be carried out in 2009.<sup>1</sup>

Qualitative Research. To complement these efforts, the government has explicitly called for qualitative research to look at social organisation at the levels of communities and households; at poor people's perceptions of their own poverty and well-being; and at their strategies for coping with their situation and improving their lives. This synopsis sums up the main lessons learnt from the first three in a series of six such studies done in cooperation with MPD.<sup>2</sup> The studies have been carried out in the district of Murrupula in Nampula Province (Tvedten, Paulo and Rosário 2006); in four bairros in the capital city Maputo (Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2007); and in the district of Buzi in Sofala Province (Rosário, Tvedten and Paulo 2008) using a combination of adapted surveys and qualitative methodologies.<sup>3</sup> The same areas will be revisited after a period of three years to ascertain the implications of the government's poverty reduction policies and interventions on communities and households (i.e. 2009, 2010 and 2011 respectively).

Purpose. The purpose of this synopsis is to facilitate discussions between the government, civil society organisations, donors and other stakeholders in Mozambique's efforts to reduce poverty and, more specifically, to contribute to the Impact Assessment Report (*Relatório de Avaliação de Impacto*, RAI) which is to be carried out in 2009. We will focus on our main findings and preliminary conclusions, and will to the extent possible avoid repeating data found in the original reports to ease accessibility. The discussions related the synopsis will also be used to further identify the most relevant topics and approaches for the final three studies, in order to secure their maximum utility for the government's monitoring and evaluation programme.

Outline. The synopsis will be divided into six parts following this Introduction. In Chapter 2 we briefly account for the analytical framework and methodological approaches of the studies. In Chapter 3 we present what we have identified as aspects of Mozambique's political economy with particular impacts on the situation in local communities. In Chapter 4 we analyse the main features of the political context at the level of districts through which poverty reduction is implemented. In Chapter 5 we present the main findings from the adapted surveys we have carried out, with a focus

---

<sup>1</sup> The first IAF was carried out in 1996/97 (INE 1998), the second in 2002/03 (INE 2004) and the third will be carried out in 2009/2010.

<sup>2</sup> The reports are published as CMI-Reports in English and Portuguese ([www.cmi.no](http://www.cmi.no)) ; as Working Papers at MPD's home page ([www.mpd.mz](http://www.mpd.mz)), and on the home page of the Southern African Research on Poverty ([www.sarpn.org.za](http://www.sarpn.org.za) ). All the reports are also available in abbreviated form as CMI Briefs ([www.cmi.no](http://www.cmi.no)).

<sup>3</sup> The areas have been selected in cooperation with the MPD, and with the purpose of covering different geographical areas (north, south, central) and different socio-economic configurations (rural, urban, rural-urban).

on the similarities and differences between the three areas of study. In Chapter 6 we assess the outcome of our qualitative and participatory approaches to our analyses. And finally, in Chapter 7, we present preliminary conclusions and recommendations from the first three studies and outline the approach of the three follow-up studies.

## 2. Analytical Framework and Methodologies

The challenge for any poverty reduction effort is to capture the complex inter-relations between historical developments, over-all structural processes, and social relations and cultural perceptions of poor people themselves – in order to design effective and relevant ways to reduce poverty. Hegemonic paradigms in the world of development and poverty reduction have changed radically the past decades, from direct interventions to support the poor through ‘bottom-up’ individual programmes and projects in the 1980s; to a focus on ‘top-down’ structural adjustments primarily of macro-economic parameters in the 1990s; and to the current focus on a combination of good governance and enhanced human capital. The current paradigm is essentially neo-liberal, based on the notion that broad-based economic development will “trickle down” to the poor and that support to social sectors (education and health) will improve their options to relate constructively to that development.

**Definition of Poverty.** Our point of departure is a notion of poverty as a multi-faceted condition having three main dimensions: One is lack of income and assets to attain basic necessities in the form of food, clothing and shelter (alleviated through a combination of increased *opportunities* and an increased *capacity* to capitalise on available opportunities); the second is a sense of voicelessness and powerlessness in relation to institutions of society and the state (alleviated through increased *empowerment*); and the third is vulnerability to adverse shocks, linked with the ability to cope with them through social relationships and legal institutions (alleviated through increased *security*). Having said this, it has become increasingly clear to us that for the poorest and most destitute poverty is *basically* about access to employment and income – and hence the ability to meet basic needs. With improved material conditions, poor people will eventually become less powerless and vulnerable in their relations with their extended family, the community and the state.

**Analytical Framework.** Our analytical framework is based on the assumption that contemporary political, economic and cultural structural forces have a powerful effect upon human action and the shape of events – and hence that poverty reduction necessitates changes in these structural conditions (Bourdieu 1990, Ortner 2006). There is also room for human agency and ordinary lives, as people relate to structural constraints and opportunities the best they can from the position they are in. However, the room for manoeuvre or alternative coping strategies is more limited for the poor than for the better-off: The former are constrained by their material poverty itself, narrowing the range of alternative investments for future consumption as well as the range of social relationships in an increasingly commoditised social context. And they are constrained by what Bourdieu has called *habitus*, or the embodiment of historical and structural oppression in the form of lack of education, poor health and a more narrow socio-cultural perception or world view resting on long-term social marginalisation and exclusion. To alleviate poverty, poverty reduction policies must relate to both to structural constraints by increasing the opportunities for the poor and to their human capital in order to put them in a position to respond to new opportunities.

**Methodological Approaches.** The basic premise in our methodological approach is the importance of combining quantitative and qualitative techniques to poverty monitoring and analysis. Mozambique is richly endowed with data on the socio-economic situation in the country, collected by the National Statistical Institute INE and further analysed by Ministry of Planning and

Development MPD (see e.g. DNPO 2004; Chiconela 2004) and international organisations (see e.g. UNICEF 2006; World Bank 2007). What we have done is to take these data with us to the three field sites (i.e. Nampula/Murrupula, Maputo City and Sofala/Buzi), in order to contextualise and complement them through our own participatory and qualitative research. The potential utility of such an approach is, according to the economists Kanbur and Schaffer (2007), to “improve household survey design; interpret counterintuitive or surprising findings from household surveys; explain the reason behind observed behaviour; suggest the direction of causality; assess the validity of quantitative results; better understand conceptual categories such as labour, the household etc.; facilitate analysis of locally meaningful categories of social differentiation; [and] provide a dynamic dimension to one-off household survey data”

More specifically, the reports are based on a combination of literature reviews of the political economy of Mozambique; interviews with key stakeholders in government, municipalities/ districts and communities; adapted household surveys with a particular focus on social relationships; and a set of participatory methods. These are *histograms* (to map processes and events considered particularly important for the current socio-economic conditions of well-being and poverty); *community mapping* (to map the institutions and people considered most important for relating to contemporary conditions of well-being and poverty); *wealth-ranking* (to capture the community’s own perception of poverty and well-being and categories of the poor and the better-off); *venn-diagrams* (to identify social relations and networks used by the different categories of poor and better-off as part of their coping strategies); and *force-field analysis* (to capture perceptions of what conditions (political, economic, socio-cultural) that may inhibit or accelerate change and development in the community.

### 3. Macro Developments

The poor in Mozambique are susceptible to a number of external historical and structural forces to which they have to relate the best they can with the political, economic and human capital they have at their disposal. As argued above, structural forces not only ‘strike down’ at the level of local communities and represent constraints and opportunities for the local population, but they are also ‘embodied’ in the sense that they have implications for people’s perceptions of themselves and their options for improving their lives.<sup>4</sup> Some of the historical and structural forces we have identified in our studies are specific to each of the three areas: They vary in the extent to which the Portuguese colonial policies have had an impact on people’s lives; the impact of Frelimo’s post-independent socialist experiments; the direct impact of the proxy civil war from 1980 to 1992; and the impact of the government’s structural adjustment policies in the 1990s. People’s vulnerability to the environment and natural calamities, such as drought, cyclones and floods, also vary between the three locations. All these have been used as important backdrops to better understand the contemporary situation in the communities under study.

