

'Mucupuki'
Social Relations of Rural-Urban
Poverty in Central Mozambique

Carmeliza Rosário
Inge Tvedten
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R 2008: 14

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

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Map 1. Mozambique and Project Field Sites



Source: Economist Intelligence Unit

1. Introduction

This is the third in a series of six participatory and qualitative studies on poverty in Mozambique, done with the objective of supporting the government in monitoring and evaluating the ongoing Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty, PARPA II (GdM 2005). The first report looked into social relations of rural poverty in northern Mozambique, with special reference to the District of Murrupula in the Nampula province (Tvedten, Paulo and Rosário 2006). The second report analysed social relations of urban poverty, with special reference to four settlement areas (bairros) in Mozambique's capital Maputo (Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2007). The present report will focus on social relations of poverty in the interface between rural and urban life with a focus on the District of Buzi in the Sofala province (see Annex 1). All the districts and communities in question will be revisited after a period of three years (i.e., in 2009, 2010 and 2011, respectively), to ascertain changes in levels of poverty and well-being.

The Government of Mozambique and donors have invested considerable effort and resources in economic development and the reduction of poverty. While this has led to improvement in terms of an economic growth of six to eight percent per annum over the past ten years (EIU 2008) and a reduction in the proportion of Mozambicans living in poverty from 69 to 54 percent (INE 2004), key socio-economic indicators are still very serious: GDP per capita is USD 1,117, the adult literacy rate is 46.5 percent, and life expectancy at birth is 41.9 years (World Bank 2006; UNICEF 2007). This places Mozambique at number 172 of 177 countries in UNDP's Human Development Index, which makes it the least developed country in Southern Africa (UNDP 2008).

There is also reason to question the extent to which the broad economic development has improved the living conditions for the poorest in Mozambique. On the assumption that the poorest is the main target group for the poverty reduction efforts by the government and donors alike, we have given special attention to the issue of social marginalisation and exclusion in our studies. While marginalisation of vulnerable groups such as women, the elderly, orphans and HIV-AIDS victims does take place and is important to look at, we have emphasised that too little attention has been given to processes of marginalisation based on material poverty *per se*. In all the areas we have worked, the very poorest are characterised by exclusion not only from employment, income and key social services but also from vital social relations with the community and with members of the extended family – simply because the poor cannot afford to support unproductive community and family members. Also in this report we will ask the question: Does the neo-liberal notion of economic development 'trickling down' to the poorest actually occur in Sofala and the district of Buzi, or are there sections of the population who are marginalised or excluded from the ongoing poverty reduction efforts?

As emphasised in the introductions to our two preceding studies, research-based information about poverty is recognised as important for Mozambique's poverty reduction strategies, as these are expressed in the Government's Five Year Plan (GoM 2005) and the related PARPA II (GdM 2005). Key quantitative data for the monitoring and evaluation of poverty in Mozambique stem from the National Census (INE 1997), the National Household Survey IAF (INE 1997 and 2004), the National Demographic and Health Survey (MISAU 2005) and the National Labour Force Survey carried out in 2005 (INE 2006). Unfortunately, the follow-up to the most relevant of these surveys to our purpose – the Census and the National Household Survey – has been delayed.¹ This makes it

¹ The publication of results from the Census in Sofala, which was carried out in 2007 and supposed to be released in October 2008, are delayed until mid-2009. The new National Household and Expenditure Survey should have been carried out in 2008, but has been postponed until 2009, with results expected to be published early 2010.

difficult to avoid a certain repetition of quantitative data that have already been reproduced in our own as well as in other reports (see e.g. UNICEF 2006 and World Bank 2007), and that are in the process of becoming somewhat outdated. Updated information will be available for our assessment of the implications of Mozambique's poverty reduction strategy in Murrupula (2009), Maputo (2010) and Buzi (2011).

1.1 Study Rationale

Our studies take as points of departure the quantitative data mentioned above, recognising that they yield important information on the mapping, profile and determinants of poverty in Mozambique. However, such data should be complemented by qualitative and participatory research to better understand the coping strategies of the poor and the dynamics of poverty at the levels of communities, households and individuals. People act and respond to their political and economic environment on the basis of their own (*emic*) perceptions of constraints and opportunities and through a complex set of social relationships, both of which are important to understand in order to be able to design relevant and effective development policies and interventions for poverty alleviation. Kanbur and Shaffer (2007), themselves economists, list the following comparative advantages of qualitative information:

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

Poverty will be broadly understood as a lack of income and assets needed to attain basic necessities in the form of food, clothing and shelter (alleviated through a combination of increased *opportunities* and an increased *capacity* to capitalise on available opportunities); a sense of voicelessness and powerlessness in relation to institutions of society and the state (alleviated through increased *empowerment*); and vulnerability to adverse shocks, linked with the ability to cope through social relationships and legal institutions (alleviated through increased *security*). This is close to the broad definition used by the Government of Mozambique, which states that poverty is the “[im]possibility due to incapacity or lack of opportunity of individuals, households and communities to have access to minimal conditions according to the basic norms of society” (GdM 2005).

Socio-economic conditions of poverty and well-being are the outcome of complex historical developments, political and economic processes, and the population's own practices of complex social relations and cultural constructions. We hold the view that political and economic structures have a powerful, even determining effect upon human action and the shape of events, but also that a focus on human agency and ordinary lives is important for explaining processes of social change and internal differentiation (Bourdieu 1990; Ortner 2006). Of particular relevance for people's coping strategies is the importance of money, which is an integral part of most relationships in urban as well as rural contexts. What has been called a “commodification” of social relationships (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997; Tvedten 2008) has profound implications for the coping strategies of the poorest. They lack the necessary means to enter and maintain vital relations of provisioning and social security, and are particularly vulnerable to changes in the economic environment, including price increases on basic commodities.

The province of Sofala and the district of Buzi, which is chosen as the site for this study, has an important position in Mozambique's history and contemporary political economy. Today Sofala experiences two apparently incompatible developments: On the one hand, the province has been hit hard by a sharp decline of its former industrial and agricultural basis, of the fish resources at the Sofala Bank and of the important trade with Zimbabwe and Malawi through the Beira Corridor, while on the other, data show that the province has gone through remarkable improvements in the socio-economic conditions of its population. The poverty head-count went from a national high of 88 percent in 1996/97 to a national low of 31 percent in 2002/03 (INE 2004). We are well aware of the controversies surrounding the accuracy of these data (see e.g. DNPO 2004; Chiconela 2004), but will still take with us the notion of an improvement in living conditions to the District of Buzi and ascertain to what extent this is reflected in the communities where we conducted fieldwork.

To allude to the notion that people in Sofala and Buzi have managed to improve their socio-economic situation, we have chosen to name this report '*Mukupuki*', which is the people's own categorisation of men and women who have improved their living conditions as a result of their own hard work (see Chapter 5).

1.2 Key Findings

Buzi presents itself as a dynamic district, with the Vila as its political and economic hub and with smaller population centres in each of its administrative posts. There do not seem to be any reasons, other than political ones, for not declaring Buzi a municipality, with the increasing political and economic autonomy that is experiencing.

At the same time, traditional authorities (*régulos*, *wachefes* and *sagutas*) have a strong position, particularly outside the Vila. This has created a mutual dependence between the state, which relies on these authorities for popular mobilisation and tax-collection, and the traditional leaders who find themselves on the government payroll.

In a political system where districts have limited options for making their own decisions and investments, the 'Seven Million MT' scheme has invigorated popular participation in political and economic life but also led to a general perception of favouritism based on political affiliation and socio-economic position.

The four communities under study (Vila Buzi, Bândua, Estaquinha and Nova Sofala) reveal considerable differences in economic adaptations and socio-cultural organisation, largely influenced by external factors such as the dismal fate of the Buzi Company, the reoccurring natural disasters, and the importance of rural-urban linkages.

In the communities themselves, the socio-cultural organisation is influenced by the apparent tension between a 'traditional' patrilineal adaptation, enhanced levels of education, and the 'modernisation' following from the contacts with Beira, Vila Buzi and other urban areas.

This seems to have set in motion a development towards increasing inequality, where households and individuals who manage to relate to opportunities of formal employment and economic relations with urban areas have experienced upward social mobility while those who remain in rural areas find themselves with a more limited range of alternative livelihoods and lower returns on their labour.

At the same time, there are processes of marginalisation and social exclusion based on the increasing importance of money in social relationships. The elderly and young single mothers are in

particularly difficult situations, while young men who do not take part in agriculture and don't find employment outside the saturated informal economy may well become a new 'lost generation'.

Health is considered a more immediate determinant for poverty and well-being than education. The most critical health issue is that of HIV-AIDS, with a prevalence of 23 percent in the district as a whole. The disease seems to have been 'normalised', which is positive for the victims, who have become less stigmatised, but problematic for preventing the disease from spreading further.

1.3 Methodology

Since we have presented our methodological approach in detail in the two preceding studies (Tvedten et al. 2006; Paulo et al. 2007), we will only present a brief outline thereof in this report. The basic premise of our approach is the importance of combining quantitative and qualitative techniques to poverty monitoring and analysis. The district of Buzi was selected due to its location in central Mozambique (representing a comparative case to the first two studies, carried out in northern and southern Mozambique, respectively), and due to its location in the interface between the rural and the urban with the importance of the district centre Vila Buzi and proximity to the city of Beira (representing a comparative case to the two previous studies on rural and urban relations of poverty, respectively). Buzi, the Vila, Estaquinha, Bândua and Nova Sofala were selected as study sites to reflect differences in geographical location and socio-economic adaptations (see Map 2).

More specifically, the report is based on a combination of: national and provincial data supplied by INE and MPD; literature reviews of the political economy of Sofala; interviews with key stakeholders in government, the district administration and the communities; adapted household surveys with a particular focus on social relationships; and a set of participatory methods. These are *histograms* (to map historical 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] may inhibit or accelerate change and development in the community).

As in the two preceding studies from Murrupula and Maputo, local authorities (state and traditional) as well as the local population were positive to becoming involved in the research process this way. Having been given credentials by the Ministry of Planning and Development, the district administration in Buzi supplied us with all the information we requested and informed the relevant heads at lower levels (of district directorates of public offices, of administrative posts and localities etc.) about our work.² In the bairros and villages, the traditional leaders (bairro secretaries, senior headmen, or *régulos*, and community leaders, or *sagutas*) were instrumental in organising public meetings, selecting people for our focus-group discussions and supplying us with guides (*guias*) to help identify relevant households for our interviews. Local authorities who explain and authorise our presence are, in our experience, absolutely essential to making people relate positively to work of this nature.

² In earlier days this process could take several days, but the cell-phone has made communication about such matters much easier.

1.4 Report Outline

In Chapter 2, we present a discussion on inequality and social exclusion in Mozambique as a backdrop to the analysis of poverty and well-being in the district of Buzi. Chapter 3 provides background information on the district of Buzi, focussing on its historical development, the district administration and the district economy. In Chapter 4 we analyse the results of the survey on social organisation and economic adaptations among the population in the four study sites. Chapter 5 is an analysis of social relations and cultural perceptions of poverty, and finally in, Chapter 6 we sum up the analysis and present a set of preliminary recommendations.

2. Inequality and Social Exclusion

As stated in the introduction to this report, the target group for Mozambique's poverty reduction strategy is 'the poor' – currently defined as 54 percent of the country's population. While it is an important long-term objective to lift everybody out of poverty, some people – in Mozambique, like anywhere else – are poorer and less equal than others. Mozambique is not a particularly unequal society in Southern African regional terms (see below), but there are important local inequalities in the country based on employment and income, geographical location, political affiliation, gender, age and social isolation following from HIV-AIDS and physical handicaps.

A focus on processes of socio-economic exclusion and concomitant inequalities is important in order to identify the most marginalised and impoverished parts of local populations. Social exclusion describes a situation where certain groups and individuals within a society are systematically disadvantaged because they are discriminated against. It exists, in varying degrees, in all societies, and can occur across economic, political as well as socio-cultural dimensions. Exclusion can be official or unofficial, and take place in a number of arenas from the legal, health and educational systems to the community and household. One of the strengths of the concept of exclusion is that it leads us to look at groups of people rather than individuals, drawing our attention to organisational or institutional structures that serve to include or exclude. This places an emphasis on process, and helps us focus on issues of power (DfID 2005; GSDRC 2008).

From a development perspective, the importance of identifying processes of social exclusion is related to the fact that marginalised groups will usually not benefit from 'trickle-down' development policies but need targeted interventions. In fact, the poorest of local populations – variously denoted by the terms 'very poor', 'the poorest of the poor' or the 'ultra poor' – are often so marginalised that they become chronically poor and will need particular social protection measures to cope (CPRC 2005). As we shall see in subsequent chapters of this report, processes of social exclusion are prevalent also in the District of Buzi.

2.1 Inequality and Social Exclusion

As noted above, Mozambique is a poor but not a particularly unequal society. Table 1 shows that the country has the lowest ranking among its neighbours in terms of human development – measuring income, education and longevity. At the same time, it has a relatively average Gini-index, which measures the relative wealth of the poorest and the best-off part of populations (UNDP 2008).³ This can be explained, partly, historically: The Portuguese colonisers did not allow for the emergence of an African middle class beyond the very small number of *assmililados* (Newitt 1995), and post-independence socialist policies rested on a notion of centralised but broad-based development that did not allow for the emergence of a strong capitalist or entrepreneurial class (Abrahamson ad Nilsson 1995). There are also important discussions about whether Mozambique's current development policies are 'pro-poor', with the dominant perception being that they are – but that too many people still do not benefit from the development efforts (DNPO 2004; Arndt et al. 2006; Hanlon 2008).

³ This is the most commonly used measure of inequality. The coefficient varies between 0, which reflects complete equality, and 1 which indicates complete inequality (World Bank 2009).

Table 1. Poverty and Inequality in Mozambique and Neighbouring Countries

Country	HDI Rank	Richest 10% to Poorest 10%	Gini Index
Mozambique	172	18.8	47.3
Tanzania	159	9.2	34.6
Malawi	164	10.9	39.0
Zambia	165	32.3	50.8
Zimbabwe	151	22.0	50.1
South Africa	121	33.1	57.8
Swaziland	141	25.1	50.4

Source: UNDP 2008

The inequalities that do exist in Mozambique are found along several dimensions. The most commonly referred to are geographical differences in the poverty headcount between provinces in the country (Table 2). The poverty headcount varies from 81.1 percent in Inhambane to 34.1 percent in Sofala, and is generally higher in rural (55.2 percent) than in urban (51.6 percent) areas. In broad terms, the poverty headcount is highest in the southern provinces (Maputo, Gaza, Inhambane), lowest in the central provinces (Sofala, Manica, Zambezia, Tete) and the northern provinces (Nampula, Nisassa, Cabo Delgado) sit in an intermediate position. The pattern is largely repeated in relation to the proportion of the 'ultra-poor' (i.e., the proportion of the population who find themselves 60 percent or more below the poverty line, see Chiconela 2004). However, looking at indicators of human development⁴ as another measure of unequal development, the picture is the opposite: the northern provinces have the lowest human development indexes, the southern provinces have the highest and the central provinces are in an intermediary position in terms of human development.

It may be argued that these regional and provincial disparities primarily reflect differences in history, natural environment and socio-cultural conditions rather than political, economic and aid-related exclusion as such. Assuming that there is a correspondence between poverty reduction and efforts by the government and donors to alleviate poverty, for example, Sofala with the largest support for the opposition party Renamo as measured by the results of the 2004 general election (16 out of 22 parliamentary seats), is similar to the one that has seen the largest reduction in poverty (see also de Brito 2007). This does not mean that there is no political exclusion in Mozambique. Still taking Sofala as an example, arguments have been forwarded that the city of Beira, which has been under Renamo control, has not received the type of government support that should be expected, in order to undermine Renamo's position. In the case of Buzi – where the opposition won 81 percent of the votes in the 2004 election (EISA 2009) – the decision not to declare the district centre Vila do Buzi a municipality, which would have given it stronger political and economic autonomy, is perceived as clearly politically motivated.

⁴ The HDI is a composite index that measures human development in terms of i) a long and healthy life, as measured by life expectancy at birth; ii) knowledge, measured by the adult literacy rate (with a weighting of two-thirds) and by the combined primary, secondary and higher education enrolment rate (with a weighting of one-third); and iii) a decent standard of living measured by GDP per capita (in US\$PPP) (UNDP 2007)

Table 2. Poverty Measures by Province

Province	Poverty Headcount	Human Development Index
Urban	51.6	-
Rural	55.2	-
Niassa	49.5	0.353
Cabo Delgado	62.8	0.313
Nampula	53.6	0.340
Zambezia	45	0.376
Tete	58.7	0.372
Manica	44.4	0.412
Sofala	34.1	0.414
Inhambane	81.1	0.442
Gaza	59.7	0.439
Maputo	71	0.588
Maputo City	53.2	0.651
All	54.1	0.413

Source: Chiconela 2004; UNDP 2007.

Looking at the development of inequality over time, the average consumption of the poorest bottom quintile grew less than the other quintiles in most provinces in Mozambique between 1996/97 and 2002/03 – implying an increase in inequality over the period in question (see Table 3). The increase in inequality is particularly high in urban areas. In Maputo City, average consumption in the lowest three quintiles actually fell while it increased in the two top quintiles, implying a sharp increase in inequality in Mozambique's capital city. All this implies that there are *de facto* processes of exclusion, in the sense that sections of the population do not take part in Mozambique's socio-economic development (see also Hanlon and Smart 2008).

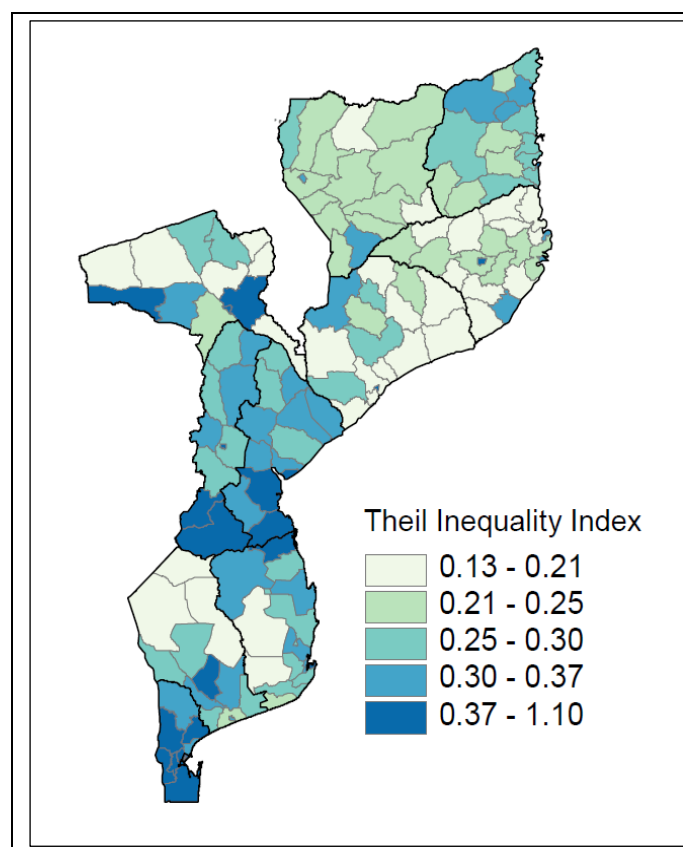
Table 3: Growth of Consumption by Quintile, 1996/7-2002/3

Province	1 st quintile	2 nd quintile	3 rd quintile	4 th quintile	5 th quintile	Total
Rural*	21.6	30.0	31.1	31.1	30.1	27.5
Urban*	27.0	11.2	14.8	16.5	28.2	24.4
Niassa	52.9	49.7	40.7	37.5	48.8	45.8
Cabo Delgado	6.4	-5.2	-7.9	-8.8	21.5	6.2
Nampula	36.5	23.9	26.3	21.3	13.2	19.6
Zambezia	25.1	41.4	41.2	37.8	53.9	43.7
Tete	8.2	34.7	49.8	50.9	54.7	47.1
Manica	-3.6	27.3	34.2	30.0	18.6	22.5
Sofala	236.4	199.3	181.2	186.7	221.1	205.5
Inhambane	-27.2	-17.6	-9.7	-2.9	9.3	-2.0
Gaza	16.7	4.6	7.1	9.7	15.4	12.3
Maputo	-5.6	-12.1	-6.3	-9.3	-1.7	-5.1
Maputo City	-13.3	-13.8	-9.6	1.3	23.8	8.7
All	23.4	25.6	27.8	28.1	36.1	30.9

*These quintiles have been computed separately for the rural and urban populations, and are different to the national quintiles used elsewhere.

Elbers et al. (2004) found that there are relatively small differences in levels of inequality *between* provinces in Mozambique, and hence that much of the inequality existing in the country is found *within* each individual province. In fact, the dominant picture emerging is one where the poor are living alongside the non-poor in the same districts and local communities (Simler and Nhate 2005, see Figure 2).⁵ On the one hand this reflects what we will call *spatial exclusion* – following on from the state's limited capacity to allocate human and material resources to education, health, agricultural extension, social security, etc., to the more marginal areas in provinces and districts. Educational facilities seems to have the best distribution (reflecting the sector's emphasis on quantity); health facilities have a somewhat lower distribution in marginal areas (reflecting the sector's emphasis on quality); while social protection through, for example, the National Social Action Institute that supports the elderly, orphans and the disabled reaches very few outside the urban and district centres (Hanlon and Smart 2008). This, as we shall see in later chapters, is also reflected in the district of Buzi. In urban areas, spatial exclusion affects, first and foremost, large sprawling informal settlement areas that do not have access to the same social and physical infrastructure as the formal areas (Paulo et al. 2007).

Figure 2. *Inequalities at the Level of Districts in Mozambique (Theil Index)*



Source: Simler and Nhate (2005)

The localised nature of inequality in Mozambique means that there are important local processes of differentiation and social exclusion in the country. Throughout our reports in this series, we have

⁵ The Theil index of inequality is less common than the Gini index mentioned above, but has the advantage of being additive across different regions or sub-groups in a country.

emphasised how changes in the political economy of Mozambique have increased the importance of employment and income in the country, both for access to basic means of survival (food, clothing, shelter) and for social services such as education and health. The 'commodification' of social relations has had profound implications in terms of the marginalisation and exclusion of sections of the population. The very poorest and most destitute in rural and urban areas are increasingly marginalised from essential social relationships, simply because people cannot afford to support community or extended family members who they know will not be able to give anything back (i.e., reciprocal relations).

These people are 'hidden' under quantitative expressions of poverty such as the 'poorest quintile', or at the lower end of the very poor, measured in terms of 'poverty gaps' (i.e., the depth of poverty) and 'squared poverty gaps' (i.e., poverty severity). While these measures have seen improvements in the country (see Table 4), there remains a large group of very poor people in Mozambique.⁶ They are people who are too poor to go to school; are ill because they cannot afford to go to hospital and buy medicine; or simply die because they cannot afford food at critical moments in their lives. In the poorest quintile, for example, as many as 196 children out of 1000 die before they reach five years (UNICEF 2005). We have found a number of such households in all three of the areas in which we worked as part of this project (i.e., Murrupula, Maputo and Buzi), clearly categorised by the local population as people who are poor in material terms and excluded from key social networks (see Chapter 5).

