

CMI REPORT

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'Xiculungo' Revisited Assessing the Implications of PARPA II in Maputo 2007-2010

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'Xiculungo' Revisited

Assessing the Implications of PARPA II in Maputo 2007-2010

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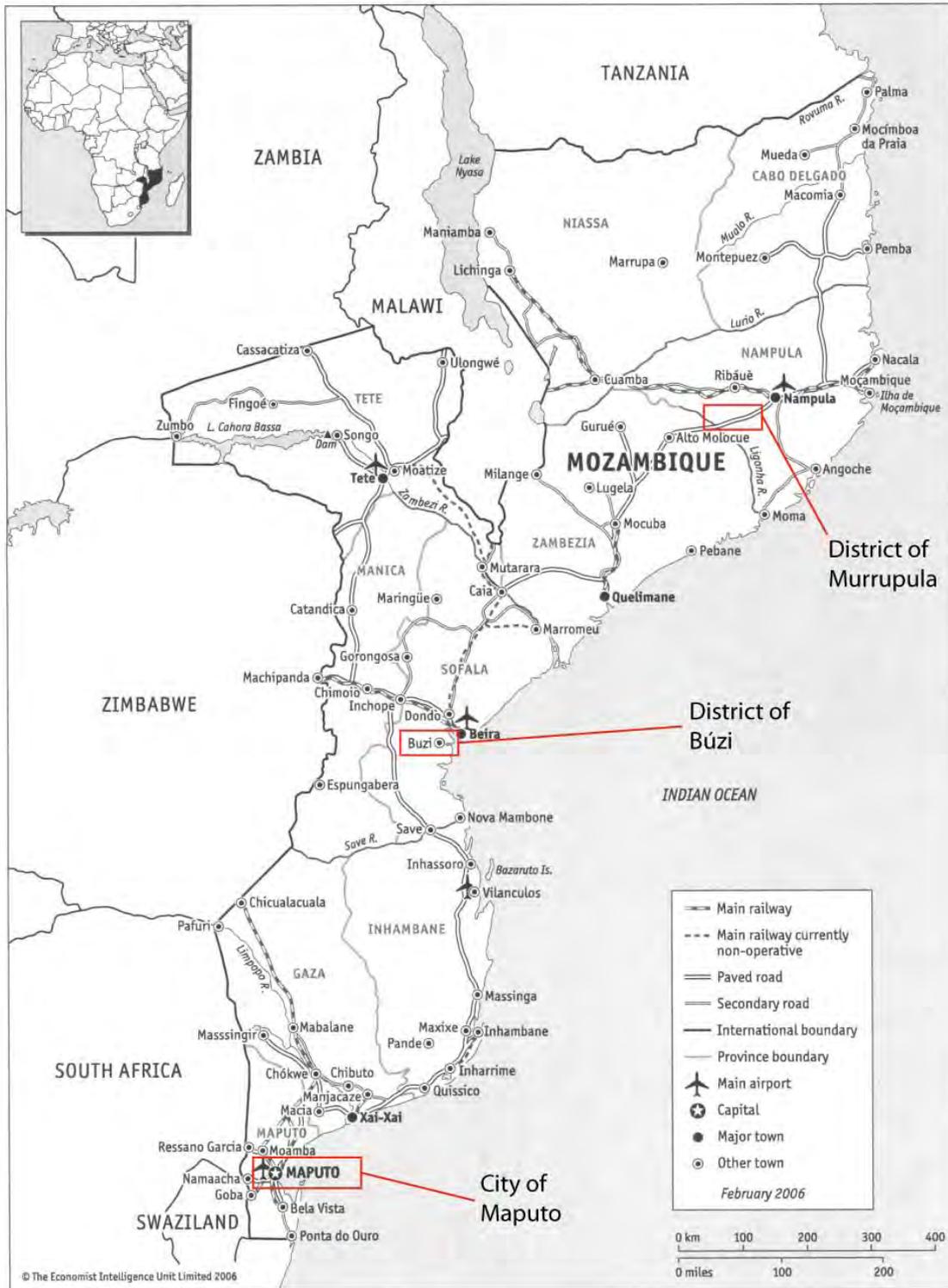
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Map 1: Mozambique and Project Field Sites



Source: Economist Intelligence Unit

1. Introduction

This report represents a continuation of efforts to monitor and evaluate Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategy PARPA II 2005-2011 (GdM 2005). The report series was initiated in 2006 and focuses on three different areas in the country: the District of Murrupula in Nampula province, representing a rural social formation (Tvedten, Paulo and Rosário 2006); four bairros in the capital city Maputo, representing an urban social formation (Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2007); and the District of Buzi in the Province of Sofala, which is located at the rural-urban interface (Rosário, Tvedten and Paulo 2008). Each of the initial three studies is being followed up after three years in order to ascertain changes in social relations and cultural perceptions of poverty and well-being, by revisiting the same local administrations, the same communities and the same households as in the first round of studies. The first of these 'revisits' took place in Murrupula in 2009 (Tvedten, Paulo and Rosário 2010). This report is from the second revisit, to Maputo in 2010, with the last study, of Buzi, being scheduled to take place in the second half of 2011.

The current study comes at a special point in time in the efforts to reduce poverty in Mozambique. The recently published National Household Survey IOF 2008/09 (INE 2010; MPD 2010) shows that despite concerted efforts by the government and donors alike, the consumption-based poverty rate has increased since the previous National Household Survey in 2002/03 (INE 2004; DNPO 2004) from 54.1 to 54.7 percent – albeit with large variations between the different provinces in the country (Table 1). While the Ministry of Planning and Development puts considerable emphasis on external factors such as climate change and the international food crisis to explain this development (MPD 2010), other commentators tend to emphasise endogenous factors such as the current neo-liberal development policy and what they see as an inadequate emphasis on small-scale agricultural production and job creation (Canguera and Hanlon 2010; Van den Boom 2011).¹

The exception to this rather bleak picture has been a drop in the general urban poverty rate from 51.7 to 49.6 percent, with the poverty rate in the City of Maputo having dropped from 53.6 to 36.7 percent (INE 2010; MPD 2010). However, this development has largely been overshadowed by two serious social uprisings² in Maputo in February 2008 and September 2010 respectively, with the latter leading to several deaths and injuries and severe material damage. Instigated by sudden increases in the price of petrol and public transportation (2008) and in the prices of basic commodities such as foodstuffs, water and energy (2010), the uprising took the political leadership in the country and the city by surprise and led to immediate action in the form of the development of a special policy to combat urban poverty (RdM 2010) and price control through continued subsidies (Kring 2010). If anything, these incidents testify to the complexity of urban poverty in general and in Maputo in particular, which will be a central theme in this report.³

¹ In addition, there has been a heated debate of a more technical nature regarding the implications of the change of definition of the 'basket' on which the consumption poverty line is based between the 1996/97 and the 2002/03 National Household Surveys (MPD 2010; Canguera and Hanlon 2010; Van den Boom 2010).

² The incidents are variously denoted 'uprisings', 'riots', 'revolts', 'strikes', 'tumults' etc. by national and local authorities, journalists and the local population, often revealing differences in perceptions of what actually took place.

³ While some commentators and studies argue that urban poverty in Mozambique is limited compared with other countries (UNICEF 2006; van de Boom 2010), an influential and widely read study by Mike Davis (2006) puts Maputo on a list of the four poorest urban populations in the world together with Luanda, Kinshasa and Cochabamba in Bolivia.

Table 1: *Poverty Headcount in Mozambique by Province (Percent).*

| Region | 1996/97 | 2002/03 | 2008/09 |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| National | 69.4 | 54.1 | 54.7 |
| Niassa | 70.6 | 52.1 | 31.9 |
| Cabo Delgado | 57.4 | 63.2 | 37.4 |
| Nampula | 68.9 | 52.6 | 54.7 |
| Zambezia | 68.1 | 44.6 | 70.5 |
| Tete | 82.3 | 59.8 | 42.0 |
| Manica | 62.6 | 43.6 | 55.1 |
| Sofala | 87.9 | 36.1 | 58.0 |
| Inhambane | 82.6 | 80.7 | 57.9 |
| Gaza | 64.6 | 60.1 | 62.5 |
| Maputo province | 65.6 | 69.3 | 67.5 |
| Maputo City | 47.8 | 53.6 | 36.2 |

Source: MPD 2010.

This report should be read in conjunction with our first Maputo report in this series (Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2007), as much of the contextual information given there will not be repeated here. In the first report, we placed urban Mozambique in a Southern African context; presented a broad overview of urban Mozambique; outlined the history of Maputo; and discussed the city's administration and economy. In this report, the focus will be on changes in Mozambique's urban governance and poverty since 2007; on changes in Maputo's urban landscape; and on changes in the socio-economic conditions in the four bairros of Mafalala, Laulane, Inhagóia and Khongolote⁴ that have been selected as the primary focus of the two Maputo reports.

Nor will we repeat our theoretical and methodological points of departure, but a few reminders are in place. In terms of our analytical approach, we hold the view that socio-economic conditions of poverty and well-being are the outcome of a combination of historical developments and structural, political and economic conditions on the one hand, and the population's own practices of complex social relations and cultural construction on the other. Political and economic structures have a powerful, even determining effect upon human action and the shape of events, but there is also room for human agency and ordinary lives in the form of strategies and actions for social mobility (Bourdieu 1990; Ortner 2006). A proper understanding of the relative importance of structural constraints and human agency is vital for the design of poverty reduction policies (Addison et al. 2009).

Closely linked to our analytical approach is our definition of poverty. Poverty is broadly understood to be defined by a lack of income and assets to attain basic necessities in the form of food, clothing and shelter (alleviated through a combination of increased *opportunities* and an increased *capacity* to capitalise on available opportunities); a sense of voicelessness and powerlessness in relation to institutions of society and the state (alleviated through increased *empowerment*); and vulnerability to adverse shocks, linked with the ability to cope with them through social relationships and legal institutions (alleviated through increased *security*). 'The poor' are identified through a combination of quantitative data on income and consumption, and peoples' own categorisations of who are the better-off, the poor and the destitute (see Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2007 for more details).

⁴ Khongolote is, as we will see, formally part of Maputo's twin city Matola but effectively part of what we will call 'Greater Maputo'.

In terms of methodology, we use a combination of interviews with key stakeholders in government, the municipal and urban district administration and the communities; adapted household surveys with a particular focus on social relationships; and a set of participatory methods in each study site. The survey embraces 120 family households, which are being revisited in the second round of studies (i.e. as 'panel data'). The participatory methods include *histograms* (to map processes and events considered particularly important for the current socio-economic conditions of well-being and poverty); *community mapping* (to map the institutions and people considered most important for relating to contemporary conditions of well-being and poverty); *wealth-ranking* (to capture the community's own perception of poverty and well-being and categories of the destitute, the poor and the better-off); Venn diagrams (to identify social relations and networks used by the different categories of poor and better-off as part of their coping strategies); and *force-field analysis* (to capture perceptions of the conditions – political, economic, socio-cultural – that may inhibit or accelerate change and development in the community).⁵

Chapter 2 in this report outlines some of the main changes in urban governance in Mozambique since 2007, as well as changes in the urban poverty indicators in the country as a whole. Chapter 3 gives a broad overview of what we consider to be key changes in Maputo's urban landscape since our last study, and outlines current development and poverty reduction initiatives. The main Chapter 4 assesses changes in the four communities under study between 2007 and 2010, as well as changes in living conditions for the 120 households that are part of this study. Chapter 5 concludes the study and gives a set of recommendations.

⁵ See Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2007 for more details.

2. Urban Development in Mozambique

Urbanisation and urban poverty represent a dramatic aspect of current developments on the African continent, as vividly described in publications by, for example, UN-Habitat (2003 and 2010) and Mike Davis (2006). The most recent urban growth prospects (United Nations 2011) show that Mozambique is in an intermediate position as regards urbanisation in the Southern African context with 38.4 percent estimated for 2010 and 50.1 percent for 2025 (Table 2), but the country has one of the highest urban compared to rural poverty rates on the continent (Kessides 2006). Governments and donors alike seem to have a rather ambiguous attitude towards urban development. While acknowledging that urban areas represent the bulk of the value production in countries like Mozambique⁶ and that they play a key role in the democratisation process through municipal elections and political manifestations, issues of poverty and environmental degradation are still largely associated with rural areas. Moreover, very few governments have an explicit strategy for dealing with urban-rural linkages, which is a key precondition for socio-economic development in both types of setting (Lynch 2005).

Table 2. *Urbanism and Urban Growth in Southern Africa (Percent)*

| Country | Urban Population 2010 | Estimated Urban Population 2025 |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Angola | 58.5 | 69.0 |
| Botswana | 61.1 | 70.3 |
| Lesotho | 26.9 | 38.5 |
| Malawi | 19.8 | 28.8 |
| Mozambique | 38.4 | 50.1 |
| Namibia | 38.0 | 47.9 |
| South Africa | 61.7 | 69.0 |
| Swaziland | 21.4 | 23.8 |
| Zambia | 35.5 | 41.5 |
| Zimbabwe | 38.3 | 47.2 |

Source: United Nations 2011

The most recent census in Mozambique, from 2007 (INE 2009), shows that the urban population is on the rise, averaging three percent per annum since 1997 (Table 3). This is partly related to a shift in the definition of urban areas since the 1997 census. Urban areas were originally defined as the ten provincial capitals plus Maputo, but were then extended to include a total of 34 cities and 68 small towns or *vilas*.⁷ The 2007 census defines 31 percent of the population as 'urban', with the order of the third (Nampula) and fourth (Beira) largest cities having changed places between the two censuses (INE 2009). The UN's urban population estimate is thus higher than that of the Mozambican government, but the basis for the UN figures is not entirely clear.

⁶ Urban areas contribute an estimated 70 percent of the GDP, with Maputo alone contributing 30 percent (World Bank 2010).

⁷ There are still different definitions of 'urban' in use between the Ministry of State Administration (MAE), the Ministry of the Environment (MICOA), and the National Institute of Statistics (INE) (World Bank 2009).

Table 3. *Mozambique's Largest Cities and Towns*

| City/town | Population 2007 Census | Population 1997 Census |
|-----------|------------------------|------------------------|
| Maputo | 1,099,102 | 989,386 |
| Matola | 675,422 | 440,927 |
| Nampula | 477,900 | 314,965 |
| Beira | 436,240 | 412,588 |
| Chimoio | 238,976 | 177,668 |
| Nacala | 207,894 | 164,309 |
| Quelimane | 192,876 | 153,187 |
| Mocuba | n.d. | 127,200 |
| Tete | 152,909 | 104,832 |
| Xai-Xai | 116,343 | 103,251 |

Source: INE 2009

2.1 Urban Governance

As discussed in more detail in our first report (Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2007), cities and towns in Mozambique are governed by an elected Municipal Assembly, a Mayor and a Municipal Council of *vereadores* and are accorded considerable political and financial autonomy by the Municipal Legislation Package or *Pacote Autárquico* of 1997/2008 and the Local Government Act (LOLE) of 2005. They are formally responsible for land use, housing and construction licensing, basic water and sanitation services, urban roads, solid waste management, the environment and municipal security. Moreover, the responsibility for primary schools and primary health care is in the process of being transferred to the municipalities on the basis of Parliamentary Decree 22/2006.⁸

However, the room for the municipalities to carry out these responsibilities is constrained by limited management and administrative capacity as well as inadequate economic resources. Municipalities in Mozambique spent an average of only MT 300 or 12 USD per capita in 2009, which is very little in a regional comparative perspective (World Bank 2010). To relate to the challenges of urban development, municipalities in practice depend on a combination of transfers from central and provincial government (amounting to MT 463 million or 0.7 percent of the government budget in 2008); privatisation of central services (including water, electricity and waste collection); and foreign aid, of which the joint Swiss-Austrian-Danish 'P13 Cities Project' on capacity building, urban planning and urban finance is the most comprehensive (SDC 2008) and the World Bank's recently renewed 'Maputo Upgrading Project' the most capital-intensive (World Bank 2010). Plans to introduce the District Local Investment Fund OIIL (RdM 2005) to support small-scale economic initiatives from 2011 – which have been implemented in Mozambique's rural districts since 2006 – are likely to be among the most visible (and controversial) urban development initiatives in the coming years (see below).

Politically, Frelimo increasingly dominates municipalities and currently has the majority in all cities and towns in Mozambique except one (Table 4). After the last (2003) election, the opposition (Renamo) controlled five cities and towns. The political gravity of urban areas has been visible through a number of controversial elections and appointments, among which the non-renewal of confidence in Maputo's mayor Eneas Comiche before the 2008 municipal

⁸ According to our sources, only Maputo and Beira are considered sufficiently 'prepared' for taking on such a responsibility as of late 2010.

election in Maputo and the re-election of former Unita – then independent – representative Daviz Simango⁹ in Beira have been the most noticeable.

Table 4. *Distribution of Seats in Municipal Assemblies after the 2003 and 2008 Elections*

| City/town | Frelimo | | Renamo | | Other | |
|-----------|---------|------|--------|------|-------|------|
| | 2003 | 2008 | 2003 | 2008 | 2003 | 2008 |
| Maputo | 48 | 58 | 8 | 7 | 5 | 2 |
| Matola | 41 | 45 | 5 | 5 | - | - |
| Nampula | 24 | 32 | 19 | 13 | 1 | - |
| Beira | 19 | 19 | 25 | 17 | 1 | 9 |
| Chimoio | 24 | 27 | 15 | 12 | - | - |
| Nacala | 23 | 20 | 15 | 19 | 1 | - |
| Quelimane | 21 | 22 | 18 | 17 | - | - |
| Mocuba | 16 | 24 | 5 | 7 | - | - |
| Tete | 23 | 34 | 8 | 5 | - | - |
| Xai-Xai | 30 | 38 | 1 | 1 | - | - |

Source: EISA

However, by far the most politically controversial incidents have been the uprisings in Maputo in February 2008 and September 2010,¹⁰ spurred on by price increases on basic consumer goods (petrol, bread, rice, oil etc.)¹¹ but also reflecting a general anger and frustration that took the government and most other observers by surprise. The political power of these demonstrations was evident in the immediate halting of price increases on petrol and transportation (2008) and on bread, rice and other essential goods (2010), done against the advice of key donor partners and costing the government large and unsustainable sums of money in the form of subsidies.

2.2 Urban Poverty

Urban poverty is complex and in many ways more ‘dramatic’ than rural poverty, primarily because of the dense and tense socio-cultural context, the heavy reliance on cash income and the vulnerability of social relationships in towns and cities (Davis 2006). According to the World Bank (2010), 70 percent of the urban population in Mozambique still live in settlements that have ‘slum characteristics’, such as dense unregulated growth; lack of common infrastructural services such as water, sanitation and electricity; and homes made of precarious materials. The high level of inequality in urban areas – constantly reminding the urban poor of their inferior position in society – adds to the sense of impoverishment and marginalisation. Together, this creates an environment that for the urban poor is characterised by insecurity and vulnerability to external or other sudden shocks, partly levelling out the material advantages of living in urban areas as these are reflected in Table 5 below.

⁹ He is formally affiliated to ‘Movimento Democrático de Moçambique’, MDM.

¹⁰ There have also been incidents of political protest in other cities such as Beira, but the difference is that these have not spilled into the formal parts of the cities and have received less attention.

¹¹ The overall inflation rate for main food products rose from 12 percent to 25 percent in the month prior to the September 2010 uprising. And two months prior to the uprising the price of rice increased by 27 percent, vegetable oil by 29 percent and flour by 34 percent (Kring 2010).

Table 5. Poverty Headcounts and Gaps in Urban and Rural Areas 1996/7-2008/9 (Percent)

| Indicator | 1996-97 | 2002-03 | 2008-09 |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Poverty Headcount: | | | |
| Urban | 62.0 | 51.5 | 49.6 |
| Rural | 71.3 | 55.5 | 56.9 |
| Poverty Gap: | | | |
| Urban | 26.7 | 19.7 | 19.1 |
| Rural | 29.9 | 20.9 | 22.2 |
| Squared Poverty Gap: | | | |
| Urban | 14.6 | 9.6 | 9.6 |
| Rural | 15.9 | 10.7 | 11.6 |
| Gini Coefficient: | | | |
| Urban | n.a. | 0.479 | 0.481 |
| Rural | n.a. | 0.371 | 0.367 |

Source: MPD (2010).

The contrasts between urban and rural poverty are also evident from the household expenditure patterns in the two types of setting (Table 6). While the total household expenditure per month is nearly twice as high in urban as in rural areas, expenditure on food is not very different with the bulk of the discrepancy comprising 'urban' costs for housing, energy and transport. Put another way, while the rural household uses 65 percent of total expenditure on food, the urban household spends 35 percent, with most of its remaining economic resources being spent on items that are vital for urban survival.