External processes. We have also identified four external conditions that have direct implications for poverty and well-being in *all* the areas we have studied. One is the macro-economic situation, where we have given particular attention to the implications of rising prices on central goods and services that are severely affecting the situation of the poor. A second is the process of urbanisation, with changing structural conditions not only for the increasing urban population itself but also for the rural populations who increasingly depend on establishing and maintaining relationships with urban areas. A third is HIV-AIDS, which has led to death and suffering among its victims and had

---

<sup>4</sup> One of the most controversial notions in the social sciences is whether people who have been susceptible to structural oppression and poverty over time develop particular ways of looking at themselves and the world (in the form of a ‘culture of poverty’) that in themselves have impact on their coping strategies by perpetuating their poverty.

implications for people's social relationships and coping strategies. And the forth is gender, with Mozambique's highly patriarchal socio-cultural system having severe implications for women's poverty and well-being and their options for improving their lives.<sup>5</sup>

The impact of these historical and structural processes for the conditions of poverty and well-being in the three study-sites are provisionally indicated by quantitative data from Nampula, Maputo and Sofala.<sup>6</sup> One set of data refers to changes in the poverty headcount in the three provinces. As seen from Table 1, Sofala has seen significant improvements in the incident of poverty (from 88 to 36 percent); Nampula has seen a smaller overall improvement (from 69 to 53 percent); while Maputo has seen an increase in poverty incident from 48 to 54 percent – underling the importance of relating to urban poverty in Mozambique also because of its rural repercussions through urban-rural linkages. At the same time, over-all inequality as measured by the Gini Coefficient has increased substantially in Maputo, while it has decreased slightly in Nampula and Sofala – indicating a more equal development. As we shall see these trends are also reflected in the areas where we have done our localised studies.

**Table 1. Poverty Head-Count and Inequalities by Province**

	Mozambique	Nampula	Maputo City	Sofala
POVERTY				
Poverty 1996/97	69.4	68.9	47.8	87.9
Poverty 2002/03	54.1	52.6	53.6	36.1
INEQUALITY				
Inequality 1996/97	0.40	0.39	0.40	0.44
Inequality 2002/03	0.42	0.36	0.52	0.43

Source: INE 2004; Fox et al. 2005.

Basic Socio-Economic Indicators. The historical and structural processes can also be provisionally assessed through basic socio-economic indicators from the three provinces. As seen from Table 2, the differences in the consumption-based poverty headcounts are not directly reflected in these indicators: For key indicators such as education and health, the population in the City of Maputo is considerably better-off than the population of Sofala and Nampula – at the same time as Maputo's consumption based poverty headcount is exceptionally high for urban areas and show a negative trend. This highlights the main challenge in Mozambique's efforts to reduce poverty: Poor people are not in a position to convert improvements in human capital (including education and health) into a reduction in poverty through increased income and consumption. One preliminary conclusion (favoured by the government and donors and in line with neo-liberal theory) is that improvements in human capital will have positive implications over time. A second (largely supported by our own data to be presented below) is that more efforts will have to be directed

<sup>5</sup> One of the main weaknesses of the quantitative analyses coming out of the IAF-data is their limited attention to analytical frameworks, which is necessary to make quantitative data and regression analysis make sense. The Ministry of Planning and Development concludes that the three key determinants of poverty in Mozambique are i) the low level of education in family households; ii) the high level of dependency within the family household; and iii) the low returns on economic activities in agriculture and industry compared with trade and services (GdM 2005:23). However, this does not say much about the complex processes leading up to these findings, nor about their implications for development interventions.

<sup>6</sup>Conditions of poverty and well-being are of course *also* the outcome of local processes and relationships, and we have consistently argued how a focus on the local is essential to understand and explain processes of differentiation and marginalisation within the communities. The point is that *both* types of analyses are necessary for a deeper understanding of poverty and well-being in Mozambique (see below).

directly towards employment creation and the productive sectors to improve the situation for the poor.

**Table 2.** *Basic Socio-Economic Indicators (Percent, if not otherwise stated)*

	Mozambique	Nampula	Maputo City	Sofala
<b>POPULATION</b>				
Population Density	25.7	50.0	3,663.7	24.3
Rural/Urban Population	69/31	70/30	0/100	69/31
<b>GENDER</b>				
Female Headed Households	26.4	20.8	28.0	22.7
Gender Development Index (GDI)	0.361	0.309	0.562	0.325
<b>ECONOMY</b>				
Econ. Active Population	83.0	87.6	54.4	80.8
Employment Agriculture	80.5	82.8	7.5	73.3
Per Capita Income (MT)	325	229	828	321
Per Capita Expenditure (MT)	324	238	380	928
Households w/ Bicycle	32.6	31.6	8.2	39.4
<b>EDUCATION</b>				
Primary Net Enrolment*	59.7	46.6	91.5	60.8
Male Illiteracy Rate	36.7	48.7	7.5	28.4
Female Illiteracy Rate	68.0	81.4	22.0	72.2
<b>HEALTH</b>				
Child Mortality Rate	17.8	22.0	8.9	20.6
Chronic Malnutrition	41.0	42.1	20.6	42.3
HIV/AIDS	16.2	9.2	20.7	26.5

Source: INE 2004; Fox et al. 2005, MISAU 2005 and preliminary results from the 2007/08 Census.

\*The proportion of children 6-12 years who go to school.

## 4. District Administration and Governance

An effective and just political system ('good governance') is essential to carry out the poverty reduction policies of the Mozambican government – and has rightly been defined as one of the main pillars of the PARPA (see above). In the 'front-line' and in direct contact with the population is the level of districts, which assumed a pivotal role in Mozambique's political structure particularly after the peace accord between Frelimo and Renamo in 1992. One reason for this was the need to consolidate political control over the national territory. A second was the need to create effective structures for public services, development and poverty reduction. And a third argument for decentralisation was to enhance political accountability through elections of local political bodies (municipalities) or consultative councils (districts).

District Economies. The districts of Murrupula and Buzi and the municipality of Maputo have a number of common denominators, but also important characteristics that separate them. Perhaps the most important common characteristic is the limited separate economic base to implement development and poverty reduction policies.<sup>7</sup> The major part of public expenditures at this level of governance and public administration is funded directly through line ministries (such as education

<sup>7</sup> There are of course arguments for such a policy, such as the limited capacity at this level to implement policies and the for coordinated efforts for example in education and health.

and health) with a limited influence from the part of districts and municipalities. Moreover, their own economic base is limited by a rudimentary system of collection of local taxes and fees – with the person tax, the bicycle tax and the commercial tax being most important. The local tax base in Mozambique is considerably lower than in neighbouring countries (Fjeldstad 2006).<sup>8</sup>

The most significant recent innovation in terms of local governance is the introduction of the ‘Seven Million MT’ (or approximately USD 265,000) as direct funding from central government to the level of districts for development interventions. While we have shown that there are practical problems with the utilisation of these funds both in Murrupula and Buzi and that they are in the process of being ‘politicised’,<sup>9</sup> we have also argued that the funds have been important for invigorating local democracy. Perhaps most essentially, they have given substance to the Consultative Councils (IIPPS) that are the closest one gets to local political representation in districts. In Maputo, the funding base for the individual urban districts is more complex as services are supplied directly by the state and the municipality. Moreover, there is no broad-based organ like the district Consultative Councils, as people in principle hold the decision-makers to account through municipal elections (‘in principle’ due to the very low voter turn-out in such elections).

We have experienced significant differences in the ability of the different district administrations to present information about their economic situation, in the form of development plans, budgets and accounts. The district administration in Buzi was by far the most effective, with all relevant information accessible electronically. Murrupula had less systematic information available, and much was typed or hand-written with lacunas in budgets and results. And in Maputo, we hardly received any information in the districts where we worked but were referred to the Municipality (comparable in this context to the provincial level for Murrupula and Buzi).<sup>10</sup> Based on the information available, Table 3 below sums up key economic indicators from Murrupula (population 102.000), Maputo (population 1.300.000) and Buzi (population 179.000) respectively. Possible changes in the overall economic situation for the districts, with a particular focus on the utilisation of the Seven Million MT, will be followed up in the upcoming three studies.