Table 4: Poverty Measures by Area 1997-2003 (Percent)

Area	Poverty/Headcount			Poverty Gap			Squared Poverty Gap		
	1997	2003	Change	1997	2003	Change	1997	2003	Change
All	69.4	54.1	-22.0	29.2	19.9	-31.8	15.5	9.9	-36.1
Urban	63.9	51.6	-19.2	27.2	18.9	-30.5	14.8	9.0	-39.1
Rural	71.6	55.2	-22.9	30.0	20.4	-32.0	15.8	10.3	-34.8

Source: World Bank 2007

Another important process of inequality and social exclusion in Mozambique is *gendered exclusion*, with women being systematically worse off in economic and socio-cultural terms than men (Tvedten et al. 2008). Table 4 below summarises some of these inequalities, which are the outcome of historical trajectories as well as Mozambique's patriarchal power structures.

⁶ Hanlon (2008) has recently disputed the accuracy of these data, arguing that "60 percent of the population have seen their situation worsen". However, it is difficult to see the basis for his argument – except for his inclusion of figures on people's own perceptions of how their situation has changed, which are interesting data but difficult to use as proof of anything but people's *perceptions*.

Table 5: Key Socio-Economic Data on the Position of Women in Mozambique (Percent)

Item	Male	Female
Proportion in agriculture	67.5	89.3
Formal employment	19.0	3.9
Adult literacy rate	67.0	37.5
Net primary school attendance	62.7	56.7
Life expectancy at birth (yrs)	44.8	48.6
Proportion HIV-AIDS affected *	42.0	58.0
	Male-headed households	Female-headed households
Overall Proportion	73.6	26.4
Poverty Head-Count	51.9	62.5

Sources: INE 2004; Mds 2005; World Bank 2007 * Total HIV-AIDS affection rate 16.1 percent

As revealed in the regional disparities in the Gender Development Index measuring differences between men and women in income, education and longevity (UNDP 2003), the inequalities between men and women vary between provinces even though men are consistently better-off than women. The largest discrepancy between the Human Development Index (HDI) and the Gender Development Index (GDI) is found in the northern provinces of Niassa, Cabo Delgado, Nampula and Zambezia, while the lowest discrepancy (and hence the most equal relation between men and women) is found in the southern provinces of Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo Province. These differences reflect important local processes of marginalisation and exclusion at the level of communities and households, to which we will return in later chapters.

There are also other categories of people who currently are systematically disadvantaged and subject to social exclusion in Mozambique, at least partly because of the changing political economy referred to above. Traditionally in Mozambique both *orphaned children* and *the elderly* would be taken care of by the community or the extended family (Arnaldo 2002), but both groups make up a disproportionately large part of the poorest sections in local communities – again confirmed in the three areas we have worked with this project. The roles and responsibilities of the extended family have changed, and in many cases people are forced to abandon ‘unproductive’ members of communities and families.

By any measurement, Mozambique’s orphaned population is among the largest in the world, and UNICEF has estimated the total number to be 1.2 million or 11.7 percent of all children between 0-17 years of age. In Sofala, the rate is 19 percent or almost one in five children. Orphans often suffer from low psychological well-being, low levels of education, food shortage as well as exposure to violence (UNICEF 2006).

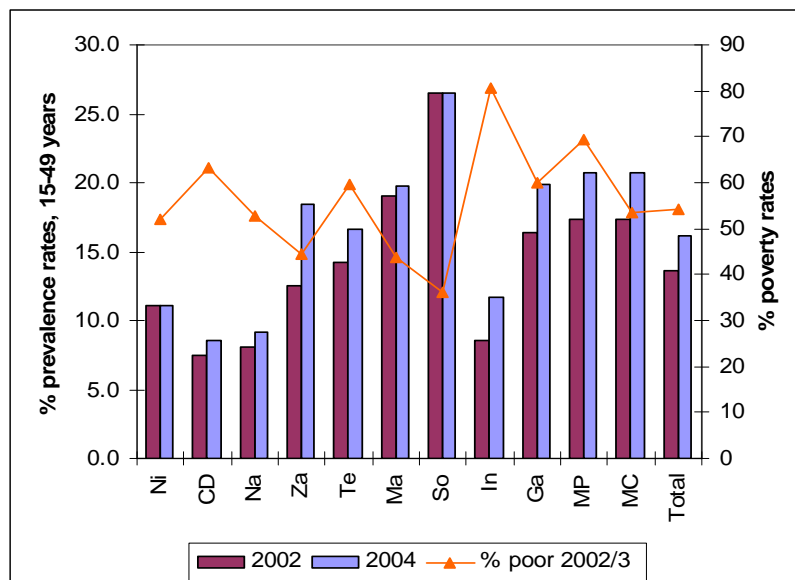
Older women, particularly, make up a disproportionately large part of the very poorest. Among female-headed households in the country, widows, separated women and divorcees represent as many as 70 percent (Chiconela 2003).⁷ These households are under a particular pressure as the heads, being both female and single, are often also susceptible to other types of exclusion, such as accusations of witchcraft. Such accusations are in themselves expressions of dysfunctional social structures and relations: research shows that it is often people on the margins who become victims of such accusations. At the same time, single elders find themselves with an increasing

⁷ The equivalent figure for male-headed households is 3.3 percent. The large difference may partly be explained by the fact that women live longer than men; that 30 percent of all women in Mozambique live in polygamous relationships; and that it is easier for men to remarry than for women.

responsibility for orphaned grandchildren or nieces and nephews, which takes a further toll on their already meagre resources (UNICEF 2007).

The last socially marginalised and excluded group we will mention here are people living with HIV-AIDS. The HIV-AIDS pandemic is relatively recent in Mozambique (with the first case being recorded in 1986), but the country currently has one of the highest rates in Southern Africa, 16.6 percent – varying from 20.4 percent in the central region to 9.1 percent in the north (World Bank 2005). This represents close to 2 million people. Mozambique also has an exceptionally high female infection rate of 58 percent of the infected, with women from 20-24 years of age being four times more likely than men to become infected. Sofala province has the highest infection rate in the country at 26.5 percent (UNICEF 2007). The literature on HIV-AIDS in Mozambique tends to emphasise how victims become a burden on their community and extended family, and how the illness sets in motion a negative spiral of impoverishment for themselves and their dependents (Arndt 2002; Petty et al. 2004).

Figure 3: Adult HIV-AIDS Prevalence Rates (age 15-49) by Province



Source: World Bank 2007, based on data from Republic of Mozambique (2005), Ministry of Planning and Finance (2004)

Focussing on the very poorest and most marginalised groups in the Mozambican society is important in order to reach the government's goals of poverty reduction as, expressed in the PARPA, as well as to fulfil the ultimate goal of aid organisations of reaching the very poorest – upon which support from their home constituencies largely rests (Tvedten and Villanger 2008). At the same time, the current neo-liberal emphasis of 'trickling down' policies, both in the economic sphere and in social sectors, makes it very difficult to reach this group. Most of them are too poor, too sick and too marginalised to be able to exploit new options in agriculture, employment and income and to make use of new opportunities in education and health – all of which are central to Mozambique's poverty reduction strategy.

Joseph Hanlon has recently forwarded important arguments for paying more attention to the very poorest and most marginalised, with the obvious (albeit too often disregarded) point of departure that 'the poor are poor because they have no money' (Hanlon 2008: 154). For some of the very

poorest, money is essential for securing basic necessities in terms of food, shelter and clothes and to avoid total destitution and bereavement. For others, money will help start income-generating activities on a small scale, which may get them out of critical situations of impoverishment. Hanlon writes in favour of targeted interventions, including social protection in the form of cash transfers (for the poorest and most marginalised) and public works programmes for those with working ability – with reference to the fact that the poor have proven that they use cash transfers constructively and that such transfers will stimulate local markets and facilitate economic growth. We largely share Hanlon's call for a redirection of development and aid policies in Mozambique towards a stronger focus on the productive sectors and the poor, and we will return to the issues of social marginalisation and exclusion in the coming pages, with reference to the district of Buzi.

3. Background to the Study Area

The province of Sofala in central Mozambique shares borders with the provinces of Inhambane, Manica, Tete and Zambézia (see Map 1), and holds an important position in Mozambique's history and contemporary political economy. Conflict and trade between the original Shona/Ndau/Sena population and the Arab and Portuguese colonisers, based in the ancient town of Sofala, shaped the history of the area for centuries. The province also became the centre for large and influential agro-industrial companies (*companhias*) and trade with Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi through the Beira Corridor. After independence, Sofala became the site of many of Frelimo's socialist experiments and some of the fiercest battles in the Mozambican proxy civil war (Newitt 1995; Nordstrom 1997).

Today, Sofala is perhaps best described as a province of contradictions. Economically, it is marked by the rapid deterioration of its agricultural and industrial base from colonial times, and a sharp drop in the important trade with its land-locked neighbours. Also, its vital fishing industry is experiencing serious problems. At the same time, Sofala is the province with the most rapid improvements in the socio-economic condition of its population – resulting in the lowest poverty head-count in the country with 31 percent (INE 2004). According to the last (2007) census, Sofala has a population of 1 650 000, of which 71 percent live in rural and 29 percent in urban areas (INE 2009). Beira is the urban hub of the province with 436 000 inhabitants. The dominant ethno-linguistic groups in Sofala are the Shona-speaking Ndau and Sena, who are patrilineal and predominantly Catholic, even though there are many Muslims in the coastal areas. As seen from Table 6, most socio-economic indicators in Sofala are positive compared to the national averages. The province has a high proportion of economically active men and women, a relatively high level of education and favourable health indicators. The one serious exception to this picture is the HIV-AIDS affection rate, which is the highest in the country with 26 percent.

Also, politically, the province is an exception to the general situation in the rest of the country, where Frelimo is becoming increasingly dominant. In Sofala, Renamo gained 16 seats in the most recent Parliamentary election in 2004 against Frelimo's six seats, and the city of Beira was governed with a clear majority by Renamo until the municipal election in December 2008, when the former Renamo candidate won on an independent ticket. Sofala is administratively divided into 12 Districts. In addition to the city of Beira, Gorongosa, Dondo and Marromeu have been declared municipalities, with the right to elect their own municipal government and hold relatively high economic autonomy. Under current relevant laws, all leading positions in district administrations are appointed by the Frelimo government, despite the political support for Renamo in the province.

Table 6: *Basic Social Indicators, Mozambique and Sofala*

Item	Mozambique	Sofala
Geography		
Land area (km ²)	799,380	68.018
Population (in million)	20.4	1.5
Population density (per km ²)	25.7	24.3
Rural/urban population (%)	69 / 31	69/31
Household characteristics		
Average household size	4.8	5.6
Dependency ratio (%)	99.0	101.4
Female-headed households (%)	26.4	22.7
Economic activities		
Economically active population (%)	83.0	80.8
Self/family employment (%)	86.6	87.0
Proportion employed in agriculture (%)	80.5	73.3
Per capita monthly income (MT)	325	321
Per capita monthly expenditure (MT)	324	379
Households owning a bicycle (%)	32.6	39.4
Households owning a radio (%)	53.2	66.9
Education		
Primary net enrolment rate (%)	59.7	60.8
Male illiteracy rate (%)	36.7	28.4
Female illiteracy rate (%)	68.0	72.2
Health		
Infant mortality rate (0-1 yrs) (per 1000)	124	149
Child mortality rate (0-5 yrs) (per 1000)	178	206
Chronic malnutrition (0-5 yrs) (%)	41.0	42.3
Total fertility rate	5.5	6.0
HIV/AIDS (15-49 years) (%)	16.2	26.5
Poverty indicators		
Poverty headcount (%)	54.1	34.1
Poverty gap/depth (%)	19.9	10.1
Squared poverty gap/severity (%)	9.9	4.1

Sources: World Bank 2007; MISAU 2005; Fox et al. 2005; INE 2004.

Buzi is one of Sofala's 12 districts. It is located south west of the city of Beira (three hours by car or four hours by boat), and is surrounded by the districts of Machanga, Cibabava, Nhamatanda and Dondo (Map 2).⁸ It is 7 329 km² and has two distinct climatic zones: 'tropical rainy savannah' along the coast and 'tropical temperate humid' in the interior. The rainy season is from November to March, with an average annual rainfall of 1 089 mm. Average annual temperature is 24.7°C, varying between 31°C and 18°C per month. The coastal zone has sandy soils with limited productivity, while the interior has soils rich in organic material. The district is extremely flat, with an altitude of 20-80 meters in the highest zone (Bândua and Estaquinha). The River Buzi is the artery of the district: It carries water for drinking, washing, irrigation, fishing and transport – but also brings regular and sometimes catastrophic floods that represent a constant threat to the district's population and infrastructures.

⁸ The figures following are based on a combination of MAE 2005 and information obtained from the district administration.

DISTRITO DE BÚZI, SOFALA PROVINCE



The district of Buzi has a total population of 179 000, or 25 inhabitants per km². 45 percent of the population is under 15 years of age; the male/female ratio is 47/53 percent; and the rural/urban ratio is 90/10 percent. According to official statistics (MAE 2005), 14 percent of the households in the district are headed by women. The majority of the population in the district are Christians (mainly the Zionist church), but there is a relatively large Muslim population along the coast and in Vila de Buzi. Vila de Buzi has a population of 25 000 (INE 2008), and is effectively divided into two parts by the river Buzi – separating the *Vila* proper from the old site of the *Companhia de Buzi* (see below)⁹. In addition to floods and cyclones, the fate of the Buzi Company is considered the most important external force affecting the lives of the population and the economy in the district.

The District is divided into three administrative posts (Vila de Buzi, Estaquinha and Nova Sofala) and seven localities (*localidades*) (see Table 7). There are 14 distinct areas overseen by traditional authorities, and the *régulos* and their assistants (*chefes de povoações, sagutas*) have a very strong impact on politics in the district and the lives of its citizens. In addition to the Vila itself, we have chosen to focus on the three main concentrations of population in the district which are Bândua, Estaquinha and Nova Sofala (see Map 2).¹⁰

Table 7. *Population in the District of Buzi 2005**

Administrative Post / Locality	Population
P.A. de Buzi - Buzi Sede - Bândua - Grudja	108 900
P.A. Estaquinha - Estaquinha Sede - Chissinguana	37 800
P.A. Sofala - Nova Sofala - Ampara	32 300
Total	179 000

Source: MAE (2005); INE (2008). The figures are based on projections made by the District Administration on the basis of the 1999 census and their own figures (the results from the 2008 census were not available at the time of writing).

A striking feature of the areas under study is the remarkable variation in socio-economic adaptations, poverty and well-being – underlining the localised nature of inequality in Mozambique. In general terms, Vila de Buzi is ‘modern’ and urban with a population that is relatively well-off, even though we shall see that there are considerable inequalities, even within one and the same *bairro*. Bândua is a commercial centre for the most densely populated parts of the district with the best agricultural land, and received a new boost with the establishment of camps and permanent housing for victims of the flood in 2000. Estaquinha was formerly an important population centre, but has been hardest hit by the closing of the Buzi Company, as there are few alternative sources of employment and income, and the agricultural potential is low. Finally, Nova Sofala is in one sense both the most rural and the most urban of the four sites: Nova Sofala itself is sparsely populated, has

⁹ This part of the Vila was known as Nova Lusitânia during the colonial time, but became part of the Vila proper at independence.

¹⁰ Guara-guara is a population centre located only ten minutes’ drive from the Vila, originally established as a camp for flood victims in 2000, with special characteristics to which we will return later.

no formal employment opportunities except for the Barada mission, and no real 'centre' along the main (and only) road. At the same time, relations with Beira are frequent and intense – not only for fishermen who regularly go to Praia Nova in Beira to sell their fish, but also for people who work or trade other products there. Thus, all the four locations are in one way or another characterised by being 'rural-urban'.

3.1 Brief History

The District of Buzi¹¹ is located in an area originally inhabited from the 4th century AD by agricultural and cattle holding Ndau-speaking people, who were part of the great Shona culture with its centre in current day Zimbabwe. Until the 16th century, current day Buzi was part of the Kingdom of Muenemutapa, which had extensive trading contacts with the Swahili system extending across the Indian Ocean between the Middle East and Asia. Most local communities were organised into independent chieftaincies and governed by land-chiefs, who often had religious authority as well. Due to the nature of the natural habitat and the presence of the tsetse fly, there was limited basis for capital accumulation through agro-pastoral production, and political influence and power was, first and foremost, sought through the raiding of land and women (Newitt 1997).

The ancient town of Sofala became the centre of activity for Arab Muslims from the 6th century, and the Portuguese colonisers from the early 16th century – with the Portuguese gaining control through a system of settlers, merchants and an aggressive expansionist policy that eventually marginalised local African and foreign Muslim traders. Many of the male settlers married local women (the so-called *muzungo* families), and became part of local African power-structures and communities. The current Buzi area was later to be governed by '*prazos de coroa*', which were private estates that should have represented the Portuguese Crown, but increasingly built up their own power base through trade in gold, ivory and slaves. By the end of the 19th century, central Mozambique was dominated by private concessionary companies (*companhias*) that effectively governed themselves. *Companhia de Moçambique* is the best known, and *Companhia de Buzi* was established as one of its subsidiaries in 1898 (Newitt 1995).

From 1932 and the *Estado Novo* under Salazar, the Portuguese state regained control of current day Buzi as well as other parts of central Mozambique. Agro-industries (mainly cotton and rice) were established and gave employment to people, but the exploitation of the population also took on new and even more brutal forms through taxation (*mussoço*) and forced labour.¹² It also disrupted the cycle of household production with an attendant decline in food production, increased debt, famines and disease. Parts of the Buzi population worked in Beira, which had been established in 1900 and needed labourers to work on the railway to Zimbabwe (the Beira Corridor), in the harbour, in light industries and as domestic servants and prostitutes (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983; Isaacman and Hay 1997)

At independence in 1975, Buzi was declared a district and had approximately 116 000 inhabitants. The Frelimo government introduced immediate changes with suppression or co-option of traditional authorities (see below); nationalisation of industries and private estates (into state farms); organisation of the population into communal villages; and improved access to education and health. Still, the large majority of the population in Buzi remained on their small family farms in small villages – effectively neglected by the new Frelimo government.

¹¹ The origin of the name Buzi seems to be the indigenous plant 'Bhudji' (in Ndau), which grows along the Buzi River.

¹² In one of the most spectacular and well-documented examples of labour resistance in Mozambique, 7 000 women from Buzi organised a strike in 1947 and refused to accept the cotton seeds that the administration ordered to be distributed (Newitt 1005).

From the early 1980s, three occurrences have had a particularly strong impact on the area: One was the 'civil' war, which created insecurity and compelled many people to move to the Vila, Beira and other safer locations. Sofala was a centre for Renamo activity (most of its leaders were Shona-speaking Ndau), and communal villages, physical infrastructures as well as schools and medical units were attacked and destroyed – at least to some extent with 'quiet consent' from traditional leaders (who had seen much of their influence dwindle) and parts of the population (who were dissatisfied, particularly with the communal village programme and the harsh production targets for family farms after 1983) (Orlowski 2001; Florencio 2005).

The second occurrence was the successive closure of factories owned by the *Companhia de Buzi*. At its peak, the company controlled 312 500 hectares of land primarily in the central parts of the district between Vila de Buzi and Estaquinha. It ran agro-industrial companies for sugarcane (to produce sugar and alcohol), cotton and chalk, and workers from all over central Mozambique lived in large single quarters, modelled after similar structures in South Africa and Zimbabwe. The bulk of the activities ceased in the mid-1990s. One factory still works employing 95 people and producing alcohol from sugarcane, but huge fields lie idle and the factories are slowly falling apart. As we shall see, however, the idea of the factory is very much alive in people's imaginations, and they sincerely believe that it will reopen. The closures compelled many workers without access to land in Buzi to leave the district with their families. Between 1980 and 1997, the district actually saw a decrease in its population from 144 000 to 143 000 people (MAE 2005).

The third major incident, with implications for the political economy and the socio-economic conditions of the population in Buzi, was the flood in 2000. Four people died and more than 50 000 people had to be relocated during a few very dramatic days and nights, which primarily affected the population in the interior parts of the district (the coast was simultaneously hit by cyclone Elisa, bringing considerable damage but with fewer long-term implications for the local population). Many of the flood victims were moved to camps in Guara-guara and Bândua, through a concerted effort between the government and international aid organisations (Hanlon 2001). These camps still contain a large number of people, who have not been able to return to their former villages that are in the danger-zone for new floods or prefer to remain in more urban areas. As we shall see, the long-term effects of the constant threat of floods and cyclones, in terms of instilling in people a basic sense of insecurity and vulnerability, are important to their contemporary coping strategies.

People's own perception of their history, as was recorded through the histogram exercise (see Chapter 1), largely confirms the importance of the major incidents described above. However, only in Nova Sofala¹³ (situated in the area of the historical town itself) did the group of elders highlight the historical importance of their community. They vividly described the coming of the Arabs and the Portuguese "a long, long time ago", and also emphasised the establishment of "our mission" [i.e., Barada] as important in the development of their area. Continuing their emphasis on *external* incidents, the group of elders highlighted: the way in which Americans had come to "look for oil" in the 1950s; the colonial war ("we lost many young people"); independence ("we were very pleased, and the Portuguese left little by little"); the war (which started in 1983 and made many people "hide in the bush and never return"); the cyclone Elisa (after which "many people came to help us"); and finally, the disease (HIV-AIDS), which "came" (the passive word '*chegou*') but without any medicines to cure it.¹⁴

¹³ There are numerous explanations for the origin of the word 'Sofala' (see Newitt 1995). Elders in Nova Sofala insisted (with a smile) that the Portuguese, when arriving, became frustrated when they could not understand what the local population said and yelled 'eles só falam!' (they only talk!), which became Sofala.

¹⁴ Little emphasis was placed on the local population's own resistance to or compliance with all these outside forces that have shaped developments in Nova Sofala – except constant references to a "holy stone" located close to the ancient (now largely vanished) town and the importance of the spirits of their traditional leaders (*régulos*) who are all buried in a centrally located and very visible graveyard along the main road through Nova Sofala.

In Estaquinha, which today is a poorer and more marginalised area than Nova Sofala, the elders placed different emphasis on their outline of key historical events in the area. They started with the 1920s, highlighting how famines constantly hit the area; most people had no clothes but used animal skins to cover themselves¹⁵; there were no blankets and people heated their dwellings with firewood during the night; and they would use mud-plates or fruit shells to carry water and eat. Things changed in 1940 when “mandatory cotton plantation started”, which gave people some money to buy necessary goods (“Indians [from Buzi] bought the cotton from farmers. It was 3\$ per 10 kg of cotton”). Nevertheless, their historical outline is dominated by famines – with their severity underlined by the fact that all of them have been given names (Table 8).

Table 8. Famines in Estaquinha

Name of Famine	Year / Period	Other information given
'Sikslanhe'	1940s	People had nothing to feed their families.
'Guenha'	1950s	People survived by eating roots.
'Djudjiua'	1960s	The djudjiua-lagoon, which never dries, dried up.
'Kangala'	1966	'Kangala' means to have nothing.
'Madjidjiwe'	1983	People survived by eating mangos.
'Another famine'	1988	Some say father Otorino only helped Catholics.
'Fambiranhane'	1992	Means that people have to visit others to get food. ¹⁶
'Mafoliche'	2005	People ate waste from wheat, given to pigs, to survive.