Table 6. Monthly Household Expenditure on selected Items in Urban and Rural Areas (MT).

| Item | Urban | Rural |
|---------------------|-------|-------|
| Foodstuffs | 1,876 | 1,621 |
| Alcoholic Beverages | 47 | 11 |
| Clothing | 303 | 167 |
| Housing and Energy | 1,656 | 377 |
| Furniture | 400 | 119 |
| Health | 30 | 6 |
| Transport | 356 | 71 |
| Communication | 207 | 22 |
| Recreation | 147 | 26 |
| Education | 63 | 2 |
| Restaurants, Hotels | 58 | 10 |
| Various Services | 191 | 33 |
| Total | 5,333 | 2,466 |

Source: INE 2010

The relationship between urban and rural poverty becomes even more complex when comparing calorie poverty (i.e. the proportion of households below the WHO-recommended calorie intake) and the consumption-based poverty headcount (Table 7).¹² First, we see that

¹² Measures of malnutrition or 'calorie poverty' focus on the distance of a given indicator for a child (e.g. height or weight for age) relative to the reference population. The risks and implications of poor nutrition are particularly critical for children under five years of age, as nutritional deficiencies can exert a strong influence on subsequent growth and development (MPD 2010:16).

calorie poverty is consistently higher in urban than in rural areas, which alludes to the inferior access to nutritious foodstuffs in cities and towns. Furthermore, while calorie poverty is consistently lower than the consumption-based poverty rate in rural areas, the calorie intake is consistently higher than the consumption-based poverty rate in urban areas. The discrepancy is, as the Ministry of Planning and Development points out, particularly high in the case of Maputo with a 'calorie poverty rate' of 75 percent compared to an estimated actual headcount rate of 36 percent (MPD 2010).

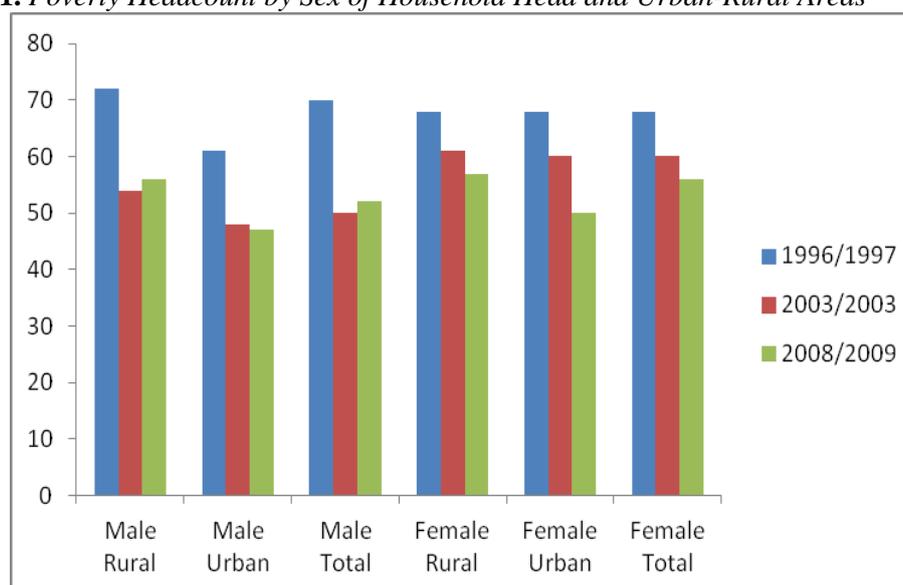
Table 7. Calorie and Consumption Poverty by Region and Urban-Rural Areas (Percent)

| Region | Urban Calorie Poverty | Urban Consumption Poverty | Rural Calorie Poverty | Rural Consumption Poverty |
|-----------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| North: | | | | |
| 2002/03 | 64 | 47 | 40 | 59 |
| 2008/09 | 55 | 48 | 39 | 46 |
| Central: | | | | |
| 2002/03 | 61 | 47 | 44 | 45 |
| 2008/09 | 64 | 54 | 55 | 61 |
| South: | | | | |
| 2002/03 | 87 | 58 | 71 | 74 |
| 2008/09 | 79 | 48 | 63 | 67 |

Source: MPD/DNEAP 2010

One of the most significant outcomes of the recent National Household Survey (INE 2010) relates to gender: As seen from Figure 1, female-headed households are experiencing a more consistent drop in poverty rate than male-headed households and particularly so in urban areas. This is in line with recent analyses of enhanced socio-economic space for women in cities and towns in Mozambique (Tvedten et al. 2008, 2009, 2010). At the same time, however, other social indicators from cities and towns reveal that women still struggle with unequal opportunities in education and health, discrimination in the labour market, a larger total workload than men and physical abuse (Ibid).

Figure 1. Poverty Headcount by Sex of Household Head and Urban-Rural Areas



Source: INE 2010; MPD

Having said all this, social indicators related to access to consumer goods and basic social services such as education and health are better in urban than in rural areas in Mozambique for male-headed as well as for female-headed households (Table 8). This reflects a more 'commoditised' economy, a denser network of social institutions of health and education, as well as stronger socio-cultural pressure for proving one's 'urbanity' through ownership of material goods and housing (MPD 2010:8). The challenge for urban development and poverty reduction in Mozambique is to convert the superior conditions in education and health into employment, income and socio-cultural well-being. Currently, the discrepancy between people's human capital and aspirations on the one hand, and what they manage to achieve in terms of employment, income and well-being on the other, is at the very heart of the urban unrest found in the country.

Table 8. *Health, Education and Key Consumer Durables in Urban and Rural Areas (Percent)*

| Indicator | 2008-09 |
|---|---------|
| Primary Education Enrolment Rates (6-12 years, in percent): | |
| Urban | 89 |
| Rural | 78 |
| <60 Minutes to Primary Health Facility (in minutes): | |
| Urban | 15.6 |
| Rural | 37.0 |
| Average Number of Consumer Goods: * | |
| Urban | 2.54 |
| Rural | 1.36 |

Source: MPD/DNEAP 2010. * Out of a maximum of eight, including bicycle, car, motorbike, radio, TV, telephone, bed and fridge (see MPD 2010:11).

The general picture emerging on urban and rural poverty and well-being in Mozambique is thus one of an overall negative trend in terms of rural poverty and an overall positive trend in urban areas – albeit 'tainted' by indications of increasing frustration and vulnerability in towns and cities. As often in the case of Mozambique, however, the general trend conceals significant regional variations in both rural and urban poverty. As can be seen in Table 7 above, urban poverty in the north has actually increased by 1 percent while rural poverty has reduced by a significant 13 percent; urban poverty in the central region has increased by 7 percent and the rural poverty rate by an even higher 16 percent; and finally the urban as well as the rural poverty rates have decreased in the south, by 10 and 7 percent respectively. The Third National Poverty Assessment (MPD 2010) does not offer any explanation of these differences. It seems vital to better understand the nature of urban-rural linkages and the relationship between urban and rural poverty to achieve further development and poverty reduction in Mozambique.

In the subsequent chapters, we will take a closer look at recent developments in Maputo in terms of governance, population and poverty (Chapter 3), and at the trends and complexity of social relations of poverty in well-being in the four bairros selected for special attention in this study (Chapter 4).

3. Changing Cityscapes

Briefly recapitulating some of the background information given in our first report, Maputo is the capital city of Mozambique and was established as such in 1898 under the name of Lourenço Marques as a result of construction of a railroad to Pretoria and increasing economic relations with South Africa (Newitt 1995, Zamporini 1998). The city has historically been divided into a formal part (*cidade de cimento*) and surrounding shantytowns (*cidade de caniço*), even though, as we saw in our first report, such a crude dichotomy conceals blurred material and symbolic boundaries, inequalities within each type of setting as well as cross-boundary social movements (Paulo, Rosário & Tvedten 2007).

3.1 Population

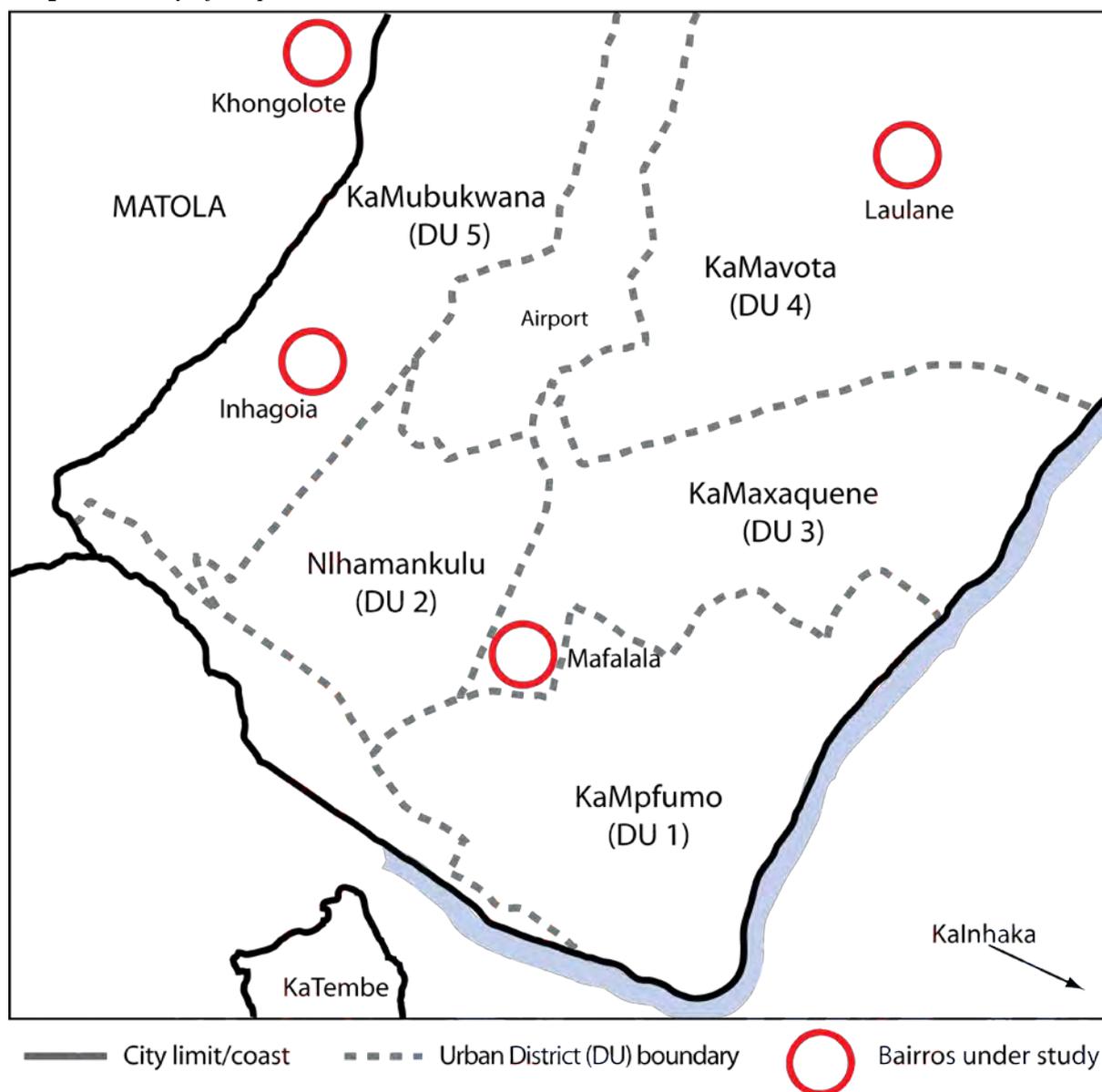
Maputo has a current population of 1.1 million, and is divided into seven 'municipal districts' and a total of 49 different 'bairros' (Map 2). Since our last report in 2007, the districts have been given new names instead of the rather dreary Urban District 1,2,3,4 etc. All refer to the original traditional leaders (*régulos*) who lived in the area and ruled over land prior to the colonial occupation and have the prefix 'ka-', meaning 'the home of'. The four bairros selected for our study are Mafalala (UD 2/Nlhamankulu); Laulane (UD 4/KaMavota); Inhagóia (UD 5/KaMubukwana); and Khongolote, which is formally part of Maputo's twin city Matola but the bulk of whose population actively relates to and/or works in Maputo. (Map 2).

Matola¹³ has maintained its position as the second largest city in Mozambique, with a population of 675,000 people (INE 2009). It is organised into three administrative posts and a total of 41 'bairros' (Map 3). Matola Sede contains the administrative centre of the city; the northern parts of Machava and Infulene are both rural in their characteristics; while the bairros in the south-eastern parts of the municipality bordering the city of Maputo are among the most congested in greater Maputo. Khongolote was originally rural in its characteristics, but has been rapidly urbanising since resettlements there following the 2000 flood (Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2007).

The overall population increase in Maputo was relatively modest between the censuses of 1997 and 2007, at 10 percent, whereas the population growth in Matola was as high as 35 percent during the same period (INE 2009). The relative importance of natural growth and urban migration for explaining population change does not appear from the available data, but as we shall see later, it is likely that migration from Maputo to Matola represents a relatively large share of the population increase in the latter city. Data also show fairly dramatic changes in the concentration of the population within the two cities. In Maputo, practically all population growth between 1997 and 2007 took place in the 'peripheral' districts of KaMavota and KaMubukwana, which – as discussed in our first report – to a large extent reflects movement out of the central districts (INE 2009). And in Matola, the bairros closest to Maputo have seen by far the biggest population increase, testifying to the close interlinkages between the two cities (Map 3).

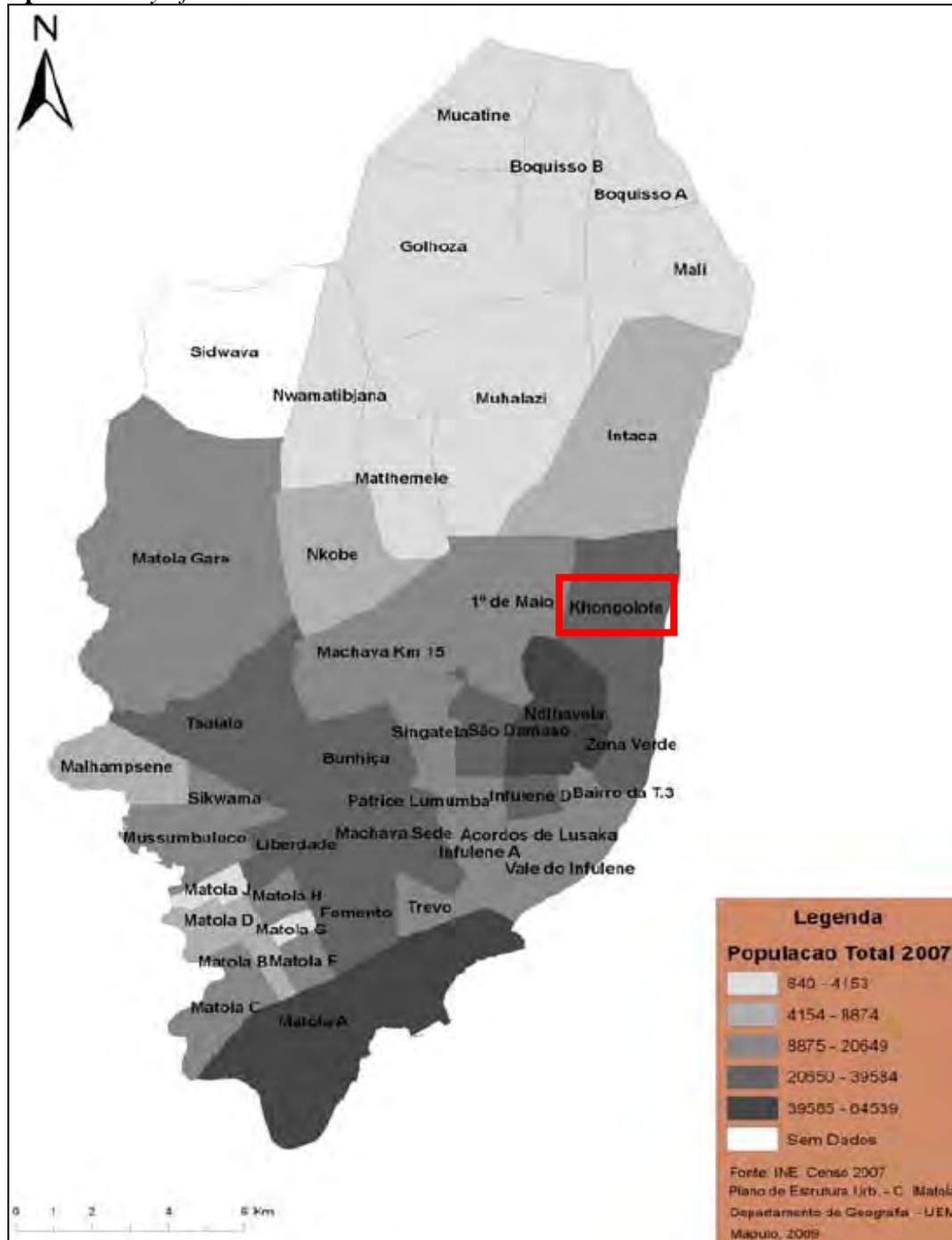
¹³ The origin of the name Matola (or Matsolo in Tsonga) means 'knee', and refers to the great Chief Maxacana, who during an expedition was hurt in his knee and forced to stay in the area that is now Matola (CMCM 2010).

Map 2: The City of Maputo



| KaMpfumo (DU 1) | Nihamankulu (DU 2) | KaMaxaquene (DU 3) | KaMavota (DU 4) | KaMubukwana (DU 5) |
|------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Central A | Aeroporto A | Mafalala | Mavalane A | Magoanine |
| Central B | Aeroporto B | Maxaquene A | Mavalane B | Zimpeto |
| Central C | Xipamanine | Maxaquene B | FPLM | Benfica |
| Alto Maé A | Micandjuine | Maxaquene C | Hulene A | George Dimitrov |
| Malhangalane A | Unidade 7 | Maxaquene D | Hulene B | Luís Cabral |
| Malhangalane B | Chamacula A | Polana Caniço A | Ferroviário | Malhazine |
| Coop | Chamacula B | Polana Caniço B | Laulane | Nsalene |
| Polana Cimento A | Chamacula C | Urbanização | 3 Fevereiro | Bagamoyo |
| Polana Cimento B | Chamacula D | | Mahotas | Inhagoie |
| Sommerschield | Malanga | | Albazine | |
| | Munhuana | | Costa do Sol | |

Map 3: The City of Matola



Source: Cidade de Matola

3.2 Political Economy

In terms of politics, the city of Maputo has also changed since 2007. The Municipal Assembly is still dominated by Frelimo, which as we have seen gained 58 seats out of a total of 67 in the 2008 municipal election. Other parties are Renamo with seven seats and the *Juntos Pela Cidade* (JPC) with two seats. The most noticeable change (and certainly the most recognized in the bairros where we worked) is the substitution of Eneas Comiche as the Frelimo candidate for municipal president by the new candidate David Simango. Among the 16 members (*vereadores*) of the Municipal Council, eight were the same in 2010 as in 2007. The vereadores are of two main types: one has responsibilities for specific areas of competence (i.e. finance, human resources, urban planning and environment, infrastructure, economic activities, markets, health and education), and the others each head one of the seven Urban Districts.

Below the central and district levels, each bairro has a Bairro Secretary with an assistant (*Secretário Adjunto*), who are *de facto* appointed by the party. The bairro is sub-divided into a number of bairro quarters (*quarteirões*) with individual heads, which again are sub-divided into units of 'ten houses' with each having a '*chefe de dez casas*'. Closely intertwined with this is the Frelimo party organisation, with party secretaries often sharing office space with the municipal government representatives and with the old 'party cell' organisation still intact in many places. None of the Bairro secretaries in our four areas of study were the same in 2010 as in 2007, which we see as a combined outcome of the importance attached to them by the government/party and the attractiveness of such positions, which yield a salary as well as influence and status. Another change since 2007 has been an increase in the number of younger *chefes de quarteirões* despite such positions not being formally paid, which may be seen as a combined outcome of a desire from the local community to elect dynamic representatives and the lack of alternatives for young unemployed people.

Matola is organised much the same way as Maputo, albeit on a smaller scale and with 'urban districts' being substituted by 'administrative posts' (i.e. maintaining the rural district terminology). Partly, but not solely, reflecting the difference in size and complexity, our impression from dealing with the two city administrations is that Matola is the better organised and more efficient. A small but important example of this is the quality of, and access to, planning documents. Matola can present carefully elaborated reports on socio-economic conditions, administrative divisions, land use, industrial investments, development of physical infrastructure etc., and the related development plans are known and referred to by people we interviewed (CMCM 2010).¹⁴ In Maputo, existing plans seem more limited in scope (CMM 2009), and people we interviewed did not seem to use these documents in a similarly consistent way.

In very general terms, the planning documents in Matola highlight i) the need to work towards a more even distribution of the population in the municipality so as to reduce the pressure on institutions and resources in the parts bordering on Maputo; ii) the economic importance of agriculture (with 65 percent of the municipal territory considered rural) and the need to further support 'urban agriculture'; iii) the continued challenges in terms of water and sanitation that is presented as the municipality's main problem; iv) the need to enhance the quality of the municipality's only hospital (in Machava) as well as access to health services for the northern rural parts of Matola; v) the challenges inherent in the pressure on existing

¹⁴ The Urban Structure Plan for the City of Matola is financed by the Spanish Cooperation (Cooperação Espanhola) and carried out by Faculty of Architecture and Physical Planning (FAPE) at the Eduardo Mondlane University, but in close cooperation with municipal authorities and technical personnel.

educational facilities – even though it is somewhat relieved by the construction of a number of private schools – which jeopardises the quality of education; vi) the deteriorating security situation with the increased influx of people, particularly in bairros close to Maputo; vii) the deterioration of sports facilities (highlighted as important to rectify in the documents); viii) the importance of active support to cultural institutions for art as well as for singing and dancing;¹⁵ and – finally – ix) the important and increasing investments made by large private companies that are putting additional pressure on the Municipal Government for good planning and service provision. According to the Municipality, Matola contains ‘the largest industrial park in the country’ (CMCM 2010:59).