---

<sup>8</sup> In most other countries the local tax base represent approximately 20 percent of local revenue, and fees for supply of physical infrastructure (electricity, water, garbage collection etc.) constitute the main part of district/municipal income.

<sup>9</sup> Our study in Murrupula took place in 2006 which was the first year of the allocation. Buzi had three years of experience in 2008. While we have no information showing that party-affiliation is a criteria for allocations, there is a clear perception among the local population that this is the case (also verified in an ongoing study in the district of Mossuril in Nampula).

<sup>10</sup> The one exception in our Maputo study was in the bairro of Khongolote, which administratively belongs the Municipality of Matola and the Infulene Administrative Post.

**Table 3. District/Municipal Revenues and Expenditures**

Item	Murrupula (2006)	Maputo (2007) **	Buzi (2008)
<b>REVENUES</b>			
State transfers	30.727.190	-	23.772.247
Own Revenues	2.271.800*	-	864.429
<b>EXPENDITURES</b>			
Administration/salaries	12.416.819	-	4.119.734
Education	17,758.970	-	17.218.743
Health	1,953.650	-	2.502.737
Economic Activities	869.551	-	790.461
<b>Total</b>	<b>32.998.990</b>		<b>24.636.676</b>

Source: District Administrations, Murrupula and Buzi \* Includes MT 1.672.240 from 'donors' \*\* Revenues and expenditures for Maputo are set up in a different way, and difficult to compare directly with districts (see the Maputo report).

Administration and Governance. Looking at the relation between the district administrations and their respective populations in the three areas of study, these demonstrate significant differences that cannot be understood without reference to the individual histories of each area. In the primarily rural districts of Murrupula and Buzi, establishing relations with the traditional authorities has been absolutely essential. In both Murrupula and Buzi, this has been done by trying to establish good working relationships between the traditional authorities (*régulos, cabos, sagutes etc.*) and the representatives of the state at the levels of the district administration, administrative posts and localities – with the last mentioned being only partially implemented. It has also been done by incorporating – some would say co-opting – the traditional authorities through a combination of political pressure, remunerations and supply of uniforms and other benefits.<sup>11</sup>

As regards the 'good' or 'bad' of local level governance, we will highlight three main findings from our studies: One is the continued relevance of local political affiliation. In both districts, former Renamo strongholds<sup>12</sup> seem to have been 'punished' at least for the first 5-10 years after the new decentralisation policy took effect in the mid-1990s. They have been allocated less public resources and fewer institutions in education, health and other services such as rural roads than politically less hostile areas. We have also found cases of politically unacceptable traditional leaders being substituted by more 'friendly' ones. Having said this, there are also recent signs (in Buzi) of a change of policy towards a strategy of 'showing that the government can deliver' also in opposition-areas.

A second finding is the importance of the competence, capacity and attitude of local government representatives, particularly at the level of Administrative Posts which are most directly in contact with the local population. We have found this to vary considerably, which again has been reflected in the population's attitude toward the state. In our mapping exercises where the population was asked to map the most important individuals and institutions, state institutions and representatives were conspicuously absent in some of the maps drawn (see Chapter 1). New maps to be drawn in the second round of studies will be used as an indication of the extent to which this has changed.

<sup>11</sup> In accordance with relevant laws and regulations, Level One representatives (chiefs/régulos and bairro secretaries) are to receive a total of MT 750 once every three months, while Level Two representatives (headmen/cabos/ sagutes and heads of urban quarters) are to receive MT 450 once every three months. The lowest level representatives do not receive remuneration, but are in principle eligible to receive a proportion of taxes collected.

<sup>12</sup> These include, but are not limited to, Namilasse in the district of Murrupula and Ampara in the district of Buzi.

Finally, a common denominator for both rural districts is the continued confusion in the local populations about the roles of the state, traditional authorities and civil society organisations, particularly in areas of development and poverty-alleviation. What we have recorded is a tendency to make general calls for the state to solve development challenges and reduce poverty, but to refer to the extended family, traditional authorities and community courts when outlining who people actually turn to in order to solve community problems (Table 4). On the one hand, people do not perceive the state to be the source of development interventions even when they are. And on the other there is a continued deep scepticism as regards the real intentions of the state in some areas. Maputo is a partial exception here, with state institutions being more accessible but also with the borderlines between the state, the party and bairro secretaries as community representatives being more blurred.

**Table 4. Most Frequent Community Problems and Sources of Support**

<b>Institution</b>	<b>Murrupula</b>	<b>Maputo</b>	<b>Buzi</b>
No problem	15.8	15.8	35.0
Theft	26.9	57.5	25.0
Drinking	24.2	10.8	13.3
Adultery	15.8	0.0	7.5
Other	8.2	15.6	19.1
<b>SOURCES OF SUPPORT</b>			
Traditional authorities	66.0	36.6	67.9
Community courts	10.0	7.9	6.4
State institutions	18.0	51.4	1.3
Other	6.0	4.0	0.8

Source: Original reports

The system of local governance and administration in Maputo is in many ways very different from that of the rural districts of Murrupula and Buzi – but there are also important similarities particularly in terms of the perceptions of the state. In Maputo, there is an elected municipal assembly which again appoints a municipal council consisting of 16 members (*vereadores*). Of these, eight head specific areas of intervention (finance, human resources, urban planning and environment, infrastructure, economic activities, markets, health and education) and seven head urban districts – five of which have populations much larger than most rural districts in Mozambique.

Formally Maputo is administratively divided into seven urban districts, which again are subdivided into bairros, quarters and heads of ten houses. In actual practise the head of each administrative unit is appointed or sanctioned by the Frelimo party, which contributes to the difficulties of separating the state and the party by the population. Three incidents around the time of our study indicate that there are challenges regarding the legitimacy of this system: One is the sacking of the Mayor by the Frelimo party prior to the 2008 municipal elections despite his popularity; the second is the very low turnout in the municipal elections in 2003 and 2008; and the third is a call for the (re) installation of traditional authorities in the form of *régulos* in several *bairros*. In the follow-up studies, we will particularly assess possible changing perceptions of the legitimacy of the local administrations; their relations with traditional authorities; and changes in people's actual use of government institutions.

Employment and Social Services. In addition to assessments of the local administrations in Murrupula, Maputo and Buzi, all three studies have outlined key aspects of the district economy and



provision of social services in education and health. The study-sites are different and changes will primarily be monitored and evaluated in each individual case, but some common characteristics are apparent: Data for Murrupula and Buzi do, not surprisingly, show that agriculture is the dominant economic activity. In both districts, production is considered to be well below the potential. The main explanations given relate to a changing natural environment (drought and floods); limited access to necessary means of production to increase productivity (tractors, ploughs, improved seeds, fertiliser);<sup>13</sup> and limited marketing options. We will give particular emphasis in the last three studies to monitor and evaluate changes in the market prices for agricultural products, as exploitation by traders is perceived as a major constraint by the population itself.

In Maputo, formal employment (accessible to very few) and informal economic activities (upon which the large majority of the poor population depends) are the dominant economic activities. Major limiting factors on income were identified as an over-concentration on small-scale trade at the expense of production and services (leading to depressed profit margins); costs related to transportation of goods to the main markets in greater Maputo (contributing to the urban uprising in February 2008); and the illegality of informal trade which inhibit flexibility particularly for the smallest (*'dumba nenge'*) traders. All these will be monitored and evaluated for possible changes in the upcoming study on Maputo.

Less recognised is the importance of agriculture also for urban populations. On the national level 40 percent of all urban households are involved in agriculture, and we have argued in all three studies that urban-rural linkages are very important in people's coping strategies. A reason for the lack of poverty reduction in Maputo may be that the proportion of households in the capital who are involved in agriculture is exceptionally low both compared to rural and other urban areas – and hence that people do not have alternative sources of food in times of difficulties and in situations where food prices increase. We will give particular attention to possible changes in the importance of agriculture and urban-rural links in the Maputo follow-up study.

Access to formal employment is very limited in all three study-areas, at the same time as the establishment of factories, agro-businesses and other sources of formal employment is highlighted as key for further development both by district administrations and the population (see below). With reference to relevant data in the first three reports, we will monitor and evaluate the extent to which the government and the private sector have contributed to the establishment of formal economic units and employment creation – as envisaged in the current hegemonic paradigm of economic development (see Chapter 1).

