

CMI REPORT

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'Mucupuki' Revisited

Assessing the Implications of
PARP/A in Central Mozambique
2008-2011

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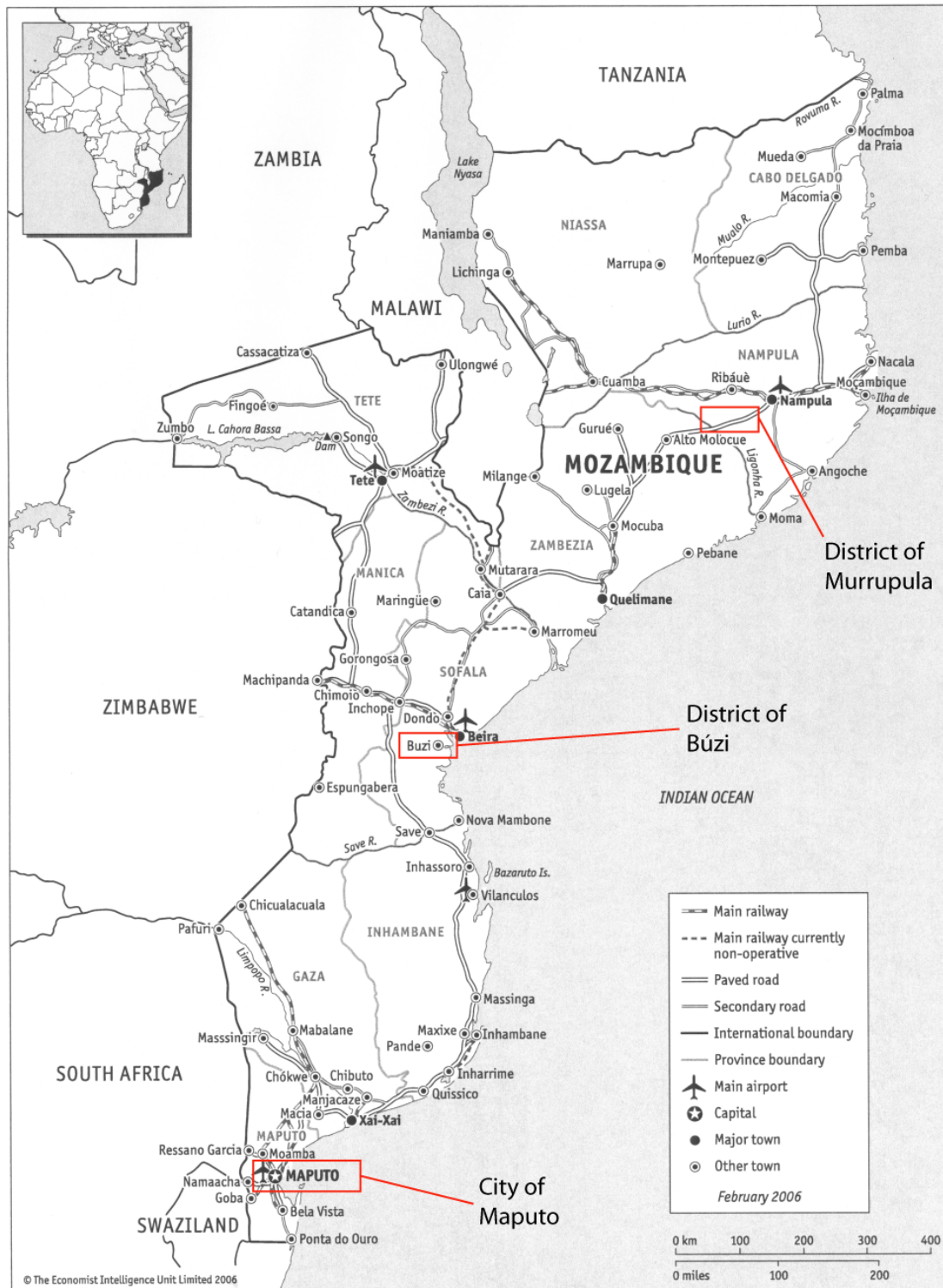
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Qualitative Studies of Poverty in Mozambique 2006-2011

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Map 1. Mozambique and Project Fieldsites



Source: Economist Intelligence Unit

1. Introduction

This is the final report in a series of six studies to monitor and evaluate Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategies PARP/A (2006-2014)¹. The report series focuses on three different areas in the country: The District of Murrupula in the northern province of Nampula representing a rural social formation (Tvedten, Paulo and Rosário 2007); four bairros in the capital city Maputo representing urban social formations (Rosário, Tvedten and Paulo 2008); and the District of Buzi in the central province of Sofala which is located in the rural-urban interface (Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2009).