Our information on development plans for Maputo is from the documents referred to above (CMM 2009) and documents from the World Bank (World Bank 2009, 2010). The Bank has been the most consistent supporter of improving urban governance and services through its IDA portfolio, first through the Urban Rehabilitation Project (from 1987); then through the programme for the Reform of Local Public Administration (1994-1999); and finally through the consolidation of first-generation urban municipalities under the Municipal Development Project (2003-2007). Since 2006, the focus of the World Bank’s urban investment has been the Maputo Municipal Development Programme (ProMaputo), initiating ‘broad and deep institutional and financial reforms’ (World Bank 2010:4). The first phase focussed on solid waste collection and road maintenance as primary targets for reform and service improvement, often through public-private partnerships. The second phase (MMDPII), to be initiated in early 2011 and last for five years, will ‘further promote innovation in the provision of services and sustainable operation and maintenance of municipal facilities’ (World Bank 2010:8). The more explicit new areas of focus are planned to be improvements of basic services (especially sanitation and environmental management), transport and traffic flow, greater access to land tenure, improved licensing of small-scale economic activities, and the continuing development of public-private partnerships (CMM 2009).

On the part of the government, urban development and poverty alleviation are to be pursued within the parameters of the recent ‘Strategic Programme for the Reduction of Urban Poverty’ (RdM 2010), focussing on employment creation and social protection. The most explicit endeavour for socio-economic development in Maputo is the decision to introduce the District Local Investment Scheme OIIL (RdM 2005) for local small-scale economic initiatives from 2011. The scheme is an attempt to support small-scale economic enterprises and hence enhance employment and income in the city. According to municipal staff, the criteria to be used for the allocation of funds are still not entirely clear, but as we shall argue later this type of initiative goes to the root of urban poverty – if done well.

Looking back at the three years that has gone by since our first ‘birds-eye view’ study of Maputo, the immediate impression one gets by comparing Maputo and Matola in 2007 and 2010 is one of change. In the central parts of Maputo, the ‘cement city’ is characterised by hectic building activity ranging from large shopping centres and luxury housing along the *marginal* in the bairro of Costa do Sol¹⁶ to the upgrading of hotels, shopping centres and office space in the down-town (*baixa*) area. New planned construction projects include the Maputo Business Tower (a 47-storey building with expected completion in 2014), and

¹⁵ The cultural institutions include Auditório Municipal (ex Cinema 700); Auditório/Cinema do São Gabriel; Anfiteatro do IFP da Matola; Anfiteatro do Internato da Escola Industrial da Matola; Espaço Cultural do MOPH; and Espaço Cultural. The best known cultural groups include Companhia Municipal; Associação Paz no Mundo/Cultura; Timbila ta Guevane/Muguido; Xigumo de Tsalala/Ringo Starr; and Grupo da Casa da Cultura de Infulene (see CMCM 2010:57).

¹⁶ As reported by Mozambique Political Process Bulletin, some of these have been built without the necessary formal permissions and have been ordered to be demolished by the Municipality.

spectacular plans for a 'Maputo Waterfront' for housing, commerce and leisure at the site of the former industrial fairground (FACIM) – estimated at a total cost of \$ 1.2 bn. In Matola, new housing areas and new shopping centres have been built and there are plans for a new 'cidadela'¹⁷ – all giving the centre more of an air of being a 'real city' and not only Maputo's 'little neighbour'. At the same time, however, traffic is becoming increasingly congested and in danger of 'choking' the Maputo city centre; the poor condition of the city's infrastructure becomes clear on days of heavy rain when roads, land and neighbourhoods are flooded and all communication paralysed; and crime remains a serious problem. Poor roads and potholes are still relatively 'democratically' distributed across all parts of the city.

Outside the 'formal city' change is less obvious, with people living in congested *bairros*, and markets and sidewalks being full of people at most times of the day. If anything, the queues for minibuses (*chapas*) have become longer and the markets even more crowded. Entering the main markets Xipamanine (mainly for foodstuffs and clothes) and Estrela (for absolutely everything one can think of – legal and illegal...), sellers will pull out a portable paying-machine, give you receipts and wrap your goods in nice paper – further blurring the distinction between the 'formal' and 'informal' economies of the city. Another noticeable change is the move of Maputo's main wholesale market from Malanga in the city centre to a new site in Zimpeto on the outskirts of the city. It attracts thousands of people a day buying agricultural and other produce in bulk for resale in other parts of the city, and is well organised with paved roads, a bank, places to eat and toilets. Practically all foodstuffs and commodities are imported from South Africa by '*muqueros*' and other middlemen and -women, rather than coming in from Maputo's rural hinterland or other parts of Mozambique.

Among the *bairros*, Mafalala, Xipamanine and Chamanculo are still considered the most tense and dangerous (based on a very informal survey among taxi-drivers, who should know what they are talking about). People (and the press) are also preoccupied with the particular characteristics of the different *bairros* and the growth of the 'new *bairros*' in the vicinity of the city centre, which seem to be considered attractive for people with the means to move. At the focus of attention is also access to land, housing, roads, potable water, electricity and other 'urban' commodities. The annual 'Report Card' studies commissioned by the Municipality show that peoples' satisfaction with urban services is improving, but also that there are large variations between the different *bairros*.

3.3 Poverty Trends

As noted above, overall urban poverty has been reduced in Mozambique over the past few years – albeit with considerable differences between the cities and towns. Looking more explicitly at Maputo, the poverty rate reduced from 53.6 percent to 36.2 percent between 2002/03 and 2008/09, and ownership of consumer durables, access to education, health services and clean water have improved (INE 2010; MPD 2010). Poverty in the city has also decreased as measured by the poverty gap index, with a difference of -9.1 percent between 2002/03 and 2008/09 (MPD 2010). And finally, even though Maputo has the highest inequality in the country with a Gini coefficient of 0.512, inequality in the capital city has not increased since 2002/03, when it stood at 0.524 (MPD 2010).

The improvements in living conditions are partly reflected in enhanced income and expenditure, even though inflation accounts for quite a large proportion of the increase (Table 9; see also MPD 2010:38-41). As seen, average income and expenditure have doubled in

¹⁷ See <http://noticias.sapo.mz/info/artigo/1044913.html>.

Maputo between 2002/03 and 2008/09. At the same time, however, the table demonstrates substantial differences in income and expenditure between the best off and the poorest quintile with the former spending an average of 10.5 times more than the latter. A per capita monthly income of MT 388 is very low given the high costs of housing, food and other basic necessities, *de facto* expenditure on education and health, and (for the majority of the people who live far away from their place of work) on transportation.

Table 9. Monthly Per Capita Income and Expenditure 2002/03 and 2008/09 (MT)

| | Income | | Expenditure | |
|------------------|---------|---------|-------------|---------|
| | 2002/03 | 2008/09 | 2002/03 | 2008/09 |
| National | 325 | 290 | 324 | 726 |
| Rural | 246 | 128 | 231 | 557 |
| Urban | 490 | 663 | 523 | 1114 |
| Maputo City | 828 | 1410 | 928 | 2175 |
| Highest quintile | n.a. | 4315 | 2932 | 4396 |
| Lowest quintile | n.a. | 388 | 237 | 417 |

Source: MPD

The more specific differences between the poorest and best off in terms of expenditure are reflected in Table 10. Households in the richest quintile spend 17.8 percent of their income on housing, 23.6 percent on 'other expenses' (i.e. 'essential' expenditure such as on education and health as well as 'non-essential' expenditure such as on beverages, clothes and leisure), and only 17.8 percent for food. The poorest households, on the other hand, spend nearly 50 percent of their income on necessary food and another 32.1 percent on housing – which does not leave very much for other types of expense and for coping with sudden shocks demanding additional expenditure, such as price increases for food and transportation.

Table 10. Monthly Per capita expenditures on selected items 2002/03 and 2008/09 (Percent)

| | Food | | Housing | | Transport | | Furniture | | Other | |
|------------------|-------|-------|---------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 02/03 | 08/09 | 02/03 | 08/09 | 02/03 | 08/09 | 02/03 | 08/09 | 02/03 | 08/09 |
| Rural | 65.5 | 69.3 | 18.1 | 15.2 | 1.9 | 2.6 | 5.9 | 2.6 | 8.6 | 10.3 |
| Urban | 46.1 | 37.2 | 28.1 | 30.4 | 3.8 | 5.4 | 9.0 | 10.6 | 13.0 | 16.4 |
| Maputo City | 30.6 | 23.4 | 39.1 | 36.6 | 6.7 | 7.4 | 10.3 | 11.2 | 13.2 | 21.3 |
| Highest quintile | 16.3 | 17.8 | 42.7 | 37.6 | 7.9 | 8.3 | 13.8 | 12.6 | 19.3 | 23.6 |
| Lowest quintile | 42.7 | 47.9 | 34.8 | 32.1 | 4.9 | 4.7 | 8.9 | 6.4 | 8.9 | 8.8 |

Source: MPD

One reason for the general improvements in income and expenditure in Maputo seems to be an increase in the number of people with formal employment compared with informal employment (Table 11).¹⁸ While we saw in our last report that some types of formal employment (such as domestic workers and security guards) actually yield very low pay even compared with income from the informal sector, income from formal employment does have the advantage of being more stable and predictable. The main reason for the increase in access to formal employment among the poorest between 2002/03 and 2008/09 is likely to be related to the high level of activity in construction work mentioned above, which is in an 'intermediate' position by being poorly paid (and hence not enough to lift the people

¹⁸ We have simplified data from the IAF report by defining the categories 'public sector' and 'private sector' employment as *formal employment*, and 'self-employment', family employment' and 'patrão' employment relations as *informal employment*.

concerned out of the poorest quintile) and formal (albeit for a limited period of time until the relevant construction work is over).

Table 11: *Types of Employment among the Economically Active Population 2002/03 and 2008/09 (Percent)*

| | Formal employment | | Informal employment | | Other | |
|------------------|-------------------|---------|---------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| | 2002/03 | 2008/09 | 2002/03 | 2008/09 | 2002/03 | 2008/09 |
| National | 8.8 | 11.71 | 91.1 | 87.87 | 0.1 | 0.42 |
| Rural | 3.2 | 4.31 | 96.7 | 95.52 | 0.1 | 0.17 |
| Urban | 23.5 | 29.44 | 76.4 | 69.53 | 0.1 | 1.03 |
| Maputo City | 35.6 | 44.57 | 64.4 | 53.36 | 0.0 | 2.07 |
| Highest quintile | 50.5 | 52.98 | 49.5 | 43.14 | 0.0 | 3.88 |
| Lowest quintile | 15.4 | 39.01 | 84.6 | 57.43 | 0.0 | 3.56 |

Source: MPD

Looking at other social indicators of poverty, people in Maputo do have a number of apparent advantages. The net primary enrolment rate (or the proportion of children 6-12 years who attend school) is the highest in the country at 95.9 percent as against a national average of 88.5 percent, with only small differences between boys (96.8 percent) and girls (95.1 percent). The net primary completion rate is also higher in Maputo than in the rest of the country at 92.5 percent, as against a national average of 77.1 percent. However, the high enrolment and completion rates must be assessed in relation to new laws and regulations making passing 'compulsory' up to 5th Grade (see below).

The child mortality rate is often considered a good indicator of health and nutrition, and also in this case Maputo is better off at 108/1000 as against 147/1000 in the rest of the country.¹⁹ One reason for the superior health conditions in Maputo may be access to health facilities: in the capital city as many as 58.8 percent of the population are within less than 30 minutes of a health facility compared to the national average of 49.9 percent, and only 5.5 percent are more than 60 minutes distant compared to the national average of 27.7 percent (INE 2010; MPD 2010). Again the quantitative figures conceal differences between bairros in Maputo and real access to different types of health institution, but there is little doubt that real progress has been made in terms of health and access to health facilities in the capital city. The only health indicator which is relatively poor in Maputo compared with the rest of the country is the HIV-AIDS infection rate, with a national average of 11.5 percent against an average of 16.8 in Maputo City (MISAU 2009).

Despite all indications of improvements in terms of material poverty and well-being in Maputo in the period since our last study, we have also witnessed unprecedented social unrest, which is a stark reminder of the multi-dimensional face of poverty that also includes vulnerability to adverse shocks and voicelessness and powerlessness in relation to institutions of the state and society (see Chapter 1). While the uprisings in Maputo in February 2008 and September 2010 are the most adverse expressions of this, we shall see in the next chapter that there are also a number of localised expressions of the very difficult situation in which many still find themselves – ranging from a sense of being voiceless and powerless following abrupt changes in the accessibility and prices of basic commodities; via an increasing frustration as inequalities become more visible to people; and to domestic violence and social isolation in a complex and for many hostile urban environment.

¹⁹For the country as a whole, malaria is still by far the most common cause of child mortality at 40 percent, followed by HIV-AIDS and pneumonia.

4. Dynamics of Poverty and Well-Being

Looking more explicitly at the bairros of Mafalala, Laulane, Inhagoia and Khongolote, which are the focus of this study (see Map 2), the most striking feature is perhaps the differences in the direction of change between 2007 and 2010. In fact, all 47 bairros in Maputo have their own characteristics based on their particular history, geographical location, level of poverty and well-being, demography and dominant ethno-linguistic group. Mafalala, Laulane, Inhagoia and Khongolote were originally chosen to represent a cross-section of the bairros in the city (see Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2007).

At one end of the scale, Mafalala, the most densely populated of the four bairros, has seen few changes in its urban landscape and population, the most obvious reason being that there is simply no room for new structures and more people. According to the local authorities, the number of people living in Mafalala (now standing at 20,730) has actually gone down over the last three years.²⁰ The most visible changes since 2007 are the construction of a series of open drains to combat the problem of standing water, which has led to the prevalence of malaria and repeated outbreaks of cholera; the construction of a new building for the bairro administration; and a limited number of new water-points. The bairro has no new schools (with the ones existing still being overcrowded and in poor condition), and there is still no health clinic (with people depending on clinics in neighbouring bairros). While people insist that daily life in Mafalala is not as tense and violent as many seem to believe, they do acknowledge that there are continued problems with density, poverty and mutual distrust. One example is the new open drains, which are being filled up with garbage and used as latrines, making the health situation even more precarious than before. Another is enhanced alcohol and substance abuse and noise, particularly among young people and at weekends around the bairro's central square. On the positive side, people argue that crime has been reduced 'or at least moved out of our bairro' as one put it, which is explained with reference to several cases of public lynching which have 'scared the culprits away'. As if to combat the negative stigma of Mafalala, a group of youngsters, with support from the local NGO 'Iverca', has initiated a 'Get to Know Mafalala Walking Tour', where they take tourists through the bairro to show them 'the people, the history and the gastronomy' (see www.iverca.org).

At the other end of the scale, Khongolote has undergone significant changes between 2007 and 2010. As outlined in our first report, Khongolote was originally a rural area that experienced a large population influx following the 2000 flood and with an increasing number of people 'escaping' the congested conditions of central Maputo and looking for land to build 'proper' houses. According to the local authorities, the population has increased from 27,000 in 2007 to 'more than 30,000 in 2010'. Revising a community map drawn by a focus group in 2007, the number of shops, schools, health clinics, markets etc. has more than doubled. Among the new constructions are two private secondary schools, a new health clinic with a maternity ward, an extended and partially new public or 'municipal' market, two bakeries, a number of beauty shops and a large number of new market stalls. There are also new roads and more *chapas* trafficking the bairro. The bulk of the new dwellings comprise large brick houses with fenced gardens, and a criss-cross of new power lines reveals that most of them have electricity. But this type of development and pressure has also come with a downside: the local authorities are in the process of losing control as people with no 'tradition' of dealing with bairro secretaries and neighbourhood leaders move in; many of the original inhabitants have (more or less voluntarily) sold their property and left; the crime rate has

²⁰ While basing themselves on census figures, most bairro administrators keep a close record of people moving into and out of their bairro and will know the exact number of inhabitants at any time.

increased considerably; local public schools are overcrowded, with serious implications for the quality of education; former agricultural land is no longer available, which reduces food security; and parts of the *bairro* are literally full, which is likely to lead to further apprehension.²¹ Still local informants claim that Khongolote is a 'good place to stay', particularly emphasising the access to employment generated by the hectic building boom in the area.

The bairros of Laulane and Inhagoia have seen developments between 2007 and 2010 that lie somewhere between Mafalala and Khongolote. Laulane is a large and 'settled' bairro with neighbourhoods varying from the poor and congested vicinity of Maputo's main rubbish dump *Lixeira de Hulene* in its northern part to affluent areas close to Maputo's new 'in area' along the bairro of Costa do Sol to the south. There are few new commercial establishments, probably due to the vicinity of the city centre and the fact that so many of its inhabitants leave to work in town; schools and health facilities are already relatively well built up; and the bairro's residential characteristics leave little room for informal economic activities outside the already established larger markets such as Xikelene. Inhagoia is smaller and more congested, but also a relatively 'settled' bairro. Very little seems to have taken place there in terms of new infrastructure, institutions and commercial outlets since 2007, with the exception of a modernization of the local clinic and the extension of the electricity grid to more houses. The bairro is still marked by the large areas wiped out during the flood in 2000, which have not been rebuilt. An important resource for the bairro is the Green Zone between Maputo and Matola, with many families having access to small pieces of land (often not more than 4-5 m²) for the production of vegetables and other foodstuffs.²²

Below we will take a more detailed look at the dynamics of poverty and well-being in the four bairros by revisiting the same local administrations, the same communities and the same households as in 2007. As indicated above, most of the people we related to in management positions at the levels of the municipality, urban district and individual bairro had changed between 2007 and 2010. While reducing the possibilities for capturing perceptions of change from the same vantage-points, most of the leaders we met in 2010 were involved in the same institutions – albeit at different levels and with different tasks – as three years earlier. At the lower levels in the four bairros – of heads of institutions (education, health, public markets etc.); owners of private enterprises (shops, workshops etc.); and heads of *quarteirões* and of *dez casas* – there is a much higher degree of continuity.

As regards the 120 individual households that were part of our survey in 2007, we managed to relocate 103 of them in 2010. Of the 17 not relocated, six had moved to another identified location, eight were found but with a new head (because of death, divorce or internal change of headship), and the whereabouts the last three could not be ascertained. The nine households that had moved or could not be located were substituted by either the new household that had moved into the premises or (when the premises was empty or demolished) by the closest neighbouring household.²³ 67 percent of the households are male-headed and 33 percent female-headed, which is a slight oversampling of the latter compared with census data showing a 26.5 percent representation of female-headed households in the city of Maputo (INE 2009).

²¹ This also includes the graveyard, where land for burying the dead has become a subject of bargaining and speculation.

²² Despite being located in areas with a lot of people, the small plots are largely and miraculously left alone with very few cases of theft.

²³ The surveyed households were originally selected on the basis of lists of bairro/quarterão households and systematic random sampling (see Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2007 for more details).

4.1 Household Composition and Dependencies

The National Census (INE 2009) and the National Household and Expenditure Survey (INE 2010) define the household as people who 'live under the same roof *and* eat from the same pot'. As we have argued in previous reports, this definition does not sufficiently reflect realities on the ground. We employ a definition where the salient characteristics are that people 'eat from the same pot' and consider themselves to be members of the same household, which implies that members may live outside the main household dwelling and that people living under the same roof do not necessarily belong to the same household (see below). In line with this, whereas INE records the average size of households in Maputo as being 6.3, our survey has an average of 7.1 members per household.²⁴

As regards the civil status of heads of the households that are part of our survey, several changes have taken place between 2007 and 2010 (Table 12). The proportion of single household heads has dropped from 14.2 to 5.8 percent, with the people concerned primarily having become part of consensual unions, which have increased from 24.2 to 40 percent of the total. The concomitant reduction in the proportion of married unions is reflected in the increase in the number of separated/divorced male household heads (from 2.6 to 6.3 percent). And a smaller proportion of female-headed households live with men in conjugal or consensual unions, with a concomitant larger proportion of the female-headed households being separated/divorced or widows. The proportion of male household heads living in polygamous relationships has also increased from 16.2 to 18.9 percent, underlining that 'tradition' is not only a rural but also an urban phenomenon.

The changes in status of the 120 household heads testify to the flexibility and vulnerability of households as domestic units. The most significant change is the increasing prevalence of 'living-together relationships' or consensual unions. Such unions usually imply a lower degree of commitment between spouses (as no dowry has been paid and the extended families are not involved as in formal marriage arrangements), but it also reflects a situation of poverty and vulnerability where young people do not have the means and do not feel sufficiently secure to invest in a common future. In addition, a number of the women who were heads of female-headed households with men present in 2007 lived alone as separated/divorced or widows in 2010, testifying to an emerging process of more independent women or (alternatively) more marginalised men.

Table 12. *Civil Status by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Civil Status | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Single | 14.5 | 3.8 | 13.6 | 10.0 | 14.2 | 5.8 |
| Married | 48.7 | 30.0 | 13.6 | 5.0 | 35.8 | 21.7 |
| Consensual union | 34.2 | 60.0 | 6.8 | 0.0 | 24.2 | 40.0 |
| Separated/divorced | 0.0 | 5.0 | 31.8 | 40.0 | 11.7 | 16.7 |
| Widowed | 2.6 | 1.3 | 31.8 | 45.0 | 13.3 | 15.8 |
| No information | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

²⁴ The figure is taken from the 2002/03 National Household Survey (INE 2004), which for some reason is much richer in information than the report following the 2008/09 National Household Survey (INE 2010).