Finally as regards education and health, our data yield basic indicators in the form of number and types of schools; enrolment, repetition and passing rates; the number and types of health institutions; and the most common diseases and treatment rates. Changes in these indicators will be used together with qualitative data from individual schools and households to assess trends in the perceptions and use of educational and health facilities in each district. One important preliminary observations is that – contrary to the result of regression analyses done on the basis of the IAF data – people perceive illness and death of family members to have a greater impact on their future well-being than education. The importance attached to education is, in fact, seriously jeopardised by the current inability of educated young people to find employment both in the two rural districts of Murrupula and Buzi and in Maputo.

---

<sup>13</sup> While access to land *per se* is not considered a major problem, it is acknowledged that there is limited access to the most fertile land usually adjacent to rivers and lakes.

## 5. Quantitative Expressions of Poverty and Well-Being

The main goal of the three reports from Murrupula, Maputo and Buzi has been to assess the conditions of poverty and well-being, as a baseline for assessing the implications of Mozambique's poverty reduction policies after a period of three years. We have done this through a survey of a sample of 120 households in each district covering key issues of poverty and well-being and a set of participatory exercises with the main objective of capturing people's own perceptions and relations of poverty and well-being in their communities and households (see Chapter 1).

**The Concept of Poverty.** Our point of departure for the three studies has been a conceptualisation of poverty as multi-faceted, involving material poverty, powerlessness and vulnerability (see Chapter 1). While our analyses have verified the relevance of such an approach, we have discovered two important qualifications: One is the key importance of income and assets to attain basic necessities, verified by the high priority given to formal and informal employment. The second is the importance attached to extra-household relationships, which are vital to avoid precarious hardships. In fact, the salient characteristics of the very poorest and most destitute is the *combination* of lack of income and social relationships, which tend to marginalise them in relation to their extended families, local communities, civil society and the state and keep them in a situation of chronic poverty.

**The Household as Unit of Analysis.** Our approach has revealed one particular problem related to the definition of the household as the key unit of analysis. The IAF (and hence practically all analytical work emanating from it) defines the household as people living under the same roof *and* eating from the same pot, which does not reflect the complex realities on the ground as we have experienced them.<sup>14</sup> In particular, there are many household members who do not live under the same roof but 'eat from the same pot' – including 'split households' who maintain an urban and rural unit as part of their coping strategy. In Maputo in particular, there are also people who live under the same roof but do not 'eat from the same pot' and who are not members of the same household.

A definition of a household as "one or more persons – who may or may not be related by kin and may or may not live under the same roof – who share and use the same resources" will better reflect realities on the ground. There are other special characteristics of households and extended families which have implications for their status and role as key social units. These include the continued importance of mother's father or brother in matrilineal Murrupula; the increasing importance of bridewealth (*lebolo*) in patrilineal Buzi with implications for the continued dependence of women on men; and the increasing importance of cohabitation in urban Maputo resulting in greater permeability of households as social units. As it is necessary to maintain a definition of the household as a statistical unit that is functional, however, such aspect should rather be analysed as part of the qualitative qualification of quantitative findings.

**The Social Organisation of Households.** Our surveys from Murrupula, Maputo and Buzi all yield a larger number of household members than IAF (Table 5). This is a reflection of the flexibility in household composition. We have also recorded a higher proportion of female headed households than IAF, but fairly equal to the National Demographic and Health Survey which also uses a *de facto* rather than a *de jure* definition (MISAU 2005). Still, the figure is dominated by divorcees and widows. Many young single mothers are incorporated into their original families where they either

---

<sup>14</sup> In anthropology, there has been a shift away from the perception of the household as a bounded unit toward a view which stresses its permeability in form and structure, as well as a shift away from understanding the household as a social unit mobilising around common interests to an understanding of the household as a locus of competing interests and obligations particularly around gender and age.

are integrated or form a *de facto* female headed sub-unit – meaning that the real proportion of female headed households is higher than recorded. With the current process of a feminisation of poverty in Mozambique (Tvedten et al. 2008) it is crucial that future surveys better capture the real incidence of female headed households. A final characteristic of the composition of households we will highlight from our studies is the prevalence of ‘living together’ or consensual union relationships. As a piece of survey data this may not seem significant, but it is an indication of a process towards more flexible or unstable domestic arrangements.

**Table 5: Household Organisation**

	<b>Murrupula</b>	<b>Maputo</b>	<b>Buzi</b>
Household Size	5.1	7.5	7.0
Female Headed HH	9	37	23
Consensual unions	61.7	24.2	24.2

Source: Original reports

Household Decision-Making. A major weakness of the current survey-tools is the difficulties of obtaining data on intra-household relations and resource allocations. Our surveys and in-depth interviews have confirmed the dominant role of men in decision-making, even though men and women also make joint decisions particularly in smaller daily matters (Table 6). At the same time, there are indications in our material that women have a stronger tendency to allocate resources to education, health and other areas promoting the welfare of the family. Targeting certain types of interventions to women (such as cash transfers for social protection) may be an important measure to secure an optimal utilisation.

**Table 6. Household Decision Making**

	<b>Murrupula</b>	<b>Maputo</b>	<b>Buzi</b>
Head of Household	64.2	41.7	65.8
Spouse	0.0	23.3	9.2
Couple	16.7	13.3	20.0
Other	19.2	20.6	5.0

Source: Original reports

Having said this, one of the main findings in our surveys is the extent to which individual households depend on others through extra-household relations both in their daily lives and at times of particular needs. This questions the relevance and utility of the dominant focus on the household in surveys, and points to the relevance of mapping social relationships in order to ascertain the poverty and vulnerability of households (see below).

Employment and Income. The pattern of employment, income and expenditure differ between Murrupula, Maputo and Buzi and changes will be assessed individually in the upcoming studies, but there are also in this case some common denominators that should be highlighted (Table 7). As noted agriculture is the dominant economic activity in Murrupula and Buzi, and important as a buffer at times of need in Maputo. Production is generally carried out with low levels of technology and productivity, but still the majority of households sell at least some of their agricultural produce – in many cases at the expense of own consumption. Production of vegetables and fruits are much less common.

In addition to agriculture, the majority of households pursue some type of informal income-generating activity – which also yields relatively low levels of income but is significant as a source of cash for poor households. The most important activity in Murrupula and Buzi is *ganho-ganho* or working in other people’s fields, followed by small-scale informal trade and non-agricultural production (such as mats, baskets and pots). In Maputo the most important informal economic activity is petty trade, with much less involvement in informal productive activities. While informal economic activities are key for the viability of each individual household, a main problem in both rural and urban areas is the concentration around a limited number of activities and a concomitant lack of innovation. Alternative and innovative sources of employment, particularly related to production, often yield higher returns.

The better-off households in the three areas of study tend to be formally employed or have established trade-relations with counterparts urban areas. Formal employment is considered important not only because of the income *per se*, but equally much because the income is regular and predictable making it possible with longer term planning and investments in productive activities, education etc. It is also a source of pride and self esteem. Equally striking has been the correspondence between level of household income and rural-urban linkages. Access to urban areas – through oscillatory migration, the splitting of households in one rural and one urban unit, or through other types of relationships – not only gives higher return for agricultural products or access to informal employment. It also exposes the rural population to new ideas.

**Table 7. Sources of Employment by Area (Percent)**

<b>Employment</b>	<b>Murrupula</b>	<b>Maputo City</b>	<b>Buzi</b>
Agriculture	100	29.2	96.6
Formal employment	0.8	40.9	30.0
Informal employment	51.6	70.8	71.6
Remittances	6.7	26.7	22.5

Source: Original reports

As see from Table 8, a large proportion of the households in all three study-sites have some kind of income from agriculture, formal employment, the informal economy and/or remittances. Moreover, a larger proportion of female- than male headed households have income from such activities. At the same time, however, the income from these activitie is considerably higher among male- than female headed households. As can be expected household income is higher in Maputo than in the two rural districts, but as we shall see below so are the expenses. Maputo stands out also for two other reasons: A high proportion of the households are involved in formal employment, even though the majority work in low-paying occupations as security guards, domestic servants etc. And a very low proportion of the 29 percent of the households involved in agriculture sell crops, which underlines the importance of *machambas* for own consumption and as a buffer in times of difficulties.