In between the famines, the elders in Estaquinha emphasised the importance of the establishment of the Estaquinha mission (Father Bento opened a school in 1953, but in 1964 he was transferred to Dombe); the onset of the war (which started in 1981 when the saw-mill was burnt to the ground, and peaked in 1985, when armed men burnt down the houses, beat the people up and took their clothes); the closure of the Buzi company in 1994 (when all workers were laid off, and some received compensation, while others did not); the cyclone in 2000 (when the flood destroyed the *machambas* and killed goats, and USAID donated 1500 MT per household but only gave to the women and not the men); the solar eclipse in 2001 (when some people became blind as they did not obey the instructions on the radio to not look directly into the sun, and “the chicken went to the henhouse”); and finally, in 2007, when the World Food Programme introduced the Food for Work Programme (and the community built roads, schools and residences in exchange for oil, beans and flour).

The histories recounted by elders in Vila de Buzi and Bândua largely confirm the notion that history is made *for* people rather than *by* them. External political forces (colonialism, capitalism, war, socialism and neo-liberalism) as well as external [super-]natural forces (flood, drought, eclipses, disease) have shaped their communities and family lives – and, we will argue in Chapter 4, still have implications for their cultural perceptions and social relations regarding poverty and well-being. What it does not explain, of course, is the internal inequalities in these rural-urban communities, to which we will also return later.

¹⁵ The exception was the people who carried their Portuguese masters (*machileiros*), who were given cloth by the Portuguese to cover their waist.

¹⁶ This was the year of the peace accord, and the group emphasised that “it didn’t matter if the person was Frelimo or Renamo”.

3.2 District Administration

Approaching the Vila Buzi via the road from Beira, the landscape is very flat with endless fallow fields broken only by the Buzi River which criss-crosses the scene. Driving into the Vila itself, it bears evidence of its colonial past, as well as the present. At the northern end of the main street through the Vila is the District Administration, imposingly located in a large and well-maintained building from 1945 and surrounded by a small park. Following the main street towards the south are the colonial houses of the District Administrator and the Permanent Secretary, a petrol-station, smaller buildings housing the district directorates of various ministries, the public notary, the police and a hospital – before the Vila becomes more congested with a hotel and a guest-house, two restaurants, a large and well-maintained public market, small shops, a bank with an automated teller machine (ATM), a bookshop, a large colonial house with rooms for rent, and the community radio station ('Rádio Buzi'). In between all this are people selling all kinds of goods from rudimentary stalls (*barracas*) and reed-mats on the ground. The roads intersecting the main road lead to Buzi's many bairros.¹⁷ Reaching the end of the main street through the Vila on its southern end, the river cuts the Vila in two. On the other side (now only to be reached in dug-outs or *canoas* and small boats or *chatas*),¹⁸ the historical past is more evident. Huge old factories bear evidence of dramatic decay, and people live in apparent misery in old houses and single quarters built for factory workers that have clearly seen better days.

We introduce this section on the District administration with this elaborate (and admittedly personal and unscientific) description of Vila de Buzi to underline the politics of it all. While the Vila seems to fulfil most, if not all, requirements of a municipality that would elect its own municipal government and hold relative political and economic autonomy, it is still a District under firm control of the government and Frelimo, despite a clear majority of Renamo-votes in elections. Currently, the local district bodies are not 'autarchic' but part of a system of a 'unitary state', and so its leaders (governors, administrators, traditional *chefes*) are legally bound to answer to their hierarchical superiors (Pers.comm., Aslak Orre, CMI).

Having said this, the implications of this in the case of Buzi are not clear-cut. The local population laments again and again that the government 'punished' Buzi by inhibiting development, usually referring to the continued closure of the Buzi Company factories and the poor road communication system that "strangles economic development" – as a community leader put it – as proof. Representatives of the District Administration who are on their side went as far as saying that Buzi "is not ready for it yet [i.e., being a municipality]", but also insisted that, if anything, the strength of Renamo in the area made the government invest extra effort and resources in the area, to convince the population that it worked *for* them rather than *against* them.¹⁹

The District administration (or District Government as it is now called) is headed by a District Administrator. He has a *Gabinete do Administrador, Administração e Secretaria*, which has a total staff of 84 people, and a new Head of the Secretariat [recruited from a management position in secondary school Note to author: meaning here unclear – recruited from a secondary school where she was working, or recruited out of secondary school to fill the position?]. Of the total staff, 14 are professionals with basic or intermediate levels of education and 70 are support staff. There are

¹⁷ Even there the Vila seems 'up-to-date': Right in the middle of the largest bairro, Massane, is a new guest house with luxury suites, a swimming pool and internet connection, built and owned by a former resident who runs a hotel-chain in South Africa.

¹⁸ To get a car to the other side of the river, one needs to drive half an hour via Guara-Guara, cross the river in a wire-driven ferry-boat or *batelão* and then drive another half-hour.

¹⁹ Perhaps the most striking implication of the political situation in Buzi is the very visible presence of Frelimo (in the form of banners, T-shirts, caps, small tokens in and around public buildings, etc.), and the near total absence of any *public* manifestations of support for Renamo in an area where the individual support is wide-spread.

altogether 11 women staff members, including the Head of the Secretariat. The office seems well-equipped and organised, with computers and accessible district strategies, plans and reports on execution and results ('balanço') of the District's Economic and Social Plan (PESOD) (GdDdB 2006, 2007, 2008).

Buzi has district offices of the following directorates (Direcção Distrital): Agriculture and Rural Development (Agricultura e Desenvolvimento Rural); Education (Educação); Culture, Youth and Sports (Cultura, Juventude e Desportos); Women and the Coordination of Social Action (Mulher e Acção Social) and the Secret Police (Serviço de Informação e Segurança do Estado, SISE).

Buzi also has the following delegations (Delegação Distrital): Registry and Notary (Registos e Notariado); Industry, Commerce and Tourism (Indústria, Comércio e Turismo); Maritime Affairs (Marítima); Electricity Mozambique (EDM-EP); Telecommunications Mozambique (TDM-EP); Postal services Mozambique (Correios de Moçambique) and Posto da Administração do Parque Imobiliário do Estado (APIE).

Finally, Buzi has the following additional public institutions: The District Commando of the Police of the Republic of Mozambique (Comando Distrital da Polícia da República de Moçambique); The District Legal Tribunal (Tribunal Judicial Distrital); and the District Public Prosecutor's Office (Procuradoria Distrital da República).

The main body coordinating the work of all these institutions at the district level is the District Government (previously known as the Executive Council). Its role is to oversee the implementation of state policies in the relevant areas. It is headed by the District Administrator, and consists of the heads of all public institutions in Buzi. Below the level of the central district administration, the District of Buzi is made up of three Administrative Posts (Buzi-Sede, Estaquinha and Sofala) and seven localities (Buzi-Sede, Bândua, Grudja, Estaquinha-Sede, Chissinguana, Nova Sofala and Ampara) (see Table 5). Each administrative post is headed by a *Chefe do Posto* appointed by the government, while the localities are headed by a *Chefe de Localidade*. Even though these have limited funding for development initiatives, they are crucial as the 'face' of the government.²⁰

At the same time, the actual presence of the state varies between different parts of the district. People in the Vila are clearly favoured as is evident in, for example, the distribution of funds to the elderly and handicapped by the District Directorate of Social Action.²¹ The locality of Ampara is very difficult to access both from Vila and Nova Sofala, where the head of the Administrative Post sits. Ampara was the main stronghold of Renamo during the 'civil' war, and was not really integrated into the district before the very end of the 1990s.²²

There is close cooperation between the formal administrative structures and traditional and community leaders (Table 7), and the substance of this cooperation strongly influences what the district administration can accomplish (see Table 9). The cooperation is formalised through the Law on Traditional Authorities (Decree 15/2000) and the Public Sector Reform (Decree 30/2001). The district government sees the cooperation with the traditional authorities as a way to communicate

²⁰ It is our impression that quality and efficiency of the administrators vary considerably. In one of the localities the administrator did not seem to be on top of things at all (and effectively overseen by the traditional leader), while in another the administrator (a former union leader and recruited from a private company) was very much involved in community affairs and had a clear strategy for his work on behalf of the government.

²¹ Preliminary figures given to us by the district representative for 2008 showed that 95 percent of those who were on the list to receive allocations were from the Vila. We met people from other localities who had registered for support, but who complained that it was impossible to get money.

²² The former head of the District Directorate of Education told us how he had arrived in Ampara, by car in a remote area of Ampara with very few schools functioning in 2002, with children either running away or asking how large the car would become 'when it grew up'...

effectively with the local populations and collect taxes. On their part, the traditional leaders have personal interests in the formalisation of their position since they receive remuneration, but also see the danger of being co-opted and losing influence in their communities.²³ There are altogether 14 *régulos*, 127 headmen (*chefes de povoações*) and 613 sub-headmen (*sagutas*) in the District of Buzi. *Régulos* also perform ceremonial functions related to the inauguration of public buildings and other infrastructures, and traditional functions related to community disputes and spirituality.

Table 9. Traditional Authority Structure in the District of Buzi

English	Portuguese / Ndaú	Number
Chief *	Régulo / kosi	14
Neighbourhood Secretary *	Secretário de Bairros	11
Headman **	Chefe de Povoação / wachefe	129
Sub-Headman ***	Saguta	613

Source: Governo do Distrito do Buzi 2008. * Public servant of First Order (1º Escalão). ** Public servant of Second Order (2º Escalão). Public servant of Third Order (3º Escalão). The higher the order, the higher the remuneration received from the government.

The *sagutas* are most directly involved with the population on a daily basis. In Nova Sofala, for example, the *sagutas* are called-on for tasks such as mediation, support to people in particularly difficult situations, registration of new-comers and ‘baptism’ of new fishing boats (see below). They are also entrusted with the task of collecting taxes and are supposed to get a percentage of what they collect, but still argue that this is difficult to do because many people really do not have the money to pay or lament that they “get nothing back” from the state and government for collecting the taxes. As appears in Table 10 below, which shows the number of communities or *povoações* in Nova Sofala, each *saguta* is responsible for a population of between 1788 and [2300 Note to Author: Check number] people.

Table 10: Communities (Povoações) in the Locality Nova Sofala

Community / Povoação	Number of Households	Number of People
Massanzane	302	1581
Bura-Sede	327	1532
Nova-Bura	151	714
Nhalupse	135	540
Barada	218	1030
Manica	263	1228
Mussanga	134	679
Chipavo	394	1788
Chiconjo	337	1632
Djinga	48	230
Bué	98	496
Danga	128	571
Mutamba	165	817
Total	2.700	12.838

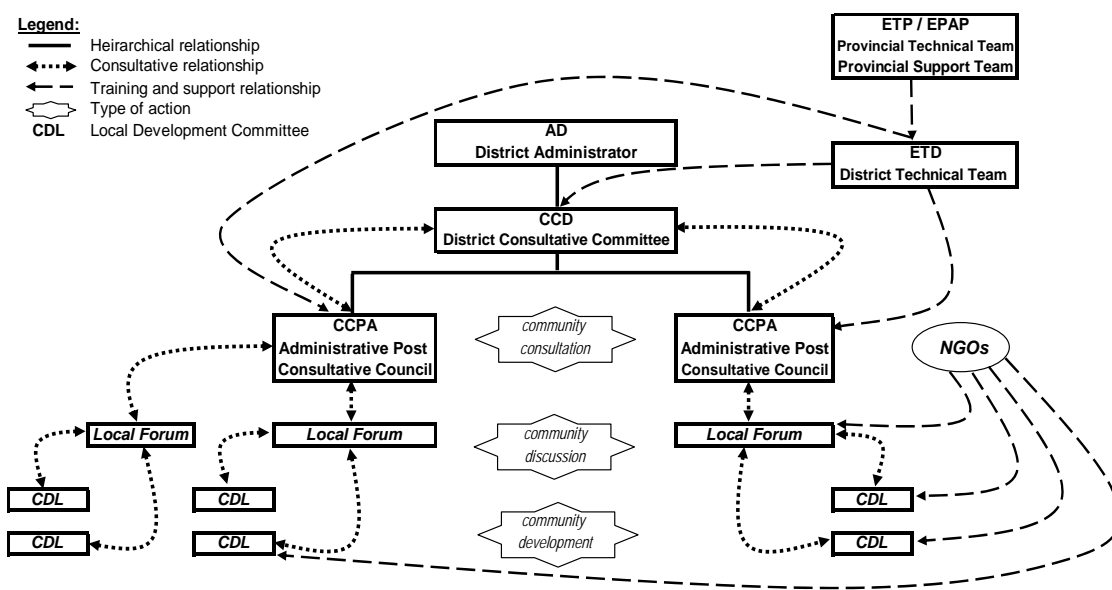
Source: The Head of the Administrative Post

²³ This is acknowledged by the district authorities, who deliberately keep a distance when *régulos*, *wachefes* and *sagutas* are to be selected. Formally, this is to be done by the population itself, but people told us that traditional leaders who are considered difficult by the government may be marginalised by not being formally recognised.

Also, Vila de Buzi is under the traditional jurisdiction of a *régulo* (*Regulado Jovo*). However, in the urban communities the traditional structures are largely replaced by state/party structures.²⁴ The Vila consists of the three *bairros*: Massane, Macurungo and Companhia de Buzi. The *Secretários do Bairro* are officially elected, but with a *de facto* involvement of the District Administration in the process. The *sagutas* are 'substituted' by leaders of ten houses (*chefes de dez casas*). The influence of the *Secretários* largely rests on their contact with the District Administration, and some of them will spend large parts of their working days there.

Communication between the government and the traditional leaders takes place on a bilateral basis, and through Institutions for Community Participation and Consultation (IPCCs) of which the District Consultative Council (*Conselho Consultivo do Distrito, CCD*) is the most important (RdM 2005).²⁵ In addition to representatives from the state administration and traditional authorities, the CCD includes representatives of civil society, the churches, the private sector and 'people of particular esteem'. In Buzi, the CCD has a total of 58 members, of whom 30 percent are women. PARPA II refers to the IPCCs as an essential instrument in the implementation and monitoring of the PARPA II, and the principal forums where local governments and communities will assess the 'quality, utility, accessibility and sustainability' of the development interventions specified in PARPA II. The system of IPCCs consists of three tiers (The District Consultative Council, the Administrative Post Consultative Council and Local Development Committees). Figure 4 below depicts the IPCC system as it works in Buzi and most other districts.

Figure 4: *The Structure of Community Participation and Consultation in Buzi*



Source: Courtesy of Aslak Orre, Chr. Michelsen Institute

²⁴ One indication of this is that the *régulos* and the *Secretários de Bairro* are on the same level/salary (1^o escalão) in the public salary scale.

²⁵ The legislation is not consistent in its referral to the council system, sometimes referring to them as consultative councils, sometimes as local councils and sometimes using the full name *Instituições de Participação e Consulta Comunitária* (Pers.comm. Aslak Orre, CMI).

The role and importance of the Consultative Council received a boost with the introduction of 7.000.000 MT in funding for districts to carry out their own development interventions from 2006/07. This is not only a substantial amount of money for districts like Buzi, but also the only 'fresh' money that a district can use for its priority tasks. In Buzi, 2007 was the first year of full implementation, involving all three tiers mentioned above. As seen from Table 11, the bulk of the money was used for employment-generation and agricultural development projects, with the remainder going to revenue-generation and cattle breeding programmes. There was a total of 76 individual projects.²⁶

Table 11: *Utilisation of the "7 Million MT" scheme in the District of Buzi 2007.*

Name of Project	Number of Projects	Amount Allocated
Income generation	10	675.725,00
Agricultural development	26	2.218.746,40
Cattle breeding	8	789.746,40
Employment generation	27	4.356.328,60
<i>Total</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>8.040.000,00</i>

Source: GdDdB (2008)

It is our impression that the district has followed the formal procedures and adhered to the intentions of the allocation, even though this seems to have changed from infrastructural projects, via employment creation and income-generation projects, to a current official focus on reaching the poorest (Aslak Orre, pers.comm). However, there are some key issues that will need to be solved for the funds to be used as constructively as possible. First of all, the flow of information on the 7 million and their possible importance for local communities seems to weaken the further one gets from the Vila and the administrative posts. This is natural in an area where communication is difficult, but a more active use of state and traditional authorities at the level of administrative posts and localities seems important.

Secondly, for all levels and institutions involved, there has been confusion about whether the money allocated is a grant, a loan or something in between. This has contributed to a low rate of repayment, and the District Administration has been under pressure from central authorities to re-emphasise that the money *must* be paid back. If not, according to one district employee, the district will have to cover the deficit itself. One possible implication of this is that the District Administration and the CCD will 'play it safe' by allocating funds to people who are already proven 'entrepreneurs'.

There are also challenges related to the application and decision-making process. The most worrying is the apparently growing perception that the money is used to support loyal Frelimo-party members and others somehow affiliated to state authorities. (We have no evidence that it actually happens, but the perception in itself is a problem). Moreover, in the first two years, many people were involved in developing project ideas at the local level, and handed them to the CCPAs, but never received any feedback. This has led to frustration, and may be part of the basis for accusations of favouritism. It seems better to limit the number of applications at the local level and thereby compel communities to prioritise themselves – ideally giving priority to projects with the maximum benefits for the community and employment potential.

²⁶ The 'Seven Million MT' has now effectively increased to ten Million MT (or 375 000 USD), but most people still refer to it with reference to the original sum.

And finally, one important complaint has been the limited access by members of the CCD to the District Technical Team (ETD). This makes it difficult for the members to assess the proposals in terms of their economic and technical feasibility, which again leaves much of the initiative up to the District Administration and the technicians themselves. Despite all this, the 'Seven Million MT' have been important, in that it has vitalised politics, participation and parts of the economy in Buzi.

3.3 The District Economy

The economy of the District of Buzi is in a way more dominated by what it *could* have been than what it *is*. The history of the Buzi Company has a tremendous impact on the perception of Buzi as an agro-industrial region with a large potential – both by the District Administration and the people in general who still look to the Company (*a Companhia*) for solutions to their economic problems.

From once having been the life-line of the District, through its employment opportunities and importance to the local economy, the Company currently only runs one small factory producing alcohol from 500 hectares of its own sugarcane production (8-10 000 litres per day) and employs only 95 people. However, the Company, which was sold to new Portuguese owners in 2004, still owns a reported 50 000 hectares of fertile land; 11 870m² of factory space; 2 258m² of office space; 10 610m² of warehouse space; 82 110m² of housing space; 6 353m² of repair-shop space; and 17 610 km of irrigation canal (MAE 2005).

According to the district administration, there are concrete plans to re-open a sugar factory and a number of delegations have reportedly arrived to look at the prospects for agricultural production (GdDdB 2008) – but to our untrained eyes the factories seem to be 'beyond salvation'. There may of course be renewed interest and profitability resulting, for example, from the current 'global food crisis', but it seems important that the future of the Company be clarified.

Current plans for the production of gas within the Sofala Administrative Post ('Bloco do Buzi') are in the process of getting a similar role and status as the Buzi Company. As mentioned above, the first drilling is thought to have taken place in the 1950s, and national newspapers report on renewed activity as late as October 2008 (*Diário de Moçambique* 01 de Novembro de 2008). Still, neither the District Administration nor the local and directly affected population seem to know what is going on and what the implications and prospects are for the district and themselves.

The real economic backbone of the district is small-scale agriculture, fisheries, small-scale industry and trade, with parts of this being boosted by Buzi's proximity to Beira. Agricultural production varies between different parts of the district, with the coastal areas having sandy soils and the lowest potential and the interior the highest – particularly in the potentially irrigable areas close to the river. Different zones also have different traditions for specific crops, with monocropped rice, maize and sweet potato being the most common staple food.

Of a potential agricultural area of 322 200 hectares, only approximately 21 000 is actually used (Pers. Comm. Head of the District Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Development). The district has 27 000 agricultural units, with an average size of 1.3 hectares. 45 percent of the units are smaller than one hectare. The low production volume is the combined outcome of poor soils (only a small number of families are in a position to exploit the fertile land along the Buzi River); low and erratic rainfall; the continued dominance of traditional means of production (and concomitant lack of animal- or mechanised traction); and people's reluctance to invest in surplus production due to the constant danger of natural disasters. The most important products in the 2006/07 agricultural season were (Table 12):

Table 12. *Agricultural Production 2006/07 Season in the District of Buzi*

Product	Hectares under production	Production ('000 kg)	Average price per kilo (MTn)
Maize	15 442	12 608	4.60
Rice	16 364	16 364	10.0
Sorghum	7 820	5 474	-
Cassava	2 065	12 390	6.0
Sweet Potato	3 927	8 356	6.0
Vegetables	748	3 965	20.0
Sesame	763	1 526	14.0
Nhemba Beans	3 329	802	4.0
Peanut	1 312	709	8.0

Source: Governo do Distrito do Buzi (2008)

There are approximately 8 000 head of cattle in the district (down from 30 000 at the end of the 1980s), of which 55 percent are owned by a total of 18 private sector enterprises and 45 percent by the family sector. According to the head of the District Directorate of Agriculture and Rural Development, the main obstacles to increased production are lack of necessary capital among the local population, the frequency of floods, the presence of tsetse, and the lack of facilities (dip-tanks, paddocks, etc.) necessary to attract external private investors. Chicken, ducks, goats and pigs are practically all owned and consumed by the family sector and individual households.

Fisheries are an underestimated source of employment, income and consumption both in Buzi and in other parts of Mozambique. Data from INE show that fish is the most important source of animal protein for the poorest part of the population (INE 2004), and small-scale fisheries function as an important buffer for people in times of real need, both inland and along the coast. Data from the Ministry of Fisheries state that the total number of fishermen in the District of Buzi is 800, but this excludes inland fishery in rivers and lakes and the large number of men, women and children who fish during only short periods of the year when small species that can be caught from the beach are accessible. The fisheries in Buzi are organised around a total of 38 fishing centres (*centros de pesca*), 370 fishing boats and 4 230 registered fishermen (they are all men). A large number of men and women are also involved in the marketing of fish, both within the Buzi district and in Beira.