Each of the initial three studies is followed up after a period of three years in order to ascertain changes in political and economic context and social relations of poverty and well-being, by revisiting the same public institutions, 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), and the second in Maputo in 2010 (Rosário, Tvedten and Paulo 2011). This report is from the revisit to Buzi in October 2011.

The backdrop for the current study is a situation where poverty in the central province of Sofala has seen a dramatic deterioration, judged by an increase in the poverty rate from 36.1 percent in 2002/03 (INE 2004) to 58.0 percent in 2008/09 (INE 2010). While the accuracy of the figures have been contested (Van den Boom 2011) and alternative figures have been presented (Alfani et al. 2012), the changed poverty rate in Sofala does reflect an overall halt in the reduction of poverty in Mozambique during the same period (see below).

The limited extent to which economic growth has 'trickled down' to the populations in Mozambique's rural villages and urban shantytowns is in line with the overall analytical approach in this series of studies. With reference to Bourdieu (1990), we have argued that socio-economic conditions of poverty and well-being are primarily the outcome of historical developments and structural, political and economic constraints, and that there are severe limitations as to what poor people can accomplish through individual strategies and actions for social mobility under the current conditions of structural oppression.

We have also identified a number of 'poverty traps'. Among these are a near total political control of the Frelimo party all the way down to the smallest villages and urban neighbourhoods, which limits the scope for popular action and accountability. The economy is characterised by a near complete lack of formal employment opportunities, an underdeveloped agricultural sector and a saturated informal sector upon which the large majority of Mozambicans depend. And we have identified a number of socio-cultural constraints, including the unequal relations between men and women and the continued strength of witchcraft and other social control mechanisms. To alleviate poverty, these structural constraints and their accompanying 'poverty traps' have to be dealt with.

However, the District of Buzi in the central part of Mozambique in many ways represents a different story: It has an exceptionally strong political opposition; a history of formal employment opportunities primarily through the *Companhia de Buzi*; and a number of dynamic small-scale and informal enterprises primarily in fishing and trade. It also has an unusually high proportion of female headed households. Developments are, finally, influenced by Buzi's position in the rural-urban interface, which represents opportunities for economic development and social mobility that have not been given sufficient attention by government and donors.

¹ PARPA II ('Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty') was implemented between 2006-2010, while PARP ('Poverty Reduction Action Plan') is being implemented between 2011-2014.

To capture the nature of structural constraints and understand the agency of poor people, the current series of studies uses a combination of quantitative data from the National Statistical Institute (INE) and the District Administration's own planning documents (PESOD); interviews with key stakeholders in government, the District administration and in the communities; an adapted household surveys with a particular focus on people's relations with public and community-based institutions; and a set of participatory and qualitative methodologies (see Tvedten, Paulo and Rosário 2006 and Annex 1).

The qualitative methodologies include *histograms* (to map historical events considered particularly important for the current socio-economic conditions of well-being and poverty); *community mapping* (to map the institutions and people currently considered most important for relating to poverty and well-being); *wealth-ranking* (to capture the community's own perception of poverty and well-being); *Venn-diagrams* (to identify social relations and networks used by the different categories of poor and better-off as part of their coping strategies); problem matrixes (to identify what people perceive to be the main problems in the community); 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).

The present report should be read in close conjunction with the first Buzi report '*Mucupuki. Social Relations of Rural-Urban Poverty in Central Mozambique*' (Rosário, Tvedten and Paulo 2008), which contains relevant background information related to the history and contemporary conditions in the province of Sofala and the District of Buzi. The report also gives a comprehensive description of the four local communities in which the two studies have taken place, i.e. Vila de Buzi, Estaquinha, Bândua and Nova Sofala (see Map 2).

This report takes the quantitative expressions of the socio-economic changes among the households reflected in the community surveys of 2008 and 2011 as its point of departure, and analyses these with reference to our participatory and qualitative approaches and data listed above. Chapter 2 gives a brief outline of the current situation in Mozambique as regards urban-rural linkages. Chapter 3 discusses changes in the public administration and the economy of the district of Buzi. Chapter 4 focuses on changes in the socio-economic situation of households in the four selected study sites. And Chapter 4 sums up the study and offers a set of key recommendations.