**Table 8. Monthly Household Income by Area**

Economic activity	Proportion with income (percent)		Average income (in mt)	
	MHH	FHH	MHH	FHH
AGRICULTURE *				
Murrupula	81.7	45.5	48	11
Maputo	3.9	11.3	576	109
Buzi	16.3	28.6	117	47
INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT				
Murrupula	46.8	66.6	365	195
Maputo	61.8	86.3	3.220	1.755
Buzi	73.9	64.2	718	563
FORMAL EMPLOYMENT				
Murrupula	1.8	0.0	501 – 750 **	0
Maputo	77.6	43.2	1.501- 2.500	1.501- 2.500
Buzi	34.8	14.3	1.001 - 1.500	751- 1.000
REMITTANCES				
Murrupula	5.5	18.2	100	35
Maputo	19.7	38.6	485	933
Buzi	18.5	35.7	153	470

Source: Original reports \*Annual income (at harvest) divided by 12 \*\* Bracket in which the average household finds itself

Consumption and Expenditure. Also the consumption and expenditure patterns are difficult to compare directly, particularly between rural Murrupula and Buzi, and urban Maputo.<sup>15</sup> In both cases consumption focuses on basic necessities such as food, clothing, education and health (Table 9) . In Maputo, transport is an additional important area of expenditure. While the person-tax in principle should include all citizens, and the bicycle tax, the market tax and water and electricity fees should include a fairly large proportion of the household, only 58 percent of the households in our surveys actually report paying taxes.

**Table 9. Monthly Household Consumption by Area (Mt)**

Item of consumption	Murrupula	Maputo City	Buzi
Food	160	1652	1200
Clothing	100	432	60
Education	20	132	100
Health	20	216	28

Source: Original reports

Four consumption items or assets stand out as particularly important indicators of socio-economic inequalities in the three study-sites (Table 10). Zinc-roofs, cell-phones, bicycles and radios are all relatively expensive and coveted as cultural signs of 'progress' and 'modernity', and they also have significant socio-economic ramifications: Cell-phones and radios ease communication with

<sup>15</sup>The definition of consumption is also much contested, as evidenced by the heated debate between people defending the approach by MPD/INE (Arndt 2007) and Joseph Hanlon (2007 and 2008) who argues that this approach grossly exaggerate actual consumption and hence overstates the reduction in poverty.

relatives, friends and commercial contacts. Bicycles ease and reduces costs for transportation of people and goods in a way that is very important particularly in rural areas.<sup>16</sup> Zinc-roofs keep water out when it rains and do not deteriorate as thatched roofs do (they also make noise when it rains and make dwellings unbearably hot when the sun shines, which seems to be given less significance). The possible changes in the proportion of households possessing these four items will be an important indicator of development in the upcoming three studies.

**Table 10.** *Ownership of 'Modern' Assets*

Item	Murrupula	Maputo City	Buzi <sup>17</sup>
Radio	60.8	65.0	62.5
Cell-phone <sup>18</sup>	-	-	22.5
Bicycle	60.0	11.0	56.7
Zinc roof	-	90.0	22.5

Source: Original reports

There are also some consumption items that we suspect are under-reported in our survey as well as in the IAF. One is housing, which represent a considerable and continuous toll on household resources particularly in Maputo. Most dwellings in the bairros seem to be under intermittent construction with people adding doors, windows or other parts when they can afford it – meaning that expenditures may not be captured in surveys operating with limited time-intervals. In rural Murrupula and Buzi we have also shown that some people have considerable ‘cultural expenditures’ that seem under-reported. In Murrupula poor young men spend a large part of their meagre income on clothing (*panos*) for women as an investment in good relations with her and her family. And in Buzi, expenditures for *curandeiros* and traditional medicine seem to have increased with the ‘commodification’ of witchcraft and sorcery accusations but is not reported.

There has been an increasing concern about rising prices for food and other basic commodities during the period of our studies, culminating in Buzi in 2008 (Table 10). Conventional wisdom has it that the poorer the household the larger proportion of its expenses will be used on food, and that vulnerable households will divert consumption towards food in times of particular hardships. Our data from Buzi partly contradicts this picture, showing that people actually cut down on food rather than other products (60 percent of the households have primarily cut on food the past year). With the considerable improvements in consumption recorded by INE for the Sofala Province (see above), this may imply that people are in a position to reduce food intake without jeopardising their basic level of well-being. But it may also mean that some non-food items are so important for a household’s well-being that they are compelled to cut food-intake to a minimum to afford them. The basis for the reactions of the poor to price increases will be given particular emphasis in the last three studies.

<sup>16</sup> Hanlon (2008) never really answers the question he poses in the title of his otherwise excellent book “There are more bicycles. But is there development?”. As we see it, the increasing number of people who can afford to buy bicycles and use them for income generating purposes is the best indication of progress and differentiation we can find.

<sup>17</sup> The challenge of getting rights answers in surveys is well demonstrated by the large proportion of households in Buzi who state that the household has ‘no problem’. Inquiring about this to community leaders, we were told that culturally the Ndaus are not expected to complain and their reluctance to be explicit about their problems was based on a fear that others in the community would get to know.

<sup>18</sup> Unfortunately, we did not include a question about ownership of cell-phones in our first study in Murrupula done in 2006.

**Table 11.** *Items with the Highest Price Increases 2007-2008 (Buzi)*

Item	Change October 2007-October 2008 (percent)
Maize	57
Rice	62
Sugar	69
Karosene	57

Source: Original reports

Education and Health. Our surveys in Murrupula, Maputo and Buzi confirm INE-data of generally low levels of education, with 38, 9 and 25 percent of household heads having no education at all and 9, 50 and 22 percent having more than first level primary school (EP1). As regards health, our surveys confirm that a large proportion of households contain people who are frequently sick, that the child mortality rate is high, and that people tend to use formal health institutions. At the same time, however, quantitative data often conceal an intricate set of social relations, cultural perceptions and apparently contradictory information. In our surveys, data on education and health underline the need to treat such information with caution: In some of the areas we have studied there is a discrepancy between information on attendance and drop-out rates from schools and from the household survey – with the latter showing highest attendance. And there is discrepancy between information obtained from health units, traditional authorities and individual *curandeiros* and data from the household survey – with the former implying a more frequent use of traditional medicine than what is recorded in our surveys.<sup>19</sup>

Lack of education has been defined as one of the four main determinants of poverty in Mozambique (DNPO 2005). Our studies have questioned this finding, and found that poor health may be a more important determinant for keeping people in poverty than assumed. While people may express a view that education is important to improve their lives, qualitative interviews show that poor households in Murrupula and Buzi do not really believe that *their* children will benefit with reference to the very limited employment opportunities in their areas. In Maputo, the faith in the advantages of education is higher as people are exposed to employed successes – but this perception is under serious threat: As the young and educated discover that their education does not open doors to the world of employment they become frustrated and angry, as evident from the urban uprisings in February 2008.

At the same time, the implication of disease and death are severe and most likely underestimated as a cause of continued poverty. As many as 73 percent of the total number of 360 households in our surveys had at least one member sick during the period two weeks prior to the interview. This in itself reduces productivity both of the sick person and the one who has to stay at home to take care of him or her. Moreover, as many as 41 percent of the households have at least one child who has died before the age of five years. The psychological toll of this is immense and may inactivate a family for weeks with prolonged mourning processes and in relation to productive activities. Moreover, the high child mortality rate is a main reason for Mozambique's elevated fertility rate of at 5.5 live births per women (MISAU 2005), which limits the work and productivity of women who carry out the bulk of agricultural tasks. The rapidly increasing spread of HIV-AIDS has similar implications for poverty and well-being, with the most productive household members being sick or

<sup>19</sup>There are good reasons for this: People know that their children ought to go to school and want to them to have education, but are faced with constraints such as poverty, the need for labour and early marriages of girls. In the same way, people know that they ought to contact formal health institutions when family members become ill – but they may not be able to afford transportation and fees and want to have verified that the old 'cultural way' is still valid and helpful.

dying and affecting an increasing proportion of women who are most important for the well-being of the household.