The average age of household heads has – for natural reasons – increased by approximately three years to 48.2 years between 2007-2010, and the relative distribution of children less than 15 years (39.7 and 36.3 percent), of adults from 15-64 years (58.2 and 60.8 percent) and elders 65 or more years old (2.5 and 0.8 percent) is relatively stable (Table 13). The very small proportion of elders is particularly noteworthy. Our qualitative data show that this reflects two different types of process: many of the poorest households cannot afford to have ‘unproductive’ elders as members and are forced to leave them to their own destiny in the city; while many better-off households who have been in a position to maintain relationships with their rural area of origin support elders in going back to their own *terra* in accordance with tradition.²⁵

Table 13. Age Distribution of Household Members by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

| Age Cohort | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|--------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Less than 15 | 37.0 | 34.2 | 44.4 | 40.3 | 39.7 | 36.3 |
| 15-64 | 60.5 | 62.6 | 54.0 | 57.4 | 58.2 | 60.8 |
| 65 or more | 2.5 | 3.2 | 1.6 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 2.9 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

While the average size of the households in our survey has been relatively stable between 2007 and 2010, the average size of male-headed households has decreased from 7.62 to 7.13, and the average size of female-headed households has decreased from 7.32 to 7.20 (Table 14). This means that the latter have more members than the former despite the absence of a spouse, which is yet another indication of the increasingly central position of women for the well-being of the urban population. As many as 41.7 percent of the households claim that they have acquired new members since 2007, with 16.7 percent gaining new members ‘due to the death of those responsible for their upkeep’. The complexity of and social pressure on the household as a socio-economic unit is further underlined by the fact that as many as 31.7 percent have dependents – expecting contributions in cash or kind – who are not part of the household (up from 27.1 percent in 2007).

Table 14. Number of Household Members by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

| Household Members | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|-------------------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| 1 – 2 | 3.9 | 3.8 | 2.3 | 7.5 | 3.3 | 5.0 |
| 3 – 4 | 14.5 | 13.8 | 22.7 | 20.0 | 17.5 | 15.8 |
| 5 – 6 | 28.9 | 37.5 | 13.6 | 22.5 | 23.3 | 32.5 |
| 7 + | 52.6 | 45.0 | 61.4 | 50.0 | 55.8 | 46.7 |
| Total | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 | 100.0 | 0.0 |
| Average | 7.62 | 7.13 | 7.32 | 7.20 | 7.51 | 7.15 |

We also see changes in the composition of households, again emphasising how they are flexible units accommodating changing socio-economic circumstances of poverty and well-being and yielding to socio-economic pressures of fission and fusion. As seen from Table 15 the proportion of households with ‘core’ members (spouses, parents, children and

²⁵As we saw in our first Maputo report, 33.3 percent of all household heads in our survey were born outside Maputo with the majority coming from the nearby provinces of Gaza (27.5 percent), Inhambane (22.5 percent) and Maputo (11.7 percent).

grandchildren) is relatively stable, but there is an increasing proportion of households with 'non-relatives' as members. There is also a tendency for a much higher proportion of female-than male-headed households to have grandchildren as part of their household unit, reiterating the social responsibility women have for the well-being of their family. We also see again that a number of female household heads who had a spouse in 2007, which we then argued was an indication of women having a strong economic position and/or dwelling ownership, no longer do so. Our interviews indicate that some of these women have 'expelled' the men in question, because they neither worked nor brought money into the household.

Table 15. *Household Member Categories by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Household Members | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|-------------------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Spouse | 82.9 | 91.1 | 20.5 | 5.0 | 60.0 | 62.2 |
| Parents | 15.8 | 13.9 | 11.4 | 15.0 | 14.2 | 14.3 |
| Children | 81.6 | 89.9 | 90.9 | 82.5 | 85.0 | 87.4 |
| Grand-children | 32.9 | 27.8 | 59.1 | 67.5 | 42.5 | 41.2 |
| Nephews/nieces | 27.6 | 21.5 | 15.9 | 20.0 | 23.3 | 21.0 |
| Siblings | 22.4 | 22.8 | 22.7 | 15.0 | 22.5 | 20.2 |
| Other relatives | 22.4 | 12.7 | 15.9 | 15.0 | 20.0 | 13.4 |
| Non relatives | 6.6 | 11.4 | 2.3 | 7.5 | 5.0 | 10.1 |

The level of education of the household heads has not seen significant changes since 2007: 21.7 percent have no education at all or merely an alphabetisation course; 36.7 percent have studied up to 5th Grade (EP 1), which usually results in functional illiteracy; 25 percent have studied up to 7th Grade (EP 2); and 16.6 percent have secondary education or higher. This implies that a large number of older household heads are severely handicapped in an urban context where literacy is important for functioning in relation to expectations of 'modernity', to follow up the education of their children and for competing in a labour market where the ability to read and write is becoming increasingly important. As we shall see, there have been improvements in the overall educational level of the households, usually by children becoming better educated than their father and mother, which may change their status and role vis a vis their parents and give the latter less control.

In terms of the socio-cultural characteristics of households, the period 2007 to 2010 has seen a decrease from 42.5 to 31.7 percent in the proportion who carry out traditional ceremonies and rites such as 'kupatha'. Even though this may seem to imply a move away from 'tradition' and towards 'modernity', the proportion practising such rites is still relatively high and can equally well be interpreted as a continuing need for urban dwellers trying to relate to a complex and hostile urban environment. Moreover, people in the four bairros seem vehemently religious: only 4.2 percent of the households claim they do not have any religion. The 'established' churches, such as the Catholic Church, are losing ground (from 27.5 percent adherence among the households in 2007 to 20.8 percent in 2010), while the more 'African' charismatic churches such as God's Assembly and 12 Apostolos are gaining ground (from 23.3 in 2007 to 31.7 percent in 2010), particularly among female-headed households. We know from other studies that women represent the overwhelming majority of churchgoers, albeit still with men in leading positions (Tvedten et al. 2009 and 2010; see also Schuetze 2010). The strong position of religion, and the move towards churches that perform miracles or 'milagres', is important from both a spiritual and a social point of view. Having said this, we still know too little about the role churches and mosques play in community relations in general, and for the relationship between men and women in particular (Schuetze 2010).

More 'profane' activities, such as membership of various types of non-religious civil society association,²⁶ has seen a drop from 13.4 percent to 10.9 percent – even though the number is likely to have been higher had the definition included 'adherents' or 'followers' with a looser relationship. The limited role of such associations for households in Maputo is noteworthy, as associational life around community-related activities and informal networks is much more widespread in other urban contexts (Tostensen, Tvedten and Vaa 2001). Associations have habitually been seen as a way of compensating for 'social disintegration' in cities and towns and of substituting for traditional organisations and extended family networks, while others have emphasised how the urban context gives room or social space to individual innovation and association (Ibid). Associational activities may include trade unions, advocacy groups, NGOs and CBOs, sports clubs, culture groups, neighbourhood organisations, rotating savings and credit societies, ethnic associations, burial societies and many more. The limited role of such organisations in Maputo may be related to the repression by, and late independence from, the Portuguese colonisers; the history of deep urban poverty, which has left little room for activities other than struggling to fulfil basic needs for survival; and the historical importance of Frelimo at the community level for politics *per se* and through their women (OMM) and youth (OJM) organisations. Associations have a potentially very important role to play in communication between the government and communities.

While usually not considered formally part of 'civil society' or 'associational life',²⁷ Frelimo, as the dominant political party in Mozambique, is present at practically all levels of the bairros where we have worked. They control the appointment of leaders at the levels of bairro secretaries, *chefes de quarterões* and *chefes the dez casas* – not necessarily by having their own people (s)elected but by making sure that active members of the opposition or other potential 'agitators' are not. Active party members are placed in 'strategic' positions also in other areas of bairro life and bairro associations.²⁸ And households with members known to be part of the 'opposition', broadly defined, may face problems securing their 'rights' – for example in small but important matters such as getting necessary stamps and signatures on personal documents. Still, and as the demonstrations in February 2008 and September 2010 showed, there are limits to the party's control of the local bairro populations. In fact, a central reason for the social unrest seems to be the limited extent to which the ruling party and their representatives do not involve the population and make decisions above their heads – including decisions to remove price subsidies that strike at the very heart of people's daily struggle for survival.

Celeste Soto.²⁹ The salient characteristic of the very poorest in Maputo is the combination of material poverty, a limited set of social relationships and (for some) the development of what we termed a 'culture of poverty' where people effectively gave up making more of their lives (Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2007). One of the case-studies we presented in our first report was 'Celeste Soto', who fulfilled the first two criteria: she was from Zambézia, far from her own family; had recently become a widow from her miner husband; made a very small income from selling peanuts; did not get any pension from her deceased husband (as it turned out that he was also married in South Africa); was sick and often did not manage to get out of bed; and lived under very precarious conditions in a small room in a single quarter. The landlord was in the process of throwing her out, as she could not pay the rent. Her biggest

²⁶ For a conceptual discussion/clarification of 'civil society' and 'associational life', see Tostensen, Tvedten and Vaa 2001.

²⁷ Usually excluded are organisations whose principal objective is profit-making (i.e. enterprises), and organisations seeking state power (i.e. political parties).

²⁸ When requesting focus groups of young people to discuss various issues of the bairros, we are usually given boys and girls with the 'right meanings' and their party membership in order.

²⁹ As in our 2007 report, all names are fictive if not otherwise stated.

sorrow was that her two sons could not go to school as she had no money and they had to help her, and her biggest hope was that she would one day make it back to her family in Zambezia where she came from. Meeting her again after three years, her fortunes had turned. She had been found by a Catholic mission, and nuns there had helped her to get to a hospital where she was diagnosed with HIV-AIDS; they took her into the mission to help her regain strength; they contacted the deceased husband's brothers, who offered her a better dwelling in a different bairro; and they helped her get on a programme for antiretroviral treatment. When we met her she was back selling at the market 'when I have the strength', she had managed to get one of her sons back into school ('the other is helping me, and tells me when I have to take my medicine'), and though realising that her time is limited she was optimistic about life. Without the initial contact with the nuns she would surely have died and left her two young sons to their own destiny. While being a positive story, it also exemplifies the precariousness of life as a poor and marginalised person in an urban context like Maputo.

4.2 Employment and Income

Looking more concretely at changes in employment and income among the 120 households in the period between 2007 and 2010, the main occupation of household heads has not seen much change (Table 16). 10 percent of male household heads are unemployed (up from 7.9 percent in 2007), and 30 percent of the female household heads do not have income-generating work (down from 34.1 percent in 2007). Even though the unemployment rate among female heads of household has decreased somewhat, they are still three times more likely than male household heads to be unemployed. Many of the households with unemployed heads are totally disconnected from the developments taking place, and depend on handouts or begging ('*vivemos da esmola*').

The proportion of household heads with formal employment in the public or private sector has increased only minimally from 40.9 to 41.6 percent, testifying to the problems of getting formal employment for older people with limited education. At the same time, we shall see below that the overall formal employment rate has increased considerably in the same households. This may also easily reduce the authority particularly of male household heads, who culturally are expected to be the main breadwinners.

Table 16. Main Occupation of Household Head by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

| Main Occupation | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Public sector empl. | 21.1 | 23.8 | 9.1 | 0.0 | 16.7 | 15.8 |
| Private sector empl. | 34.2 | 32.5 | 6.8 | 12.5 | 24.2 | 25.8 |
| Informal empl. | 22.4 | 20.1 | 47.7 | 50.0 | 31.6 | 30.0 |
| Farmer | 0.0 | 2.5 | 0.0 | 7.5 | 0.0 | 4.2 |
| Pensioner | 13.2 | 10.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 8.3 | 6.7 |
| Unemployed | 7.9 | 10.0 | 34.1 | 30.0 | 17.5 | 16.7 |
| Don't know | 1.3 | 1.3 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 1.6 | 0.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

A noteworthy change in the employment situation is the decrease in the proportion of female household heads in formal employment (from 15.9 to 12.5 percent), and the concomitant increase in the proportion of female household heads who are involved in informal employment (from 47.7 to 57.7). This reveals the continuing problems that particularly older women have in the formal labour market, but we also know of cases where women have left jobs as e.g. domestic servants to work in the informal economy with the argument that they

will earn better. There has also been an increase in the proportion of female household heads who primarily rely on farming from none to 7.5 percent, testifying to the importance of food security in urban contexts. The fact that still no female household heads are pensioners further underlines women's inferior position in the formal labour market.

Looking at changes in employment and income from the formal sector for the households as a whole, the proportion with no such income has remained relatively stable at around 35 percent (Table 17). At the same time, the average number of household members employed in the formal sector has increased from 0.89 to 0.98. While the proportion has largely remained the same in male-headed households, there has been a sharp increase in female-headed households from 0.50 to 0.72. This means that while male-headed households still have comparatively more members working in the formal sector, their female counterparts have an increasing proportion of members in the sector who can contribute with more secure and stable – if not necessarily higher – earnings.

Table 17. Formal Income by Sex of Household Head in MT per Month (Percent)

| Formal Income (MT) | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| No formal income | 24.4 | 26.3 | 56.8 | 55.0 | 35.0 | 35.8 |
| 251 - 500 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.2 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 0.0 |
| 501 - 750 | 3.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.6 | 2.6 | 1.3 |
| 751 - 1000 | 8.6 | 0.0 | 10.5 | 0.0 | 9.1 | 0.0 |
| 1001 - 1500 | 10.3 | 5.1 | 31.6 | 22.2 | 15.6 | 9.1 |
| 1501 - 2500 | 19.0 | 8.5 | 21.1 | 16.7 | 19.5 | 10.4 |
| 2501 - 5000 | 34.5 | 45.8 | 26.3 | 27.8 | 32.5 | 41.6 |
| > 5000 | 24.1 | 35.6 | 5.3 | 22.2 | 19.5 | 32.5 |
| Don't know | 0.0 | 5.1 | 0.0 | 5.6 | 0.0 | 5.2 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

At the same time, remuneration for those who are engaged in the formal sector has increased from 2007 to 2010.³⁰ While 13 percent earned less than 1,000 Mt per month in 2007, only 1.3 percent did so in 2010, although the increase is partly 'eaten up' by the rising cost of living (MPD 2010:38-41). Male-headed households are still earning more than female-headed households from formal economic activities, with the majority of the former earning between 2,501 - 5,000 Mt (48 percent) or over 5,000 Mt (38 percent). Female-headed household's remuneration primarily ranges from 1,001 Mt to 5,000 Mt. At the same time, the percentage of female-headed households earning over 5,000 Mt has increased from 5 percent to 22 percent, mainly from private sector employment.

The involvement of members of the 120 households in informal economic activities has also increased in the period from 2007 to 2010 (Table 18). Whereas in 2007 some 78 percent of the surveyed households had at least some income from informal activities, in 2010 this had increased to 84 percent. Female-headed households remain more likely to engage in informal income generating activities than their male-headed equivalents, with over 90 percent doing so as compared to 80 percent of male-headed households.

³⁰ Figures on income should be read carefully, both in light of inflation and changing costs of living (see below) and because they are difficult to capture accurately. Nevertheless, our experience is that figures better reflect realities when asking about income brackets than when asking for exact sums.

Table 18. Informal Income by Sex of household Head (Percent)

| Informal Income | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| No informal income | 38.2 | 20.0 | 13.6 | 7.5 | 29.2 | 15.8 |
| < 250 | 14.9 | 6.3 | 7.9 | 2.7 | 11.8 | 5.0 |
| 251 - 500 | 12.8 | 14.1 | 15.8 | 13.5 | 14.1 | 13.9 |
| 501 - 750 | 8.5 | 4.7 | 5.3 | 5.4 | 7.1 | 5.0 |
| 751 - 1.000 | 4.3 | 4.7 | 18.4 | 2.7 | 10.6 | 4.0 |
| 1001 - 1500 | 6.4 | 7.8 | 10.5 | 10.8 | 8.2 | 8.9 |
| 1501 - 2500 | 19.1 | 6.3 | 13.2 | 10.8 | 16.5 | 7.9 |
| 2501 - 5000 | 14.9 | 18.8 | 26.3 | 35.1 | 20.0 | 24.8 |
| > 5000 | 19.1 | 37.5 | 2.6 | 18.9 | 11.8 | 30.7 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Household revenues from the informal sector have also increased. In 2007, the largest share of the households involved (37 percent) were earning between 1,500, Mt and 2,500 Mt. In 2010 the majority (55 percent) were earning more than 2,500 Mt. Just as with formal revenues, male-headed households on the average also have the highest income from the informal activities. But again, female-headed households have managed to increase their revenue base significantly: in 2007 only 3 percent of these households earned over 5,000 Mt, which had increased to 19 percent in 2010.

Looking at types of informal economic activity, the major activities in 2007 were informal shops or marketing stalls (28 percent), odd jobs or '*biscates*' (23 percent) and hawking or '*comercio ambulante*' (14 percent) (Table 19). In 2010, odd jobs had become more prominent with 36 percent of the households having revenues from this source of income, while renting out rooms or houses (12 percent) and sales of beverages (11 percent) had also become more important. Households also have more diversified sources of income in 2010 than in 2007, increasingly selling products such as bread, icicles or cookies directly from their homes. Other new activities are related to construction, such as the manufacture, renting or sale of construction materials, which is an indication of the increased building activities in the city.

Table 19. *Types of Informal Economic Activity by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Type of Informal Economic Activity | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|-------|--------------------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| No informal activity | 38.2 | 20.0 | 13.6 | 7.5 | 29.2 | 15.8 |
| Odd jobs | 18.4 | 37.5 | 31.8 | 32.4 | 23.3 | 35.6 |
| Store/stall | 21.1 | 28.1 | 38.6 | 27.0 | 27.5 | 27.7 |
| Letting property | 6.6 | 12.5 | 4.5 | 10.8 | 5.8 | 11.9 |
| Beverages | 5.3 | 12.5 | 6.8 | 8.1 | 5.8 | 10.9 |
| Hawking | 15.8 | 6.3 | 11.4 | 16.2 | 14.2 | 9.9 |
| Charcoal | 6.6 | 7.8 | 9.1 | 8.1 | 7.5 | 7.9 |
| Barber/Hairdressing | 6.6 | 4.7 | 4.5 | 8.1 | 5.8 | 5.9 |
| Car shop | 1.3 | 3.1 | 2.3 | 8.1 | 1.7 | 5.0 |
| Carpentry | 2.6 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 2.7 | 1.7 | 2.0 |
| Construction | 2.6 | 0.0 | 6.8 | 2.7 | 4.2 | 1.0 |
| Traditional medicine | 2.6 | 1.6 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 2.5 | 1.0 |
| Gai-Gai/Tchova | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.7 | 0.0 | 1.0 |
| Tailoring | 0.0 | 1.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 1.0 |
| Crafts | 1.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 |
| Other | 1.3 | 37.5 | 0.0 | 43.2 | 0.8 | 39.6 ³¹ |

Moreover, female-headed households are now engaging in activities which were previously undertaken primarily by male-headed households and men. This is the case with hawking, carpentry and *gai-gai/tchova*.³² This venture into new economic activities is the result of women taking up traditional male activities, but also a reflection of a change in dependency rates (i.e. the proportion of household members under 15 and over 65 years of age): the dependency rate in female headed households has decreased nearly 11 percent between 2007 - and 2010, whereas male-headed households' rate has decreased only 6 percent. This means that although female-headed households have more members, as pointed out above, they also have more members able to contribute to the household's pot. Also, as the women heading the households become older they no longer need to care for younger members and may leave the house to engage in the labour market.

Probing further into changes in the economic situation of the 120 households, the percentage receiving remittances has decreased somewhat but continues to be relatively high, particularly for female-headed households at 35 percent (Table 20). The extended family continues to be the most important source of support, for 75 percent of those receiving remittances. Our data show that they provide support primarily in kind (agricultural products and clothes), but also in the form of cash. The closer economic ties between female household heads and their original families in rural areas is yet another indication of the importance of social networks of women, who tend to mobilise their extended family when marriages break up or they are left alone with children.

³¹ Includes guards, domestic workers, miners, drivers, gardeners, mechanics, bakers, locksmiths, painters etc.

³² 'Gai-gai' is the activity of carrying cargo on one's back. 'Tchova' is a pushcart that is used to transport cargo.

Table 20. Reception of External Assistance/Remittances by Sex of Household Head previous month (Percent)

| Reception of Remittances | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Yes | 19.7 | 12.5 | 38.6 | 35.0 | 26.7 | 20.0 |
| No | 80.3 | 87.5 | 61.4 | 65.0 | 73.3 | 80.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

At the same time, support from formal systems of social security are conspicuously absent. None of the households in our sample has received support from NGOs or the National Institute for Social Security INSS, and all support given by the National Institute for Social Action INAS (which presupposes a formal employment career) is allocated to male household heads. The identification of the neediest households in the bairros is undertaken by the bairro secretaries and their *chefes de quarterão*, and there are reasons to argue that this should be better targeted. The exception is support to HIV-AIDS victims, which is often administered by individuals working specifically in that area and where women tend to be more open about their disease. In one of the four bairros, all 40 receiving regular support in the form of food and medicines were women.

The proportion of households with access to agricultural fields has increased from 29.2 to 38.3 percent between 2007 and 2010, which is an important strategy for reducing vulnerability to food shortage (Table 21). The proportion is highest, albeit declining, in Khongolote (located close to rural areas and with a 'rural tradition') at 60 percent, and lowest in Mafalala (with the poorest population, of whom most originate from the northern province of Nampula) at 16.7 percent. At the same time Laulane, as the bairro with the highest proportion of those formally employed, has seen the sharpest increase in access to agricultural fields, from 20.0 to 36.7 percent, showing the importance of land access also for people with the means to make long-term investments. 80 percent of households with agricultural fields produce only for self-consumption. Domestic animals are less common and were owned by 25.8 percent of the households in 2010 (down from 26.7 percent in 2007), and the large majority of those who do possess such animals have chickens (64.5 percent) and ducks (61.3 percent) for domestic consumption.