2. Urban-Rural Poverty

National data on poverty and well-being in Mozambique show that the reduction in poverty witnessed between 1996/97 (67.3 percent) and 2002/3 (54.1 percent) has come to an abrupt halt, with the consumption-based poverty rate having increased again to 54.7 percent in 2008/09 (MPD 2010; INE 2010). At the same time, the national datasets show that urban poverty has been reduced more than rural poverty, and urban inequality has increased while rural inequality has decreased (see Table 1).

Table 1. *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
Gini Coefficient:			
Urban	n.a.	0.479	0.481
Rural	n.a.	0.371	0.367

Source: MPD (2010).

As often in the case of Mozambique, however, general trends conceal significant regional variations in both rural and urban poverty. The poverty rate has decreased with approximately ten percentage points in the north and south between 2002/03 and 2008/09 while it has increased by approximately 15 percent in the central provinces of Zambezia, Tete, Manica and Sofala. At the same time, urban poverty in the north has increased by one percent while rural poverty has decreased by 13 percent; urban poverty in the central region has increased by seven percent and the rural poverty rate by an even higher 16 percent; and the urban as well as the rural poverty rates have decreased in the south, by 10 and seven percent respectively (Table 2).

Table 2 *Consumption Poverty by Region and Urban-Rural Areas (Percent)*

Region	Overall Poverty	Urban Poverty	Rural Poverty
North:			
2002/03	55.3	47	59
2008/09	46.5	48	46
Central:			
2002/03	45.5	47	45
2008/09	59.9	54	61
South:			
2002/03	66.5	58	74
2008/09	56.9	48	67

Source: MPD/DNEAP 2010

Having said this, there are reasons to question the accuracy and relevance of the national figures on poverty as a basis for formulating poverty reduction policies for two main reasons. One is the quality of the figures themselves. Looking at Sofala in particular, there is very little if anything in our studies verifying the change in the rates of poverty and well-being in the province of Sofala from 87.9 percent (1996/97), to 36.1 percent (2002/03) and to 58.0 percent in 2008/09. This is partly a problem of obtaining accurate statistical information, and partly a problem of the type of indicators used.

Moreover, while much data exist on the differences in poverty and well-being between urban and rural areas, much less attention has been given to the relationships between them. There have been indications of relatively weak links between rural and urban areas in Mozambique compared to other

countries in Southern Africa (World Bank 2011). One reason is the long distance between the capital city Maputo as the urban hub of the country and other parts of Mozambique. A second is the discontinuation of such linkages during the time of war, when maintaining relations between rural and urban areas were difficult due to poor infrastructure and security. And a third is the country's inadequate road network and transportation costs to urban centres that are too high for most rural residents.

However, this seems to be in a process of change. An indication of enhanced importance of rural-urban linkages is the fact that there has been an increase in the share of rural households reporting receipts of a transfer income, from 18 percent in 1996/97 to 33 percent in 2008/09. The interpretation given by Jones and Tarp (2012) is that rural households increasingly employ internal migration and extended family networks as a livelihood strategy, particularly in a context of weak agricultural productivity growth. As shown in the 2008 Buzi report, however, this may equally well be the outcome of a conscious strategy of splitting households in a rural and an urban part – which is not captured with the current design of national surveys.

Results from the present series of studies also seem to verify this trend. In rural Murrupula (Tvedten, Paulo and Rosário 2007, 2010), the very poorest are characterised by limited social networks and a large degree of permanency in their residency. In urban Maputo (Paulo, Rosário and Tvedten 2008, 2011), the very poorest had not been able to maintain relationships with rural areas which inhibited direct access to food and made them more vulnerable. At the same time, one of the main conclusions from the first Buzi study was the importance of urban-rural relationships. The two study sites with the best socio-economic indicators and the most dynamic situation were the District's capital Vila Buzi and Nova Sofala with close ties to Beira, while the more rural and secluded Bândua and Estaquinha were poorer and less dynamic (Rosário, Tvedten and Paulo 2008).

The City of Beira is where we take our administrative issues to be solved

The City of Beira, with the largest market for our agricultural products, is where we earn our money.