Except for the Buzi Company, there are no large-scale industrial or commercial outlets in the district. One individual (of African-German descent) has larger scale operations in forestry and cattle production, but these are both located in other districts. However, the outlets in the district itself do not really reflect the level of commercial activity. As we shall see, Beira is the most important external point of reference for people in the district, and it is particularly important for the coastal population who have easier and cheaper (but also more dangerous) access to Beira by boat. The most frequent and organised [relation] [Note to Author: meaning unclear] is by the *patrões*, who sell their fish through an intricate marketing system on the Praia Nova, but we shall see that others also exploit the economic options in Beira by having members of their families there on a semi-permanent basis or by marketing their goods in the city. In Buzi itself, the following industrial and commercial outlets were registered in 2007 (Table 13):

Table 13. *Industrial and Commercial Outlets*

Activity	Number
Alcohol Industry	1
Carpentry	50
Sawmills	4
Tin works	7
Mills	101
Tourist establishments	2
Similar	5
Shops	20
Small eating places	51
Stalls	189
Street Vendors	129
Tents	46

Source: Governo do Distrito do Buzi (2008)

3.4 Education and Health

Education and health are among the most important areas of intervention for the government and donors under the current development paradigm. In Buzi, data from 2003 show that approximately 75 percent of the population were illiterate, and only approximately 25 percent of its inhabitants of more than six years of age went, or had gone, to school. The total number of schools was 68, the total number of male students 28 077 and the total number of female students was 11 115 or 39 percent of male students (MAE 2005). Updated information from the District (Table 14) implies a sharp increase in the number of schools, which verifies the strong emphasis placed on the educational sector and building of schools. Nevertheless, there are still many children who do not go to school at all, “because the school is too distant and the parents want to keep the children at home to work” (pers.com. District Director of Education). In patrilineal areas like Buzi there is a tendency to send boys rather than girls to school, as the latter are likely move away when they marry. Data from the district still reveal a considerably higher number of male than female students, but the gap is closing.

Table 14. *Educational Facilities and Number of Students*

School Level	Number of School	Number of male students	Number of female students	Female to male students (%)
EP1	67	29 247	13 225	45.2
EP2	14	4 967	2 008	40.4
ESG1	2	2 875	969	33.7
ESG2	1	581	112	19.2
Total	80	37 670	16 313	43.3

Source: Governo do Distrito do Buzi (2008)

Two types of education are excluded from these data. One is a fairly extensive system of adult alphabetisation, reaching a total of 8 133 people in 2007 (DdB 2008). There are courses for basic alphabetisation (with a considerably higher number of women than men taking part),²⁷ as well as for educators. The other is the education offered by the two missions in the district (Estaquinha and

²⁷ While men claim that they are too busy to take part in courses like these, the Director of Education argues that men are more ashamed of their inability to read and write than women.

Barada). Local students may go to these schools at a subsidised rate, and this is also offered at secondary school level. In Barada, representatives from the mission told us that quite a few locals have graduated from the school but have had to leave the district as there are no options for further studies or sources of employment.

Data from 2003 show that there is one health facility per 14 000 inhabitants; one bed per 1 600 inhabitants and one professional technician for every 3 140 residents in the district (MAE 2005). In Mozambique, in general, the health sector has given more emphasis to quality than to quantity (Hanlon 2008), which seems to be verified in the updated information from the District administration. There is currently one Rural Hospital (in Vila de Buzi), 12 Health Centres (Type II) and 20 Health Posts in the district. The district population is susceptible to a number of serious endemic diseases (Table 15). The sharp drop in the incidence of recorded new HIV-AIDS cases is difficult to explain, even though the District Administrator stated in an interview that HIV-AIDS in the district has dropped “from 26 to 23 percent”. We shall return to this later, but one possible explanation could be that HIV-AIDS has become so common that people do not go to health clinics but behave as if it is a ‘normal’ disease.

Table 15. *Recorded Cases of Serious Diseases 2006 and 2007*

Disease	Cases 2006	Cases 2007	Percent Change
DTS *	6 537	6 857	0.9
AIDS	847	233	- 72.5
Malaria	43 306	49 592	7.1
Diarrhoea	6 497	7 155	10.1
Leprosy	19	8	-57.9
Tuberculoses	237	212	-10.5

Source: Governo do Distrito do Buzi (2008) * Sexually Transmitted Diseases (other than AIDS)

3.5 Summing Up

The District Administration is well aware of the challenges and has formulated the following vision in its ‘Strategic Plan for the Development of the District of Buzi 2005-2010’ (Governo de Distrito de Buzi 2006):

“Até 2010, a renda familiar e as condições de vida da população do Distrito melhoram, como reflexo da melhoria de acessibilidade das vias de comunicação, aumento de postos de emprego assalariado, utilização de tecnologias de produção agro-pecuária, expansão e melhoria do acesso aos serviços de abastecimento de água potável, educação e saúde pública, infra-estruturas de comunicação abrangentes e reduzido risco de calamidades” (“Improved household income and living conditions of the population of the District by 2010, as a reflection of improved access to means of communication, increased wage and salary employment, use of farming and livestock production technologies, expanded and improved access to clean water supply services, education and public health, comprehensive communication infrastructures and reduced risk of disasters”).

It is our general impression that the District Administration works systematically to accomplish this, and has realised the importance of cooperating with the traditional authorities to ease the political tension around the Frelimo administration in a largely Renamo area. At the same time, the resources the district has at its disposal are very limited, both in human and material terms, despite pronounced government policies to allocate more resources to the districts and put them in a

position to develop the productive social sector and combat poverty (see Table 16 and 17).²⁸ An important backdrop to the administration as well as community leaders is the possible role of *Companhia de Buzi* both for employment creation and income generation for the district, and it seems vital to clarify the reality of this as soon as possible.

Table 16. *Income District of Buzi 2007 (MT)*

Institution	Income
Secretaria Distrital	639 649,32
S.D.A Económicas	3 453,00
S.D.E.J. Tecnologia	156 215,00
S.D.S.M.A.S.	31 217,50
Registos e Notariado	33 85,00
Total	864 429,32

Source: Governo do Distrito do Buzi (2008)

Table 17. *Current Expenditures for the District of Buzi 2007 (MT)*

Institution	Salary	Goods and Services
Administração Distrital	2 545 695	1 574 039,52
Serv. Actividades Económicas	567 486,39	223 975,18
Serv. Educação, Juventude e Tecnologia	15 694 931,56	1 523 812,50
Serv. Saúde M.E. Acção Social	1 202 844,50	1 299 893,08
Total	20 010 956,00	4 625 720,28

Source: Governo do Distrito do Buzi (2008)

²⁸ Funding for education and health, which are the biggest expenses, are formally part of the district budget but all relevant decisions are still made at provincial and central levels.

4. Socio-economic Determinants of Poverty

This chapter will focus on the household as a socio-economic unit, which is important for our understanding of the distribution and characteristics of material poverty and well-being in Buzi. The National Household and Expenditure Survey (INE 2004, see also DNPO 2005), upon which the definition of the poverty line in Mozambique is based, identified the key determinants of poverty in Mozambique as the: i) high levels of dependency within the family household; ii) low level of education within the household; iii) low diversification of income-generating activities and income within the family household; iv) low returns from agriculture; and v) the sex of the head of household. The data presented below is based on a survey carried out for this study (see Annex 2), adjusted to better reflect the geographical context and rural-urban realities on the ground in that particular district.

4.1 Household Composition and Dependencies

Consistent with the two previous studies in this series, we consider the household to be "one or more persons - not necessarily related by kin and who do not necessarily live under the same roof - who share and use the same resources". This is not the same definition used by INE for the Census and National Household Survey, which defines household as "people living under the same roof *and* eating from the same pot" (INE 2004 and forthcoming 2010). As we see it, the definition chosen for this study allows for the understanding of people's own perception of the household unit as having 'internal' as well as 'external' members, with the latter 'eating from the same pot' but not 'living under the same roof'.

Household Composition

The sample for this survey included 120 households, equally distributed among four different survey areas. Of these, 77 percent of households were headed by men and 23 by women. According to the National Household Survey (INE 2004), the percentage of female-headed households in Sofala was 11 percent in 2002/3. The difference in the percentage cannot be explained by the difference between the *de jure* definition used by INE and our *de facto* definition, as the bulk of the female-headed households is made up of widows and divorcees and the percentage of single and married women who head households is negligible (see Table 18). The most plausible explanation is that mortality among males has increased over the past five years. Sofala has reached 25 percent HIV/AIDS prevalence, which is considered the plateau from which prevalence decreases and mortality increases (MISAU 2008). The mortality trend for women is less visible in statistics of household headship, because men as widowers tend to remarry. The high mortality following from HIV/AIDS is also indicated by the high proportion of households in our survey (31 percent) with members who have become part of the household as a result of the death of those previously responsible for their upkeep.

Still according to our survey, the majority of male-headed households in the sample are either married (63 percent) or in a consensual union (32 percent). Female-headed households, on the other hand, are headed mostly by widows (79 percent). The relatively small number of single and separated women heading households seems to suggest that such women do not exist or have been absorbed back into their families. However, it should also be noted, as a possible source of error, that women have particular ways of defining their civil status. As the only socially acceptable status for a woman living alone is widowhood, they try to avoid being considered 'single', which, particularly for younger women, is often associated with frivolity or prostitution. They may also

claim that they have husbands who head their households, even when the men do not live with them any more or are dead.

Table 18. Civil Status by Sex of Head of Household

Civil Status	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Single	1	1.1	1	3.6	2	1.7
Married	58	63.0	1	3.6%	59	49.2
Consensual union	29	31.5	0	.0	29	24.2
Separated/divorced	1	1.1	4	14.3	5	4.2
Widowed	3	3.3	22	78.6	25	20.8
Total	92	100.0	28	100.0	120	100.0

Strong patriarchal power – by which men as fathers, husbands or brothers are responsible for the welfare of family members and exert authority, particularly over women and junior family members – can also be deduced from the percentage of polygamous relationships. Some 25 percent of the married couples said they were part of a polygamous arrangement. Even under these circumstances, women did not state that they were heads of households, despite the fact that 75 percent of the polygamous wives live in separate dwelling units.

A very small proportion of the heads of household are younger than 35 years of age (Table 19), which indicates that it takes time before younger people take on the responsibility of household headship. One reason may be that young people prefer to live a more ‘carefree life’ without responsibility, but another may be that younger people simply do not have the resources needed, for example, for bride-price or *lobolo*. Female-headed households are on average older than their male counterparts. This is in line with the fact that they are usually headed by widows. It is notable that as many as 50 percent of the female heads do not know their own age, which is an indication of the lower level of education female household heads have. Only 3 percent of the male heads were effectively unable to tell their age.

Table 19. Age of Household Head by Sex of Household Head

Household Members	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
25 or less	1	1.1	1	3.6	2	1.7
26 - 35	13	14.1	1	3.6	14	11.7
36 - 45	19	20.7	3	10.7	22	18.3
46 - 55	18	19.6	4	14.3	22	18.3
More than 55	22	23.9	5	17.9	27	22.5
Doesn't know	19	20.7	14	50.0	33	27.5
Total	92	100.0	28	100.0	120	100.0

The average number of members per household is seven (Table 20), which is considerably more than the average stated for Sofala province in the National Household Survey of 5.6, and a reflection of our *de facto* definition (INE 2004). Male-headed households have, on average, more members than female-headed households. In addition to the spouse, male-headed households tend to take in relatives who have lost their spouse and breadwinner – or orphans. The difference in the number of household members has two important implications: One is that women have fewer

members to rely on for production and income, as will be discussed below in relation to the dependency ratio and main occupation, and the second is that a smaller proportion of productive dependants means that they still may have a considerable burden of non-productive household members representing a heavy toll on their meagre resources.

Table 20. *Number of Household Members by Sex of Household Head*

Household Members	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
1-2	4	4.3	5	17.9	9	7.5
3-4	12	13.0	10	35.7	22	18.3
5-6	22	23.9	7	25.0	29	24.2
7+	54	58.7	6	21.4	60	50.0
Total	92	100.0	28	100.0	9	7.5

Table 21 shows the proportion of different categories of household members in male-headed and female-headed households, respectively. The surveyed male-headed households in Buzi have a smaller dependency ratio – or members younger than 16 and older than 65 years of age – than female-headed households. The latter typically have a higher percentage of grandchildren, siblings and parents under their care than male-headed households. Young dependants are potential breadwinners that may contribute to the household income one day, but older dependants are usually no longer able to contribute to the common household pot. In addition, female-headed households are, without exception, single-headed households (implying that no married or cohabiting household unit consider the woman as the household head). The two factors combined imply that production capacity in female-headed households is weaker than in male-headed households.

Table 21. *Household Member Categories by Sex of Household Head*

Household Members	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Spouse	87	94.	0	0.0	87	72.5
Children	82	89.1	20	71.4	102	85.0
Grandchildren	30	32.6	11	39.3	41	34.2
Nephews	18	19.6	2	7.1	20	16.7
Siblings	6	6.5	2	7.1	8	6.7
Parents	5	5.4	3	10.7	8	6.7
Other relatives	13	14.	4	14.3	17	14.2
Non-relatives	6	6.5	1	3.6	7	5.8

Characteristics of the Household Head

Despite the fact that most household units in Buzi find themselves in what we have called the ‘rural-urban interface’, the main occupation of household heads in the district remains farming (Table 22). A total of 57 percent of male, and 89 percent of female heads of household are involved in this activity, meaning that female-headed households are more dependent on agriculture than their male-headed counterparts. Male heads of household are more engaged in private or public sector formal employment, which usually guarantees a steadier and better income. Employment opportunities in the district have been greatly reduced since the Companhia do Buzi stopped operating in the mid-1990s, and as many as 64 percent of the male heads in our survey had previously been employed by

the Company. Nevertheless, private enterprises are still the major source of formal employment in the district.

Table 22. Main Occupation by Sex of Household Head

Occupation	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Farmer	52	56.5	25	89.3	77	64.2
Privately Empl.	16	17.4	0	.0	16	13.3
Self-Employed	9	9.8	0	.0	9	7.5
Fisherman	5	5.4	1	3.6	6	5.0
Public Officer	5	5.4	0	.0	5	4.2
Unemployed	2	2.2	1	3.6	3	2.5
Other	2	2.2	1	3.6	3	2.5
Retired	1	1.1	0	.0	1	.8
Total	92	100.	28	100.0	120	100.0

Nearly 60 percent of female heads have no education, against only 14 percent of male heads (Table 23). Female heads with education have seldom completed more than elementary primary education (5th grade), which usually means that they are functionally illiterate. The majority of male heads, however, have completed the primary level or above. The major reason for this discrepancy is that women marry early, and parents have resisted their education because it seems like a worthless investment as they will marry and move away. Some parents also argue that girls who go to school become prostitutes. Moreover, pre-marital sex and teenage pregnancies in school are also quite frequent. When pregnant, girls are expected to marry the father of the child or stay home and take care of the child in cases where the father does not assume responsibility – which is quite frequent. As the global data on school attendance from the district as a whole presented in Chapter 3 show, however, the gap is closing, albeit slowly.

Table 23. Household Head Education Level by Sex of Household Head

Education Level	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	13	14.1	16	57.1	29	24.2
Adult education	7	7.6	3	10.7	10	8.3
EP1 (5th grade)	49	53.3	6	21.4	55	45.8
EP2 (7th grade)	12	13.0	2	7.1	14	11.7
Sec. (10th grade)	8	8.7	1	3.6	9	7.5
Pre-university	3	3.3	0	.0	3	2.5
Total	92	100.0	28	100.0	120	100.0

Mobility and Migration

Urbanisation, the formal employment sector and local practices privilege male migration. Nearly 30 percent of the households have members who reside outside the household. In the male-headed households, 30 percent of these are the heads themselves, absent as migrant labourers in Mozambique or abroad. Children are also often absent, mainly due to studies in urban centres or in one of the two mission schools in the district. In female-headed households, absent household members are most often daughters and their children – verifying our earlier argument of the inclusion of single mothers as parts of their natal household. Female household heads thus seem to

be investing in their children's education, while male heads are receiving dividends from them. Also, with the characteristics of the prevailing gendered labour market, daughters with children tend to add more to costs than they contribute to the household's income (see above).

Despite the considerable mobility, the district of Buzi is quite homogeneous in ethno-linguistic terms. 93 percent of the households have Xindau as their first language. The remaining households speak Portuguese or Sena, which is the main language spoken in the city of Beira. According to our survey the majority of male heads (52 percent) currently live in the same village in which they were born, while 54 percent of the female heads were born in a different village. With reference to the historical and cultural preference for virilocal residence (i.e., that a couple settle in the village of the husband) the proportion of households living in the village of the male household head is relatively small, and probably a reflection of generally high rates of migration in the area (Table 24).

Table 24. Place of Birth of Household of Household Head

Place of Birth	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
In the same village	48	52.2	13	46.4	61	50.8
In another village	35	38.0	14	50.0	49	40.8
In another district	8	8.7	1	3.6	9	7.5
In another province	1	1.1	0	.0	1	.8
Total	92	100.0	28	100.0	120	100.0

Approximately 25 percent of the household heads moved to where they currently reside as a result of the war, with the proportion being higher among female- than male-headed households (Table 25). Migrant work is the second most important reason for migration, with the proportion being higher among male- than female-headed households. Marriage is, overall, only the third most important reason, but the main reason for the female household heads. Patrifocal marriage practices dictate that the couple settles at the husband's area of residence, and women are purposefully chosen from outside the community. Female members of the household of the would-be groom go on scouting expeditions, in search of proper daughters-in-law. Healthy young women, with proven abilities in tending to the fields and managing the household are preferred. The engagement procedures that ensue after the woman is chosen allow for the couple to live together before all *lobolo* (bridewealth) is paid off, also in order to ensure that the woman is fertile.

Table 25. Main Reason for Mobility of Household Head

	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
War	9	20.5	6	40.0	15	25.4
Work	12	27.3	1	6.7	13	22.0
Marriage	1	2.3	8	53.3	9	15.3
Better land	6	13.6	0	.0	6	10.2
Floods	4	9.1	0	.0	4	6.8
Family matters	3	6.8	0	.0	3	5.1
Parent's divorce	2	4.5	0	.0	2	3.4
Other	6	13.6	0	.0	6	10.2
Doesn't know	1	2.3	0	.0	1	1.7
Total	44	100.0	15	100.0	59	100.0

Intra-Household Power Relations

The power relations related to decision-making within the household also reflect the patriarchal structure in Buzi, mentioned earlier. Decision-making related to income and expenditure is mostly taken by the head of the household (Table 26). Women heads make decisions for themselves as there is usually no adult male in their household, and their own male relatives tend to be living far away with the prevailing residence pattern. Only in 26 percent of the cases is the decision made by the couple together, and in less than 10 percent by the spouse of the head. The latter happens more frequently in households where the head is absent.

Table 26. Decision-Making on Income Expenditure by Sex of Household Head

Decision Maker	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Head of household	57	62.0	24	85.7	81	67.5
Couple	24	26.1	0	.0	24	20.0
Head's spouse	9	9.8	0	.0	9	7.5
Adult male	1	1.1	2	7.1	3	2.5
Adult female	1	1.1	2	7.1	3	2.5
Total	92	100.0	28	100.0	120	100.0

Beliefs and Affiliations

Religion is very important for most of the households, not only for spiritual reasons but also because social networks and support are often found within churches (see Table 27). Still, 8 percent of households (mainly male-headed) stated that they do not frequent any church. The highest percentage of households is Catholic, partly related to the presence of two large and influential Catholic missions in the district. The second largest church is the Zionist Church, which is among the most popular African Revivalist Churches presently existent in Mozambique. The Islamic religion and God's Assembly Church are also strong in the area, particularly along the coast and among female-headed households.

Table 27. Religious Affiliations by Sex of Household Head

Religion	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	%	#	%	#
Catholic	24	26.1	10	35.7	34	28.3
Zion	10	10.9	3	10.7	13	10.8
Islamic	6	6.5	4	14.3	10	8.3
God's Assembly	5	5.4	3	10.7	8	6.7
Sendelua	7	7.6	0	.0	7	5.8
Reformed	4	4.3	0	.0	4	3.3
Gospel	2	2.2	0	.0	2	1.7
None	9	9.8	1	3.6	10	8.3
Other Christian	24	26.1	7	25.0	31	25.8
Other	1	1.1	0	.0	1	.8
Total	92	100.0	28	100.0	120	100.0

Relatively few households have members who belong to associations in the Buzi District. Women participate more often in associations than men, but at the same time members of female-headed

households are less likely to be members of an association than members of male-headed households. The most common associations are related to agriculture or the church. The stronger relationships women have with churches and associations may serve to compensate for some of the support women miss out on from their own relatives who, again, tend to live far away. In an area foreign to her, a woman's best chance to cope is to ensure alliances with her husband's relatives *as well as* create alliances of her own. Associations may, in this context, be useful both for some degree of economic independence as well as for own social relationships.

4.2 Income and Expenditure

This section will present the different sources of household income and overall expense capabilities. Sources of income in Buzi are varied; they range from agricultural products, animal sales, formal employment, informal trade and fish sales. Expenditure was calculated for food, cleaning products, lighting, water, cloths, education, health and transport.

Revenues

Nearly all households (97 percent) have agricultural plots. However, more male-headed households possess production tools (ploughs, machetes, axes) than female-headed households. Despite the fact that most families own agricultural plots, very few households (16 percent) sell their products. The majority of the households (84 percent) that sell products are male-headed, and female-headed households also earn less than their male counterparts when they sell. The households that managed to sell some of their products during the agricultural season prior to the survey rarely made more than 500.00 MT (Table 29). The high dependency rate is probably the main reason for the inability of households to produce enough to sell, but the households also complain that production is low due to poor soil, drought, floods and cyclones.

Table 29. Annual Income from Agricultural Production by Sex of Household Head (MT)

Income (MT)	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
< 250	2	15.4	1	16.7	3	15.8
251 - 500	3	23.1	3	50.0	6	31.6
501 - 750	1	7.7	0	.0	1	5.3
751 - 1.000	2	15.4	1	16.7	3	15.8
1.001 - 1.500	1	7.7	1	16.7	2	10.5
1.501 - 2.500	3	23.1	0	.0	3	15.8
> 5.000	1	7.7	0	.0	1	5.3
Total	13	100.0	6	100.0	19	100.0

Households also rely on animal sales to increase their income revenue. While 78 percent of households breed animals, 44 percent of these sold at least one animal in the year prior to the survey (Table 30). For many families, however, animals are primarily for their own consumption and to serve as a buffer in times of food shortage or other hardships. In fact, the most common reason mentioned for having to sell animals was an increase in food expenses. Female-headed households usually earn less from their animal sales than male-headed households do, which partly reflects differences in the types of animals owned.

Table 30. Annual Income from Sale of Animals by Sex of Household Head (MT)

Income (MT)	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
< 250	12	34.3	4	66.7	16	39.0
251 - 500	8	22.9	0	.0	8	19.5
501 - 750	7	20.0	0	.0	7	17.1
751 - 1.000	2	5.7	0	.0	2	4.9
1.001 - 1.500	2	5.7	1	16.7	3	7.3
1.501 - 2.500	1	2.9	1	16.7	2	4.9
2.501 - 5.000	2	5.7	0	.0	2	4.9
> 5.000	1	2.9	0	.0	1	2.4
Total	35	100.0	6	100.0	41	100.0

Only 17 percent of the households are recorded to have fishery as an activity, but as we shall see in Chapter 5, this is probably an underestimate as women, particularly, who fish from the beach do not consider themselves to be part of the sector. 60 percent of those who engage in fishing activities earn considerable revenue from it (Table 31). As recorded in our survey, the activity is exclusively practiced within male-headed households. Daily revenue varies considerably, but may be as high as 500.00 MT per day of fishing.²⁹ In addition to the income *per se*, involvement in the sector gives access to high-value proteins in the form of fish for consumption. This means that male-headed households involved in the sector hold not only a financial advantage over female-headed households, but also an advantage in terms of nutrition and health.