Table 21. Households with Agricultural Fields (Machambas) by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

| Machamba | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Yes | 27.6 | 36.3 | 31.8 | 42.5 | 29.2 | 38.3 |
| No | 72.4 | 63.8 | 68.2 | 57.5 | 70.8 | 61.7 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

'Carlos Chamba' was one of our case-studies in the 2007 report. He had recently moved to the bairro, had a wife and two children, and worked as a security guard while his wife was trying to establish herself as a *comerciante* selling chickens at the market. They lived in a reed dwelling, but had plans to build a brick house to protect their daughter who had asthma. His main concern was his low income at 1,500 Mt per month (of which he spent 500 Mt on transportation), and that he really had no people to turn to as his own family was too poor and he did not know anybody in the new bairro. Coming back after three years, Carlos's situation had not changed much. He is still a security guard, but claims he earns less than before because of increased costs of transportation to his workplace and of food and other basic necessities ('people who carry sand on the [new football] stadium earn more than I do'). His wife has given up her chicken business, and has resorted to selling biscuits and sweets from

her home in order to be able to look after her sick daughter and two new children. She laments that her neighbours do not buy from her, either because they purchase from 'old friends' or because they are newcomers who 'don't like to buy biscuits that have been in the sun'. The brick house is still 'in the making' (reminiscent of Victor Turner's famous postulate that 'housing is a verb...'): the children sleep in a brick section, the parents in the reed section and they – still – make food and eat outside. 'Carlos' is not really sure what to do. On the one hand he feels he cannot leave his job as a security guard because it is a secure, albeit small income. But on the other hand the costs of living are becoming so high that he feels he must try to find better-paid employment. The main possibilities in the bairro are in construction, which may pay well but is temporary. And trying to find work 'in the city' (i.e. in the former 'cidade de cimento') is according to Carlos 'nearly impossible without contacts'. Should anything untoward happen, for example, to his sick daughter, he says, he will have to find somebody who can help him or lend him money, but acknowledges that he does not really know who that should be.

4.3 Expenditures, Assets and Savings

Changes in households' expenditure compare well with their income (Table 22). 13.5 percent spent 1,500 Mt or less in the month prior to the 2010 survey,³³ which is very little in the Maputo context. It is also 'expensive to be poor', as buying in small quantities is much more costly than buying in larger quantities, for example on a monthly basis ('*rancho*'). At the same time, almost 50 percent spent between 2,500 and 5,000 Mt, and nearly 25 percent spent over 5,000,00 Mt per month. On average, households spend 1.6 times what they used to spend in 2007. Expenses have increased, particularly in male-headed households, with 76.3 percent spending more than 2,500 Mt and 27.5 percent spending more than 5,000 Mt. 50 percent of the female-headed households spent more than 2,500 Mt, which in most cases is necessary to cover basic necessities, and 17.5 percent spend more than 5,000 Mt, which usually will imply expenses for basic necessities as well as non-essential goods and future investments. The proportion of households spending over 5,000 Mt has tripled for male-headed households and doubled for female-headed households during the three years in question. This confirms that despite progress for female-headed households, male-headed households still dominate the higher income brackets.

Table 22. Household Expenditure the Month Prior to Interview by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

| Expenditure (MT) | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| No expenditure | 1.3 | 0.0 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 1.7 | 0.0 |
| < 250 | 0.0 | 1.3 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.8 |
| 251 - 500 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 4.5 | 7.5 | 1.7 | 2.5 |
| 501 - 750 | 1.3 | 1.3 | 4.5 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 1.7 |
| 751 - 1000 | 5.3 | 0.0 | 6.8 | 5.0 | 5.8 | 1.7 |
| 1001 - 1500 | 9.2 | 6.3 | 18.2 | 7.5 | 12.5 | 6.7 |
| 1501 - 2500 | 32.9 | 15.0 | 22.7 | 27.5 | 29.2 | 1.,2 |
| 2501 - 5000 | 40.8 | 48.8 | 29.5 | 32.5 | 36.7 | 43.3 |
| > 5000 | 9.2 | 27.5 | 9.1 | 17.5 | 9.2 | 24.2 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

³³ This is down from 23.3 percent in 2007, but part of the apparent improvement for the poorest has been 'eaten up' by price increases (see MPD 2010 and Kring 2010).

As seen from Table 23, practically all households spent on food the month prior to the 2010 survey and the large majority also spent money on cleaning products, electricity, water and transport, as was also the case in 2007. Expenditure on electricity has seen the most significant increase, reflecting the expansion of the electricity grid across the city. The proportion of households spending money on transport has seen a decrease, which probably reflects a combination of more people working close to their homes (see below) and households trying to save on expenditure that is a hard toll on the budget for most families. Spending on school material, clothing and child care was less frequent in 2010 than in 2007. In terms of actual expenditure, food remains the item on which the largest share of the household budgets is spent, followed by electricity and transport. The amounts spent on clothes and house rental have increased the most.

Female-headed households spend less than male-headed households on almost every item, except for water, where female-headed households are paying more than male-headed households. This is likely to be the outcome of two conditions: their households are larger; and fewer of them have access to tap water in their homes, which makes them dependent on more expensive alternative solutions such as buying from public fountains or neighbours. Expenditure on medicines has also been reduced for both male- and female-headed households. This could be related to changes in the health system, which has reduced costs for consultation and made cheaper medicines available throughout the whole system, but as we shall see there has also been a reduction in the proportion of households with sick members.

Table 23. *Proportion of Households with Expenditure on Selected Items in the Month Prior to the Survey, by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Item | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|-------|-------|------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Food | 98.7 | 97.5 | 97.7 | 100.0 | 98.3 | 98.3 |
| Cleaning products | 90.8 | 96.3 | 93.2 | 80.0 | 91.7 | 90.8 |
| Electricity/illumination | 65.8 | 85.0 | 40.9 | 80.0 | 56.7 | 83.3 |
| Water | 93.4 | 83.8 | 90.9 | 77.5 | 92.5 | 81.7 |
| Transport | 90.8 | 82.5 | 81.8 | 70.0 | 87.5 | 78.3 |
| Medicines | 68.4 | 45.0 | 70.5 | 47.5 | 69.2 | 45.8 |
| School material | 35.5 | 23.8 | 40.9 | 30.0 | 37.5 | 25.8 |
| Clothing | 21.1 | 18.8 | 38.6 | 20.0 | 27.5 | 19.2 |
| House rental | 3.9 | 8.8 | 13.6 | 10.0 | 7.5 | 9.2 |
| Child care | 6.6 | 6.3 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 5.0 | 4.2 |
| Other | 0.0 | 32.5 | 0.0 | 15.0 | 0.0 | 26.7 |

Referring to the issue of calorie poverty (see Chapter 3), the pattern of food consumption among the 120 households has not changed very much between 2007 and 2010 (Table 24). Most households primarily consume rice or maize porridge (*pap*), bread and cassava leaves or *matapa*, with fish – usually horse mackerel or *carapau* imported from Angola – being the most common source of animal protein. Meat and chicken were consumed by 34 and 57 percent of the households the week prior to the interview, with female-headed households having more limited access to animal protein than male-headed households. What we know less about is how the various food items are distributed within the households in an urban setting like Maputo. Traditionally, meat and fish are primarily consumed by the adult members of the household and particularly the men, a pattern influenced by the intra-household authority structure and the necessity to sustain those involved in hard agricultural work.

Table 24. *Food Items Consumed by Households in the Week Prior to Interview, by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Item | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Rice/pap | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Matapa | 88.2 | 97.5 | 90.9 | 95.0 | 89.2 | 96.7 |
| Bread | 92.1 | 96.3 | 95.5 | 92.5 | 93.3 | 95.0 |
| Meat (minus chicken) | 44.7 | 40.0 | 25.0 | 22.5 | 37.5 | 34.2 |
| Chicken | 63.2 | 63.8 | 43.2 | 42.5 | 55.8 | 56.7 |
| Fish | 92.1 | 77.5 | 77.3 | 77.5 | 86.7 | 77.5 |
| Fruit | 69.7 | 63.8 | 70.5 | 55.0 | 70.0 | 60.8 |

At the same time, the prices of practically all food items have increased. Asked to list the three items that have seen the highest price increase between the two surveys, 94.1 percent included rice, 58.8 percent included oil, 45.4 percent included sugar, 16.8 percent included fish, and 15.1 percent included charcoal. According to people's own estimates, the prices of the three products they listed increased by an average of 23.5 percent in the year prior to the survey. The price increases were confirmed by people in informal markets in the four bairros under study, who increasingly have had to balance the gross prices they pay for the products with the price consumers are able or willing to buy – often with the result that their earnings are reduced. 81 percent of the households state they have had to cut consumption of the three items they believe have had the largest price increase. Asking a focus group in one of the bairros about the prices of a set of key consumer products in November 2009 and November 2010 (i.e. at the time of fieldwork), people had a very clear perception of prices, which underlines the importance of food as a key expenditure, particularly in poor households (Table 25).

Table 25. *Prices of Key Consumer Items November 2009 and November 2010 (in Mt)*

| Article | Quantity | Price Nov. 2009 | Price Nov. 2010 |
|-------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Rice | 25 kg | 500 | 750 |
| Sugar | 1 kg | 22 | 30 |
| Oil | 1 litre | 50 | 65 |
| Fish | 10 kg | 350 | 570 |
| Soft drinks | 10 box | 145 | 210 |
| Potatoes | 10 kg | 150 | 200 |
| Chicken | 1 chicken | 120 | 180 |
| Detergent | 2 kg | 550 | 725 |
| Maize | 50 kg | 750 | 900 |
| Soap | 1 piece | 25 | 50 |

Possession of various assets is a good indication of changes in poverty and well-being, and most of the 120 households have seen improvements in asset ownership between 2007 and 2010 (Table 26). The two perhaps most significant indicators are possession of cellphones and access to electricity. As many as 90 percent of male-headed and 82.5 percent of female-headed households have at least one cellphone in the family. Cellphones are no longer a luxury item but a near indispensable tool for relating to the job market, discovering variations in price levels, keeping in touch with family and friends and quickly disseminating messages to large numbers of people – of which the uprisings in 2008 and 2010 are good examples. And the improved access to electricity has implications for everything from the options for children to study to security in dwellings and neighbourhoods. In the wake of the 'electricity boom' TVs have also become more common, even though one TV is often 'shared' by several

neighbours who come together and watch. In general, male-headed households have access to more assets than female-headed households, but the gap is closing for most items.

Table 26. *Possession of Assets by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Assets | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|---------------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Cellphone | 76.9 | 90.0 | 64.9 | 82.5 | 73.0 | 87.5 |
| Table | 89.7 | 91.3 | 64.9 | 77.5 | 81.7 | 86.7 |
| Bed | 87.2 | 85.0 | 78.4 | 82.5 | 84.3 | 84.2 |
| Chairs | 91.0 | 90.0 | 75.7 | 72.5 | 86.1 | 84.2 |
| Electricity | 59.0 | 82.5 | 48.6 | 77.5 | 55.7 | 80.8 |
| TV | 61.5 | 80.0 | 51.4 | 75.0 | 58.3 | 78.3 |
| Radio | 61.5 | 70.0 | 48.6 | 55.0 | 57.4 | 65.0 |
| Water | 41.0 | 63.8 | 32.4 | 57.5 | 38.3 | 61.7 |
| Plough | 67.9 | 67.5 | 59.5 | 50.0 | 65.2 | 61.7 |
| Video/VCD/DVD | 48.7 | 61.3 | 27.0 | 40.0 | 41.7 | 54.2 |
| Machete | 62.8 | 58.8 | 43.2 | 35.0 | 56.5 | 50.8 |
| Freezer | 42.3 | 45.0 | 29.7 | 40.0 | 38.3 | 43.3 |
| Watch/Clock | 50.0 | 46.3 | 32.4 | 27.5 | 44.3 | 40.0 |
| Sofa | 39.7 | 47.5 | 32.4 | 25.0 | 37.4 | 40.0 |
| Axe | 47.4 | 45.0 | 29.7 | 27.5 | 41.7 | 39.2 |
| Hifi | 23.1 | 23.8 | 8.1 | 15.0 | 18.3 | 20.8 |
| Fridge | 17.9 | 15.0 | 10.8 | 15.0 | 15.7 | 15.0 |
| Car | 6.4 | 10.0 | 8.1 | 2.5 | 7.0 | 7.5 |
| Bicycle | 3.8 | 7.5 | 8.1 | 5.0 | 5.2 | 6.7 |
| Tractor | 3.8 | 5.0 | 2.7 | 2.5 | 3.5 | 4.2 |
| Motorbike | 1.3 | 0.0 | 5.4 | 7.5 | 2.6 | 2.5 |

The most significant and costly asset owned by urban households is their dwelling.³⁴ This is both because people need a good and safe place to stay and because owning a proper dwelling is one of the most important ways to fulfil expectations of being properly 'urban' and 'modern' (*'O tecto identifica o homen'*, as one put it). The largest proportion of households (36.7 percent) have bought their dwelling; 31.7 percent have constructed it themselves; 17.5 percent have inherited the dwelling; and 5.8 percent rent the dwelling they live in. There are only minor differences between male- and female-headed households, revealing the importance attached to investment in a good place to stay. There have been measurable improvements in terms of brick walls (from 83.4 to 87.5 percent) and tin roofs (84.2 to 87.5), and particularly as regards the construction of additional dwelling units (from 46.1 percent to 76.9 percent for male-headed households and from 38.1 to 70.6 percent for female-headed households). This is likely to be the result of the pressure to take in other people on a temporary, semi-permanent or permanent basis discussed above.

A final expense to be treated here is taxes (Table 27). The percentage of households that pay tax has decreased in the period 2007 to 2010, and particularly so for female-headed households. The low overall proportion of taxpayers is the result of a system that does not really function as intended. For example, all households should in principle pay personal tax

³⁴ The 'rule of thumb' is that a normal brick house (living-room, kitchen, two sleeping rooms) costs 200,000 Mt, and that a piece of land (talhão) costs 50,000-75,000 Mt. The minimum salary in Mozambique is 1,593 Mt per month, with 2,500 Mt being normal for a public employee.

but only 67.1 percent do so, and most of these are people in formal employment where tax is taken from their salary. The responsibility for collecting other taxes rests with the bairro secretaries and their *chefes de quarterões*, but the incentive for doing so largely disappeared when the *de facto* acceptance of keeping parts of the money collected was taken away with the introduction of remuneration for leaders at these levels. Moreover, given the limited services actually provided by the state and the municipality people's 'willingness to pay' is small. In line with this, the near total lack of services at most markets is likely to be the main reason for the low number of people paying commercial tax. On the other hand, the 'tax' for refuse removal is a community-based tax used to support local 'brigades', who collect the refuse and put it in designated points for the municipal trucks to pick up – which people see the immediate use of and pay more willingly.

Table 27. Households Paying Taxes in the Year Prior to Interview by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

| Type of Tax | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|-------------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| No tax | 30.3 | 31.3 | 56.8 | 67.5 | 40.0 | 43.3 |
| Personal | 73.6 | n.a. | 47.1 | n.a. | 67.1 | n.a. |
| Refuse | 69.8 | n.a. | 76.5 | n.a. | 71.4 | n.a. |
| Commercial | 5.7 | n.a. | 17.6 | n.a. | 8.6 | n.a. |
| Radio | 3.8 | n.a. | 0.0 | n.a. | 2.9 | n.a. |
| Other | 9.4 | n.a. | 5.9 | n.a. | 8.6 | n.a. |

In a context of higher income and higher costs of living, a relatively large proportion of the 120 households are still in a position to save money for future consumption, with an overall increase from 51.7 to 54.2 percent (Table 28). People in formal employment will have the option to save in banks (both for economic and formal reasons), and there are also special types of loan available for people in employment, for example for housing (such as *Fundo Fumento de Habitação*). However, the majority of those saving are involved in informal rotating saving schemes (*xitique*). These usually³⁵ consist of neighbours or friends in groups of 5-10, who contribute small sums on a weekly or monthly basis and are allowed to 'draw from the pot' for large investments at regular intervals. People emphasise how this is primarily an activity by and for women ('because men do not know how to spend the money well', as one woman put it). The fact that there has been a small increase in the proportion of male-headed households involved in saving-schemes and a concomitant small decrease among female-headed households may reflect the better access to formal employment (and hence to regular income) among men.

Table 28. Participation in Saving Schemes by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

| Saving | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Yes | 50.0 | 57.5 | 54.5 | 47.5 | 51.7 | 54.2 |
| No | 50.0 | 42.5 | 45.5 | 52.5 | 48.3 | 45.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

³⁵ There are also private larger-scale *xitique*-like saving schemes in at least one of the bairros, run by a certain 'Mr Zumbo'. And there are informal 'saving societies' among the middle class, often consisting of friends or 'home boys' from the same province/district/community who meet regularly to socialise and pay money into a pot that can be used for larger investments on a rotating basis.

Finally, in terms of intra-household decisions on how to spend household income there seems to have been a movement towards a stronger role for women, even though questions about decision-making are notoriously difficult to ask and analyse (Table 29). Often urban men will have the main responsibility for 'larger' decisions in terms of social implications and disbursements, and women will have the main responsibility for decisions relating to food and other daily consumption items. And in urban 'modern' settings men may allot to themselves less power than they actually have in order to live up to 'expectations of modernity', as opposed to what we have found in rural areas where men seem to ascribe more decision-making power to themselves to live up to 'expectations of tradition'. Still, perhaps most notable change in overall decision-making in households is the increase in the proportion of male-headed households where the spouse is said to be the main decision-maker (from 34.2 to 41.3 percent).

Table 29: *Decision-Making on the Utilisation of Total Household Income by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Overall decision Making | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Household head | 27.6 | 28.8 | 67.4 | 75.0 | 42.0 | 44.2 |
| Spouse | 34.2 | 41.3 | 4.7 | 5.0 | 23.5 | 29.2 |
| Couple together | 19.7 | 21.3 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 13.4 | 14.2 |
| Other adult male | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.5 | 0.0 | 0.8 |
| Other adult female | 0.0 | 2.5 | 0.0 | 5.0 | 0.0 | 3.3 |
| All household members | 6.6 | 1.3 | 9.3 | 7.5 | 7.6 | 3.3 |
| Each on their own | 5.3 | 5.0 | 0.0 | 5.0 | 3.4 | 5.0 |
| Other | 6.6 | 0.0 | 16.3 | 0.0 | 10.1 | 0.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

'Victor Hilário', whom we met in our first report, had moved to his bairro after the flood in 2000 with his wife and nine children. He worked for the Maputo Municipality, was in the process of making one of his three reed houses into a brick house, and had recently been (s)electd as *chefe de quarterão*. Meeting him again in 2010, he was relatively pleased with developments. He had managed to put up two brick houses on his plot and was in the process of producing bricks for a small kitchen (evident from a big hole in his yard from where he took the sand). He had also acquired electricity and tap-water, and had bought a new TV ('I had one three years ago as well, but it did not work'). With older children, his wife had started to sell fruit and vegetables at a nearby market, which helped the family economy. Two of his sons had found work in South Africa ('one came here with a car one day and told me he was a *motorista!*'), and one daughter had managed to get through secondary school, worked in a shoe store and did not need money from him any more. Mr. 'Hilário' himself had recently been pensioned, which gave him 'more time to work for the bairro'. His main concern was two other older sons, who had both studied but could not find any work. One of them had recently been put in prison (according to the father because he had 'been in the wrong place at the wrong time'), and the other 'does not do anything'. As for the community, Mr. 'Hilário' acknowledges that many positive things have happened, with better roads, access to water and electricity, new schools and clinics, a new market etc. But he is also concerned, claiming that too many people have arrived and that not all of them 'behave well' and 'understand the bairro'. He also finds it increasingly difficult to be a community leader, as the newcomers do not listen to him and the young people 'do as they like'.

4.4 Household Mobility

Mobility is of critical importance for households in Maputo. It is essential in order to maintain vital social relationships within the city and with rural areas, and it is necessary in order to exploit economic opportunities that are spread across urban space. We saw in our first report that only about one third of the household heads in our survey were born in Maputo, varying between 25.0 percent for male-headed and 47.7 percent for female-headed households (Table 30). Maintaining links with rural areas is important for food security and as a 'buffer' in times of difficulties, as well as for maintaining family relationships so as to be able to return to one's rural areas of origin should that become relevant. While female-headed households are apparently at a disadvantage in maintaining rural linkages as such a large proportion of them were born in Maputo, our own qualitative data show that women tend to give stronger emphasis than men to establishing such links (see also Costa and Udelsman 2008).

Table 30. *Place of Birth of Household Head by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Place of Birth | MHH | FHH | Total |
|-----------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Maputo City | 25.0 | 47.7 | 33.3 |
| Maputo Province | 9.2 | 15.9 | 11.7 |
| Gaza | 32.9 | 18.2 | 27.5 |
| Inhambane | 25.0 | 18.2 | 22.5 |
| Other | 7.9 | 0.0 | 5.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The importance of social relationships outside Maputo is evident from Table 31, which shows that only 14 percent of the households do not have members leaving the city for private or work-related reasons.³⁶ Moreover, the proportion of households with members who do travel outside the city is higher among male- than female-headed households. As we have seen, the latter are still poorer, and women in a conjugal relationship in male-headed households are also likely to face difficulties in going to visit their own families in a largely patrilineal social context. Of those who do leave the city, the majority or 60.6 percent (down from 70.8 percent in 2007) do so between once a month and once a year. The main reasons for leaving the city are visits to the family (73.6 percent in 2007 and 70.0 percent in 2010). Such visits involve a combination of maintaining important relationships and securing food and other rural products. The second most important reason is socio-cultural events (15.5 percent), including marriages, funerals and various cultural rites. Not being able to take part in such events may jeopardise relations with the extended family altogether.