The City of Beira is the only urban reference people here in Buzi have, and we go there to improve our lives

Residents in Vila Buzi, 2011

As also noted in the Murrupula, Maputo and first Buzi reports in this series, moreover, there are significant qualitative differences between rural and urban poverty. Rural poverty is often characterised by limited access to employment and income, inadequate education and health services, and socio-cultural systems that constrain for example women in their ability to make independent choices. At the same time, however, most people in rural areas have access to agricultural fields (*machambas*) and can produce at least some food – even though it may be inadequate and not take the household through the full year. Moreover, most people will have extended family members relatively close by, who may help out in times of crisis.

In cities and towns, there is better access to employment and income but the dependence on money is also much more pronounced. People need money to invest in land and housing, to buy food and other basic commodities, for transportation etc. A much smaller proportion than in rural areas have access to agricultural land, because it is expensive and because transportation to agricultural areas outside the city is too costly. While the potential for employment and income and social space (also for women) may be better than in rural areas, then, the implications of not being able to take part in the

commoditised urban setting may be severe. Very often access to the extended family is also more limited, with friends and neighbours only partly being able to substitute the social security the extended family represents.

The implications of urban-rural relations for development and poverty reduction will be a main focus in the following pages. Such relations are important not only in economic terms through the exchange of goods and services, but also for people's sense of security and access to an extended social network. Securing better linkages between Mozambique's rural villages and urban areas through a stronger emphasis on the communication between them - in the form of everything from better roads and more inclusive markets to the amalgamation of rural and urban modes of living - will be of utmost importance for Mozambique to be able to turn the current negative trend in poverty reduction.

Map 2

DISTRITO DE BÚZI, SOFALA PROVINCE



3. District Administration and Economy

3.1 The Province of Sofala

The province of Sofala, in which the District of Buzi finds itself, is located in the central part of Mozambique. It has a current population of 1.650.000, with 29 percent living in urban areas and Beira being the main city with 436,240 inhabitants (see the first Buzi report for more information).

Politically the opposition party Renamo, and increasingly also the Movimento Democrático de Moçambique (MDM), have had a strong standing in the province, with Renamo gaining 16 seats as against Frelimo's 6 seats in the 2009 Parliamentary election, and with Daviz Simango winning 60 percent of the votes in the 2009 municipal election in Beira.

Economically Sofala has seen a deterioration in its fortunes in commercial agriculture, international trade through the Beira corridor as well as in the rich fishing waters along its coast, but there are recent signs of improvements related to large investments in extractive industries and an enhanced importance of Beira's harbour with rising economic fortunes in Zimbabwe.

As shown above, the province of Sofala has seen a major increase in its consumption-based poverty rate between 2002/03 and 2008/09 from 36.1 to 58.0 percent. With reference to findings from the two current Buzi studies (2008 and 2011), there are few if any indications of such dramatic changes. While we shall see that there are differences between the four study sites Vila de Buzi, Bândua, Estaquinha and Nova Sofala, the basic trend is one of small improvements in basic conditions related to employment and income, education and health – albeit tainted by an apparent inability of the very poorest to escape destitution.

3.2 The District of Buzi

Buzi is one of 12 districts in the Sofala province, located to the south west of Beira about three hours' drive by car or four hours by boat (see the first Buzi report for more details). The district has a total population of 179,000, of which 45 percent are under 15 years of age. 90 percent of the population live in what has been defined as rural areas, with Vila de Buzi as the main urban hub with a population of 25,000 (INE 2009). The District is divided into three Administrative Posts (Vila de Buzi, Estaquinha and Nova Sofala) and a total of seven Localities (*Localidades*).

A striking feature of the four areas under study is the great variations in socio-economic adaptations. Vila do Buzi is 'modern' and urban with a number of economic activities and a wide range of public and private services; Bândua is a commercial centre for the most densely populated parts of the district with the best agricultural potential; Estaquinha was formally an important population centre centred around a Mission, but was hardest hit by the closing of the Buzi company and has a low agricultural potential; and Nova Sofala is sparsely populated, has no formal employment opportunities outside education and health and has sandy soils and a weak agricultural potential - but enjoys close economic and social relations with the city of Beira.

Entering the District of Buzi and the Vila after three years, there are a few visible signs of change. The road between Beira and Buzi is still gravel and in poor condition; we still pass endless areas of land lying fallow after the closure of the Buzi Factory; and the Vila itself seems as dynamic as three years ago with the central road surrounded by public offices, shops, markets, a bank, the petrol station, the Catholic Church, a number of marketing stalls and ending up by the Buzi River - which can still only be crossed by boats and canoes.