**Spatial Differentiation.** Reflecting national data on the localised basis of differentiation and inequalities in Mozambique (Simler and Nhate 2005), our studies have shown how the issue of geographical space has implications for poverty and well-being. Factors such as access to natural resources, calamities, economic structures, the presence or absence of particular institutions, particular sets of socio-cultural norms and specific demographic characteristics vary between different administrative posts or *bairros*. In Murrupula, for example, there was a significant difference in the marketing of agricultural products between the most centralised and most marginal '*cabos*'. In Maputo, households in the *bairros* closest to the city centre had more members than households in the peri-urban *bairros* with implications for dependency rates and the degree of 'crowded' living. And in Buzi, the proportion of households with non-agricultural sources of informal income was considerably higher in the areas closest to the main population centres (Buzi Vila and Beira) than in the areas further away. In all three sites, there is a systematic correspondence between the relative distance to central institutions of the state and the extent to which the state is seen as relevant for people's coping strategies and actually used. We have also identified what seems to be systematic spatial differences at the lower levels of '*cabos*' (Murrupula), '*sagutes*' (Buzi) and '*quarterões*' (Maputo), which may be the outcome of particular historical or environmental circumstances but more commonly reflect highly localised processes of political or social exclusion to which we now turn. An important focus in the upcoming three studies will be the extent to which the implications of geographical location have been reduced by the government's policies and interventions for poverty reduction.

## 6. Social Relations of Poverty and Well-Being

Society does not consist of bounded units of households and individuals, but the sum of connections and relationships in which people find themselves (Bourdieu 1990). Through participatory and qualitative methodologies ('force-field analysis' and 'wealth ranking') we have assessed people's own perceptions of poverty in their community and what characterises the poorest and the better-off households and individuals. We have also pursued the types of social relationships in which the different categories of poor and better-off households are involved through 'venn-diagrams' and in-depth case studies. The importance of capturing people's own perceptions of their situation is that people act and relate to external interventions on the basis of their 'objective' economic position *as well as* their own perception of their situation and options for improving their lives – which we have shown do not necessarily correspond. One of our main findings across the three studies is the extent to which people's ability to cope with and improve their situation depends on their ability to establish and maintain relationships with social institutions outside their own – such as the extended family, traditional authorities, neighbours and friends, civil society, the church and the state.

**Characteristics of poor communities.** Referring to our introductory notes about the relation between 'structure' and 'agency', people in the three areas of study draw clear distinctions between 'external' and 'internal' reasons for the conditions of poverty and well-being in their communities. They emphasise lack of employment; low return to labour [in agricultural and the informal economy]; and inadequate support from the government as key reasons for under-development. Inadequate access to educational and health facilities and poor roads and other infrastructure were also emphasised. The internal reasons highlighted vary more, but 'ignorance', 'theft', 'adultery' and 'drunkenness' are seen as common problems. Separate discussions with women focus groups largely confirmed these points, but also underscored the importance of women having more to say in their communities.



**Table 12.** *Perceptions of Characteristics of Poor Communities*

External 'structural' conditions	'Internal' conditions of agency
Lack of employment	Ignorance
Low returns to labour	Theft
Inadequate support from government	Adultery
Price increases	Drunkenness

Characteristics of poor households. As regards people's own perceptions of poor and less poor households, focus in all three communities is on the *combination* of income, material assets and social relationships. The material assets highlighted as indications of poverty or wealth were primarily money, food, and bicycles. In Murrupula and Buzi people also highlighted lack of agricultural tools and livestock as signifiers of poor households, while people in Maputo emphasised the quality of people's dwelling as a central indication of poverty or well-being. In terms of relationships considered important, these varied between the three areas under study. In rural and matrilineal Murrupula, poor households were considered those with no [maternal] uncle to advice the family and with no children. In urban Maputo, emphasis was given to the households where the husband and wife don't live together and hence had no partner with whom to pool economic resources. And in rural Buzi people with relatives or other relationships in towns were considered more fortunate than those without.

**Table 13.** *Perceptions of Characteristics of Poor Households*

<b>Material assets</b>	<b>Social relations</b>
No Money	No maternal uncle (Murrupula)
No Food	No conjugal partner (Maputo)
No Bicycles	No urban contacts (Buzi)

Categories of Poor Households. People's perceptions of poverty and well-being are clearly conceptualised in the form of categories of poor and better-off households. There is a remarkable congruence in the perceptions between the three areas of study, with three basic categories of the poor and three basic categories of the well-off. The categorisations say something about *why* some are poor and some are rich, and also indicates the options for getting out of or improving the situation they are in. All areas have one category of people who 'have always been poor and will stay poor even though they work hard' (equal to 'chronically poor'). A second category are people who have become poor 'by accident' and may improve their conditions over time (equal to 'vulnerable poor'). And a third category are people who have given up improving their situation and are socially marginalised (equal to 'destitute').

Similarly for the better-off, the population in all three areas operate with a category of people who have 'always been rich' (the 'permanently rich'); a category of people who have become rich and like to demonstrate their wealth (the 'newly rich'); and a category who have become rich through hard work, sacrifices and a respected life-style (the 'worthy rich'). Among these, people belonging to the middle category of 'newly rich' are considered the most vulnerable to lose their wealth, while the two others are generally respected and in some way 'feared': As we have noted, people have been more reluctant to categorise and discuss the better-off than the poor for fear of reprisal in the form of witchcraft accusations or more tangible repercussions.

**Table 14.** *Emic Categories of Poor and Better-Off*

Category	Murrupula	Maputo	Buzi
THE POOR	Macua	Ronga/Shangana	Ndau
The destitute poor	<i>opitanha</i>	<i>xiculungo</i>	<i>umbwa</i>
The chronically poor	<i>ohawa</i>	<i>xantumbuluku</i>	<i>mulombo</i>
The transient poor	<i>ohikalano</i>	<i>xangamo</i>	<i>kombo</i>
THE BETTER-OFF			
The permanently rich	<i>opwalatha</i>	<i>xantumbuluku</i>	<i>muthende</i>
The newly rich	<i>ovela</i>	<i>xigogo</i>	<i>kuganha</i>
The worthy rich	<i>opwalatha</i>	<i>aganhinhana</i>	<i>mucupuki</i>

Social Relations of Poverty. The nature and extent of people's social relationships or networks not only influence their economic position, but also largely determine their options for coping at the time of crisis: Households and individuals who are socially marginalised are more vulnerable to crises than those who have a set of relationships to draw on. At the same time, social relations have to be built and maintained over time to be sustainable. Better-off families, we have argued, have the capacity to invest in longer term relations to fulfil cultural perception of a good life. For the poorest, their allocations tend rather to take the form of emergencies with *ad hoc* decisions that may equally well undermine their position over time – for example by withdrawing children from school to work; not taking children to hospital in order to save money; or carrying out illicit activities to solve an immediate crisis.

One of the most dramatic developments in Mozambique is the extent to which social relationships have become 'commoditised', in the sense that money has become an integral part of many relations that were previously based on more flexible exchanges. We have seen in the three studies how money is involved in people's relations with the state (with both formal and informal payments to acquire services in education and health); how up-front payments often have to be made to be considered for various types of employment relations; how relations with local institutions of civil society and the church increasingly expect 'contributions' from members of the community to be eligible for support; and how money is involved in the establishment of relations between extended families through dowry. Perhaps most seriously, social relations among the poorest themselves are increasingly based on economic reciprocities – which is a main reason for the local processes of social marginalisation and exclusion we have identified because the poor cannot afford to have outstanding claims (see below).

We have pursued the issue of social relations of poverty and well-being by selecting representatives of the categories of poor and better-off households identified above, and carried out in-depth interviews through the application of Venn-diagrams (see Chapter 1). The most important finding is the systematic correspondence between level of material poverty and well-being on the one hand, and the extent and types of such relationships on the other: The better-off households systematically have a larger and more intensive network of social relations than the poorest, both in their daily lives and to draw on at times of particular difficulties.