Table 31. Daily Income from Fisheries by Sex of Household Head (MT)

Income (MT)	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
< 25	1	8.3	0	.0	1	8.3
26 - 50	2	16.7	0	.0	2	16.7
76- 100	3	25.0	0	.0	3	25.0
101 - 150	1	8.3	0	.0	1	8.3
151 - 250	3	25.0	0	.0	3	25.0
251 - 500	2	16.7	0	.0	2	16.7
Total	12	100.0	0	.0	12	100.0

Monetary income is primarily acquired through non-agricultural activities (Table 32). 73 percent of households engage in such activities. Again, male-headed households earn more from alternative income sources than female-headed households. The household composition may be a factor. Having more and younger members, as well as migrating members contributing to the household income, increases the total amount the household can accumulate. 22 percent of the households are engaged in '*ganho-ganho*', which is an activity where people work in other people's *machambas* and tend to be poorly paid. Female-headed households, with lower qualifications and more limited access to other forms of employment, engage more frequently in this activity than male-headed households – for whom working in the fields of others bears more of a negative stigma.

²⁹ Fishing is seasonal, and within seasons, the rate of activity will depend on the weather and conditions at sea. The recorded income per day of actual fishing, and monthly or annual income, is difficult to stipulate. As we shall see in Chapter 5, income also depends on the position a person has in the boat.

The second most common alternative income-earning activity, involving 12 percent of the households, is brewing and sale of beverages. This is exclusively a female activity, and primarily carried out by female-headed households from their homes. Street vending is a source of income for less than 10 percent of the households, being most frequent in male-headed households. So are revenues from a stall (*baraca*), which is a source of income for 6 percent of the households. Of all activities, stall sales and street vending seem to be the activities that provide the best income – both, again, primarily carried out by men and male-headed households.

Table 32. Monthly Income from Non-Agricultural Activities by Sex of Household Head (MT)

Income (MT)	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
< 250	14	20.6	6	33.3	20	23.3
251 - 500	17	25.0	5	27.8	22	25.6
501 - 750	9	13.2	2	11.1	11	12.8
751 - 1.000	8	11.8	2	11.1	10	11.6
1.001 - 1.500	9	13.2	0	.0	9	10.5
1.501 - 2.500	7	10.3	2	11.1	9	10.5
2.501 - 5.000	3	4.4	1	5.6	4	4.7
> 5.000	1	1.5	0	.0	1	1.2
Total	68	100.0	18	100.0	86	100.0

30 percent of the households have members with access to income originating from formal and other regular revenue (Table 33). Very few female-headed households have members with formal employment and the few that do, do not (with one exception) earn more than 750.00 MT per month. More than half of the male-headed households with members with formal income earn over 1 500.00 MT. The reason for this difference is likely to be a combination of a male-focussed formal labour market, lower levels of education in female-headed households, and the composition and age-structure in the two types of household unit (see above).

Table 33. Monthly Income from Formal Employment (MT)

Income (MT)	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
251 - 500	6	18.8	0	.0	6	16.7
501 - 750	1	3.1	3	75.0	4	11.1
1.001 - 1.500	6	18.	0	.0	6	16.7
1.501 - 2.500	10	31.2	0	.0	10	27.8
2.501 - 5.000	6	18.8	0	.0	6	16.7
> 5.000	2	6.2	1	25.0	3	8.3
Don't know	1	3.1	0	.0	1	2.8
Total	32	100.0	4	100.0	36	100.0

As many as 15 percent of the households have no revenue at all. Moreover, some households have very low total incomes of less than 250.00 MT per month, which effectively makes them dependent on support from outside the household. So these remittances may be vital as a source of income for nearly 23 percent of the households in Buzi (Table 34). Female-headed households are twice as likely as male-headed households to receive remittances. Still, the amount the female-headed households receive is lower. Most commonly, remittances come from relatives. While nearly all

beneficiaries from NGOs are male-headed households, a few female-headed households receive support of 100.00 MT from the State in the form of social support.

Table 34. *Received Monthly Remittances by Sex of Household Head (per cent)*

Receives Remittances	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	17	18.5	10	35.7	27	22.5
No	75	81.5	18	64.3	93	77.5
Total	92	100.0	28	100.0	120	100.0

Expenses

As can be seen from Table 35 below, 66 percent of the households spent less than 500.00 MT in the two weeks prior to the survey and a little over 13 percent spent more than 1 000.00 MT. Female-headed households, on average, spent less than male-headed households. Moreover, 7 percent of the households had no recorded expenses at all, and most of these were headed by women. Expenditure is a good indication of a household's well-being, as basic commodities such as food, clothing and hygiene articles, as well as social services related to education and health, cost money these days. At the same time, expenditures of more than 1 000 MT per two weeks (or 2 000 MT per month) are relatively high in the national context and point towards increasing inequalities in Buzi, to which we will return later.

Table 35. *Household Expenditure Past Two Weeks by Sex of Household Head (MT)*

Expenses (MT)	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
< 250	27	30.3	11	47.8	38	33.9
251 - 500	28	31.5	8	34.8	36	32.1
501 - 750	11	12.4	1	4.3	12	10.7
751 - 1.000	9	10.1	2	8.7	11	9.8
1.001 - 1.500	8	9.0	1	4.3	9	8.0
1.501 - 2.500	4	4.5	0	.0	4	3.6
2.501 - 5.000	2	2.2	0	.0	2	1.8
Total	89	100.0	23	100.0	112	100.0

Part of the constraints in expenditure has to do with the general increases in prices the year prior to the survey, even for basic commodities. Households complained particularly about the increase in prices for maize (65 percent of households), rice (36 percent of households), sugar (16 percent of households) and kerosene (14 percent of households). On average, prices increased 59 percent. The highest increase was on sugar (69 percent), followed by rice (62 percent), and with maize and kerosene both having seen an average increase of 57 percent.

All financial indicators thus clearly show that female-headed households are among the poorest and most vulnerable in Buzi. This is in line with the notion that poverty's face is increasingly feminised (see also Tvedten et al. 2008). The data presented below on economic and other assets only add to the notion of an economic gap between male- and female-headed households in the district.

4.3 Economic and Social Assets

This section will address property and other material assets; the quality of dwellings and rights of inheritance; education and its impact on household well-being; and, finally, with key health indicators such as child mortality and chronic disease. Together, these assets say something about the contemporary economic position of individual households, as well as their vulnerability and prospects for future upward social mobility.

Property, Dwelling and Assets

Male-headed households have usually inherited the land they possess, while female-headed households have usually had to acquire their own. As for the dwelling, both male- and female-headed households have usually built it themselves. This means that upon the death of a male household head, the sons can claim the father's property in the prevailing patrilineal system. A woman who does not have a son to protect her is likely to have to vacate the property and find an alternative of her own upon becoming a widow. The quality of the dwellings, as another key asset, is also better for male-headed households than female-headed households. More male household heads have houses of solid construction (concrete walls and zinc roofs), and they also tend to have more divisions within the dwelling.

Also, as regards smaller assets, male-headed households have more items than female-headed households with the exception of plates and cutlery (Table 36). During the *lobolo* process, the men present the women with these items as a way to convey that they will be their providers hence on. Considerably fewer female-headed households own bicycles, and no female-headed households own motorbikes or fishing equipment – all of which are potential items for income generation. However, a relatively large number of female-headed households possess radios or mobile phones (even though the proportion is smaller than for male-headed households). They may belong to the children, but this still implies that female-headed households in Buzi are more involved in communication with the 'outside world' than other data sets suggest (see Tvedten et al. 2008).

Table 36. Asset Ownership by Sex of Household Head

Assets	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Plates	88	95.7	27	96.4	115	95.8
Cutlery	80	87.0	25	89.3	105	87.5
Chairs	65	70.7	16	57.1	81	67.5
Radio	61	66.3	14	50.0	75	62.5
Bicycle	60	65.2	8	28.6	68	56.7
Bed (not straw mat)	29	31.5	6	21.4	35	29.2
Mobile phone	22	23.9	5	17.9	27	22.5
Hi-fi stereo	21	22.8	2	7.1	23	19.2
TV	11	12.0	1	3.6	12	10.0
Sofa	10	10.9	2	7.1	12	10.0
Video / DVD	9	9.8	1	3.6	10	8.3
Fishing net	9	9.8	0	.0	9	7.5
Motorbike	4	4.3	0	.0	4	3.3
Boat	2	2.2	0	.0	2	1.7

Education

On the basis of data from INE (2004; see also DNPO 2005), education is seen as one of the main determinants of poverty and well-being in Mozambique. Households with higher education levels stand a better chance of obtaining formal employment and securing a reasonable income, and they are also more likely to send their own children to school. There is a considerable difference in the level of education and literacy between male and female household heads (Table 37). However, our data indicate that female-headed households are as inclined to put their children through school as male-headed households, once they have the means – as indicated by the equal proportion of each category that have one or more household member with EP or higher level of education.

Table 37. Highest Level of Education in Household by Sex of Household Head

Level of Education	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	5	5.4	5	17.9	10	8.3
Adult education	3	3.3	1	3.6	4	3.3
EP1 (5th grade)	18	19.6	6	21.4	24	20.0
EP2 (7th grade)	30	32.6	7	25.0	37	30.8
Sec. (10th grade)	21	22.8	5	17.9	26	21.7
Pre-university	14	15.2	4	14.3	18	15.0
University	1	1.1	0	.0	1	.8
Total	92	100.0	28	100.0	120	100.0

Having said this, non-attendance is still a serious problem. 75 percent of the surveyed households have school-aged children, and as many as 50 percent of these have school-aged children who do not attend school. Boys are still favoured for education. There are 17 percent of school-aged boys out of school, with a double figure (34 percent) for the girls. The main reason given for keeping boys out of school is age. Schools are often far from dwellings, and parents do not feel comfortable letting 6-year-old children walk long distances unsupervised. The main reason for not letting girls attend school is also age, but households presented a number of other reasons that suggest lack of interest in sending girls to school. These include unwillingness to study, late enrolment, and lack of means to pay for school equipment.

Female-headed households discriminate more against girls' education than male-headed households. The main reason is that in a context of uncertainty, and incapacity to provide equal conditions to all dependants, women prefer to invest in those whose outcome may most benefit their living conditions. According to local customs, a woman without education is still eligible for marriage, and thus holds some measure of security. Moreover, while young, she can help out in the household by doing chores like tending to younger siblings, cooking, cleaning and washing. An uneducated boy, on the other hand, stands little chance of acquiring a job that will grant him enough money to pay for the *lobolo* ceremony and to get married. Marriage is important as it is seen to guarantee the household's welfare. The mother expects the son to provide for her, either as an employee or migrant worker or by finding a wife to help out in his mother's household.

This does not mean that male-headed households do not give the same types of consideration to their children's education. Boys are considered to be the buffer when the time comes that the parents are too old to provide for themselves, in both female- and male-headed households. But male-headed households usually have several sources of income and support on which they can rely, and are therefore less vulnerable. This allows for the households to be able to invest in more children at the same time – or at least discriminate less.

Health

As many as 73 percent of the households had one member fall ill in the two weeks prior to our survey. The majority of these (87 percent) said they had visited a health facility as the first option to deal with the illness, with female-headed households being more likely to do this than the male-headed households. However, it is very likely that visits to traditional healers are under-reported. Many perceive this as a 'backward' tradition they don't want to share with outsiders, even though references were made to witchcraft and sorcery. It is also possible that the under-reporting follows from a perception of 'disease' as 'conventional' illness and not those in the realm of the unknown involving traditional means of healing.

Furthermore, as many as 30 percent of households said they had members with a chronic or incurable disease. This may, but not necessarily, include HIV/AIDS. Family members with a chronic disease impact on the ability to produce and contribute to the household income, and represent a heavy toll on scarce resources. There was no difference in the incidence of chronic disease between male- and female-households, even though in some female-headed households chronic disease is associated with old age.

Child mortality is also high, with 30 percent of households having lost at least one boy before the age of five, and 24 percent having lost at least one girl. We also registered a higher occurrence of child mortality in male-headed households than in female-headed households. One reason may be related to early marriages and pregnancies – with young mothers still unfamiliar with basic issues of child-care and removed from their female kin network. In female-headed households, young mothers may be more directly in contact with close female relatives who can help them. In any case, early pregnancies seem to be on the increase in Buzi.

The reasons presented for early child mortality suggest that girls' health is as neglected as their education. Boys had more clearly diagnosed reasons for their demise than girls, and the percentage of deaths due to unknown or undefined reasons was also higher for girls than for boys (Table 38).

Table 38. *Perceived Reasons for Child Mortality by Gender and Sex of Household Head*

Reasons	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Boys						
Malaria	5	17.2	1	14.3	6	16.7
Stomach ache	4	13.8	1	14.3	5	13.9
Sudden death	3	10.3	1	14.3	4	11.1
Diarrhoea	3	10.3	1	14.3	4	11.1
Fever	2	6.9	1	14.3	3	8.3
Measles	2	6.9	1	14.3	3	8.3
Doesn't know	3	10.3	1	14.3	4	11.1
Other	7	25.3	0	.0	7	19.5
Total	29	100.0	7	100.0	36	100
Girls						
Fever	6	25.0	1	20.0	7	24.1
Stomach ache	2	8.3	2	40.0	4	13.8
Measles	3	12.5	0	.0	3	10.3
Doesn't know	3	12.5	1	20.0	4	13.8
Other	10	41.7	1	20.0	11	38.0
Total	24	100.0	5	100.0	29	100.0

4.4 Place and Space

As argued in Chapter 2 of this report, poverty and inequality is highly localised in Mozambique – and Buzi is no exception. There, also, the place in which households are located makes a difference to the economic and other opportunities that are available. Moreover, as we shall see in the next chapter, each individual locality also comprises its own processes of social inclusion and exclusion. The data below present some of the main indicators of economic and social well-being discussed above, with particular emphasis on place.

Economic Indicators

Overall, very few households (20 percent) in Buzi sell agricultural products from their *machambas* (Table 39). There are more households selling in Bândua than in any of the other surveyed areas, which is related to a combination of lack of access to formal income sources and fertile agricultural land. Bândua is also the area with the lowest level of expenditures and poorest social indicators. Nova Sofala is on the other end of the scale. Despite the fact that none of the surveyed households sells agricultural products due to the area's poor and sandy soils, overall social and economic indicators are the best among the four areas due to its proximity (by boat) to Beira as a major city and access to a number of other income sources.

Table 39. Households Selling Agricultural Products per Locality

Sells agri-products	Bândua		Vila Buzi		Estaquinha		Nova Sofala		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	12	40.0	5	19.2	6	20.0	0	.0	23	19.8
No	18	60.0	21	80.8	24	80.0	30	100.0	93	80.2
Total	30	100.0	26	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	116	100.0

Interestingly, Bândua had the largest number of households with members who engaged in fishing (Table 40). Some fish in lakes and rivers, and some fish on the coast on a seasonal basis and at times of hardship. As we shall see later, in Nova Sofala only people who are engaged in fishing on a permanent or 'professional' basis consider themselves fishermen, as indicated by the fact that all who engage in fishing in Nova Sofala also sell the fish.

Table 40. Households Selling Fish per Locality

Sells fish	Bândua		Vila Buzi		Estaquinha		Nova Sofala		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Yes	2	28.	3	100.0	1	25.0	6	100.0	12	60.0
No	5	71.4	0	.0	3	75.0	0	.0	8	40.0
Total	7	100.0	3	100.0	4	100.0	6	100.0	20	100.0

Estaquinha and Nova Sofala are the areas with the highest proportion of households owning animals (Table 41). However, only in Vila do Buzi and Nova Sofala are there households with cattle – indicating, again, that these two areas are the most developed, with the highest purchasing power. The low incidence of households with animals in Bândua, with the exception of hens and goats, which are mainly used for own consumption, reflects the low purchasing power in that area. The low incidence of animals in the Vila has to do with the fact that the area is more urbanised, and surrounded by (fallow) land owned by the Buzi Company (see Chapter 5).

Table 41. Households Owning Animals per Locality

Animals owned	Bândua		Vila Buzi		Estaquinha		Nova Sofala		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Hens	23	76.7	7	23.3	28	93.3	25	83.3	83	69.2
Ducks	5	16.7	5	16.7	7	23.3	13	43.3	30	25.0
Goats	13	43.3	3	10.0	21	70.0	14	46.7	51	42.5
Pigs	1	3.3	0	0.0	4	13.3	1	3.3	6	5.0
Cows	0	0.0	1	3.3	0	0.0	5	16.7	6	5.0
Wild Hens	1	3.3	0	0.0	4	13.3	1	3.3	6	5.0
Other	2	6.7	0	0.0	3	10.0	5	16.7	10	8.3

Vila do Buzi and Estaquinha are the areas with most households with formal employment (Table 42). Vila do Buzi is the 'capital' of the district, and all government institutions are located there. It is also where the major hospital and secondary school are located. Estaquinha has a Catholic Mission, which includes a Boarding School and a Health Centre. It also has a Buzi Company sawmill and a chalk factory, with the latter still maintaining a few workers, mainly for maintenance. The remuneration from formal employment is highest in the district's capital, which tends to attract the best-qualified employees.

Table 42. Households with Formal Income per Locality (MT)

Income (MT)	Bândua		Vila Buzi		Estaquinha		Nova Sofala		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
251 - 500	3	42.9	1	7.7	0	.0	2	50.0	6	16.7
501 - 750	1	14.3	2	15.4	1	8.3	0	.0	4	11.1
1.001 - 1.500	1	14.3	0	.0	5	41.7	0	.0	6	16.7
1.501 - 2.500	1	14.3	6	46.2	3	25.0	0	.0	10	27.8
2.501- 5.000	0	.0	3	23.1	2	16.7	1	25.0	6	16.7
> 5.000	1	14.3	1	7.7	0	.0	1	25.0	3	8.3
Doesn't know	0	.0	0	.0	1	8.3	0	.0	1	2.8
Total	7	100.	13	100.	12	100.	4	100.	36	100.

All the surveyed areas have a high percentage of households that engage in alternative income-generating activities, even though the proportion is somewhat lower in Vila Buzi (Table 43). This is likely to be the outcome of higher purchasing power and better options for focussing on a limited number of activities there. Bândua is the area where most households engage in such activities – reflecting a situation of low purchasing power and a need to spread risk by being involved in different activities. Still, the earnings there are lower than in the other areas. Nova Sofala is the area where earnings are highest, again underlining not only the fact that income opportunities are better but also that the purchasing power is higher there.

Table 43. Households Having Alternative Sources of Income per Locality (MT)

Income (MT)	Bândua		Vila Buzi		Estaquinha		Nova Sofala		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
< 250	9	33.3	4	30.8	4	17.4	3	13.0	20	23.3
251 - 500	7	25.9	2	15.4	8	34.8	5	21.7	22	25.6
501 - 750	2	7.	1	7.7	2	8.7	6	26.1	11	12.8
751 - 1.000	5	18.5	2	15.4	0	.0	3	13.0	10	11.6
1.001 - 1.500	2	7.4	1	7.7	5	21.7	1	4.3	9	10.5
1.501 - 2.500	1	3.7	3	23.1	2	8.7	3	13.0	9	10.5
2.501 - 5.000	0	.0	0	.0	2	8.7	2	8.7	4	4.7
> 5.000	1	3.	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	1	1.2
Total	27	100.	13	100.	23	100.	23	100.	86	100.

Bândua was the area with the highest number of households with no expenditure (20 percent), clearly implying poverty or destitution (Table 44). It is also the area where the expenditure is lowest for the households that did show some spending the two weeks prior to our survey. On the other end of the scale, Vila do Buzi is the area where households spend the most. However, the Vila also has households with no expenses registered - indicating inequality within the Vila as an urban centre, to which we will return later. The most immediate reason for this is the impoverishment that took place after the closure of the factories in the mid-1990s, from which many people have not been able to recover.

Table 44. Cash Expenditure per Locality (MT)

Expenditure (MT)	Bândua		Vila Buzi		Estaquinha		Nova Sofala		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
< 250	9	37.5	9	32.1	10	33.3	10	33.3	38	33.9
251- 500	9	37.5	5	17.9	12	40.0	10	33.3	36	32.1
501 - 750	3	12.5	4	14.3	1	3.3	4	13.3	12	10.7
751 - 1.000	2	8.3	4	14.3	4	13.3	1	3.3	11	9.8
1.001 - 1.500	1	4.2	3	10.7	2	6.7	3	10.0	9	8.0
1.501 - 2.500	0	.0	2	7.1	1	3.3	1	3.3	4	3.6
2.501 - 5.000	0	.0	1	3.6	0	.0	1	3.3	2	1.8
Total	24	100.	28	100.	30	100.	30	100.	112	100.

Social Indicators

The economic situation in a place affects social indicators, and social conditions in turn affect the economic situation. In line with this, Bândua, which had the poorest economic characteristics, is also the location with the poorest social indicators, including education (Table 45). Vila do Buzi and Nova Sofala are the areas with the highest levels of education. The Vila is likely to have attracted people with higher education from elsewhere, but in Nova Sofala (with few, if any, sources of formal employment) the high level of education is likely to be the combined outcome of the efforts by the local Mission and the proximity to Beira.

Table 45. *Educational Level of Household Heads per Locality*

Educational level	Bândua		Vila Buzi		Estaquinha		Nova Sofala		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	4	13.3	0	.0	1	3.3	5	16.7	10	8.3
Adult education	2	6.7	1	3.3	0	.0	1	3.3	4	3.3
EP1 (5th grade)	8	26.7	5	16.7	11	36.7	0	.0	24	20.0
EP2 (7th grade)	9	30.0	6	20.0	8	26.7	14	46.7	37	30.8
Sec. (10th grade)	4	13.3	11	36.7	4	13.3	7	23.3	26	21.7
Pre-university	3	10.0	7	23.3	6	20.0	2	6.7	18	15.0
University	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	1	3.3	1	.8
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	120	100.0

With regard to health, Estaquinha and Nova Sofala are the two areas with most sick people in the two weeks prior to the survey, while Bândua and Vila do Buzi are the areas with most households with members with chronic diseases (Table 46). Despite their relatively privileged economic situation, Estaquinha and Nova Sofala are not so privileged when it comes to access to health facilities. Though it may be mere speculation, it may also be that Bândua and the Vila are more susceptible to HIV/AIDS as ‘an illness without cure’ as areas of high population movement related to post-flood settlements and urbanism, respectively.

Table 46. *Proportion of Households with Sick Family Members per Locality*

Sick members	Bândua		Vila Buzi		Estaquinha		Nova Sofala		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
No	12	40.0	13	43.3	11	36.7	8	26.7	44	36.7
Yes	18	60.0	17	56.7	19	63.3	22	73.3	76	63.3
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	120	100.0

Child mortality as a key indicator of household and child well-being is lowest in Vila do Buzi, followed by Nova Sofala. Boys in Estaquinha and girls in Bândua have the highest child mortality rates. The explanation for the low mortality in Vila do Buzi may be the combination of economic well-being and the proximity to the hospital. In Nova Sofala, the combination of economic well-being and a diet rich in fish protein is likely to keep the child mortality rate low.

4.5 Community and Household Expectations

It is generally assumed that the more households manage to access state services, the less vulnerable they are. From all the evidence presented so far, it is clear that female-headed households are generally more vulnerable than male-headed households. In Buzi, female-headed households access the registry and notary, the police, the formal and informal court system and social services to a larger extent than male-headed households – being types of institutions indicative of their vulnerability.