Surrounding the Vila are a number of informal settlement areas, still criss-crossed by canals that are filled with water during the rainy season, a great mix of types of houses, ever-present marketing stalls and increasingly congested – but also with some improvements such as two-story brick houses and more water-points. Nevertheless, we learn that the Vila has still not acquired status as a Municipality - now openly acknowledged by the Administration to be related to the strong position of the political opposition in the District.

Most noticeable in the part of the Vila lying on the other side of the Buzi River (see Map 2) is the continued dismal state of the Buzi factory – for which both the District administration and the population had such high hopes three years ago. The factory was the lifeline of the District until it closed in 1990, giving employment for thousands of people and being responsible for much of the infrastructure investments made.

In 2008 there were concrete plans for re-establishing agro-industrial production and the factory, with several potential investors identified. However, the only activity is still the small production of alcohol from sugar cane. Little has also happened with the transportation bottlenecks, with a small ferry boat (*batalão*) with limited capacity and frequently being out of order being the only way to cross the river and reach the most populous parts of the District.

Reuniting a group of nine community leaders who identified 16 priorities for the district of Buzi in 2008, the 'report card' of what has actually been accomplished as of November 2011 is shown in Table 3.

Table 3: *Development Priorities in 2008 and Status 2011*

	2008	2011
1	Paved roads	No paved roads have been constructed
2	Four boats Beira-Buzi	One boat is in operation
3	Tractors for agriculture	Five tractors with District Economic Services
4	Irrigation systems	First trials done by Provincial Directorate of Agr.
5	Plane for transport of sick	No plane in place
6	Pre-university schools	Three schools in place
7	Transport Buzi-Maputo	No transport Buzi-Maputo
8	Bridge over Buzi River	No bridge over Buzi River
9	Brick houses to avoid fires	Many people have improved their houses
10	Avoid food price increases	Price increases not avoided
11	All localities with energy	Only some localities have energy
12	More mobile phone antennas	Only in the District centre
13	More [proper] shops	No - people prefer marketing stalls (<i>bancas</i>)
14	Orphanage established	No orphanage established
15	Reopening of Buzi Factory	Buzi Factory not reopened
16	Moura Valley rehabilitated	No rehabilitation done (Chinese against it)

3.3 The District Administration

Approaching the District Administration for more explicit and detailed information about developments between 2008 in 2011, the large majority of the employees are the same as three years earlier except for the District Administrator and the Permanent Secretary who are new. Interviewing the Permanent Secretary (PS), he presents Buzi as a dynamic place and claims that changes are taking place for the better. He also argues that the competence and capacity within the District administration has improved, with basic data given in Table 4. We also discover marked improvements in the quality of the data we are given from the Social and Economic Development Plan (PESOD) and other official

publications. Not only do they contain more information, but they are also more 'analytical' in their efforts to identify the main constraints on development.

Table 4. *Public Administration, District of Buzi*

Public administration	2007	2010
Number of employees / percent women	645/25.2	1039 / 39.3
Percent with higher education (Superior +)	2.5	5.0
Total incomes (MT)	8.933.000	8.956.000
Total Expenditures (MT)	8.465.000	10.344.000

Source: GDB 2008, 2011

Despite improvements in the public administration, however, the population still complains about inadequate attention to their concerns. Particular emphasis is given to what people see as a deterioration of the role of the District Consultative Council, which they claim has become increasingly dominated by the Administration itself and where Frelimo membership is necessary in order to have a role. As emphasised in our 2008 Buzi Report, the Consultative Councils should be the principal forum for local governments and communities to assess the "quality, utility, accessibility and sustainability" of the government's development interventions.

Instead, Consultative Councils have basically become an organ for allocating funds for projects related to the Local Development Fund or the 'Seven Million MT Scheme' (Table 5). The Scheme continues to receive a lot of attention and has considerable potential, but is tainted by a non-transparent selection process and with few implications for the very poorest (see below). According to the District Administration, the main problem has become that the number of projects is too high, and they plan to reduce the number in order for the Fund to focus on larger projects with better effect on employment creation and development.