Our case-studies have shown that the most basic set of extra-household social relationships is represented by the *extended family*. One's own matrilineal or patrilineal family is most central, but the social network is extended with marriage to also include the family of the spouse. The continued importance of dowry in the southern and central parts of Mozambique is a testimony to the significance attached to 'ownership' of wife and children, while the continued matrilineal adaptation and uxorilocal residence-pattern in the north seems to give women there a more independent position. Extended family relationships are often weaker in urban areas like Maputo,

partly because of the distance and costs of maintaining contact with family in rural areas. The reduced importance of extended families is underlined by the increasing prevalence of 'living-together' relationships in such areas, which do not involve extended family relations to the same extent as with formal marriages.

*Traditional authorities* still play a central role in people's lives, both for their spiritual guidance and as people to turn to in times of difficulties. While they may have little to offer in terms of food, clothes or other material contributions, *régulos*, *cabos*, *sagutes* and other traditional leaders is the second most frequent type of relationships after the extended family in our case studies due to their role as mediators. Social relations with *neighbours and friends* are more important in Maputo than in the rural areas of study, and seem most vital as 'day-to-day' relations for relating to smaller problems of money, food, child-care etc. There are indications that such relationships are particularly important for women – partly because of their relative exclusion from other types of social networks. *Churches* and *mosques* are generally important in all three areas, and are used both on a regular basis for social interaction and spiritual comfort and in times of particular crisis. Urban and rural *associations* for production, savings, burials etc. that are common in other countries in the region seem much less prevalent in Mozambique. *Relations of provisioning* through formal employment are very important for the minority with work, as people in such networks tend to have money. *Party affiliation* is also a central set of relationships for those involved, both as a sign of belonging and a potential source of support.

Relations with *the state* have come out as the most ambiguous. People have great *expectations* towards the state for community development, employment and social security, but very few actually list the state as relevant for their lives. The main reason is the limited actual presence of the state in the areas we have studied, with inadequate access to jobs, proper roads, schools, health facilities, crime protection, legal institutions, protection against calamities and other aspects of life where people expect the state to be present. But there is also a limited understanding of what the state really is: It tends to be 'personified', and what people see in the state's 'front line' are heads of administrative posts and *bairro* secretaries putting great demands on them for meetings, public works and taxes – but who have little to offer in the form of development in return.

The social relations of poverty and well-being as we have encountered them in Murrupula, Maputo and Buzi can be exemplified through two typical case studies. They are typical in the sense that maintaining reciprocal relations with people and institutions in the village or *bairro* necessitates constant investments in the networks the poorest cannot do; that female headed households tend to have smaller networks than male headed households; and that people with employment outside agriculture tend to expand their network substantially both in geographical and substantial terms.

*Ana Mafalda* lives with her mother and three children in the same village and the same dwelling where she grew up, and is the *de facto* head of her household. The father of her children left immediately after Ana gave birth to her last child, and she has no contact neither with him nor his family. The household makes their living out of a small *machamba*, and occasional sales of vegetables they buy from a neighbour. The two oldest girls do not go to school, but Ana has sent her boy who was in third grade at the time of our study. Ana told us that she had a big problem last year, when her mother became sick at the same time as her son needed money to buy equipment for school. She claimed she had no extended family members she could turn to (they are all dead or too poor); the traditional leader or *cabos* said he could not help; the church would not help as she was not really a church-goer; she did not even try to go to members of the party ('they only help their own'); and she did not know of any public offices she could turn to and would, in any case, not be able to afford to go to the district or provincial centre. The only person who would help her was the neighbour who occasionally sold her tomatoes, but she only received enough to help her mother leaving the boy out of school.

*Armando Shakwe* is head of a family consisting of his wife, their four children, and his wife's sister and her two children. The family makes a good living from agriculture and coco-nut farming, and sells products both in the village and in the district centre. Their oldest son has finished school and is unemployed, but sells coco-nuts for his father in the provincial capital where he stays with an uncle. In between agricultural seasons, Armando is crew member on a fishing boat owned by his father's brother's son. The year prior to our study, Armando lost much of the basis for his income when his bicycle was stolen which inhibited him from selling his products in the district centre. Within days, he managed to get sufficient money to buy a new one by borrowing money from his brother living in the same community (who Armando said had received help from him earlier); getting support from a neighbour (who he promised coco-nuts to resell at harvest); get a small contribution from the church (to which he often contributed with work); and get help to find a cheap bike in Beira through people working on the fishing boat.

Processes of Marginalisation and Exclusion. We have started out the three first studies in this series with a declaration of a particular concern for the poorest sections of the populations we have studied. If the goal of poverty reduction is to make any moral and practical sense, the 'poorest of the poor', the 'chronically poor' or the 'destitute' *must* be a key target group of the PARPA. It has been evident in our reports that the poorest generally do not benefit from the broad economic development that does take place in Mozambique (see also Hanlon 2008), and targeted interventions and/or social protection measures are still rare in the areas under study. There is, in fact, little evidence of the current poverty reduction policies 'trickling down' below the relatively well-off and the poor to the very poorest.

We have also identified local processes of marginalisation that keep the poorest excluded from the economic and social developments that do take place at the level of districts and *bairros*. These are partly based on geographical space, gender and political exclusion, but also on the implications of what we have called the 'commodification' of social relationships and networks: In a context where practically everything costs money, the poorest who cannot contribute with neither labour nor money are easily excluded from social networks – not because people do not want to help but because they cannot afford to have outstanding claims. There is, in other words, a real case to be made for social protection measures in the form of cash transfers (for poor people who are unable to work) or public works programmes (for those who can work) if the poorest sections of the population is to be reached through Mozambique's poverty reduction policies.

## 7. Conclusions and Policy Implications

The main purpose of the three studies summarised in this synopsis is to function as a base-line for monitoring and evaluating the implications of Mozambique's poverty reduction strategies on the three selected districts. This will be done by revisiting the same districts, the same communities and the same households after periods of three years (i.e. in 2009, 2010 and 2011 respectively) to ascertain possible changes in poverty and well-being. Nevertheless, we have presented some preliminary conclusions and recommendations in each of the initial studies that can be summed up as follows:

Conclusions. Our studies in Murrupula, Maputo and Buzi have indirectly questioned the conclusion that poverty reduction in Mozambique (from 69 to 54 percent) has been 'broad-based'. We have found conditions of inequality and deep poverty and vulnerability, highlighting the importance of looking beneath gross aggregate poverty rates. The basis for continued deep chronic poverty is the limited extent to which economic developments 'trickle down' to the very poorest, and local processes of social marginalisation and exclusion. Growing inequalities, particularly in the

case of Maputo, has the effect of increasing the dissatisfaction of the poorest in ways that may jeopardise political stability.

We have also highlighted the importance of looking beyond households and individuals as 'isolated' units of analysis and focus on social relationships. While the *distribution* of poverty is reflected in the income, assets and human capital in the form of education and health, the *dynamics* of poverty (i.e. basis for changes in poverty and well-being over time) is first and foremost related to the extent and nature of individuals' and households' social relationships. While better-off households tend to have a large set of social relationships or networks on which they can draw in their daily lives as well as in times of particular needs, the poorest tend to have a much more limited set of social relations to draw on. This way, material poverty has consequences of its own in the sense that it channels the coping strategies of the poorest in specific directions that tend to perpetuate their position as 'chronically poor' or destitute.

**Recommendations.** In asking the populations in the three study areas about their main priorities for improving the conditions in their communities and their households (see Chapter 1), they have focussed on employment and income, education and health and ease of communication through better roads and access to markets/urban areas. In rural Murrupula and Buzi, additional priorities given were improved means of agricultural production. And in urban Maputo, additional emphasis was given to the importance of solving crime. Particularly in the last two studies (Maputo in 2007 and Buzi in 2008) people also highlighted the devastating effects of recent price increases on basic goods and services for their well-being.