Male-headed households access the formal district administration to a larger extent than female-headed households. They also have better access to agricultural services. Considering that our data also show that male-headed households have support from NGOs more often than female-headed households, it seems that the former have better access to institutions that may help improve their life situation – rather than institutions that are there to help solve immediate problems.

Table 47. Use of State Services by Sex of Household Head

State Services	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
District Admin. / Admin. Post	75	87.2	13	56.5	88	75
Registry and Notary	58	67.4	16	69.6	74	58
Police	43	50.0	12	52.2	55	43
Agriculture Services	33	38.4	8	34.8	41	33
Court	6	7.0	6	26.1	12	6
Social Services	5	5.8	4	17.0	9	5
Total	86	93.5	23	82.1	109	86

Very few female-headed households (18 percent) pay taxes, as compared with 60 percent of male-headed households (Table 48). The diversity of taxes paid by male-headed households is also greater than female-headed households. The most obvious reason for this difference is that male-headed households have more revenue and assets to be taxed, but it may also reflect reluctance on the part of the local tax collectors to demand taxes from primarily old and poor female heads of household.

Table 48. Taxes Paid by Sex of Household Head

Taxes	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Personal	42	76.4	2	40.0	44	73.3
Bicycle	35	63.6	4	80.0	39	65.0
Commercial	12	21.8	0	.0	12	20.0
Other	4	7.3	0	.0	4	6.7

Households generally avoided mentioning problems, whether inside or outside the household, with as many as 35 percent stating that they had no problems at all (Table 49). Harmony within the household and among neighbours is considered an important aspect of well-being, and necessary to avoid conflicts, accusations of witchcraft or other social sanctions. Many male-headed households considered theft and drunken disorder part of the community's problem, while female-headed households found adultery to be the main problem, more often than male-headed households. Adultery concerns women more than men because the often ensuing disruption of a marriage is more detrimental to women than to men – who can more easily marry again and do not stand to lose property, dwellings, assets and children the way the woman does.

Table 49. Main Problem Identified by Sex of Household Head

Main Problem	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
None	35	38.0	7	25.0	42	35.0
Theft	25	27.2	5	17.9	30	25.0
Drunken disorder	10	10.9	6	21.4	16	13.3
Witchcraft	8	8.7	2	7.1	10	8.3
Adultery	5	5.4	4	14.3	9	7.5
Land / animal conflicts	4	4.3	2	7.1	6	5.0
Other	4	5.4	2	7.1	6	5.0
Total	92	100.0	28	100.0	120	100.0

The institutions most commonly used for mediating conflict in the community are the local traditional authorities, followed by the police (Table 50). As already mentioned, female-headed households contact courts more often than male-headed households. It is interesting that the local leaders are used as frequently by female household heads as by male household heads, which may reflect a less patriarchal attitude among traditional leaders than is often assumed. The limited use of individual close family members to mediate conflicts probably relates to them often being involved as parties in the conflict themselves. In the case of female-headed households, they will often not even have close relatives in the community. The importance of the State in this context is a matter of definition. Local leaders and community courts can be considered State representatives, in that their authority is invested by the community, but their directives are given by the State.

Table 50. *Institutions Used to Solve Community Problems by Sex of Household Head*

Institutions	MHH		FHH		Total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Local leader	32	56.1	12	57.1	44	56.4
Police	13	22.8	6	28.6	19	24.4
Régulo	8	14.0	1	4.8	9	11.5
Community court	3	5.3	2	9.5	5	6.4
Family representative	1	1.8	0	.0	1	1.3
Total	57	100.0	21	100.0	78	100.0

Finally, the majority of the households in our survey considers that life has improved the past five years – both for the households and the communities (Table 51). The most frequently mentioned reasons for improvements within the household were related to income and harmony within the family unit. The main reasons stated for a perceived deterioration of conditions in the household were set-backs in (agricultural) production, unemployment and increasing costs.

As for the community, improvements are primarily perceived to be related to the improvement of housing and social infrastructures and services, like schools and health facilities. Increase in the overall level of education and harmony among neighbours was also mentioned. The most important factors of deterioration were increased criminality and costs of living.

Table 51. *Perceived Changes for Households and Communities over the Past Five Years*

Perceptions	Households		Communities	
	#	%	#	%
Improved	97	80.8	103	85.8
Same	17	14.2	9	7.5
Deteriorated	6	5.0	8	6.7
Total	120	100.0	120	100.0

5. Perceptions and Social Relations of Poverty

Having identified the distribution and characteristics of poverty and well-being in Buzi in the preceding chapter, we will now focus on the dynamics of poverty – or the external forces and local processes that contribute to making some people poor, some people better-off and some people vulnerable to changes in their socio-economic condition. In fact, Buzi seems particularly relevant in an analysis of how such external forces and local processes work together to define poverty and well-being. On the one hand, the district has been susceptible to natural forces such as floods and cyclones; economic forces such as closure of factories and price increases; and political forces represented by the government's moves to relate to political opposition. On the other, there are important local processes of social exclusion and inclusion reinforced by the position of the district in the urban-rural interface, between what we will call forces of 'tradition' and 'modernity'.³⁰

We accounted for our overall analytical framework of structure and agency in the introduction to this study (Bourdieu 1990; Ortner 2006), stating that political, economic and cultural forces have a determining effect upon people's lives in places like Buzi – and that people relate to these forces the best they can from where they are in the social structure through their 'agency'. The poor, we argue, have a more constrained range of alternative options and strategies due to their more limited economic, political and human capital. This way, the poor are also particularly vulnerable to contextual changes (see, e.g., Devereux 2001). They may find ways of coping in their daily lives by, for example, reducing consumption and diverting time towards subsistence production, but will find it difficult to mobilise economic resources and social relations that will help them out of sudden shocks and crises – leaving some people in fragile states of poverty and vulnerability and some in destitution.

5.1 Macro-Determinants of Vulnerability

Perhaps the most telling example of such vulnerability in Buzi is the outcome of the flood in 2000, which affected the entire population either directly or indirectly. For some of the people we have interviewed, the flood has had devastating implications, not only by wiping away their houses, *machambas* and livelihoods, but also by instilling in them a sense of vulnerability and fear and further entrenching them in poverty and destitution. The closure of the Buzi factories has had similar effects on people who, for years, received regular wages and had a strong position in their community, and who have not managed to switch to a life of hard agricultural work and low returns. Many of the people currently living in dismal conditions in the former single quarters within the factory premises on the 'other side' of the Vila have effectively given up on making more of their lives. Finally, the recent price increases on basic goods and services have forced many people into purely subsistence production and compelled them to think primarily of themselves and their immediate family. This has further marginalised the very poorest, who previously relied on help from family, neighbours and friends.

However, we have also encountered better-off people who have made the best out of the situation by using their capital and social networks. The apparently increasing occurrence of floods and cyclones³¹ has contributed to a new type of social organisation in which households and their

³⁰ As emphasised in the preceding reports, the notions of 'tradition' and 'modernity' should not be seen as dichotomies but rather as aspects of one and the same reality. Both 'tradition' and 'modernity' as culture and practice are constantly reinvented and used strategically by individuals and households.

³¹ According to the District Office of Natural Disasters, floods as well as cyclones are occurring at more regular intervals than before, with recent peaks. Their ability to foresee when water is increasing in the upper parts of the Buzi River and

individual members migrate, on an oscillatory basis, between low-lying agricultural areas along the Buzi River and the coast and safe areas in the higher-lying parts of the district such as Bândua. The increase in prices has also opened new space for some, such as fishing-boat owners (*patrões*) in Nova Sofala who have seen a sharp increase in their income the past couple of years – exploiting a near-tripling of prices for fish in Beira, taking back smaller commodities in their boats, and re-selling them to individual *ambulante* traders who take the goods on their bikes to Vila Buzi. On the upper end of the socio-economic scale, some people with the means, as well as the necessary contacts, have managed to use the external shocks to acquire capital to start new businesses through the 7 million MT scheme, while others have managed to acquire the best houses in the resettlement-camps that were built after the floods in Bândua and Guara-Guara, respectively.³²

As we shall see below, the notion of three social groups consisting of the chronically poor; people who are better-off or 'rich'; and people who are the 'transitory poor' and vulnerable to changes in their socio-economic position is reflected in people's own categorisations of poverty and well-being. The relevance of this for Mozambique's efforts to reduce its poverty and inequality is that each group requires different types of policies and interventions. The better-off will be able to exploit the political and economic developments taking place in Mozambique in the best way for themselves and possibly by creating employment opportunities for others. The poorest and most marginalised are likely to need targeted interventions to be reached, in the form of social protection measures. And the majority of people in districts like Buzi, who find themselves in vulnerable positions as 'poor', will depend on carefully designed poverty reduction policies to remove the structural constraints for upward social mobility.

5.2 Perceptions of Poverty and Inequality

Characteristics of Communities

We will introduce our discussion of the local perceptions of poverty and well-being in the communities under study by way of an issue that has come up again and again in our studies, namely the widespread notion that things were 'better in the old days' than they are now. This is of course not an unusual phenomenon. People have selective memories and remember what they want to remember. Nevertheless, there is a prevalent notion that conditions concerning natural disasters, access to employment and costs of living have deteriorated (see Table 52). This does not mean that people do not remember the hardships of the colonial era, appreciate the freedoms associated with independence and acknowledge advances in education and health but, for poor people, immediate access to basic necessities such as food, clothing and shelter will, and must, take priority.

cyclones are approaching from the Madagascar Canal have improved – but there is still no effective system of warning the population, particularly in more remote areas.

³² Guara-Guara has grown into the third largest community in the district of Buzi as a direct result of the flood in 2000, and is located only 5 km from Vila Buzi, but on higher ground. There is talk that Guara-Guara will be made into the new administrative centre for the Buzi district due to the vulnerability of the Vila to larger floods.

Table 52: Community-Characteristics Before and Now (Estaquinha)

Characteristics Before	Characteristics Now
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There were farms where people sold cotton and got money. • There was a sawmill, chalk factory and sugarcane farms. • There were stores. • Living costs were low. • There was enough money to deposit in the bank in Buzi. • There were good relationships with the traders. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is little rain, floods and cyclones [that make it difficult to produce]. • Traders determine the price of products and create speculation. • People who own bancas use magic and our money disappears mysteriously. • The living costs are high.

Drawing maps of their individual communities (see Chapter 1), people in the Vila, Bândua, Estaquinha and Nova Sofala showed what they think are the most important institutions and individuals in their communities. The degree of detail in the drawing and the nature of the accompanying explanations differ, but they reveal significant and interesting differences – once again underlining the local inequalities found in Mozambique.

In the Vila, people started out by drawing a careful map of ‘the other side’ of the river with the old factories that used to be important for employment and income but have now come to a practical standstill. In the current population centre in the Vila proper, emphasis was given to the main street with the administration, the old hotel, the market, the bank, the police station and the hospital – all parts of a notion of ‘urbanism’ and ‘modernity’. The surrounding *bairros*, where people live and many struggle to make ends meet, were not included with the same level of detail. Employment opportunities and an urban lifestyle were thus emphasised as central to people’s notions of their community. In Bândua, the map was drawn very schematically, focussing on the market and the formal housing following from the resettlement scheme after the floods of 2000 – perhaps best interpreted as an expression of the perceived inequality between the reinvigorated market and the new settlers in central Bândua on the one hand, and the traditional and poor agricultural communities surrounding the centre on the other. In Estaquinha, finally, the map seemed to portray ‘nostalgia’ for tradition and the past, highlighting lakes, rivers, *régulos* and the remains of the Buzi Company.

In Nova Sofala, a very elaborate map gave emphasis to the trade and fishing centres along the coast, emphasising the importance of fishing and the proximity to Beira for their community. They also drew in old institutions emphasising the deep historical roots of Nova Sofala – including the old ‘*fortaleza*’ from the early colonial period, which is a source of pride; the graveyard for a long line of *régulos*, which is considered sacred; and the mission, which has been important for their fate as Catholics and for education. The large number of agricultural fields bordering the population concentration along the main road through Nova Sofala were not drawn in – this can be explained, with reference to poor soils and agriculture, [by the perception that they are economically less important than fisheries and trade. Note to author: Check meaning of correction.]

Moving on to perceptions of poverty and well-being in the four communities under study, we emphasised earlier how they give very different impressions with respect to community dynamics, poverty and inequality. The Vila and Nova Sofala both yield a sense of being vigorous, with a constant traffic of people who seem to be on their way to agricultural fields or fishing grounds, formal work-places, informal economic activities, or home after a busy day. One reason for this, we

argue, is that both these communities have important 'urban' characteristics – albeit in different ways.³³

The Vila is urban *per se*, with the density of population and the need to search for employment and income in urban contexts partly explaining the apparent dynamics. In fact, Buzi Vila gives an impression of being unusually vibrant. Even the municipal market, where people have to pay fees for exhibiting their goods and that are normally nearly empty in other districts, is full of traders offering everything from cheap cell phones to dried shrimp. A nearby, large house contains good and cheap accommodation, a small office for internet and photocopying, and people who come and go comment on or contribute to the popular 'Radio Buzi' (see below). At the end of the busy main street towards the river, the traffic of people, who may have been at work or running errands in town, on their way to 'the other side' is constant and lively – with other people meeting them when they arrive on the opposite river bank to sell their goods.

However, going deeper into the *bairros* in the Vila, poverty and inequality become apparent. There are clear distinctions between higher-lying areas, where most of the original and better-off inhabitants of the *bairros* live, and lower-lying areas that are constantly susceptible to floods and where more recent and poor migrants tend to live. In the latter, we also found many more people at home during the day, dependent upon hand-outs and help from others in the community, indicating both poverty and despair, and that people have given up on finding employment or other forms of income that are so vital in urban contexts.

Nova Sofala itself is far from being 'urban', but there is a constant movement of people to and from Beira with boats leaving one of six 'ports' in the village. People leave Nova Sofala with artefacts, agricultural products, coconuts or fish. They come back with cooking oil, soap, matches, clothes, cell phone airtime cards (which are sold in Nova Sofala for an extra charge) and other commodities, sold in the community or to intermediaries on bikes who peddle the goods to communities inland. The 'affluence' is visible from the large number of trade stalls for such a small population, the number of houses made of cement-blocks and with zinc-roofs, the generators that break the silence at night, and so on.

Also in this case, however, a closer look reveals pockets of poverty and well-being. Perhaps the most remarkable 'sub-communities' are the fishermen's camps (*acampamentos*): Groups of 25-50 men live semi-permanently in camps on the beach, where access for women is strictly controlled and no women are allowed to stay overnight, as this could mean bad luck and danger.³⁴ Among these men, there is a clear division between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots': *Patrões* or boat- and net-owners make a lot of money from their valuable catches, through an intricate system of wholesalers (*generais*) and middlemen on Praia Nova in Beira. The crew or *marinheiros*, on the other hand, work hard for wages of as little as 250.00 MT per month, with hardly any time off.³⁵

Bândua and Estaquinha are more 'rural' communities, with the former having been rural until the recent influx of flood-victims and the latter having turned rural after the closure of the Companhia de Buzi and the almost total lack of new employment opportunities. The dynamics of these two communities seem different from the Vila and Nova Sofala. In Bândua, people primarily farm for subsistence, and base their income on selling basic products such as rice, sugar, batteries and soap,

³³ An additional indication of the superior 'dynamics' of these two places is that they have the "large majority" of the 68 savings-groups in the district (pers.com. the District Administrator).

³⁴ Women do fish with small cast-nets from the beach in specific seasons, but *no* woman in Nova Sofala has ever been in a fishing boat or canoe.

³⁵ Interestingly, while *marinheiros* on the coast of Sofala and southward all have fixed monthly wages, their counterparts along the northern coast all work for portions of the daily catch – which may pay more but also adds an aspect of unpredictability in times of poor fishing.

among others. In Estaquinha, the community, as well as individual households, still struggles to come to terms with the closure of the *Companhia* and the dearth of employment opportunity.

In explaining why their communities are like they are, people in Buzi also make a distinction between external 'structural conditions' and characteristics of people in the community themselves. As seen from Table 53, the current state of poverty and well-being is primarily explained with reference to natural disasters, lack of employment opportunities, and high and increasing prices of food and commodities. In the cases of Bândua, Estaquinha and Nova Sofala, lack of physical infrastructures such as roads, drinking water and electricity, as well as social infrastructures in the form of schools and health institutions, were also emphasised. In the Vila, people emphasised what they *have* rather than what they *do not* have. Prominence was given to schools, the hospital, a freezer at the morgue, water, a bank, a community radio, a slaughterhouse, *chapas* to Beira, and good conditions for cell-phones – which reflects the superior infrastructures and perceived level of 'modernity' and well-being in the district centre.

Perceptions of the most important social issues making their communities what they are were largely similar in the four settings, with a focus on 'poverty', theft, drunken disorder, witchcraft and adultery. Conflicts around land, animal trespassing, uncontrolled fires destroying crops and other issues related to unequal power-relations and other inequalities were not given equal weight. In particular, the vast land areas owned by *Companhia de Buzi* force people to establish their *machambas* far away from their dwellings, and cases of trespassing and uncontrolled fires may destroy entire harvests and they hardly ever receive compensation from the *Companhia*, according to our informants. The limited emphasis on such issues from community leaders and other inhabitants alike, says something about the respect and apprehension surrounding the Company and its future.

Table 53. *Perceptions of Main Determinants of Community Characteristics*

Structural Conditions	Social Conditions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of rain, floods and cyclones • Lack of employment • High prices of products • Poor roads [to the Vila and Beira] • Lack of electricity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theft • Drunken disorder • Witchcraft • Adultery • Land conflicts

Having emphasised how the four communities differ in terms of dynamics, poverty and well-being, we will end this section by presenting the local 'Radio Buzi', which seems to instil in people a sense of community *across* the individual administrative posts, *bairros* and villages.³⁶ The radio is by far the most common source of information for people in the district, where the illiteracy rate is high and access to newspapers is practically non-existent. Radio Buzi seems to be particularly good at producing programs that capture the attention of a broad section of the population. According to the manager of the radio, they have a coverage of 75 percent of the district – even though he admits that some of the young and educated seem to prefer the 'cooler' radio-programs from Beira....

Radio Buzi transmits programs ten hours per day, with approximately half in Ndau and half in Portuguese. The programs are a mix of public announcements, national and international news, educational programmes (incl. 'Farmers' Hour'), music, entertainment and religious services. It is

³⁶ Radio Buzi was started in 1998 with economic support from the Austrian Development Cooperation. Since 2005, they have received support from other sources incl. UNICEF and FORCOM – but not sufficient to work the way they prefer, particularly in the rural areas. The radio has four people on the payroll, with an additional 20 being volunteers.

also used for sending messages to family and friends about births, marriages, funerals and other private incidents.³⁷ The radio, we will argue, has a still underutilised potential for information dissemination, education and entertainment, which are central to development and poverty reduction and should be more actively supported.³⁸ Increasing the listenership of women should be particularly emphasised, as their listening rate currently is much lower than that of men (Tvedten et al. 2008).

Characteristics and Categories of Poor Households

In Murrupula and Maputo (Tvedten et al. 2006, Paulo et al. 2007), people defined poor households on the basis of a combination of material poverty and social characteristics of the household and its members. This was also the case in Buzi: Poor households were seen to be those with no food, no proper housing and no money, and that have no family to support them, no relations with actual or potential employers, and no-one in town who can help them out in times of need. In Buzi, additional emphasis was given to environmental or natural conditions affecting poor households with particular force. The most common characteristics given are listed in Table 54, with vulnerability to floods being highlighted in the Vila, to rain in Bândua and to cyclones in Nova Sofala, respectively.

Table 54. *Characteristics of Poor Households*

Material Characteristics	Social Characteristics	Environmental Characteristics
No food	No employment	Vulnerable to floods
No house	No family support	Vulnerable to [lack of] rain
No money	No-one in town	Vulnerable to cyclones

People in the four communities under study have remarkably similar perceptions about categories of poor and better-off households. The terms used for categories of the poor basically focused on three types (Table 55): Households that are so poor that they need help and support from the outside to cope (the 'destitute poor'); households that work hard and do their best, but do not manage to improve their lives (the 'chronically poor'); and households who are poor because of misfortune and bad luck, but who are in position to improve their situation if their fortune and luck were to change (the 'transitory poor').

The categories of better-off households also show a remarkable congruence. There are some better-off households that are part of extended families that have 'always' been well-off (the 'permanently rich'); some households who have become well-off through their own hard work (the 'worthy rich'); some households who have become well-off through luck or chance and who like to show-off their wealth (the 'newly rich').

³⁷ The main problem faced by the small but enthusiastic young staff is that financial problems limit the extent to which they can make programs in the field, which gives the programs a centralised (i.e., Vila) tilt.

³⁸ The Sofala Bank Artisanal Fishery Programme (PPABAS), which is active on the coast from northern Nampula to southern Sofala (including Nova Sofala), has long used the radio to inform fishermen about market prices etc. with considerable success.

Table 55. *Categories of Poor AND Better-Off Households*

Category	Name in Nda
THE POOR	
Destitute poor	<i>umbwa</i>
Chronically poor	<i>mulombo</i>
Transitory poor	<i>kombo</i>
THE BETTER OFF	
Permanently rich	<i>muthende</i>
Newly rich	<i>kuganha</i>
Deservedly rich	<i>mucupuki</i>

5.3 Social Relations of Poverty

Having identified peoples' perceptions and categorisations of the poor and better-off through the wealth-ranking exercise, the actual social relationships in which households and individuals are engaged were investigated through a combination of in-depth interviews, Venn diagrams and extended case studies with households from the different categories of poverty and well-being defined above (see Chapter 1).

'Tradition' and Gender

As argued in the introduction to this chapter, people in Buzi are susceptible to external political and economic forces that have a strong impact on their daily lives, but they are also influenced by historical and contemporary socio-cultural practices or 'tradition'. First of all, Buzi is traditionally strongly patrilineal. This has an impact on issues like residence patterns (with the common practice being *virilocal*, or that the wife will settle in the village of the husband and hence away from her own family); the system of succession and inheritance (which gives primary rights to the husband's family and the children at the expense of the wife and her family); and on the generally strong position of men in the households (which, in principle, vests all major decisions in him and gives him extensive rights over his wife, children and property).

An old *mulumbo*³⁹ claimed she had had a good life with her husband, who worked for the Buzi Company, and their four children, but since her husband first lost his job in 1997, and then died three years later, her situation had deteriorated dramatically.⁴⁰ Her husband's family had come to take her dwelling and nearly all her other possessions, and she lived in a make-shift shelter together with her unmarried daughter and two children when we met her. She had only a small plot next to her dwelling, and made ends meet by selling tomatoes that she had bought from a farmer in the community. Originally coming from a neighbouring district, she had no close relatives nearby to help her, and 'old women like me', as she put it, 'are not given much attention by the traditional authorities'. She had tried to get support from the Social Action Fund (*Acção Social*), but claimed that it was impossible without the support from the *wacehfu* and *saguta*. If things were really bad with the children, she could borrow money from other people selling in the market-place, but 'it is difficult because they are poor too and want their money back immediately'. She would like to move back to her own family but, according to tradition, she has to approach a *curandeiro* for him to ask the spirit of her deceased husband if she may move. The ceremony costs money that she does

³⁹ We have chosen to 'name' the households and people interviewed with the name of the socio-economic category in which they find themselves. Still, for the sake of anonymity, we have also located the households in a different setting to where they actually live.