Table 5. *The District Development Fund, District of Buzi*

The District Development Fund	2007	2010
Number of projects	80	412
- Men	60	163
- Women	12	72
- Youth	5	87
- Associations	3	90
Total expenditures	8.040.000	7.631.100
Total reimbursed	228.170	823.421

Source: GDB 2008, 2011

Furthermore, the relationship between the District Government and traditional leaders has continued to develop in the direction of increasingly close links. There are altogether 14 chiefs or *régulos*, 127 headmen (*chefes de povoações*) and about 615 sub-headmen (*sagutas*) in the District. While they still have an important function in their communities, the system of remuneration and an active co-option in the form of other 'allowances' tie the traditional leaders to the state to an extent where many people talk about them as being 'government employees' rather than their own representatives. In the Villa, moreover, the traditional leaders are increasingly substituted by *bairro* secretaries who in practice (and from 2012 also by law) are appointed by the Party/State.

As regards economic developments, the Permanent Secretary underlines that there has been advances in all sectors (see Table 6), even though he laments that the agricultural sector has not seen more

progress. One explanation given for the positive developments (in addition to repeating that “people from Sofala work hard”) is that the District has not experienced any new devastating floods since the 2000 catastrophe - even though there are minor floods around the Buzi River practically every year. The importance attached to the flood danger was demonstrated by a large exercise at the time of our visit to Buzi, when thousands of people pretended to flee to secure areas in the Vila with all their belongings – with mobilisation secured by promises from Frelimo (sic !) that the participants would get food and drinks at the assembly points.

Table 6. Economic Developments, District of Buzi (value in '000 MT)

Economic Development	2007	2010
Agricultural Production (commercial sector)	n.a	25.412
Agricultural Production (family sector)	n.a	4.218
Pastoral Production (commercial sector)	n.a	922
Pastoral production (family sector)	n.a	1.828
Fisheries (family sector)	n.a	6.420
Number of agricultural extensionists	8	9
Number of conflicts man-animal	14	10

Source: GDB 2008, 2011

The Permanent Secretary also claims, and verifies, that the educational sector has seen progress, both in terms of the number of students, the proportion of girls and reduction of dropouts (Table 7). However, he acknowledges that there still are challenges in terms of the quality of education – stating that there are students leaving primary school who cannot properly read and write. This is also verified by Directors of individual schools in the four study-sites, who particularly emphasise the fact that the construction of schools has not kept pace with the increasing number of students and that classrooms are too overcrowded for effective teaching.

Table 7. The Educational Sector, District of Buzi

Education	2007	2010
Students 1-5 class / proportion girls	28.119/45.2	31.961/ 46.2
Students 6-7 class / proportion girls	4.151/40.4	6.629/ 43.8
Students 8-10 class/ proportion girls	1.491/33.7	4.654/ 44.4
Students 11-12 class / proportion girls	402/19.2	854/ 32.5
Adult students / proportion women	6.132/51.2	8.685/ 67.8

Source: GDB 2008, 2011

As regards health, there have also been positive developments in the overall health situation (Table 8) – including HIV-AIDS even though there are no figures to verify the latter. There are, however, continued challenges in including the more remote areas in social protection interventions. According to the Director of the District Services of Health, Women and Social Action, efforts to support ‘orphans, widows and the physically and mentally handicapped’ have increased between 2008 and 2011. INAS (*Instituto Nacional para Acção Social*) is an important partner, with civil society organisations (such as Handicap International, Kuphezana and Acaboca) and community groups (Grupos Comunitários) being others. Finally, several organisations have started to make families and communities aware of the rights of children through theatre and other means of communication.

Table 8. *The Health Sector, District of Buzi*

Health	2007	2010
Stillbirths (percent)	n.a.	6.4
Maternal mortality (per 1000, in hospital)	0.2	0.1
Low birth weight (percent)	12.1	10.3
AIDS (number of recorded cases)	1.687	2.144
Stumping (poor growth)	5.0	2.9
Social protection (INAS)	987	1.875
Food subsidies	513	1532

Source: GDB 2008, 2011

3.4 Approaching the Communities

Nova Sofala

Driving the 2.5 hours from Vila de Buzi to the Nova Sofala Administrative Post (see Map 2), there is little evidence of change except for a few agro-industrial fields run by the Chinese but still with little production. The sign to a site for investigations related to the possible exploration of gas discussed in the 2008 Buzi report is still there, but we understand that the original companies from the US and Europe have concluded that the resources are too poor and conditions too complicated for further exploitation and interests have been taken over by Indonesian capital.