³⁶ In 2007 the proportion of households without members leaving the city was only 0.8 percent. The change is likely to reflect the relative improvement of living conditions in Maputo as compared with the neighbouring provinces referred to above and a subsequent 'reversal' of the direction of exchange visits.

Table 31. *Main Reason for the Last Visit Outside Maputo by Household Members, by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Main Reason for Visits Outside Maputo | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|---------------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| No visits | 9.2 | 8.9 | 15.9 | 28.6 | 11.7 | 14.9 |
| Family | 68.1 | 72.2 | 83.8 | 64.0 | 73.6 | 70.0 |
| Farming | 1.4 | 2.8 | 0 | 4.0 | 0.9 | 3.1 |
| Business/trade | 0.0 | 4.2 | 2.7 | 4.0 | 0.9 | 4.1 |
| Socio-cultural event | 18.8 | 13.9 | 10.8 | 20.0 | 23.7 | 15.5 |
| Other | 11.7 | 6.9 | 2.7 | 8.0 | 0.9 | 7.3 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

As regards mobility within the city of Maputo, we saw in our first report that half the households currently live in the same bairro where they originally settled when arriving in Maputo (or established their own households for people born in the city), meaning that the other half has moved to other bairros to improve their lives or because they were forced to move (Table 32). Male household heads have been more stable, with 33.3 percent having moved, than female household heads, of whom 66.7 percent have moved (many in the aftermath of divorce or widowship, when women often lose control of dwelling to their affinal family). While moving may be important for improving access to employment, land and housing, it is also a considerable drain on household resources and requires investment in new social relationships.

Table 32. *Place of Original Settlement in Maputo of Household Head by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Original Settlement | MHH | FHH | Total |
|---------------------|-------|------|-------|
| Current bairro | 66.7 | 33.3 | 50.0 |
| Other bairro | 33.3 | 66.7 | 50.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100 | 100.0 |

Mobility is also important in the daily lives of households in order to get to work, buy goods where they are cheapest, go to school, visit family and friends and be able to respond to emergencies, for example when ill. 27.6 percent of male household heads work in the bairro where they live, 56.9 percent work in another bairro, 5.2 percent work in another province, and 10.3 percent work in another country as labour migrants. Female household heads tend either to work in their own bairro (44.4 percent) or in another bairro (55.6 percent). This reflects the fact that more men are formally employed, which will usually take them to the central parts of the city, and that women need to stay closer to home to take care of their domestic responsibilities. The figures are relatively equal for 2007 and 2010, but people still use more time to get to work in 2010 than they did in 2007 (Table 33). This is probably the result of the heavy increase in traffic in most of the bairros, but we also know individual cases of people who have had to start walking to work because of the higher costs of transportation.

Table 33. *Time Spent to Go to Work for Household Head by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Time Spent to Work | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Less than 30 min | 68.2 | 46.7 | 78.6 | 71.4 | 70.7 | 51.4 |
| 30 min – 1 hour | 13.6 | 33.3 | 14.3 | 14.3 | 13.8 | 29.7 |
| More than 1 hour | 18.2 | 20.0 | 7.1 | 14.3 | 15.5 | 18.9 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

People in Maputo thus move with relative frequency and ease both to neighbouring provinces to maintain links with their rurally-based families, and within the city itself, even though we have seen that transportation is a heavy toll on household budgets and requires more time. We know less about the more exact economic and socio-cultural implications of mobility for the households, particularly as regards urban-rural linkages. In the city, an important question is whether mobility across the different bairros with their different characteristics – highlighting socio-economic inequalities – acts as an incentive for further social mobility for the poor or effectively as a ‘spatial poverty trap’.

The ‘chapas’ or minibuses are the backbone of the transportation system in Maputo. The *chapas* are regulated by the Municipality, usually owned by people in business, politics or other formal occupations and with the transporter association FEMATRO trying to ensure fair play and defend the interests of the transporters. The pivotal role of the *chapas* for communication is clear when they do not operate properly, or go on strike as they did in February 2008: the whole city comes to a standstill. The *chapas* are visible all over the city with big signs announcing their final destination (Xiquelene/Hulene!, Baixa! or Museu!). They transport tens of thousands of people to the city centre in the morning and bring them back at night. Trips cost between 10 and 15 Mt depending on how many transportation zones they pass, and the time people wait in line for *chapas* to arrive and have space tends to surpass the time actually on the road – which may be slow enough. The waiting-lines may seem chaotic but apparently have some order to them, and assistants to the drivers (called ‘cobradores’) not only make sure people pay but also see to it that the buses are filled to the brink. People seem to have ‘love-hate’ relationships with their *chapas*: their way of working is considered wreckless, rude and opportunistic, but there are simply no alternatives.

4.5 Education and Health

The proportion of children going to school and the level of education in Maputo is high compared with the rest of the country (INE 2010). Among the 120 households in our survey, there has been a ‘natural progression’ in terms of the highest levels of education reached in the households between 2007 and 2010 (Table 34).³⁷ 97.5 percent of the households have members with an education, and 59.2 percent of the households have members with an educational level above 7th Grade. There has also been a reduction in the proportion of households with children of school age who do not go to school – from 11.2 to 8.1 percent among male-headed households and from 11.4 to 6.1 percent among female-headed households. Official data as well as interviews with school headmasters show that girls are in the process of closing the educational gender gap in Maputo in terms of participation.

³⁷ The reduction in households containing members with university education probably indicates that the people concerned have a good point of departure for getting employment, earning money and hence for establishing their own separate households.

Table 34. *Highest Level of Education in Household by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Highest Level of Education | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| None | 2.6 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 2.5 | 2.5 |
| EP1 (5th Grade) | 3.9 | 11.3 | 20.5 | 25.0 | 10.0 | 15.8 |
| EP2 (7th Grade) | 21.1 | 20.0 | 27.3 | 25.0 | 23.3 | 22.5 |
| Second/basic | 30.3 | 31.3 | 31.8 | 40.0 | 30.8 | 34.2 |
| Middle school | 31.6 | 31.3 | 15.9 | 7.5 | 25.8 | 23.3 |
| University | 10.5 | 3.6 | 2.3 | 0.0 | 7.5 | 1.7 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

While the level of education in the households involved in this survey is high, however, interviews with educational personnel show that there are reasons for concern about the quality of education, particularly at primary level. Many schools we visited in 2007 struggle with the same problems: old and run-down buildings; a dearth of chairs and desks with students having to sit on cold and wet floors; a lack of books and other school materials; and students coming hungry to school and having inadequate support from parents, both of which reduce their ability to learn. In some of the bairros, classrooms are also more overcrowded than they were in 2007. The high enrolment and completion rates also reflect the fact that passing has been made 'compulsory' up to 5th Grade. School managers told us that up to 50 percent of the students who reach 5th grade are functionally illiterate. Again, official data as well as our own interviews reveal that girls generally are more focussed and have better results than boys.

For students in the four bairros who are in a position to continue their education after primary school, there have been improvements in access to education in the form of new private secondary schools. While being relatively expensive (fees for public secondary schools are 300 Mt per year and vary between 3100 Mt and 4400 Mt per year for private secondary schools), they do follow the official curriculum and are generally well regarded. In one private secondary school the large majority of pupils were girls, and the principal conceded that at this level girls also tend to do better than boys. As we shall see, the main problem for students graduating from higher education is not being able to read and write but to find relevant employment. We met a large number of frustrated youngsters during our fieldwork who had finished their secondary education, but found themselves in the same situation of unemployment and dependence on parents or informal economic activities as those without education – and asked legitimate questions about the value of their investment.

The health situation has also seen improvements in the period between 2007 and 2010. Two important factors are the general improvements in the socio-economic situation of most households and better access to cheaper medicines. In addition, all four bairros except Mafalala have new or improved health centres. It is a general perception that whereas the educational sector has focussed on quantity, the health sector has focussed on quality. In line with this, the proportion of households with sick members two weeks prior to the interview reduced from 65.0 to 46.7 percent between 2007 and 2010 (Table 35). The reduction is largest in female-headed households at 72.7 and 45.0 percent respectively, which may imply better food and better care in such households. Still, 46.7 percent is a high figure and shows that much still needs to be done in terms of nutrition and general care, particularly of children.

Table 35. *Households With Sick Members Two Weeks Prior to Interview, by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Sick Household Members | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Yes | 60.5 | 47.5 | 72.7 | 45.0 | 65.0 | 46.7 |
| No | 39.5 | 52.5 | 27.3 | 55.0 | 35.0 | 53.3 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

As many as 29.2 percent of the households in the survey state that they have at least one 'chronically sick household member' (the proportion was 31.7 percent in 2007). They may have severe physical or mental disabilities and are perceived as 'chronically ill' in the sense that they are expected to remain 'unproductive' and an economic burden. With the increasing knowledge about the ultimate outcome of HIV-AIDS, victims of this disease are considered to be in the category. Data from the Ministry of Health show that the infection rate in Maputo now stands at 16.8 percent, and at 20.5 percent for women (MISAU 2009). Interviews with local leaders and health personnel also confirm that domestic violence remains a severe problem. This shows that in the midst of socio-economic improvements for female-headed households and women, gender inequalities in the private sphere are still deep-rooted. In fact, some of the interviewees argued that some men compensate for their relative loss of importance and authority in the household by using violence and other types of 'anti-social' behaviour.

Fathers and nuns and others working for churches and mosques are often in close contact with, and key observers of, conditions in communities and among poor households. In missions in two of the bairros where we have worked, the fathers and nuns acknowledge that there have been positive developments the past few years but also underline that many households and individuals are marginalised from these developments. They have projects where they give food and other basic necessities to people who are completely isolated, but reach only a very small proportion of them. Many are older people, but some are also ordinary households that simply cannot make ends meet. They also emphasise that poverty can be found in 'pockets': certain areas, particularly in the periphery of the city, contain people who have arrived without contacts; cannot afford to pay for proper housing; do not have money for food and transportation; and who hence are not mobile enough to search for employment. They are also concerned that many children in particular simply do not get the food they need, and that health institutions do not give sufficient attention to issues of nutrition. 'Children here are only given *pap*', one *padre* stated. Moreover, they are 'shocked' at what they see as a deterioration of quality in public schools, claiming that they get students coming to their adult study classes with five to seven years of primary education who cannot really read and write. At the same time, they argue, it is difficult to get hold of good craftsmen, claiming that much more emphasis should be given to vocational training. Their biggest concern, however, is with the issue of HIV-AIDs. They do not see this as a problem that any longer has to do primarily with information, but rather one of men's sexual behaviour 'that has no restraints'. Women, both fathers and nuns emphasise, must have a stronger say in their lives.

4.6 The Bairros as Communities

Space and place matter for the situation of poverty and well-being in which people find themselves (see Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2007). Each bairro in Maputo has its own unique configurations in terms of population density, poverty and well-being, housing and physical infrastructure, access to municipal and social services, and the nature of social relationships. Moreover, physical distance and transportation costs have implications for access to rural areas and agricultural land, as well as employment and income in the city. The bairro also

represents the main area of belonging for many people, both in positive and negative terms: while we have met many people who enthusiastically state that they have moved to Khongolote as a sign of 'upwards social mobility', people from Mafalala still argue that they try to hide where they are from due to the strong negative stigma of the community.

As seen from Table 36, the main problems in all four communities that are part of this study are seen to be unemployment and crime, even though the relative importance varies between the bairros. The issue of employment is not only one of access to income, but having work is important for people's self-esteem in an urban context where there are few other ways for men in particular to assert themselves. As seen from the table, unemployment is still seen as the most important community problem but somewhat less so in 2010 than in 2007, which probably reflects the improvements in the employment situation referred to above.

Crime has very direct impacts by robbing people of their resources and restricting peoples' movements, particularly at night, but the strong reactions when people are caught stealing also testifies to the vulnerable situation in which people find themselves. In the case of crime, the situation in the four communities is seen as deteriorating: while 23.3 of the households saw this as the main problem in 2007, 29.2 percent did so in 2010. According to the police in the bairros, much but not all of the most serious crime (murder, armed robbery etc.) has 'moved' to the better-off bairros, but there has been an increase in petty crime, in substance abuse (both hard drugs, 'suruma' and alcohol)³⁸ and in domestic violence, even though this may reflect the fact that women more often take such cases to the police. Housing, water and sanitation are seen as the main problems by a relatively stable proportion of the households, while health was seen as more of a problem in 2007 than 2010, underlining our arguments above about improved conditions in the health sector.

Table 36. Main Community Problems by Bairro (Percent)

| Community Problems | Khongolote | | Inhagoia | | Laulane | | Mafalala | | Total | |
|--------------------|------------|------|----------|------|---------|------|----------|------|-------|------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Unemployment | 26.7 | 10.0 | 40.0 | 16.7 | 33.3 | 53.3 | 43.3 | 46.7 | 35.8 | 31.7 |
| Crime | 13.3 | 33.3 | 26.7 | 36.7 | 33.3 | 23.3 | 20.0 | 23.3 | 23.3 | 29.2 |
| Water | 6.7 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 26.7 | 16.7 | 13.3 | 10.0 | 3.3 | 9.2 | 11.7 |
| Health | 20.0 | 6.7 | 3.3 | 0.0 | 6.7 | 3.3 | 6.7 | 3.3 | 9.2 | 3.3 |
| Sanitation | 0.0 | 3.3 | 10.0 | 6.7 | 3.3 | 6.7 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 5.8 | 6.7 |
| Housing | 3.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 10.0 | 3.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 6.7 | 1.7 | 4.2 |
| Other | 30.0 | 43.3 | 16.6 | 3.3 | 3.3 | 0.0 | 10.0 | 6.7 | 15.0 | 13.3 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

In an open question about the three main areas of change in the community between 2007 and 2010, water, education, health and sanitation were mentioned most frequently by the households (Table 37). Water has been made accessible to more households through the building of new water-points and better access to water in private homes. Changes in education are first and foremost a result of more children being allowed to continue their education with the new government policy of 'compulsory passing' (see above) and less a result of the construction of new schools, which as we have seen has only happened in one of the bairros. Health has seen genuine improvements both in terms of clinics and in terms of cheaper access to medication. Sanitation has improved primarily through the combined

³⁸ Local community leaders complain that the use of alcohol among youngsters increased considerably with the introduction of small bottles selling for as little as 15 Mt (where two is enough to get drunk), given names such as 'Tentação' (temptation), 'Double Punch', 'Boss' and 'KO' (for 'Knock Out').

concerted efforts of the Municipality, which has increased the number of cars picking up the refuse, and people in the communities, who have organised their own 'brigades'. On the other hand, very few listed employment, trade/commerce and crime as areas of change, which we have seen represent the essence of the aggravation found in the bairros.

Table 37. *Main Areas of Perceived (Positive) Change between 2007 and 2010 by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Main Areas of Change | MHH | FHH | Total |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| | 2007-2010 | 2007-2010 | 2007-2010 |
| Employment | 3.9 | 7.9 | 5.3 |
| Trade | 9.2 | 10.5 | 9.6 |
| Education | 21.1 | 28.9 | 23.7 |
| Health | 22.4 | 21.1 | 21.7 |
| Water | 35.5 | 34.2 | 35.1 |
| Sanitation | 17.1 | 26.3 | 20.2 |
| Other | 63.2 | 36.8 | 54.4 |

People have clear perceptions about which institutions are responsible for improving conditions in the community (Table 38). Most people refer to 'the government', and very few see the private sector, non-government organisations or 'doadores' playing an important role (all hidden under the 'other' category). However, there has been a change between 2007 and 2010 towards a stronger emphasis on 'the municipality' and 'the bairro' – or 'local government' for short. We see this as the combined outcome of an increasing frustration with the government *per se* (seen as responsible for 'larger' issues such as price increases and employment creation), and a stronger visibility of the municipality in the form of 'smaller' interventions such as access to electricity, water and sanitation, which are seen as municipal responsibilities. In fact, people continually refer to 'small things' ('coisas pequenas') when talking about the role of the municipality.

Table 38. *Perceptions of Institutions Responsible for Improving Conditions in the Community by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Responsible Institution | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| The Government | 73.3 | 57.5 | 75 | 55 | 73.9 | 56.7 |
| The Municipality | 6.7 | 13.7 | 6.8 | 13.5 | 6.7 | 13.3 |
| Bairro Authorities | 6.7 | 21.3 | 11.4 | 24.5 | 8.5 | 23.3 |
| Other | 12 | 7.5 | 6.8 | 7.0 | 10.1 | 6.7 |
| Does not know | 1.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 | 0.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100 | 100.0 |

One particular community problem, striking to visiting outsiders, is the large number of young people in particular who are idle with apparently little or nothing to do. This generates further frustration, and for young people it will be vital to develop self-respect while searching for a better future.³⁹ In this context, activities related to sports or culture are important – also as a vehicle for communicating with the government and other authorities. In Mafalala, many young people are active in culture groups – often under the umbrella of the cultural institution Machaka – that work with theatre, music, poetry, debates etc. Most of their

³⁹ Many of these were also central in the November 2010 uprising – as '*jovens sem presente [que] agridaram o seu próprio futuro*', to quote Mía Couto (Diário Independente, 6 September 2010).

activities take place in the bairro itself, even though they have also been invited to larger events in the *cidade de cimento*. Part of their success is related to the fact the primary objective is to enhance people's self-esteem by letting them master what they do, rather than use cultural activities to 'push' social issues like HIV-AIDS prevention. In Inhagoia the football field in the centre of the bairro is the focus of much attention and seems always to be full of people – despite its poor quality. Community leaders emphasise how important football is, not only for the youngsters that are active but also for tranquillity in the community. 'If they don't play, they look for other [illicit] things to do'.

4.7 Perceptions of Change

Having discussed the changing situation of households and in the four bairros as communities between 2007 and 2010, Table 39 reveals an apparent incongruity in the perceived direction of change: people believe that changes the past three years have been more positive for the community at large than for their own families. This partly reflects the fact that many households are marginalised and have become detached from development, but it should also be seen as reflecting emerging inequalities. In dense urban communities, there will always be people who earn more, have more assets, larger families etc. than oneself that will make families feel that they are not managing in their urban lives. There are only small differences between male-headed and female-headed households in this respect, with female-headed households being somewhat more positive about changes in their own households than male-headed households, and with male-headed households being somewhat more positive about changes in the community than female-headed households.

Table 39. *Perceptions of Changes for Households and Communities past Three Years*

| Direction of Change | Households | | Communities | |
|---------------------|------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Improved | 42.5 | 40.0 | 64.6 | 63.3 |
| Remained the same | 23.3 | 23.3 | 19.5 | 15.0 |
| Deteriorated | 34.2 | 36.7 | 15.9 | 16.7 |
| Don't know | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

At the same time, people have a much stronger sense of optimism for the coming three years in 2010 than they had in 2007 (Table 40). As many as 72.5 percent believe that conditions in the community will improve and 70.0 percent believe that the situation for their own household will become better. While at the outset this is positive, it also shows that people have high expectations both for their communities and their individual families that they want to have fulfilled. Seen together with the responsibility for socio-economic change that the same population attributes to central and local government (see above), this 'optimism' or 'high expectations' represents a challenge and puts additional pressure on the government to deliver.

Table 40. *Perceptions of Changes in Conditions for Households and Communities over the Coming Three Years, by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Direction of Change | Households | | Communities | |
|---------------------|------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Improve | 42.5 | 70.0 | 64.6 | 72.5 |
| Remain the same | 23.3 | 17.5 | 19.5 | 16.7 |
| Deteriorate | 34.2 | 7.5 | 15.9 | 9.2 |
| Don't know | 0.0 | 1.7 | 0.0 | 1.7 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

There is also a fairly high degree of common understanding as to the most important issues to solve to improve conditions in the communities and for the households living there (Table 41). As many as 60.9 percent of the households argue that employment and security are the two main challenges, which is close to the figure for 2007 but with an increasing concern about security – particularly among female-headed households. Despite improvements in economic and social well-being, most households in the bairros still find themselves in a vulnerable situation, making it necessary always to search for better employment and higher income to meet changes in daily expenses for food, transportation, health, education, housing etc. The reduced emphasis on challenges in health and education should – again – be seen as an expression of the progress that has been made in these sectors.

Table 41. *Perceptions of Most Important Problems to Solve to Improve Conditions in the Community, by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

| Main problems to solve | MHH | | FHH | | Total | |
|------------------------|------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|
| | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 | 2007 | 2010 |
| Employment | 37.2 | 30 | 38.6 | 35 | 36.8 | 31.7 |
| Crime | 22.3 | 28.8 | 22.7 | 30 | 23.3 | 29.2 |
| Water | 9.2 | 13.8 | 9.1 | 7.5 | 9.5 | 11.6 |
| Education | 2.6 | 0.0 | 4.5 | 0.0 | 3.3 | 0.0 |
| Health | 7.9 | 2.5 | 11.4 | 5.0 | 9.3 | 3.3 |
| Sanitation | 7.9 | 7.5 | 2.3 | 5.0 | 5.9 | 6.7 |
| Habitation | 1.1 | 2.5 | 2.3 | 7.5 | 1.9 | 4.2 |
| Other | 11.8 | 15.0 | 9.1 | 10.0 | 10.0 | 13.3 |
| Total | 100 | 100.0 | 100 | 100.0 | 100 | 100.0 |

Creating employment, then, is seen as essential for reducing poverty and vulnerability and avoiding further social unrest. The government, the private sector and the informal economy will remain the dominant actors in employment creation. In addition to the usual liberal economic policies of creating a stimulating macro-economic context and reducing red tape, one should perhaps take a closer look at experience from Brazil where a combination of i) conditional cash transfers, ii) higher minimum wages (which have also been adopted in parts of the informal sector), and iii) an expansion of the domestic market through low-threshold credit (*crédito consignado*) have led to impressive poverty reduction and popular support for a government that is seen as caring about the poor and protecting their social rights (Anderson 2011).