⁴⁰ Traditionally, widows were to be taken care of and married to the younger brother of the deceased (it could not be the oldest, we were told, as he had the position of a 'father'), but this does not seem to happen much any more.

not have, and she feels compelled to stay where she is, even though it pains her to see her daughter and grandchildren suffer.

While the basic fabric of the traditional patrilineal adaptation in Buzi is still largely intact, important changes have also taken place. Some of these are related to processes of impoverishment, particularly following the closure of the Buzi Company. There has been a development towards *very* early marriages for young girls that put them in a vulnerable position, explained with reference to the need for poor households to have fewer mouths to feed and the importance of dowry or *lobolo* for income and economic security. “This [i.e., that young girls in their very early teens marry] never happened before” according to an older man we talked with. The large number of poor older women who are widows or divorcees is also an expression of material poverty. They tend to be excluded from the husband’s family when he dies (i.e., if she does not marry her husband’s younger brother as tradition permits), and the extended family, neighbours and friends simply do not have the means to support unproductive relatives or members of the community. This is also a new phenomenon in a setting where older people traditionally have been respected and taken care of, according to a *saguta*. Finally, what is considered a growing problem of domestic violence is also attributed to poverty. Violence is primarily committed by men, who lose the economic basis for their position in the household through unemployment or lower agricultural returns and ‘compensate’ by forcefully impressing their position as the head on their wife and family.

There are also changes in the traditional socio-cultural fabric of Buzi based on increased inequalities. Many people in Buzi have become better-off and are exposed to other ways of organising their lives, not least through contact with the Vila, Beira and other urban settings (there are still people in Buzi who work in Zimbabwe or South Africa). One implication of this is an increasing emphasis on formal marriage as an institution, in the form of elaborate festivities and an inflation in the size of the *lobolo*. People told us that the *lobolo* itself may be as high as 10-15 000 Meticais these days, with enhanced expectation to dress up the couple and their closest family and throw elaborate parties. This should also be seen as a way for the bride and her family to make sure that the husband and his family has access to resources to take proper care of their daughter.

Parallel to the formalisation of the ‘proper family’ in a Western and Christian tradition is a development towards an increasing number of *de jure* or *de facto* female-headed households. As emphasised elsewhere (Tvedten et al. 2008), available figures from Mozambique and Sofala indicate that the overwhelming part of female-headed households are divorcees or widows. While there is no doubt that the proportion of older, single women is high in Buzi, people in the district use the notion of divorce and widowhood quite freely to include cases where the man has simply disappeared from the domestic scene. An important ‘grey zone’ in the available statistics is the large number of single mothers who move in with their natal family in cases where the father of the child does not assume responsibility. We have seen that many young girls become pregnant in Sofala and Buzi, and many are in deep trouble due to the stigma of being an unmarried mother and the difficulty for young women to secure work and income. People told us that parents in Sofala and Buzi will never “abandon” (*abandonar*) their daughters who are in trouble this way. Young mothers who stay with their parents express that they are under a double pressure: They are expected to be ‘daughters’ who do as they are told, as well as ‘mothers’ who should contribute to their own upkeep as well as to the upkeep their children and their parents.

Partly reflecting the strong patrilineal culture, Sofala (including Buzi) has traditionally been one of the areas in Mozambique with the highest prevalence of polygamous marriages (Armado 2002, see also MISAU 2005).⁴¹ The proportion of men in Buzi has historically been low as many left for

⁴¹ We define polygamous marriages as units that are formalised traditionally or in the mosque, and not relations between a man and his ‘lovers’ which are much less committed in terms of expectations of economic support.

South Africa, Zimbabwe or Beira to work on a semi-permanent basis, lost their lives in the war or more recently to HIV-AIDS – yielding a considerable surplus of women in the district. We did not record many polygamous marriages in our survey (see Chapter 4),⁴² but our case studies indicate that a number of people are living in such marital unions. Some of the poor polygamous households claim that they maintain such units for ‘practical reasons’ (without thereby ruling out love and affection), with the wives living and working in different communities or homesteads and the household making the best out of a difficult economic situation. However, we also met better-off polygamous households, where the husband was the main breadwinner, largely supported his wives and still perceived to have several wives as a sign of wealth and prestige.

Yet another change in the socio-cultural fabric of Buzi is the increasing number of girls who are going to school, in a context where this has not been common before. Traditionally, investing in the education of girls has not been seen to make sense for many parents who knew that their daughters would move away when they married (see Chapter 3). The head of the Educational Zone (ZIP) in Nova Sofala told us how he had worked hard to convince parents that education will help their daughters find good jobs; that they will better understand the need to take good care of their children – and that girls with education are in the process of fetching higher *lobolo*. While this has given results in the form of a sharp increase in school attendance, girls are still discriminated against in the labour market and we met a number of educated young women who had not found employment and had to work in the informal economy in the same way as their far less educated sisters.

The changing gender relations in Buzi are perhaps best illustrated in the case of a *mucupuki*, who runs several marketing stalls (*baracas*), small eating places (*cantinas*) and a small lodge in the Vila. She grew up in a rural area in a poor family with her parents, five brothers and two sisters. Her parents could not afford to send her to school as they could her brothers, and when things became too difficult she moved to the Vila and found a job as a cleaner and later receptionist at one of the larger lodging places in the town. Having worked there for many years and having saved small amounts of money every month, she started investing in *baracas* and soon quit her job in order to work more directly with her businesses.⁴³ Little by little she managed to build a brick house, large enough to also include a small ‘restaurant’ and rooms for rent. She claimed her main problem is with men, who cannot be trusted, run off with money as soon as they have a chance, and are lazy. In fact, except for the son of one of her sisters, she employs only women in her commercial outlets and claims she only turns to [women] [Note to Author: Check] when she needs help or support.

‘Modernity’ and Inequality

Finding themselves in the interface between the rural and the urban, the market and money are part of peoples’ social relationships to a much larger extent than we found in Murrupula (Tvedten et al. 2006). In line with this, both the average income and the average expenditure is higher in Buzi than in Murrupula – albeit lower than in Maputo (Paulo et al. 2007). One implication of this is that changes in income and prices have a strong immediate effect on most households and social relations.

The better-off are in position to take an active part in the market for goods and services. Many households in the Vila, for example, hire domestic servants and labourers for their *machambas*, and thus free time for themselves for non-agricultural employment or commerce. Price increases may make it more expensive for them to buy essential goods and services, but this will often be

⁴² One reason for this may be that there is a growing perception that polygamy is ‘old fashioned’, or not part of ‘the modern’, and hence that people will try to ‘hide’ it.

⁴³ She also told us that she got in trouble for supporting Frelimo in what was then an overwhelmingly Renamo area.

compensated for by increases in the returns from the work they do or goods they sell. For poor people who spend their time in the *machamba* and are barely able to sell enough for the most basic goods and services, price increases on essential goods and services may have devastating effects and compel them to reduce consumption. For the *patrões* in Nova Sofala, for example, the recent increase in the price of petrol for their motorboats has been more than compensated for by the increase in fish-prices they get at the *Praia Nova* in Beira. For the majority of small-scale fishermen – and women who use the ocean as a buffer in difficult times - however, flocking to the seashore with their small cast-nets yields poor returns. They have problems following up at home and in the *machambas*, face very low prices for their fish when the local market becomes saturated, and argue that their efforts do not really pay off as the little money they earn is ‘eaten up by’ price increases in the goods they have to buy.

While better-off households in formal employment or trade can focus on maximizing returns from one or a few sectors, poor households know that their best option is to diversify their sources of employment and income to reduce risk. However, very few have the capital or credit necessary for the ‘entrance ticket’. Practically every productive enterprise (carpentry, masonry, bakery, tailoring, food production, etc.) requires access to capital to buy tools or other input factors. The entrance ticket in petty trade is usually smaller, but even the smallest investment in tomatoes, onions, or other foodstuff to sell is too much for many households to manage. Access to credit to start small enterprises to diversify from agricultural production thus becomes vital, but again the poorest are in a disadvantaged position. They usually lack both security and collateral; have a more limited set of relationships from which to borrow; and are in a fragile position should the initial investment not pay off.

A *mulumbo* from Bândua told us he had a wife and three small children, and had given up getting a job even though he had finished Grade 12. He had managed to borrow 900 MT from his father to buy a cheap Chinese bicycle, and when we met him in Nova Sofala he had spent five hours on the road with building materials he was transporting to the coast for a friend against a small compensation. He had spent a whole day convincing a local trader to buy the materials from him for what he said was the price his friend had stipulated, but had ended up getting less and thereby probably lost his provision. The next day he spent trying to buy fish from a local fish trader (*peixeira*) with contacts in the fishing camps, and ended up buying one 50 kilo bag of *quinhia* (small dried shrimp), for which he claimed he paid far too much. The day following our meeting he would cycle back to Bândua with the fish, which he hoped a fish trader at the Bândua market would buy from him at a price that would give him a small surplus. He would thus spend about five days away from his family and the *machamba*, paying for food and accommodation (‘except one night when I stayed with a girlfriend’ as he said), and estimated that he would earn a profit of perhaps 50 Meticais. For a person with no alternative, this may be a ‘good week’, but if anything should happen to the bicycle, or should he get a poor price for the merchandise in which he has invested, he would find himself with nothing but debt to his father. The *mulumbo* could see no-one else he could turn to should he have to start all over again.

The recent developments in Buzi have opened up new opportunities for those in positions to exploit them. The local ‘Millennium BIM’ bank and the ‘Seven Million MT’ have improved access to capital; the cell phone has eased communication for people in the central areas that are covered by the existing network; transport to Beira on *chapas* has improved with better roads and become more frequent; electricity (albeit still only available on a permanent basis in the Vila) means that foodstuffs and other goods can be better preserved; and we came across a number of ‘mini-enterprises’ that would have been difficult to start without such improvements in infrastructure. Just within one *quaterão* in one of the *bairros* of the Vila, there is a small motel with facilities ranging from internet to a swimming-pool (built by a former resident of the area who now lives and works in South Africa); a mechanical workshop (with a man making small ‘tractors’ with the use of diesel

engines originally meant for irrigation); several bakeries (one of which also sells bread outside the Vila); a small 'factory' for traditional brew (which the female owner extended after she got electricity and could work all night); two tailors (of which one has an electrical sewing-machine and not only repairs but also makes new clothes); a revitalised Muslim school (where the owner can now teach at night after work, thanks to access to electricity); and a carpentry shop which has increased its production of beds, chairs and tables many-fold by doing double-shifts and using electrical tools.

A *kuganha* in the Vila quickly rose to fortune through a combination of hard work and luck. He had moved to the Vila from a rural part of the district in the late 1990s, left school early (stating first that his parents did not want him to go to school, but admitting later that it was his own decision to leave), and started to work as a 'helper' on one of the many canoes that transport goods and people on the Buzi River. Once, the canoe capsized and goods costing 'a lot of money' fell overboard and were considered wasted. However, he went back, managed to collect some of it, and claims that the goods started him off as a successful *comerciante*. In building up his business, he has used a large set of contacts and relationships: he initially used his own family to work in the *bancas* he set up ('they are the only ones who can really be trusted'); then he extended his network in the rural areas by 'making sure I had good contacts with the *régulos* and *sagutas*' (he also married three women in three different places, but argued forcefully that this had nothing to do with his business). The past couple of years he has expanded his business considerably, first with a loan from the 'Seven Million MT' to buy a small truck so that he could get the merchandise in Beira himself instead of depending on unreliable transporters, and then (in 2008) with another loan from the 'Seven Million MT' to open an agricultural field to produce 'some of the things I now have to go to Beira to get'.

The cases above support what seems to be a general perception of growing inequality in the Buzi district, even though this is usually not very clearly expressed. The inequality is visible to an outsider in the form of types of housing (with a brick house with a zinc roof being one of the clearest expressions of well-being); in the mode of dressing (with good shoes being the most important indicator of well-being); in modes of transportation (with a motorbike being the ultimate goal for most, since bikers find themselves in an intermediate position, with the majority depending on walking or getting a ride); or in the ownership of mobile phones (even though many may not have any airtime most of the time). When asking people in the wealth-ranking exercise (see Chapter 1) why some people are poor and some are rich, the most common perception seems to be that the world is made that way or that it is 'God-given'.⁴⁴ Very few people openly point to political processes, 'injustices', or other man-made processes. This is not necessarily the outcome of a lack of understanding: In Buzi, as in Murrupula and Maputo, people make a clear connection between success and well-being on the one hand, and witchcraft or other supernatural powers on the other, which makes criticising the better-off and the apparently growing inequality a risky exercise.

In Buzi, the best known *muthende* is a man of European descent on his father's side and Ndau descent on his mother's side. The *muthende* himself has married a woman from Estaquinha, has six children, and stays in a house in the central parts of the Vila with a number of other relatives. Being part of a family that has stayed in the area for several generations, the *muthende* is said to own "hundreds of heads" of cattle; "many" mills for grain; 'large *fazendas*' (an old Portuguese expression for large farms or estates); and 'sawmills' to cut timber from "his forests". According to his wife, her husband has good relations with the District Administration; the Buzi Company; the *régulos* in the areas where they have farms and mills; his workers ('*trabalhadores*') "and people in Beira, where we have an apartment". Despite such incredible wealth in a local context, we never

⁴⁴ Interestingly, an old man in Nova Sofala substantiated this by referring to a hand, where 'some fingers are short and some are long' – which is the same metaphor used in other countries such as Angola and Namibia (Tvedten 1997 and 2008).

once heard a negative word about him or an indication that his wealth was perceived as 'unfair' in relation to the large majority who, in comparison with him, has 'nothing',⁴⁵

On the other end of the socio-economic scale is an older *umbwa* (he did not know his own age, but neighbours claimed he was 'at least 50'), who lives under dismal conditions in the largely abandoned single quarter attached to the Companhia de Buzi. *Umbwa* told us he was born in Estaquinha, in a large, poor family with a father who could never find employment and 'was always angry'. When 'everybody else' went to work for the factory, his father went to work in the *machamba*. *Umbwa* never went to school, and started to work in the house of a Buzi factory employee doing domestic tasks. He told us he hardly received any salary, but was fed and well treated. When his *patrão* lost his job in the early 1990s, *umbwa* had to leave and spent the next ten years doing piecemeal work (*ganho-ganho*) in *machambas* and as a helper on canoes. Since losing the strength in his arm and part of his leg in 2003, he had been totally dependent on help from others. He told us he has no contact with his own family, and neighbours in the single quarter 'treat me well but have nothing to give me". Repeated attempts to get help from *Acção Social* with the help of the *chefe the quarterão* (one of the very few women with this position, who spends large parts of her days trying to help people like *umbwa* with no economic compensation) finally paid off in February 2008. However, the food he bought for the first payment of 150.00 MT was stolen from him while he was sleeping in his room. When asked why he never married and got a family, *umbwa* stated that 'women here do not want a man who is nothing and has nothing'.

Finally, there seems to be an emerging generational gap in Buzi, epitomising the tension between the 'traditional' and the 'modern'. Many older people, including a large number of older women who find themselves with responsibility for grandchildren, nieces and nephews, bitterly complain that the youngsters do not help them out or support them with their income. In particular, many young people do not want to get involved in agriculture, which they see as hard work with few returns. The young people themselves are exposed to other ways of life than rural hardships through school, the media, visits to urban areas etc., and often have aspirations they cannot fulfil in their local community. The closest many get to 'urban' and 'modern' life is to sell artefacts (cell phone cards, pirate CDs, pirate DVDs, T-shirts, fake watches etc.) from street corners and *barracas* where the earnings are too small to take them anywhere. Even younger people with education easily end up in such situations, with a hard and competitive labour market.⁴⁶ To get employment many of the educated youngsters also leave Buzi to try their luck in larger labour markets such as Beira and Maputo. Such educated, unemployed and angry youngsters may well become the new urban underclass. For many elders in rural areas in Buzi, the fear is that the young generation will find it difficult to return to their village to make a living from agriculture when, one day, family responsibilities will force them to do so.

Key Relations and Networks

Seen together, our case studies from the different categories of very poor, poor and better-off households in Buzi largely reveal the same pattern of social relations of poverty and well-being that we saw in Murrupula and Maputo.

The *extended family* is the most immediate set of social relations for most households, with importance both in peoples' daily life and at times of particular hardship. There are two important exceptions here: One is the large number of women who have settled with their husband's family

⁴⁵ The only story indicating that he was something apart was one about his father, who apparently had spent his last year building an airplane to go to Europe that just made it to the other side of the Buzi River...

⁴⁶ In Buzi, as in most other similar areas in Mozambique, getting a foot in the door of a potential employer means having to bribe one's way through a number of created obstacles.

and lack direct access to their own extended family, which can be critical in times of separation, divorce or other domestic problems and often leave these women in social isolation. A second is people coming from chronically poor *umbwa* families, where there is nothing with which to provide the relations in terms of food, money or other basic necessities, which forces people to primarily take care of themselves with the consequence that they slowly become marginalised, even from their own kin.

We have also seen how *neighbours and friends* may play a crucial role for many households, exchanging goods and services in long-term reciprocal relationships. Again, however, the very poorest face particular difficulties, as they often cannot contribute their part in what, over time, have to be relations of reciprocity to be sustainable. Urbanisation – even on a small scale like in Buzi – tends to create new social spaces where friendship and other extra-family relations become important. There are indications that particularly women exploit this by entering relations of mutual support with other women in a way that is difficult in the highly patriarchal rural areas.

Traditional authorities have a strong position in Buzi, but as in Murrupula and Maputo, they play a minor role in providing direct sources of economic support. The main exception is their role as facilitators in times of emergency relief or other types of external support, when they help identify the neediest. However, their role is important for creating the necessary space for development and social mobility. Without the practical and sacral support from traditional authorities, small-scale enterprises and other economic initiatives will not be successful. We have also seen how particularly the *sagutas* at the lowest level of the traditional organisation play a vital part in solving conflicts in communities and between family members and neighbours.

Associations are still rare in the communities we have studied. Despite broad consensus that it is better to work in groups than on an individual basis among the people we have interviewed, only a small part of households are actually involved with community organisations or associations for production, trade, credit, savings or other purposes. The main reason seems to be a lack of trust in fellow community members, lack of experience from organisational work involving money and other economic resources, and a concomitant tendency that such organisations become co-opted by strong individuals in the community. The associations and saving societies, established as part of the Sofala Bank Artisanal Fisheries Project, show that it is possible to create strong units of this type, with external support at critical stages in the process.

Churches and mosques play an important part in most people's lives, with the latter having the most direct role in terms of economic or material support. In the aftermath of the flood some support was specifically given to Muslim households; Muslims from Beira will go to the more remote areas of Buzi to hand out food at times of natural disasters, and each mosque is supposed to keep a small 'emergency box' to support individual families in real need. Again, however, there seems to be a need to maintain relations by frequenting the church or mosque at regular intervals and take active part in the religious community to be eligible for support. Many of the poorest find this difficult, not only for practical reasons of transport, proper clothes etc., but also as a result of the perceived shame of having become a destitute.

Aid organisations are generally not very important in people's daily lives, as they are few and far between and run limited projects – partly as a result of the current aid paradigm (see Chapter 1). However, people do acknowledge their importance at times of crisis, such as in the aftermath of the flood in 2000 and other natural disasters. We do not have information about the extent to which the support given also reaches the very poorest, but households from all socio-economic categories seem to have been involved in work-schemes and direct economic support after the flood. The main challenge for longer-term projects is to reach the very poorest, who cannot work and who may be marginalised and isolated within communities. The most persistent impact of development aid in

Buzi has been the Sofala Bank Project, which is an 'old-fashioned' integrated rural development project supporting productive activities (fisheries), marketing (primarily, but not solely, of fish), schools, health facilities, water-points, credit societies and community associations in Nova Sofala.

Relations with *the state and the party* have hitherto primarily been important for people to secure education, health, support for agriculture through agricultural extension and related services, and (more recently) access to support through the Social Action Programme. We have seen how access to educational facilities has improved considerably and also that the health system is reaching people even though it is still too centralised. Informants argue that there are still problems with 'unofficial' payment at schools (for entrance fees as well as for moving up classes), and that services and medicines at health centres sometimes cost too much – but we did not find the same animosity toward such state institutions as we did in Murrupula. The potentially important relationship with the state through agricultural extension services did not come up in our case-studies. One reason may be the limited coverage of such services and the *de facto* concentration on larger units, but it may also be the result of limited interest on the part of small-scale farmers who primarily see themselves as subsistence producers.

With the increasing presence of the District Administration and the introduction of the 'Seven Million MT', relations with the state have potentially become more directly important for poverty and inequality. Households and individuals with good relations with the state (personified in the administrator, the heads of the administrative posts, people in the consultative council and other state agents) stand a better chance of getting access to capital that is vital for upward social mobility than those who do not. Our impression from case studies and focal-point interviews is that such access varies between the poor, the less-poor and the better-off, which may well contribute to increasing inequality in Buzi.

Finally, our case-studies have amply demonstrated the importance of *rural-urban relationships*. Households and individuals with access to people in urban areas tend not only to have alternative sources of employment, access to better markets and access to superior and higher institutions of education and health than those who do not, but also to have a different vision for improving conditions for their family. Some of these households have active economic relations with urban areas (the Vila, Beira or others) through formal employment, commerce, or exchange of agricultural products with 'urban' commodities. Others pursue a strategy with 'split households', where some family members stay in rural areas and do agricultural work, while others stay in urban areas where the market is larger for both their agricultural products and alternative sources of employment and income. However, in order to establish viable rural-urban links it necessary to have sufficient capital for maintaining multiple dwellings, for transport, and for investing in goods to make the initial investments worthwhile. What we may increasingly see in Buzi, as well as in other similar places, is that the very poorest are those who have not been able to establish and maintain such rural-urban relationships.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusions

Whereas the first two studies in this series focussed on the rural north (Murrupula) and the urban South (Maputo) in Mozambique, this study has focussed on the district of Buzi in central parts of the country, paying particular attention to four communities that find themselves in the rural-urban interface.