Extremely sandy conditions continue to make the road to Nova Sofala hardly passable even in the dry season, and represents a major constraint to more active linkages between the Administrative Post and the District capital. Upon entering Barada and Nova Sofala, the small commercial centre at the 'gate' has been extended with more formal structures and more commercial activities. There is clearly more goods available, but we later learn that these are primarily bought in Beira and transported by sea. There is also a new electricity line, but we hear that it has still not been 'switched on' a year after it was built – apparently due to technical problems and too low capacity.

The most visible change is related to the Barada Mission, which has extended the physical infrastructure with several buildings and increased the number of students significantly.² Two other indications of a dynamic local community is the extension and cleaning up of the main 'harbour' (which actually is a small laguna only partly hidden from the ocean) for boat traffic to Beira, and the construction of an ice factory with the help of the National Institute for Small-Scale Fisheries (IDPPE) - even though the generator is not able to produce sufficient to cover needs.

The very able Head of the Administrative Post who was there in 2008 has apparently moved upwards in the administrative hierarchy. The new *Chefe* is away when we arrive, but two staff members supply us with all necessary information (still hand-written at this level of administration). They confirm that many things have improved, with the primary school having added classrooms and more teachers, the health post having received a solar panel to produce vital electricity, and with a few more *barracas* having opened up. A bakery has also opened up, selling fresh bread from noon every day – with bread being an important indication of improved well-being. And the old Sanctuary (from the ancient town of Sofala which became the centre of activity Arab Muslims from the sixth century) is well taken care

² According to the Padre an increasing number of local youngsters as well as people from other districts want to study there, often arguing that the public schools are becoming too poor.

of by the Muslim community and boasts more visitors (3000 in 2011 until mid-November) than three years earlier.

The main challenges for the Administrative Post is still the very secluded Locality of Ampara (see Map 2), which is only reachable through a poor road taking up to six hours to pass from the Vila and which is impassable during large parts of the rainy season. To get to Nova Sofala as the centre of the Administrative Post, boats and canoes are the only means of transportation. According to the Post Administration, Ampara still has very poor socio-economic conditions and very poor access to both education and health facilities.

Bândua

Arriving Bândua after about an hour on the road since leaving Vila Buzi, everything seems to be as it was back in 2008. There are vast tracts of agricultural land owned by the Buzi Company lying fallow, the central market is still busy, and the houses built in connection with the resettlement of people after the 2000 floods have seen better days.

The most obvious change is that electricity arrived in 2010. When it arrived "[T]here was a lot of euphoria. People didn't sleep, but walked around in the streets late at night. Some people played music until early in the morning. Others started businesses selling fish and chicken's. And yet others bought videos to show in their house. But the surprise came when the bill for the electricity came. People did not want to pay, because they had been told that 'Cahora Bassa is ours'. So how is it that something which is ours has to be paid for?" (Small-scale trader, Buzi).

Looking more closely, however, some improvements have also been made in terms of water with several new what posts having been constructed – even though we later learn that only a couple of them are functioning due to problems of maintenance and access to spare parts. Therefore, most families continue to depend on the rivers with the considerable health risks that implies.

The central market place has grown, and the increase in commercial activities is said to be related to the 7 Million Mt scheme which has benefited quite a number of people even though many projects have not really gotten off the ground. The emphasis in Bândua is still on associations, and most beneficiaries invest in agriculture, fisheries and small-scale trade. There are very few new business ventures created.

In terms of health, the Bândua Health Centre has increased with a small maternity ward, and houses for new nurses have been built. In education, a secondary school has been built and opened. Also primary schools have been enlarged, with support from the community. An additional '*novidade*' in the social sector is the establishment of an Advisory Board which relates actively to the school administrations. Also the number of older people getting support from the National Institute for Social Action (INAS) is said to have increased – even though the monthly sum of 70 Mt only takes care of very basic necessities.

One of the biggest 'revolutions' the past three years according to the local population is the arrival of Mcel and Vodacom in Bândua. People appreciate the opportunity to keep contact with family and friends outside the rural community, and many also actively relate to marketing options outside Bândua to secure the best prices for their agricultural products and fish. Nevertheless, the main impression is still one of a repressed community with many newcomers after the 2000 flood, lack of employment opportunities and an agricultural sector that can only barely feed the population.

Estaquinha

It has been three years since our last visit to Estaquinha in 2008. To get to Estaquinha we have to make a turn in Guara-Guara, where we take the ferryboat (batalão) to cross over to other margin of the Buzi River – being lucky this time as the river is neither too shallow nor too full for the ferry to work. While crossing the river we see the plantation of sugar cane that belongs to the deactivated Buzi sugar factory. Although the sugar factory is not working, the owners of former Buzi Company still sell to the sugar factory in Mafambisse which is 65 km away from Buzi.