Of more immediate relevance in Maputo is the planned introduction of the District Local Development Fund OIIL, which has considerable potential. This is not only because of the employment and income that may be created *per se*, but because the envisaged participatory processes can – if done well – invigorate community participation, create employment and make the ‘invisible hand’ of the market more visible (see Orre and Forquilha 2011 for a critical assessment). Experiences from rural districts show that transparency and accountability are vital. In principle, project ideas are to be developed and forwarded through a three-tier system of Institutions for Community Participation and Consultation or IPCCs (i.e. Local Development Committees; Administrative Post Consultative Councils; and the District Consultative Council, CCD). The CCD is to consist of representatives from the state administration and traditional authorities, as well as from civil society, the churches, the private sector and ‘people of particular esteem’ (RdM 2005). Women are to have at least 40 percent representation at each level. The CCD is to take the final decision on what projects will receive funding, in cooperation with a District Technical Team that is part of the District Administration. In urban areas such as Maputo the representative organ is the Municipal Assembly, which may not be suitable for making decisions at the level of individual project

proposals, and there are no similar institutions for community participation at the Urban District or bairro level. One possible approach could be to distribute available funds equally between the 49 bairros in Maputo, with each bairro establishing a committee on a similar basis as for the IPCCs and having the right to decide which projects are to be supported (with options for technical advice from the Municipality). This way, the programme would get the necessary local base.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

This report is part of a larger exercise of monitoring and evaluating Mozambique's poverty reduction strategy, and focuses on continuity and change in poverty and well-being in the capital city Maputo between 2007 and 2010. The period coincides with apparently contradictory developments of improvements in physical and social infrastructure and reduced consumption-based poverty on the one hand, and unprecedented social uprisings involving large parts of the urban population on the other. Our analysis, primarily based on a combination of quantitative and qualitative data from the four bairros Mafalala, Laulane, Inhagoia and Khongolote, largely confirms that positive socio-economic developments have taken place – even though it also reveals unequal developments between different bairros and a group of 'ultra-poor' who are detached from these developments altogether.

At the same time, we have emphasised the special nature of urban settings like Maputo where access to money is vital for survival. 'Shocks' in the form of changes in employment status and the cost of basic necessities etc. make people feel vulnerable and powerless. This has been exacerbated in Maputo, where communication between the government and citizens has been inadequate. The government does not seem to have been sufficiently 'tuned in' to sentiments on the ground, and citizens have few 'spokespersons' in the form of representative associations or other platforms for dialogue. Adding to the proliferation of dissatisfaction and tension are, arguably, the improved conditions for female-headed households and women in Maputo. Women are more directly exposed to injustice and poverty than men are, and have taken an active role in their communities and in the uprisings.

In this way, the improvements that have taken place in the areas of consumption, education, health, water, electricity, sanitation etc. seem – ironically – to have brought further challenges to central and municipal government in the form of increasing demands for employment, income, social security and political accountability. The potential political implications of these demands are demonstrated by the Government's quick reinstatement of subsidies following the riots in 2008 and 2010, and the subsequent production of a special Strategic Programme for the Reduction of Urban Poverty. To further reduce urban poverty and avoid political unrest, the situation as regards employment, income and social protection as well as the communication of policies and interventions that have implications for peoples' daily lives must improve. More specific conclusions and recommendations follow.⁴⁰

Governance

- There must be better coordination between the increasing responsibilities vested in the municipalities and the resources (economic and human) that they are given access to. Their main responsibility should continue to be the provision and further improvements of basic infrastructure, and there are indications that giving them further responsibility for primary education and health services is premature.
- An effective and just system of taxation is important both for the economic situation of the municipality and in order to create a 'social contract' between the government and its

⁴⁰ The main purpose of this report is to monitor changes in poverty and well-being. Recommendations on more specific issues of governance, infrastructure, employment, community organisation etc. are made at a relatively high level of generality as a more thorough assessment would demand a different approach and is beyond the scope of this study series.

citizens. The system of municipal taxes must be improved, by combining fairness with actual delivery of the services that people pay tax for.

- There are challenges as regards the municipal political structure and system of governance. At one level, the low voter turnout for municipal elections is a signal of limited confidence in the relevance of the municipal government in peoples' lives. At the same time, we have found that people have clear perceptions of the different responsibilities of central and municipal government respectively.
- The roles and responsibilities of the intermediate level of the seven Urban District administrations are unclear, and their willingness and ability to respond to queries vary considerably. Some are also located in premises and have technical equipment that must make their work exceedingly difficult.
- At the level of each bairro, the role of the Bairro Secretary is important and given weight by the political structures as well as by the bairro population. Nevertheless, their relations with the parallel Party secretary and Party cells remains unclear and represents a problem in terms of accountability.
- There have been changes in the political structure below the Bairro Secretary, in that many of the older community leaders have been substituted by younger – often female – leaders. The 'rejuvenation' of leaders at this level should be seen as a wish by the population to have more dynamic representatives and be supported.
- The limited number and weak position of community-based associations restrict popular participation in urban development and represent lost opportunities as platforms for dialogue with the municipal government. The background for the dearth of such institutions in Maputo should be investigated and their further development supported.

Physical and Social Infrastructure

- With the large-scale construction of office and commercial buildings and new housing in the central bairros ('*cidade de cimento*'), the dichotomy between formal and informal urban space is in the process of regaining prominence and may enhance perceptions of inequality. Urban upgrading initiatives should be more justly distributed.
- Transportation remains a main challenge in the daily life of people in Maputo. They spend a long time waiting for the *chapas*, the *chapas* are usually overcrowded, and costs impose a heavy toll on the budget of many households. Efforts should be made to improve the transportation network in Maputo and make it less expensive.
- There have been advances in the supply of water, electricity and sanitation, albeit to varying degrees and with different systems of cost recovery. Rubbish is a serious health risk in some bairros and the system of refuse collection should be improved. Community roads become impassable at times of heavy rains and should be improved.
- Housing is central to the physical and emotional welfare of a household, and there have been improvements in the quality (brick walls, tin roofs) as well as in the size (extensions) of dwellings. However, little has happened as regards security of tenure and the *de facto* cost of land. The housing market should be formalised and better controlled.
- While practically all health institutions have seen improvements, the situation in the primary schools has deteriorated with the increasing number of students not having been accommodated by necessary investments. Many students still sit on the floor, access to school materials is inadequate and classes are overcrowded. This situation should be rectified.
- Crime is increasingly considered a problem, and the police and the formal judicial system are seen as incapable of solving it themselves. This has led to an increase in the prevalence of vigilante justice through, for example, beatings, burnings and social marginalisation. Better cooperation should be sought between community-based organisations and the legal system.

Employment and Income

- Employment remains the key determinant of household poverty and well-being. While there have been improvements in the employment situation for many households and their earnings have increased, a basic problem of security remains: many men work as unskilled labourers in the construction sector in temporary positions, and women still predominantly depend on an informal sector where earnings are fluctuating and unpredictable.
- The continuing difficulties in transforming higher education into formal and well-paid employment remains a serious challenge, creating a large and increasingly frustrated generation of young people. Their entrance into working life is inhibited both by limited access to employment *per se* and by a system of recruitment largely built on contacts and bribes. Employment should be more strategic and transparent.
- While women still meet severe restrictions in the formal labour market, they have increased their participation in the informal labour market, which has led to improvements in the socio-economic position of female-headed households. There are signs that the informal sector is becoming better 'organised', and further security and predictability of working conditions should be encouraged.
- The planned introduction of the Local Investment Fund OIIL in Maputo has a potential for employment creation and for bridging the gap between informal and formal employment, but has to be carefully implemented in order to avoid the pitfalls experienced in rural areas. Institutions for community participation and consultation should be set up in each bairro; the selection of projects should be based on clear criteria and participatory and transparent processes; the objective should be to support projects with maximum impact on employment creation; women should be particularly targeted, both because of their responsibilities for household well-being and because they have proven to be better at repaying the credit in question; and a system of support/evaluation should be set up to secure the sustainability of the projects.

Community Relations

- We have emphasised the differences between the bairros as communities, not only in terms of levels of poverty and well-being but also in terms of levels of tension or tranquillity. For the latter, key factors are population density, the quality of physical and social infrastructure, internal organisation and associational life, and levels of crime and security.
- Urban planning thus becomes vital. While complicated in areas with strong population pressure, limited formal tenure arrangements, an old and poor housing stock etc., the importance of urban planning is evident from the negative implications of crowded and unplanned living. Further efforts in urban planning should be made transparent and participatory.
- We have also shown that much of the increasing unrest in some bairros is related to frustrated unemployed youth. In addition to unemployment *per se*, part of the problem is the lack of alternative activities, which makes many go idle and some turn to crime. Increased emphasis on cultural activities and sports will be important both for the self-esteem of young people and for providing platforms for dialogue with political authorities.

Social Organisation

- In responding to the challenges of urban living, households engage in processes of informalisation (by increasing the proportion of co-habitants); of fission and fusion (by shedding or taking in new members); and of accommodation (by extending dwellings to accommodate many members).
- In addition we have seen an increase in the proportion of female-headed households and an apparent improvement in the decision-making power of women living in male-headed households. These are new developments, which we have attributed to more social space for women in urban contexts and better options for income and independence.
- Having said this, there are also ongoing processes of marginalisation of the very poorest men and women in a context where access to money is vital for survival. Young unemployed men without means do not have the 'urban basis' for patriarchy or male supremacy, and easily find themselves becoming destitutes with limited social networks.
- For young women, the combination of unemployment and unmarried motherhood seems most easily to lead to impoverishment and marginalisation. However, women seem to be better able to establish social networks than men do, by contributing to 'non-economic' relationships in the form of cleaning, child-care, taking care of home-based marketing stalls etc.
- The most important community organisations in Maputo are churches or mosques, with other types of urban association apparently being conspicuously absent. While the strengthening and establishment of associations should be encouraged, the churches and mosques remain the most relevant arenas for communication and should be more involved in support at the levels of households and individuals.
- For the very poorest and most marginalised men and women in Maputo, public social protection measures must be better developed and distributed.

Questionnaire

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|-------|-----|-------|-------|
| Nr. Questionário | _ _ _ | Códigos | | | | |
| Entrevistador | _ _ | | | | | |
| Nr. da entrevista | _ _ | | | | | |
| Distrito Urbano | _ _ | | | | | |
| Bairro | _____ | | | | | |
| Rua | _____ | | | | | |
| Nr. Casa | _ _ _ _ | | Andar | _ _ | Porta | _ _ _ |
| Quarteirão | _ _ _ | | | | | |
| Data | _ _ / _ _ / _ _ | | | | | |
| Hora de Início | _ _ : _ _ | | | | | |

Bom dia (boa tarde), o meu nome é _____ e sou entrevistador para a Austral-COWI, Lda. Neste momento estamos a conduzir um estudo sobre a pobreza em Moçambique. Passaremos algum tempo no seu bairro a conversar com várias pessoas. O Sr.(a) foi escolhido(a), entre outros(as) do bairro 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 usadas apenas para efeitos deste estudo, sem qualquer referência ao seu nome ou a qualquer outro membro da sua família.

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

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

| | |
|---|--|
| 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. Há 3 anos atrás este era o chefe deste agregado? _ _ _ <i>Se 01 passe para questão 8</i> | 01 Sim 02 Não |
| 7. Se não, porquê? _____ | |
| 8. Sexo do chefe do agregado _ _ _ | 01 Homem 02 Mulher |
| 9. Qual é a idade do chefe do agregado? _ _ _ | 99 Não sabe |
| 10. Qual é o estado civil do chefe do agregado? _ _ _ <i>Se 01 passe para questão 15</i> <i>Se 04 ou 05 passe para questão 14.</i> | 01 Solteiro 02 Casado (igreja, civil, tradicional/nikah/lobolo ou misto) 03 Casado de facto (apenas vivem juntos, sem terem feito cerimónia) 04 Separado/Divorciado 05 Viúvo |

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

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>18. Qual a relação de parentesco que tem cada membro do agregado com o chefe do agregado? (quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias)</p> <p> __ __ Chefe __ __ Esposa(o) __ __ Filhos __ __ Pais __ __ Irmãos __ __ Sobrinhos __ __ Netos __ __ Outros parentes __ __ Sem parentesco</p> | |
| <p>19. Quais as idades dos membros do agregado? (<i>quantas pessoas existem em cada uma das seguintes categorias</i>)</p> <p> __ __ menos de 15 anos __ __ 15 anos – 64 anos __ __ 65 anos ou mais</p> | |
| <p>20. Quantos destes membros <u>não</u> faziam parte do agregado há 3 anos atrás?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 22</i></p> | |
| <p>21. Qual a relação de parentesco que cada novo membro do agregado tem com o chefe do agregado? (quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias)</p> <p> __ __ Chefe __ __ Filhos __ __ Outros parentes __ __ Esposa(o) __ __ Pais __ __ Sem parentesco</p> | |
| <p>22. Destes membros do agregado quantos <u>não</u> vivem na casa?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 24</i></p> | |
| <p>23. Qual a relação de parentesco que cada membro do agregado ausente tem com o chefe do agregado? (quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias)</p> <p> __ __ Chefe __ __ Filhos __ __ Irmãos __ __ Esposa(o) __ __ Pais __ __ Outros parentes</p> | |
| <p>24. Quantos dos membros do agregado são membros deste agregado por morte dos responsáveis pelo seu sustento?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 26</i></p> | |
| <p>25. Qual a relação de parentesco que estes membros têm com o chefe do agregado familiar? (quantos membros existem nas seguintes categorias)</p> <p> __ __ Filhos da irmã __ __ Filhos do irmão __ __ Netos __ __ Irmãos __ __ Outros parentes __ __ Sem parentesco</p> | |

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>33. Quem do agregado consegue falar mais português?</p> <p> _ _ </p> | <p>01 Os homens adultos</p> <p>02 As mulheres adultas</p> <p>03 Os jovens homens (12-18 anos)</p> <p>04 As jovens mulheres (12-18 anos)</p> <p>05 Os meninos (menores de 12)</p> <p>06 As meninas (menores de 12)</p> <p>07 Todos adultos</p> <p>08 Todos jovens</p> <p>09 Todas crianças</p> <p>10 Todos membros do agregado</p> <p>11 Ninguém fala português na casa</p> |
| EDUCAÇÃO | |
| <p>34. Qual o nível de escolaridade mais elevado atingido no agregado?</p> <p> _ _ </p> | <p>01 Nenhum</p> <p>02 Alfabetizado</p> <p>03 EP1</p> <p>04 EP2/Elementar</p> <p>05 Secund./Básico</p> <p>06 Médio</p> <p>07 Superior</p> |
| <p>35. Quantas crianças existem no agregado familiar? (dos 6 aos 15 anos)</p> <p> _ _ Rapazes _ _ Raparigas _ _ Total</p> <p><i>Se o total = 00 passe para questão 38</i></p> | |
| <p>36. Destas, quantas <u>não</u> estão a estudar?</p> <p> _ _ Rapazes _ _ Raparigas _ _ Total</p> <p><i>Se o total = 00 passe para questão 38</i></p> | |
| <p>37. Indique a razão principal por desistente (não necessita repetir se a razão for a mesma entre diferentes desistentes do mesmo género)</p> <p> _____ Rapazes</p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ Raparigas</p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </p> | |

| SAÚDE | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|--------|--------------------|--|--------------------|--|--------------------|--|--|
| <p>38. Quantas pessoas do agregado ficaram doentes nas duas últimas semanas?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 40</i></p> | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>39. Qual o primeiro local onde foram para ser tratadas? (especifique o lugar por cada doença, se a doença e o lugar forem os mesmos, não precisa repetir)</p> <table style="width: 100%; border: none;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">Lugar</th> <th style="width: 50%; text-align: center;">Doença</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td> _ _ _____ _____ </td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> _ _ _____ _____ </td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td> _ _ _____ _____ </td> <td></td> </tr> </tbody> </table> | Lugar | Doença | _ _ _____ _____ | | _ _ _____ _____ | | _ _ _____ _____ | | <p>01 Posto de Saúde 02 Centro de Saúde 03 Hospital 04 Enfermeiro 05 Curandeiro 06 Farmácia 98 Outro (especifique)</p> |
| Lugar | Doença | | | | | | | | |
| _ _ _____ _____ | | | | | | | | | |
| _ _ _____ _____ | | | | | | | | | |
| _ _ _____ _____ | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>40. Há algum membro do agregado que sofra de doença crónica ou prolongada?</p> <p> _ _ </p> | <p>01 Sim 02 Não</p> | | | | | | | | |
| <p>41. Quantas crianças faleceram neste agregado, antes de completar 5 anos?</p> <p> _ _ Rapazes _ _ Raparigas _ _ Total</p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 43</i></p> | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>42. Quais as razões principais para essa(s) morte(s)?</p> <p> _____ Rapazes</p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ Raparigas</p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </p> | | | | | | | | | |
| MOBILIDADE | | | | | | | | | |
| <p>43. O chefe do agregado vivia neste local há 3 anos atrás?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 01 passe para questão 53</i></p> | <p>01 Sim 02 Não</p> | | | | | | | | |

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| <p>44. Onde vivia o chefe do agregado antes? <i>(especifique o nome do local – se Maputo indicar o bairro, se fora da cidade de Maputo, mas dentro do país indicar província e distrito, se não se lembra apenas a província serve, se fora do país indicar apenas o país)</i></p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> <p><i>Se 01 passe para questão 49</i></p> | <p>01 Noutro bairro 02 Onde nasceu 03 Noutra cidade diferente de onde nasceu (zona urbana) 04 Noutra província diferente de onde nasceu (zona rural) 05 Noutro país diferente de onde nasceu</p> |
| <p>45. Em que ano se mudou o chefe do agregado para Maputo?</p> <p> _ _ _ _ </p> | <p>99 Não sabe/não se recorda</p> |
| <p>46. Qual a razão principal para se mudar para Maputo?</p> <p> _____ </p> | |
| <p>47. Para onde foi viver o chefe do agregado quando se mudou para Maputo? <i>(se outro bairro, especifique o nome do bairro)</i></p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> <p><i>Se 01 passe para questão 49</i></p> | <p>01 Este bairro 02 Outro bairro</p> |
| <p>48. Onde vivia o chefe do agregado antes de se mudar para este bairro? <i>(especifique o nome do local – se Maputo indicar o bairro, se fora da cidade de Maputo, mas dentro do país indicar província e distrito, se não se lembra apenas a província serve, se fora do país indicar apenas o país)</i></p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> | <p>01 Noutro bairro 02 Onde nasceu 03 Noutra cidade diferente de onde nasceu (zona urbana) 04 Noutra província diferente de onde nasceu (zona rural) 05 Noutro país diferente de onde nasceu</p> |
| <p>49. Qual a principal razão para se mudar para este bairro?</p> <p> _____ </p> | |
| <p>50. Alguém do agregado pretende mudar-se do bairro aonde vivem?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 53</i></p> | <p>01 Sim 02 Não</p> |
| <p>51. Para onde se pretende mudar? <i>(especifique o nome do local – se Maputo indicar o bairro, se fora da cidade de Maputo, mas dentro do país indicar província e distrito, se não se lembra apenas a província serve)</i></p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> | <p>01 Para outro bairro 02 Para outra cidade (zona urbana) 03 Para outra província (zona rural) 04 Para o lugar onde nasceu 05 Para outro país</p> |

| | |
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| <p>52. Qual a principal razão para se mudar?</p> <p> _____ </p> | |
| <p>53. Para que lugares fora da zona costumam ir com mais frequência os membros do agregado? (mencione até 3)</p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> <p><i>Se 99 passe para questão 67</i></p> | <p>01 Outro bairro cimento</p> <p>02 Outro bairro caniço</p> <p>03 Onde nasceu</p> <p>04 Outra cidade diferente de onde nasceu (zona urbana)</p> <p>05 Outra província diferente de onde nasceu (zona rural)</p> <p>06 Noutro país diferente de onde nasceu</p> <p>99 Nenhum</p> |
| <p>54. Quem do agregado costuma viajar mais?</p> <p> _ _ </p> | <p>01 Chefe</p> <p>02 Esposa(o)</p> <p>03 Filhos/enteados</p> <p>04 Pais/sogros</p> <p>05 Irmãos</p> <p>06 Sobrinhos</p> <p>07 Netos</p> <p>08 Outros parentes</p> <p>09 Sem parentesco</p> |
| <p>55. Quanto tempo costuma ficar esse membro do agregado, quando viaja?</p> <p> _ _ </p> | <p>01 Menos de 1 dia</p> <p>02 Menos de 1 semana</p> <p>03 Menos de 1 mês</p> <p>04 Menos de 1 ano</p> <p>05 Mais de 1 ano</p> |
| <p>56. Qual costuma ser a razão principal (aquela que acontece mais vezes) dessas viagens?</p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> | <p>01 Emprego (sector formal)</p> <p>02 Negócios (sector informal)</p> <p>03 Visitas familiares</p> <p>04 Compras</p> <p>05 Saúde</p> <p>06 Educação</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> |

| RELAÇÃO COM A CIDADE | |
|--|---|
| <p>57. Onde trabalha o chefe do agregado? (<i>especificar o nome do bairro</i>)</p> <p> _ _ _ _____ </p> <p><i>Se 06 passe para questão 59</i></p> | <p>01 Trabalha no bairro</p> <p>02 Trabalha noutra bairro</p> <p>03 Trabalha fora da cidade, mas vem dormir a casa</p> <p>04 Trabalha fora da cidade e <u>NÃO</u> vem dormir a casa</p> <p>05 Trabalha noutra país</p> <p>06 Não trabalha</p> |
| <p>58. Quanto tempo leva de casa para o trabalho?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> | <p>01 < 30 min</p> <p>02 30 min a 1 hora</p> <p>03 > 1 hora</p> |
| <p>59. O chefe do agregado trabalhava há 3 anos atrás?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 61</i></p> | <p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p> |
| <p>60. Onde trabalhava o chefe do agregado? (<i>especificar o nome do bairro</i>)</p> <p> _ _ _ _____ </p> | <p>01 Trabalhava no bairro</p> <p>02 Trabalhava noutra bairro</p> <p>03 Trabalhava fora da cidade, mas vem dormir a casa</p> <p>04 Trabalhava fora da cidade e <u>NÃO</u> vem dormir a casa</p> <p>05 Trabalhava noutra país</p> <p>06 Não trabalhava</p> |
| <p>61. Quanto tempo se leva do bairro até à terminal do chapa na cidade (baixa ou museu)?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> | <p>01 < 30 min</p> <p>02 30 min a 1 hora</p> <p>03 > 1 hora</p> |
| <p>62. A pessoa que MAIS vai ao centro da cidade, costuma ir com que frequência?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 05 passe para a questão 64</i></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 Nenhum membro do agregado costuma ir ao centro da cidade</p> |