- As in the previous studies, we have been particularly concerned with the relative importance of structural constraints and human agency in monitoring poverty and well-being – using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodologies and data.
- We introduced our study by pointing to national data showing that inequality in Mozambique is highly localised, implying that there are important local processes of marginalisation and social exclusion in the country that must be taken into consideration for the PARPA to reach the very poorest.
- The province of Sofala is characterised by having seen a sharp improvement in its poverty headcount. Buzi presents itself as a dynamic district, with the Vila as the political and economic hub and with smaller population centres in each of the administrative posts.
- At the same time, traditional authorities have a strong position, particularly outside the Vila. This has created a mutual dependence between the state, which depends on these authorities for popular mobilisation and tax-collection, and *régulos*, *wachefes* and *sagutas* who find themselves on the government payroll.
- The dynamic development of the district seems to be the combined outcome of the government's wish to invest in opposition-areas like Buzi, and the district's own history of active resistance, agro-industries and relations with Beira in particular.
- In a political system where districts have limited options for making their own decisions and investments, the 'Seven Million MT' scheme has invigorated popular participation in political and economic life but has also led to a general perception of political favouritism.
- Education has seen an increase in the number of schools and attendance by boys as well as girls, which is an important achievement. However, too few are in a position to draw benefits from their education in terms of access to formal employment.
- In health, the overriding issue is that of HIV-AIDS with a prevalence of 23 percent in the district as a whole. The disease seems to have been 'normalised', which is positive for the victims that have become less socially isolated, but problematic for preventing the disease from spreading even further.
- The four communities under study have revealed differences in economic adaptations and socio-cultural organisation, largely based on external conditions such as the fate of the Buzi Company, the reoccurring natural disasters, and the increasing importance of rural-urban linkages.
- Locally, the socio-cultural organisation is influenced by the apparent tension between a traditional patrilineal adaptation, enhanced levels of education, and the 'modernisation' following from contacts with the Vila, Beira and other urban areas.
- This seems to have set in motion processes of increased inequality, where households and individuals who manage to relate to opportunities of formal employment and economic relations with urban areas have seen upward social mobility, while those who remain in rural

areas find themselves having a more limited range of alternative livelihoods and lower returns on their labour.

- At the same time, there are processes of marginalisation and social exclusion both in the urban and rural parts of the district based on the increasing importance of money in social relationships. The elderly and young single mothers without male support are in particularly difficult situations, while young men who do not take part in agriculture and don't find employment outside the saturated informal economy may become a new 'lost generation'.

6.2 Recommendations

As emanating from the force-field analyses carried out in the four communities under study (see Chapter 1), people have clear perceptions about the main challenges facing their communities and what needs to be done to improve the situation for the people living there. We introduce this section by presenting the goals and main challenges as these were presented to us in one of the four communities (Table 56). As seen, the main goals are related to increased agricultural production and income; more employment opportunities particularly for the young with education; social protection measures for the poorest and most marginalised; and control of flood and cyclone conditions. The main constraints for reaching these goals are seen as external to the local communities themselves, implying that people see the need for change in the structural constraints they face. At the same time, it is underlined that "people want to work" given that these structural constraints are removed.

Table 56. *Local Perceptions of Future Developments and Their Obstacles in Buzi*

Development Goals	Forces For and Against Achieving the Goals
People should increase the size of their plots.	People want to work, but don't increase the machambas because of the floods.
People should sell more of their products.	The returns are too low, as the local prices are depressed and it is too far to other markets.
People should make their children study.	When people don't have money, they don't send their children to school. It is also difficult to get jobs.
There must be more employment.	The factories should reopen. There are not enough investors who come to Buzi.
Old widows must be supported.	Perhaps the government is not aware? There must be some lack of communication.
Floods should be controlled.	The government is not making enough efforts to manage and control the sluices [up-river].
Cyclones should calm down.	Presently God is too far away, and does not listen to our prayers.

On the basis of the opinions expressed by the population in Buzi through our participatory methodologies, and our own analysis based on quantitative as well as qualitative data, our preliminary recommendations are:

- While we have no basis for assessing INE's (2004) conclusion of considerable improvements in Sofala's poverty headcount on the basis of our study in Buzi, our data seem to demonstrate a district and communities with considerable dynamics and a high level of economic activity.
- In addition to the need to redefine and/or clarify the statistical definitions of the household and (female) household headship (stated in earlier reports), this study has shown the importance of finding better ways to capture rural-urban linkages and their potential importance for poverty alleviation.

- While realising the political tension related to Sofala and districts like Buzi as areas of the opposition, there are good political as well as economic reasons for declaring Buzi a municipality and giving it more autonomy in its efforts to develop further and alleviate poverty.
- The current dismal state of the previously so important Buzi Company functions as an impediment for further development both in agro-industry and other sectors, and the fate of the Company should be clarified by its owners and the government as soon as possible.
- The district administration and the traditional authorities in Buzi generally seem to have found ways to cooperate constructively, but further effort should be made to better separate the state apparatus from the party to avoid future tension.
- The 'Seven Million MT' scheme has revitalised popular political and economic participation in Buzi through the Consultative Councils, but the apparently growing perception that the money primarily goes to party affiliates and the better-off must be dealt with by securing a transparent and fair means of distributing funds.
- The local radio station (Radio Buzi) has huge potential for the effective dissemination of public information, educational efforts and communication within the district, and its future should be secured with funding from the government and/or aid organisations.
- With reference to the success of the Sofala Bank Integrated Development Project in supporting a broad range of development interventions in Nova Sofala, the government and donors alike should reassess their current scepticism towards integrated rural development programmes.
- Still with reference to the positive experiences from the Sofala Bank Project, renewed efforts should be made to support the establishment of associations in agriculture, among small-scale traders and in the form of savings- and credit societies – with a particular goal to empower women.

The importance of relations with urban areas for economic development (employment and trade) and upward social mobility should lead to intensified efforts to improve communication with the Vila and Beira, both by road, waterway (rivers and ocean) and telecommunication.

- In particular, efforts should be made to support the marketing of agricultural products from the more marginal areas in the district (such as Ampara), where the purchasing power is so low that it inhibits increased production. Publicly supported local and adapted alternatives to the previous 'marketing boards' should be considered.
- For the poor and marginalised who are compelled to remain in their local communities, where options for employment and income are small, targeted interventions should be pursued by government as well as aid agencies.
- For the physically able, food (preferably produced and purchased locally) or cash for work programmes are a good way to combine community development and income-generation for the poor. For the elderly, the sick and the handicapped, the system of direct support through the Social Action Fund or other sources should be improved by decentralising decision-making to the level of localities.

Annex 1: Terms of Reference Social Relations of Rural-Urban Poverty in Central 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 and 2007 Household Censuses, comprehensive national household surveys (IAAF 1996/7 and 2002/3), and other more sector and topic-specific surveys. 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 a central 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 an outline of the third study in a series of three studies on qualitative aspects 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". The first study focused on social relations of rural poverty in the District of Murrupula in northern Mozambique. The second study focussed on urban poverty in the Mozambican capital Maputo. And the current study will focus on what we will call 'small town poverty' in the district of Buzi in the central province of Sofala. All three project sites will be revisited after a period of three years to monitor and evaluate possible change following from the Government's poverty reduction policies.

Sofala has a history of political support to the opposition party Renamo, is predominantly Christian and patrilineal, and saw an improvement in the poverty headcount from 88.2 percent to 34.1 percent between 1996/97 and 2002/03 – even though the accuracy of these data is contested. The District of Buzi in particular is also characterised by an extreme vulnerability to floods and cyclones, affecting the livelihoods and coping strategies of the population. The district is located along the coast and has 160.000 inhabitants, with the district capital Buzi having approximately 35.000 inhabitants. The district has a long history of commercial agriculture and related small scale industries, but most of these have shut down the past decade leaving many inhabitants with a history of cash income without such means. Fisheries is an important alternative source of subsistence and income for the coastal population, with an accompanying tradition of oscillatory migration. Finally, there are prospects of increased economic activities related to the planned production of gas outside the district's coastline (Buzi Basin). In sum, the district represents an important comparative case to the predominantly rural district of Murrupula and the four urban bairros in Maputo that were the main focus of the second study.

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 and an analysis of the Buzi district administration and its role in poverty alleviation, the study will 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 in quantitative analyses:

- *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 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.
- *Employment, income and expenditures*. Poor households in Mozambique are traditionally heavily dependent on agriculture. The study will assess the most important sources of employment and income for people in the Buzi district, and give additional attention to the implications of increased prices particularly on food for their coping strategies...
- *Education and health*. 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. It will also focus on the implications of health and HIV-AIDS and the reoccurring natural disasters (floods) for peoples' coping strategies.
- *Other*. Options will be kept open for including additional key determinants of poverty defined by the population under study itself.

Methodology.

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. Particular care will be taken to consult the District Administration.

The study will be carried out in four sub-districts (Administrative Posts), in order to analyse differences in social relations of poverty. The final decision on choice of study areas will be taken in cooperation with the Buzi district authorities.

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 (incl. histograms, community mapping, force-field analysis, wealth ranking and venn-diagrams). The team will also carry out a questionnaire survey, focussing on the main issues identified for study.

Output:

1. A report, including i) a 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 recommendations.
2. A Synopsis/Brief highlighting main arguments and conclusions, with illustrations.
3. A seminar at the Ministry of Planning and Development in Maputo, involving Government, donors as well as members of the research community.

In addition and as per contract, the team will i) write up a Synthesis Report highlighting common themes across the first cycle of three studies and policy recommendations and ii) (with practical support from DfID Mozambique) organise a stakeholder workshop where the Synthesis Report will be discussed.

Personnel

1. Dr. Inge Tvedten. Senior Researcher/Social Anthropologist. Chr. Michelsen Institute, Bergen, Norway.

2. Carmeliza Soares da Costa Rosário. Social Anthropologist. AustralCowi Lda. Maputo, Mozambique.
3. Margarida Paulo, Social Anthropologist. The Department of Anthropology at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo, Mozambique.
4. Enumerators

Timing

15 October 2008 - 31 January 2009 (3 working months). Fieldwork will take place 4 weeks from approx. 15 October - 15 November 2008.

Annex 2: Questionário do Estudo

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>	

<p>14. Qual a relação de parentesco que cada membro do agregado ausente tem com o chefe do agregado? (quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes 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>21. Qual a religião mais praticada pela família?</p> <p> __ __ _____ </p>	<p>01 Católica</p> <p>02 Islâmica</p> <p>03 Outra cristã (especifique)</p> <p>04 Nenhuma</p>

	98 Outra (especifique)
22. Faz Epepa ou Mukutho? _ _	01 Sim 02 Não
23. Alguém do agregado fala português? _ _ <i>Se 02 passe para questão 25.</i>	01 Sim 02 Não
24. Quem do agregado sabe falar? (responda por categoria) _ _ Os homens _ _ Os jovens (12-18 anos) _ _ As crianças (6-12 anos) _ _ As mulheres _ _ As jovens (12-18 anos)	01 Sim 02 Não 99 Não existe a categoria0
EDUCAÇÃO	
25. Qual o nível de escolaridade mais elevado atingido no agregado? _ _	01 Nenhum 02 Alfabetizado 03 EP1 04 EP2/Elementar 05 Secund./Básico 06 Médio 07 Superior
26. Quantas crianças em idade escolar existem no agregado familiar? (dos 6 aos 15 anos) _ _ Rapazes _ _ Raparigas _ _ Total <i>Se o total = 00 passe para questão 29.</i>	
27. Destas, quantas <u>não</u> estão a estudar? _ _ Rapazes _ _ Raparigas _ _ Total <i>Se o total = 00 passe para questão 29.</i>	
28. Indique a razão principal por desistente (não necessita repetir se a razão for a mesma entre diferentes desistentes do mesmo género) _____ Rapazes _____ _____ _____ Raparigas _____ _____	

SAÚDE	
29. Quantas pessoas do agregado ficaram doentes nas duas últimas semanas? _ _	
30. Há algum membro do agregado que sofra de doença crónica ou prolongada? _ _ <i>Se 02 passe para questão 32.</i>	01 Sim 02 Não
31. Quantas pessoas sofrem de alguma doença crónica ou prolongada no agregado? (responda por categoria) _ _ Crianças _ _ Jovens _ _ Adultos (0-12 anos) (12-18 anos)	
32. Onde costumam ir normalmente para serem tratados os membros do agregado em caso de doença? _ _ _____	01 Unidade sanitária local 02 Unidade sanitária Nampula 03 Enfermeiro 04 Curandeiro 05 Em casa 98 Outro (especifique)
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? _ _ <i>Se 02 passe para questão 35.</i>	01 Sim 02 Não
34. Qual foi a principal razão para não ter conseguido ser transferido? _____	
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) Se for criança (rapaz) _ _ _____ Se for criança (rapariga) _ _ _____ Se for adulto (homem) _ _ _____ Se for adulto (mulher) _ _ _____	01 Chefe do agregado 02 Esposa do chefe 03 Um jovem 04 Uma jovem 05 Um adulto 06 Uma adulta 98 Outro (especifique) 99 Não existe a categoria
36. Quantas crianças faleceram neste agregado antes de completar 5 anos? _ _	

<i>Se 00 passe para questão 38.</i>	
37. Quais as razões principais para essa(s) morte(s) _____ _____ _____	
MOBILIDADE	
38. Quantos membros do agregado sempre viveram neste local? _ _	98 Todos
39. Algum membro do agregado esteve deslocado deste local durante a guerra? _ _ <i>Se 02 passe para questão 42.</i>	01 Sim 02 Não
40. Em que ano se deslocou o primeiro membro do agregado? _ _ _ _	
41. Em que ano regressou o último membro do agregado deslocado? _ _ _ _	
42. O chefe do agregado sempre viveu neste local? _ _ <i>Se 01 passe para questão 45.</i>	01 Sim 02 Não
43. Onde vivia o chefe do agregado antes de se mudar para este local? _____	
44. Para que lugares fora da localidade/cabo costumam ir com mais frequência os membros do agregado? (mencione até 3) _ _ (preencher apenas se nenhum membro do agregado costuma viajar) <i>Se 99 passe para questão 47.</i> 1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____	99 Nenhum
45. Quantas vezes costumam os membros do agregado viajar para fora da localidade/cabo? 1. _ _ 2. _ _ 3. _ _	01 Pelo menos 1 vez por semana 02 Pelo menos 1 vez por mês 03 Pelo menos 1 vez por ano
46. Qual costumam ser as razões principais das viagens?	01 Visitas

Bicicletas	_ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _	
Comercial	_ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _	
Agrícola	_ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _	
Outro _____	_ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _	
<p>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></p> <p>Produto entregue Produto recebido em troca</p> _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____ _____		99 Nenhum
<p>51. Qual é o local que mais usa para fazer a troca de produtos? _____ </p>		
ACTIVIDADES DE RENDIMENTO NÃO AGRÍCOLAS		
<p>52. Quantos membros do agregado têm emprego com salário regular ou beneficiam de reforma? _ _ _ <i>Se 00 passe para questão 54.</i></p>		
<p>53. Qual a soma do rendimento dos <u>salários</u> e <u>reformas</u> de todas pessoas que possuem emprego com salário regular? _ _ _ </p>		01 < 250.000MT 02 251.000MT a 500.000MT 03 501.000MT a 750.000MT 04 751.000MT a 1.000.000MT 05 1.000.001MT a 1.500.000MT 06 > 1.500.000MT
<p>54. Que outras actividades de rendimento são levadas a cabo no agregado, e quanto rendeu no mês passado? _ _ _ (preencher apenas se não leva a cabo nenhuma outra actividade) <i>Se 99 passe para questão 55.</i></p> <p>Artesanato _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ </p>		99 Nenhuma

Medicina tradicional	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _	
Produção de carvão/lenha	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _	
Fabrico/venda de bebidas	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _	
Comércio formal	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _	
Comércio informal	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _	
Pesca	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _	
Construção	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _	
Pwati	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _	
Ganho ganho	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _	
Outro _____	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _	
Outro _____	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _	
Outro _____	_ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _	
55. Para além das actividades de rendimento, algum membro do agregado recebe assistência ou apoio monetário de alguém de fora do agregado? _ _ _ <i>Se 02 passe para questão 57.</i>		01 Sim 02 Não
56. De que pessoas/entidades recebe, e quanto recebe? ONGs _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ INSS _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ Acção Social _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ Familiars de fora do agregado _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ Vizinhos/amigos _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ Outro _____ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ Outro _____ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ Outro _____ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _		
57. Algum membro do agregado participa de algum grupo de poupança/stique/ikirimo? _ _ _ <i>Se 02 passe para questão 62.</i>		01 Sim 02 Não
58. Quanto gasta, em média, na poupança/stique/ikirimo? _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _		
59. De quanto em quanto tempo contribui para a poupança/stique/ikirimo? _ _ _		01 Todos dias 02 1 vez por

	semana 03 De quinze em quinze dias 04 1 vez por meses 05 Irregularmente
60. Quanto ganhou da última vez com a poupança/stique/ikirimo? _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _	
61. De quanto em quanto tempo pode receber o valor a que tem direito? _____	
ACTIVIDADE AGRÍCOLA	
62. A família possui machamba? _ _ _ <i>Se 02 passe para questão 67.</i>	01 Sim 02 Não
63. Que método de fertilização usa normalmente na(s) sua(s) machambas? _ _ _ _____	01 Rotação/pousio 02 Adubos naturais 03 Fertilizantes 98 Outro (especifique) 99 Nenhum
64. Que mão de obra usa normalmente para cultivar os produtos na(s) sua(s) machamba(s) _ _ _ _____	01 Membros do agregado 02 Assalariados permanentes 03 Contratados eventuais 98 Outro (especifique)
65. Vendeu algum produto da última campanha? (soma do arrecadado pela totalidade dos produtos vendidos) _ _ _ <i>Se 02 passe para questão 67.</i>	01 Sim 02 Não
66. Quanto arrecadou na última campanha? _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _	
67. A família cria animais? _ _ _ <i>Se 02 passe para questão 71.</i>	01 Sim 02 Não

68. Quais os animais que o agregado cria? Galinhas __ __ Patos __ __ Cabritos __ __ Porcos __ __ Outro _____ __ __ Outro _____ __ __ Outro _____ __ __	01 Cria 02 Não cria
69. Costuma vender animais? __ __ <i>Se 02 passe para questão 71.</i>	01 Sim 02 Não
70. Quanto rendeu a última venda? __ __ _ _ _ · __ __ _ _ _ · __ __ _ _ _	
PROPRIEDADE E RELACÕES INTRA-FAMILIARES	
71. Como foi adquirida a machamba principal do agregado? __ __ _____ <i>Se 01, 03 ou 06 passe para questão 74.</i>	01 Não tem machamba 02 Comprada 03 Alugada 04 herdada 05 Doada 06 Cedida 07 Abriu sozinho 98 Outro (especifique)
72. A quem pertence a machamba principal do agregado? __ __ _____	01 Ao homem 02 À mulher 03 Aos dois 04 À família do homem 05 À família da mulher 06 A todos 98 Outro (especifique)
73. Em caso de morte do proprietário quem herda a machamba? __ __ _____	01 A(o) esposa(o) 02 Todos filhos 03 Só as filhas

		04 Só os filhos 98 Outro (especifique)
74. Como foi adquirida a casa onde o agregado vive? _ _ _ _____ <i>Se 02 ou 05 passe para questão 77.</i>		01 Comprada 02 Alugada 03 herdada 04 Doada 05 Cedida 06 Construiu sozinho 98 Outro (especifique)
75. A quem pertence a casa onde vive o agregado? _ _ _ _____		01 Ao homem 02 À mulher 03 Aos dois 04 A família do homem 05 A família da mulher 06 A todos 98 Outro (especifique)
76. Em caso de morte do proprietário quem herda a casa? _ _ _ _____		01 A(o) esposa(o) 02 Todos filhos 03 Só as filhas 04 Só os filhos 98 Outro (especifique)
77. Quem é responsável, no agregado por: Cultivar a machamba _ _ _ Construir a casa _ _ _ Cozinhar _ _ _ Apanhar lenha _ _ _ Carretar água _ _ _ Tomar conta da casa _ _ _ Tomar conta das crianças _ _ _ Fazer compras _ _ _		01 As mulheres 02 Os homens 03 Os jovens 04 As jovens 05 Todos 06 Ninguém

Cuidar dos doentes	_ _	
Educar as crianças	_ _	
Participar das reuniões comunitárias	_ _	
78. Quem decide como é gasto o dinheiro que a família rende de todas as actividades remuneradas e apoios externos? _ _		01 Chefe de família 02 Homem 03 Mulher 04 Ambos 05 Todo agregado
RELACÕES EXTRA-FAMILIARES		
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? _ _ (preencher apenas se não teve nenhum problema) <i>Se 99 passe para questão 81.</i> _____		99 Nenhum
80. A quem recorreram para resolver esse problema? _ _ _____		01 Policia 02 Representantes do Nihimo 03 Familiares e amigos 98 Outro (especifique)
81. Qual é a fonte de conflito mais comum na comunidade e que necessita de intervenção das autoridades para resolver? _ _ (preencher apenas se não existe nenhuma fonte de conflito) <i>Se 99 passe para questão 83.</i> _____		01 Bebedeiras 02 Adulterio 03 Furtos 04 Conflitos de terras 05 Conflitos de água 98 Outro (especifique) 99 Nenhum
82. A quem recorrem, normalmente, os membros da comunidade para resolver esse problema? _ _ _____		01 Chefe da aldeia/povoado 02 Régulo 03 Autoridade

	religiosa 04 Polícia 05 Tribunal comunitário 98 Outro (especifique)
<p>83. Quais são os serviços públicos que os membros do agregado usam?</p> <p>Escola __ __ </p> <p>Unidade sanitária __ __ </p> <p>Administração/Posto administrativo __ __ </p> <p>Agricultura __ __ </p> <p>Acção social __ __ </p> <p>Registos e Notariado __ __ </p> <p>DIC __ __ </p> <p>Polícia __ __ </p> <p>Tribunal __ __ </p> <p>Outro _____ __ __ </p>	<p>01 Usa</p> <p>02 Não usa</p> <p>03 Não existe na zona</p>
<p>84. Com que frequência usam esses serviços?</p> <p>Escola __ __ </p> <p>Unidade sanitária __ __ </p> <p>Administração/Posto administrativo __ __ </p> <p>Agricultura (extensionistas) __ __ </p> <p>Acção social __ __ </p> <p>Registos e Notariado __ __ </p> <p>DIC __ __ </p> <p>Polícia __ __ </p> <p>Tribunal __ __ </p> <p>Outro _____ __ __ </p>	<p>01 Pelo menos 1 vez por semana</p> <p>02 Pelo menos 1 vez por mês</p> <p>03 Pelo menos 1 vez por ano</p> <p>04 Menos de 1 vez por ano</p> <p>05 Nunca</p>
<p>85. Algum membro do agregado faz parte de alguma associação?</p> <p> __ __ Homens __ __ Mulheres</p> <p><i>Se ambos 02 passe para questão 87.</i></p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>86. A que tipo de associação pertencem?</p> <p> _____ Homens</p> <p> _____ </p>	

<p> _____ </p> <p> _____ Mulheres</p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </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</p> <p>02 Manteve-se</p> <p>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</p> <p>02 Manteve-se</p> <p>03 Piorou</p> <p>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</p> <p>02 Manter-se-á</p> <p>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</p> <p>02 Manter-se-á</p> <p>03 Piorará</p>
<p>94. Explique porquê</p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>Hora de Término _ _ : _ _ </p>	

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SUMMARY

This is the third in a series of six qualitative studies monitoring and evaluating Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategy, PARPA. Many communities in Mozambique find themselves in the rural-urban interface, either by being small towns or rural settings in the vicinity of cities. There is increasing evidence that households and individuals who manage to establish and maintain rural-urban linkages are those experiencing improved living conditions and upward social mobility, while those being 'captured' in rural villages and urban slums are experiencing impoverishment. The apparently increasing inequalities in Mozambican society can only be dealt with by stopping relate to rural and urban areas as separate entities and rather see them as intricately linked together and part of the same social formation.

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