People in all three areas also had largely similar perceptions of how improvements in these areas should be made: While they refer to the responsibility of the state, donors and '*comerciantes*', they also acknowledge their own responsibility for contributing with what they have – usually focussing on 'our labour'. The most important policy recommendations at this stage, building on our own interpretations of the outcomes of the studies we have made and people's own suggestions referred to above, are:

- Some of the key analytical concepts and units of analysis used by MPD and INE in monitoring and evaluating Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategy (such as 'poverty', 'the household', 'female headedness' and the dichotomisation of the 'urban' and the 'rural') should be further refined to better reflect realities on the ground.
- There is an urgent need to strengthen the human and economic resources at the level of rural and urban districts if the state and its poverty alleviation efforts is to have an impact on local communities. The 'Seven Million' is an important step in the right direction, but the principles and practicalities for the utilisation of the funds should be further clarified.
- Stronger distinctions should be made between the state and the ruling party to improve local representativeness and accountability. The *de facto* dependence of the state on traditional authorities for mobilisation and tax collection should be formalised and made more transparent for the same reasons.
- There are clear signs of an ongoing feminisation of poverty in the three areas under study, which will necessitate more targeted interventions towards women to enhance their economic independence and secure rights to land, housing and other key assets. In addition to widows and divorcees, particular attention should be given to young single mothers who make up a 'hidden' category in extended households.
- More emphasis should be put on the issue of urban poverty, not only because of the seriousness and negative direction of poverty in Mozambique's cities and towns but also because of the close link between urban and rural development through urban-rural linkages.

- People give emphasis to employment and income as the main vehicles for improving their lives. In the two rural districts under study, the low return to labour in agriculture due to inadequate access to markets and the exploitation by traders represent a particular challenge. In addition to improving the communication to larger markets, a reintroduction of some type of marketing boards should be considered.
- In urban Maputo, the continued illegality of central aspects of the informal economy impedes its development and possible transition to formalisation. The importance and the merits of the informal economy as a central aspect of people's coping strategies should be better recognised.
- While a continued emphasis on education is important, we have found that health has a more immediate impact on poverty and well-being and the prospects for poverty reduction. The quality of health services show clear improvements at central district level, but accessibility should be improved also at lower levels.
- There is a fairly large section of the population in all three areas of study that effectively are chronically poor or destitute. These will not be reached by broad poverty reduction policies, but need targeted interventions or social protection in the form of cash transfers.

The Follow-Up Studies. The main purpose of the three follow-up studies is to monitor and evaluate the implications of the PARPA on the three selected areas of study. On the level of the political economy of the rural and urban districts, this will be done by ascertaining changes in governance and administration; agriculture and economic development, education and health – all sectors that are highlighted as particularly important for poverty reduction in the current PARPA. Additional attention will be given to the utilisation of the '7 million MT', that represent a considerable investment-potential for the two districts under study.

On the level of communities, changes will be monitored and evaluated by revisiting the same local institutions (traditional authorities, churches and mosques, associations, community-based organisations) and the same focus groups to ascertain possible changes in the perceptions of the main problems/challenges and the priorities for change identified in the original studies. This will be done by applying the same tools (community mapping, force-field analysis, community wealth ranking) as in the original studies.

Finally, changes in the poverty and well-being of the 360 households that took part in our original surveys and the approximately 30 households that were part of our in-depth interviews will be measured by re-visiting the same households. With such panel-data, we have a unique possibility to ascertain the implications of Mozambique's poverty reduction efforts on a set of individual households in three separate areas of the country.

## List of References

- Bourdieu, Pierre (1990). *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Chiconela, Jacinto (2004). *Estimativas e Perfil da Pobreza em Moçambique. Uma Análise Baseada no Inquerito aos Agregados Familiares 2002-2003*. Maputo: Ministry of Planning and Development.
- DNPO (2004). *Poverty and Well-Being in Mozambique: The Second National Assessment*. Maputo: Ministry of Planning and Finance, National Directorate of Planning and Budget.
- Fjeldstad, Odd-Helge (2006). "Local Revenue Mobilisation in Urban Settings in Africa". In: K. Millet, D. Olowu and R. Cameron (eds.) *Local Governance and Poverty Reduction in Africa*. Dar es Salaam: Joint Africa Institute.
- Fox, L., E. Bardasi, K. van den Broeck (2005). "Poverty in Mozambique. Unraveling Changes and Determinants". *Poverty Background Paper to the Country Economic Memorandum 2005*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.
- GdM (2001). *Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta, 2001-2005 (PARPA I)*. Maputo: Governo de Moçambique, Ministério do Planeamento e Cooperação.
- GdM (2005). *Plano de Acção para a Redução da Pobreza Absoluta, 2006-2009 (PARPA II)*. Maputo: Governo de Moçambique, Ministério do Planeamento e Cooperação.
- Hanlon, Joseph and Teresa Smart (2008). *Do Bicycles Equal Development in Mozambique?* Woodbridge: James Curry.
- INE (1998). *Inquerito Nacional aos Agregados Familiares sobre Condições da Vida 1996/97. Relatório Final*. Maputo: Instituto Nacional de Estatística.
- INE (2004). *Inquerito Nacional aos Agregados Familiares sobre Orçamento Familiar 2002/03. Relatório Final*. Maputo: Instituto Nacional de Estatística.
- Kanbur, Ravi and P. Schaffer (2007). "Epistemology, Normative Theory and Poverty Analysis: Implications for Q-Squared in Practise." In: *World Development* Vol. 35(2) pp.183-196.
- MISAU (2005). *Moçambique. Inquérito Demográfico e de Saúde 2003*. Maputo: Ministério de Saúde.
- Ortner, Sherry (2006). *Anthropology and Social Theory. Culture, Power and the Acting Subject*. Los Angeles: UCLA University Press.
- Paulo, Margarida, Carmeliza Rosário, et al. (2007). 'Xiculungo'. *Social Relations of Urban Poverty in Maputo, Mozambique*. CMI Report 2007:13 Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.
- Rosário, Carmeliza, Inge Tvedten, et al. (2008). *Mucupuki. Social Relations of Rural-Urban Poverty in Central Mozambique*. CMI Report 2008:13. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.
- Simler, K.R., and V. Nhate (2005). *Poverty, Inequality and Geographic Targeting. Evidence from Small-Area Estimates in Mozambique*. Washington D.C.: International Food Policy Research Institute.
- Tvedten, Inge, Maragrida Paulo, et al. (2008). *Gender Policies and Feminisation of Poverty in Mozambique*. Report R:2008:13. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.
- Tvedten, Inge, Margarida Paulo, et al. (2006). 'Opitanha'. *Social Relations of Rural Poverty in Northern Mozambique*. CMI Report 2006:16. Bergen, Norway: Chr. Michelsen Institute.
- UNDP (2008). *Human Development Report 2005. Fighting Climate Change. Human Solidarity in a Divided World*. New York: United Nations Development Programme.
- UNICEF (2006). *Childhood Poverty in Mozambique. A Situation and Trends Analysis*. Maputo: UNICEF.
- World-Bank (2007). *Beating the Odds: Sustaining Inclusion in a Growing Economy. A Mozambique Poverty, Gender and Social Assessment* Washington D.C: The World Bank.







## SUMMARY

The first three in a series of six qualitative and participatory studies on poverty and well-being in Mozambique have revealed that there are positive developments in terms of the macro-economic context and in the social sectors of education and health. However, the continued dearth of employment and income in rural as well as urban areas makes it difficult to transform these advances into real poverty reduction. There are also worrying signs of local processes of social marginalisation and exclusion, following from the increasing commodification of social relationships. To achieve the goals of the PARPA, particular efforts will have to be made by the government and donors to reach the very poorest.

**Printed version: ISSN 0805-505X**

**Electronic version: ISSN 1890-503X**

**Printed version: ISBN 978-82-8062-339-3**

**Electronic version: ISBN 978-82-8062-340-9**

Chr. Michelsen Institute (CMI) is an independent, non-profit research institution and a major international centre in policy-oriented and applied development research. Focus is on development and human rights issues and on international conditions that affect such issues. The geographical focus is Sub-Saharan Africa, Southern and Central Asia, the Middle East, the Balkans and South America.

CMI combines applied and theoretical research. CMI research intends to assist policy formulation, improve the basis for decision-making and promote public debate on international development issues.