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| <p>63. Qual a razão mais frequente para ir ao centro da cidade?</p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> | <p>01 Trabalhar 02 Compras 03 Negócios 04 Passear 05 Estudar 98 Outro (especifique)</p> |
| RELAÇÃO CAMPO-CIDADE | |
| <p>64. Com que frequência visita, pelo menos um membro do agregado uma localidade fora da cidade de Maputo?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 99 passe para a questão 67</i></p> | <p>01 Pelo menos 1 vez por semana 02 Pelo menos 1 vez por mês 03 Pelo menos 1 vez por ano 04 Menos de 1 vez por ano 99 Nunca</p> |
| <p>65. Qual foi a razão principal da última visita?</p> <p> _ _ </p> | <p>01 Visita a familiares 02 Produção na machamba 03 Comércio 04 Acontecimento importante (casamento, funeral, baptismo, etc.) 98 Outro (especifique)</p> |
| <p>66. Onde se localiza a localidade que os membros do agregado mais visitam fora da cidade de Maputo? <i>(especificar o nome da localidade, se no país indicar a província e o distrito, se fora indicar apenas o país)</i></p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> | <p>01 Na província de Maputo 02 Noutra província 03 Noutro país</p> |
| BENS E PADRÕES DE CONSUMO | |
| 67. Que bens possui a família? | 68. Possuía estes bens há 3 anos atrás? |
| <p>01 Possui 02 Não possui 03 Possui mas está estragado/avariado</p> | <p>01 Sim 02 Não 03 Já estava estragado/avariado</p> |

| | | |
|---|-----|--|
| Rádio | _ _ | _ _ |
| Aparelhagem/Rádio reproduutor | _ _ | _ _ |
| TV | _ _ | _ _ |
| Vídeo/VCD/DVD | _ _ | _ _ |
| Relógio | _ _ | _ _ |
| Geleira | _ _ | _ _ |
| Congelador | _ _ | _ _ |
| Celular | _ _ | _ _ |
| Bicicleta | _ _ | _ _ |
| Motorizada | _ _ | _ _ |
| Carro | _ _ | _ _ |
| Electricidade | _ _ | _ _ |
| Água canalizada | _ _ | _ _ |
| Cama (não esteira) | _ _ | _ _ |
| Mesa | _ _ | _ _ |
| Cadeiras | _ _ | _ _ |
| Sofá | _ _ | _ _ |
| Enxada | _ _ | _ _ |
| Catana | _ _ | _ _ |
| Machado | _ _ | _ _ |
| Tractor | _ _ | _ _ |
| 69. A casa tem quintal? _ _ <i>Se 02 passe para questão 72</i> | | 01 Sim 02 Não |
| 70. Existe alguma edificação, para além da casa (dependência, anexo, garagem, capoeira, celeiro, etc.)? _ _ | | 01 Sim 02 Não |
| 71. Qual o material da cerca/muro? _ _ _____ | | 01 Espinhosa 02 Madeira 03 Chapa 04 Cimento 98 Outro (especifique) |
| 72. Qual o material do telhado/cobertura da casa do agregado? _ _ _____ | | 01 Madeira 02 Chapa 03 Telha 04 Cimento 98 Outro (especifique) |

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| <p>73. Qual era o material do telhado/cobertura da casa há 3 anos atrás?</p> <p> _ _ _ _____ </p> | <p>01 Madeira 02 Chapa 03 Telha 04 Cimento 98 Outro (especifique)</p> |
| <p>74. Qual o material das paredes da casa do agregado?</p> <p> _ _ _ _____ </p> | <p>01 Maticado 02 Blocos 03 Chapa 04 Cimento 98 Outro (especifique)</p> |
| <p>75. Qual era o material das paredes da casa do agregado há 3 anos atrás?</p> <p> _ _ _ _____ </p> | <p>01 Maticado 02 Blocos 03 Chapa 04 Cimento 98 Outro (especifique)</p> |
| <p>76. Quantas divisões tem a casa do agregado?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> | |
| <p>77. Quantas divisões tinha a casa do agregado há 3 anos atrás?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> | |
| <p>78. A casa tem energia eléctrica? INCLUI GERADORES</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> | <p>01 Sim 02 Não</p> |
| <p>79. Quanto gastou <u>no último mês</u> nos seguintes artigos:</p> <p>Produtos alimentares _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Produtos de limpeza _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Electricidade/iluminação _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Água _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Aluguer da casa _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Roupa/vestuário _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Produtos escolares _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Medicamentos/consultas _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Transporte _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Creche/infantário _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Outras despesas (especifique) _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p> _____ </p> | |
| <p>80. Na semana passada as refeições do agregado incluíram alguma das seguintes categorias?</p> | <p>01 Sim 02 Não</p> |

| | | |
|---|-------------------|---|
| Shima/arroz | _ _ | |
| Matapa (verduras ou vegetais) | _ _ | |
| Pão | _ _ | |
| Carne (sem ser aves) | _ _ | |
| Galinha (ou outras aves) | _ _ | |
| Peixe | _ _ | |
| Fruta | _ _ | |
| 81. Desde o ano passado, diga que produtos ou artigos sentiu que aumentaram mais de preço? (liste os três principais) | | |
| 1. | _____ | |
| 2. | _____ | |
| 3. | _____ | |
| 82. Quanto pagava no ano passado, e quanto paga este ano por esses produtos ou artigos? (<i>diga na mesma ordem que colocou na questão acima</i>) | | |
| Produto/quantidade | valor ano passado | valor este ano |
| 1. _____ Mt | _ . _ _ _ Mt | _ . _ _ _ |
| 2. _____ Mt | _ . _ _ _ Mt | _ . _ _ _ |
| 3. _____ Mt | _ . _ _ _ Mt | _ . _ _ _ |
| 83. Quais foram as categorias de despesas em que foram obrigados a cortar (deixar de comprar ou pagar menos) por causa do aumento dos preços? | | 01 Produtos alimentares 02 Produtos de limpeza 03 Iluminação 04 Água 05 Roupa/vestuário 06 Material escolar 07 Medicamento/consultas 08 Transporte 98 Outro (especifique) 99 Nenhuma |
| 1. | _ _ _____ | |
| 2. | _ _ _____ | |
| 3. | _ _ _____ | |
| 84. O agregado pagou impostos, no <u>último ano</u> ? | | 01 Sim 02 Não |
| _ _ <i>Se 02 passe para a questão 86</i> | | |

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| <p>85. Pagou algum dos seguintes impostos?</p> <p>Pessoal (para a totalidade do agregado) _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Automovel _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Bicicletas _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Comercial _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Agrícola _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Outro _____ _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p> | <p>98 Não sabe</p> <p>99 Nenhum</p> |
| ACTIVIDADES DE RENDIMENTO NÃO AGRÍCOLAS | |
| <p>86. Quantos membros do agregado têm emprego com salário regular ou beneficiam de reforma?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 00 passe para questão 88</i></p> | |
| <p>87. Qual a soma do rendimento dos <u>salários</u> e <u>reformas</u> de todas as pessoas que possuem emprego com salário regular?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> | <p>01 < 250MT</p> <p>02 251MT a 500MT</p> <p>03 501MT a 750MT</p> <p>04 751MT a 1.000MT</p> <p>05 1.001MT a 1.500.MT</p> <p>06 1.5001MT a 2.500MT</p> <p>07 2.501MT a 5.000MT</p> <p>08 > 5.000MT</p> |

| | |
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| <p>88. Que outras actividades de rendimento são levadas a cabo no agregado, e quanto rendeu no mês passado?</p> <p> _ _ _ (preencher apenas se não leva a cabo nenhuma outra actividade)</p> <p>Aluguer de propriedade _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Artesanato _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Medicina tradicional _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Produção/venda de carvão _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Fabrico/venda de bebidas _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Loja/banca _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Comercio ambulante _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Carpintaria _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Construção _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Oficina mecânica _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Biscates _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Gai-Gai/Tchova/Carregador _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Alfaiate _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Cabeleireiro/tranças _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Outro _____ _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Outro _____ _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Outro _____ _ _ _ _ . _ _ _ _ </p> | <p>99 Nenhuma</p> |
| <p>89. Para além das actividades de rendimento, algum membro do agregado recebe assistência ou apoio monetário de alguém de fora do agregado?</p> <p> _ _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 91</i></p> | <p>01 Sim 02 Não</p> |
| <p>90. De que pessoas/entidades recebe, e quanto recebe aproximadamente por mês?</p> <p>ONGs _ _ . _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _____ </p> <p>INSS _ _ . _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _____ </p> <p>Acção Social _ _ . _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _____ </p> <p>Familiares de fora do agregado _ _ . _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _____ </p> <p>Vizinhos/amigos _ _ . _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _____ </p> <p>Outro _____ _ _ . _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _____ </p> | <p>Se forem produtos escreva os seguintes códigos nas caixas ao lado:</p> <p>01 Roupas 02 Comida 03 Diversos 98 Outros (especifique)</p> |

| | |
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| <p>91. Algum membro do agregado participa de algum grupo de poupança/xitique ou tem conta bancária?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 94</i></p> | <p>01 Sim 02 Não</p> |
| <p>92. De quanto em quanto tempo contribui para a poupança/xitique ou conta bancária?</p> <p> _ _ </p> | <p>01 Todos dias 02 1 vez por semana 03 De quinze em quinze dias 04 1 vez por mês 05 Irregularmente</p> |
| <p>93. Quanto consegue poupar, em média?</p> <p> _ _ </p> | <p>01 < 250Mtn 02 251Mtn a 500Mtn 03 501Mtn a 750Mtn 04 751Mtn a 1.000Mtn 05 1.001Mtn a 1.500Mtn 06 1.501Mtn a 2.500Mtn 07 2.500Mtn a 5.000Mtn 08 > 5.000 Mtn 99 Não sabe</p> |
| RENDIMENTOS COMPLEMENTARES | |
| <p>94. O agregado possui machamba ou horta?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 98</i></p> | <p>01 Sim 02 Não</p> |
| <p>95. Na última campanha agrícola produziu algo nessa machamba ou horta?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 98</i></p> | <p>01 Sim 02 Não</p> |
| <p>96. Vendeu algum produto da última campanha?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 98</i></p> | <p>01 Sim 02 Não</p> |
| <p>97. Quanto arrecadou no último ano? <i>(soma do arrecadado pela totalidade dos produtos vendidos)</i></p> <p> _ _ _ _ · _ _ _ _ </p> | |
| <p>98. A família cria animais?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 102</i></p> | <p>01 Sim 02 Não</p> |

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| <p>99. Quais os animais que o agregado cria? NÃO INCLUI BURRO, CÃO E GATO</p> <p>Galinhas __ __ </p> <p>Patos __ __ </p> <p>Cabritos __ __ </p> <p>Porcos __ __ </p> <p>Outro _____ __ __ </p> <p>Outro _____ __ __ </p> <p>Outro _____ __ __ </p> | <p>01 Cria</p> <p>02 Não cria</p> |
| <p>100. No último ano vendeu animais?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para questão 102</i></p> | <p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p> |
| <p>101. Quanto rendeu a última venda?</p> <p> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </p> | |
| PROPRIEDADE E RELAÇÕES INTRA-FAMILIARES | |
| <p>102. Como foi adquirida a casa onde o agregado vive?</p> <p> __ __ _____ </p> | <p>01 Comprada</p> <p>02 herdada</p> <p>03 Doadada</p> <p>04 Construiu sozinho</p> <p>05 Alugada</p> <p>06 Cedida</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> |
| <p>103. A quem pertence a casa onde vive o agregado? (<i>em nome de quem esta o título de propriedade</i>)</p> <p> __ __ _____ </p> <p><i>Se 98 passe para questão 106</i></p> | <p>01 Ao homem</p> <p>02 À mulher</p> <p>03 Aos dois</p> <p>04 A familiares do homem</p> <p>05 A familiares da mulher</p> <p>06 A todos</p> <p>07 Ao proprietário do aluguer</p> <p>08 Ao Estado</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> |
| <p>104. Em caso de morte do proprietário ou titular do contrato com quem fica a casa?</p> <p> __ __ _____ </p> <p><i>Se 98 explique porquê</i></p> <p> _____ </p> | <p>01 A(o) esposa(o)</p> <p>02 Todos filhos</p> <p>03 Só as filhas</p> <p>04 Só os filhos</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> |

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|---|--|
| <p>105. A quem pertence o quintal/terreno onde está a casa?</p> <p> __ __ _____ </p> | <p>01 A casa não tem terreno</p> <p>02 Ao homem</p> <p>03 À mulher</p> <p>04 Aos dois</p> <p>05 À família do homem</p> <p>06 À família da mulher</p> <p>07 A todos</p> <p>08 Ao Município/Estado</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> |
| <p>106. O agregado possui um terreno separado da casa?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para a questão 108</i></p> | <p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p> |
| <p>107. Como foi adquirido esse terreno?</p> <p> __ __ _____ </p> | <p>01 Comprado</p> <p>02 herdado</p> <p>03 Doado</p> <p>04 Abriu sozinho</p> <p>05 Alugado</p> <p>06 Cedido</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> |
| <p>108. Quem decide como é gasto o dinheiro que a família rende de todas as actividades remuneradas e apoios externos?</p> <p> __ __ </p> | <p>01 Chefe do agregado</p> <p>02 Esposa do chefe</p> <p>03 O casal</p> <p>04 Um homem adulto do agregado</p> <p>05 Uma mulher adulta da família</p> <p>06 Todo agregado</p> <p>07 Cada um decide o que fazer com o seu rendimento</p> |
| RELAÇÕES EXTRA-FAMILIARES | |
| <p>109. Qual foi o último problema/preocupação que o agregado teve que resolver e que teve que recorrer à intervenção de pessoas de fora do agregado para o resolver?</p> <p> __ __ _____ </p> <p><i>Se 99 passe para questão 111</i></p> | <p>99 Nenhum</p> |
| <p>110. A quem recorreram para resolver esse problema?</p> <p> __ __ _____ </p> | <p>01 Polícia</p> <p>02 Secretário do bairro</p> <p>03 Família alargada</p> <p>04 Familiares e amigos</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> |

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| <p>111. Qual é a fonte de conflito mais comum no bairro e que necessita de intervenção das autoridades para resolver?</p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> <p><i>Se 99 passe para questão 113</i></p> | <p>01 Bebedeiras</p> <p>02 Adultério</p> <p>03 Furtos/Assaltos</p> <p>04 Conflitos de terras</p> <p>05 Conflitos de água</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> <p>99 Nenhum</p> |
| <p>112. A quem recorrem, normalmente, os membros da comunidade para resolver esse problema?</p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> | <p>01 Chefe do quarteirão</p> <p>02 Secretário do bairro</p> <p>03 Chefe de 10 casas</p> <p>04 Autoridade religiosa</p> <p>05 Polícia</p> <p>06 Conjunto da comunidade</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> |
| <p>113. Quais são os serviços públicos (do Estado) que os membros do agregado usam?</p> <p>Administração do bairro _ _ </p> <p>Distrito Urbano/Grupo Dinamizador _ _ </p> <p>Acção social _ _ </p> <p>Registos e Notariado _ _ </p> <p>Polícia _ _ </p> <p>Tribunal _ _ </p> <p>Outro _____ _ _ </p> <p>Outro _____ _ _ </p> <p>Outro _____ _ _ </p> | <p>01 Usa</p> <p>02 Não usa</p> <p>03 Não sabe se existe na zona</p> |
| <p>114. Com que frequência usam esses serviços?</p> <p>Administração do bairro _ _ </p> <p>Distrito Urbano/Grupo Dinamizador _ _ </p> <p>Acção social _ _ </p> <p>Registos e Notariado _ _ </p> <p>Polícia _ _ </p> <p>Tribunal _ _ </p> <p>Outro _____ _ _ </p> <p>Outro _____ _ _ </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 Sempre que precisam</p> <p>06 Nunca</p> |

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| <p>122. Há 3 anos atrás quais eram as três despesas mais difíceis para o agregado familiar realizar?</p> <p>Comida <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Água <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Electricidade <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Renda/Habitação <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Transporte <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Saúde <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Educação <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Cuidados infantis/creche/infantário <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>Outro <input type="checkbox"/> _____ <input type="checkbox"/></p> | <p>Assinale [x] na opção escolhida (máximo de três)</p> |
| <p>123. Comparando com a situação da família há 3 anos atrás, como avalia a situação da família hoje?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> | <p>01 Melhorou</p> <p>02 Manteve-se</p> <p>03 Piorou</p> |
| <p>Explique porquê</p> <p>_____</p> | |
| <p>124. Comparando com a situação da comunidade há 3 anos atrás, como avalia a situação da comunidade hoje?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p><i>Se 04 passe para questão 126</i></p> | <p>01 Melhorou</p> <p>02 Manteve-se</p> <p>03 Piorou</p> <p>04 Não vivia na comunidade</p> |
| <p>Explique porquê</p> <p>_____</p> | |
| <p>125. Em que áreas mais sentiu mudança (indique as três principais)</p> <p>ESPECIFIQUE O QUE MUDOU EM CADA UMA DAS ÁREAS</p> <p>1. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> _____</p> <p>2. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> _____</p> <p>3. <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> _____</p> | <p>01 Emprego</p> <p>02 Comércio</p> <p>03 Educação</p> <p>04 Saúde</p> <p>05 Água</p> <p>06. Saneamento</p> <p>98 Outra (especifique)</p> <p>99 Nenhuma</p> |
| <p>126. Como espera que a situação da família esteja daqui a 3 anos?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> | <p>01 Melhorará</p> <p>02 Manter-se-á</p> <p>03 Piorará</p> |
| <p>Explique porquê</p> <p>_____</p> | |
| <p>127. Como espera que a situação da comunidade esteja daqui a 3 anos?</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/></p> | <p>01 Melhorará</p> <p>02 Manter-se-á</p> <p>03 Piorará</p> |

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|--|--|
| Explique porquê _____ | |
| AVALIAÇÃO DA DINÂMICA URBANA | |
| 128. Na sua opinião, qual e a questão <u>mais importante</u> a ser resolvida para melhorar a situação do seu bairro? _ _ _ _ _____ | 01 Emprego 02 Crime/ Segurança 03 Água 04 Educação 05 Saúde 06 Saneamento 07 Habitação 98 Outro (especifique) |
| 129. Quem é responsável por resolver essa situação? _ _ _ _ _____ | 01 Governo 02 Conselho Municipal 03 Autoridades do bairro 98 Outro (especifique) |
| 130. Na sua opinião, quais são as principais <u>vantagens</u> de viver na cidade? (enumere as três principais) _____ _____ _____ | |
| 131. Na sua opinião, quais são as principais <u>desvantagens</u> de viver na cidade? (enumere as três principais) _____ _____ _____ | |
| 132. Na sua opinião porquê acha que aconteceram as manifestações dos dias 1 e 2 de Setembro de 2010? _____ | |
| 133. Na sua opinião qual a diferença entre as manifestações dos dias 1 e 2 de Setembro de 2010 e as manifestações de 5 de Fevereiro de 2008? _____ | |
| Hora de Término _ _ _ _ : _ _ _ | |

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INDEXING TERMS

Mozambique

Poverty

This report is part of a larger exercise to monitor and evaluate Mozambique's poverty reduction strategy PARPA II (2006-2011), and focuses on continuity and change in poverty and well-being in the capital city Maputo between 2007 and 2010. The period coincides with apparently contradictory developments in which on the one hand physical and social infrastructure improved and consumption-based poverty reduced, while on the other unprecedented social uprisings occurred that involved large parts of the urban population. External 'shocks' in the form of price increases on basic commodities have made people feel vulnerable and powerless, exacerbated by the lack of platforms for dialogue with the government. The improvements that have taken place seem, ironically, to have brought further challenges to central and municipal government in the form of increasing demands for employment, income, social security and political accountability.