The journey to Estaquinha takes approximately one and half hour. Apart from the vast sugar cane plantation and a new *Jatropha* plantation along the main road, nothing else seems to have changed. The road is still unpaved, somewhat bumpy but yet practicable. When we arrive at Estaquinha, we first go to the Administrative Post. The Post still works in a house borrowed from the Buzi Company. The weather was very humid and everything appeared to be moving in slow-motion. It was Sunday afternoon and the community centre seemed deserted, and the only sound that could be heard was the bell from the mission's school church.

The population in Estaquinha is small, and almost all the houses are still made of mud and thatched roofs. Electricity is only available at the missionary school – but permanent electric power has arrived at Estaquinha but is yet to be connected to the local dwellings. Access to potable water is still a challenge, but there is a river nearby. The Catholic Church mission continues to be the main school in the community, and teaches up to Grade 11 with day- and night-classes. A new Level Two Health Centre has been built by the Catholic Church - with a permanent doctor who provides maternity, ambulatory and admission services.

A part from small-scale businesses in the local market, the private sector remains underdeveloped. The Catholic Mission is the main private employer, but only employs people for unskilled tasks such as cultivation, cattle herder, and masonry. Unemployment remains the main preoccupation among the youth, and those who have completed grade 12th go to the Vila de Buzi, Beira and Chimoio to seek jobs.

As regards political change, Frelimo is still the dominant party. However, from our interviews with local community members it seems that Renamo enjoys the support from an increasing part of the population even though they have to publically support Frelimo in order to avoid retaliation and exclusion from community life.

Regarding the 7 million fund, the challenges continue to be that the procedures for the disbursement of funds are unclear, and that only people closely related to the formal authorities or the consultative councils end up being beneficiaries. In addition, the reimbursement of funds continues to be a challenge to the local government.

Having described the general and more immediately visible changes in the four study sites, we will now turn to possible changes in the living conditions of the people in the communities based on a combination of a reassessment of the survey done in 2008 and people's own perceptions of the reality as captured through participatory and qualitative methodologies (see above).

4. Dynamics of Poverty and Well-Being

The following analysis of the dynamics of poverty and well-being in the four study sites is based on a combination of the questionnaire survey carried out in 2008 and repeated in 2011; and the qualitative and participatory methodologies done with focus groups at the same points in time (see Chapter 1). As seen from Table 9 below, the team managed to locate 107 out of the 120 households interviewed in 2008 in 2011 – representing rare panel data. Among the 13 households that could not be located six had moved to other districts, five had been dissolved and two could not be accounted for. The 13 households that could not be relocated were substituted by their nearest neighbour (the distribution of sex of household heads was maintained, with 68 percent being male headed and 32 percent being female headed, see Table 10).

Table 9. *Number of Households Interviewed in both 2008 and 2011 (Out of 120)*

	Bândua	Vila de Buzi	Estaquinha	Nova Sofala	Total
Yes	25	25	28	29	107
No	5	5	2	1	13
Total	30	30	30	30	120

Table 10. *Sex of Heads of Households Interviewed (Percentage)*

	Bândua	Vila de Buzi	Estaquinha	Nova Sofala	Total
MHH	63.3	63.3	70.0	76.7	68.3
FHH	36.7	36.7	30.0	23.3	31.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.1 Household Characteristics

The household is a basic socio-economic unit, as well as the most common unit of poverty analysis. Getting it right is therefore crucial. As argued in an earlier reports in this series, the definition of a household employed in this series of studies is “one or more persons – not necessarily related by kin who do not necessarily lived under the same roof – who share the same resources”. This is broader than the definition used by the National Institute of Statistics, which only includes people who “live under the same roof and eat from the same pot”. We maintain that our definition better reflects the situation on the ground, and the flexibility of households. One implication is that households in our survey are larger (average 8.1 member) than what national Mozambican statistics state (5.3 for the province of Sofala). As seen from Table 11, as many as 60.8 percent of the households in Buzi have seven members or more, and there has been an increase in the size of male- as well as female-headed households between 2008 and 2011.

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

Household Members	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
1 – 2	4,3	1,2	17,9	21,1	7,5	7,5
3 – 4	13,0	11,0	35,7	10,5	18,3	10,8
5 – 6	23,9	23,2	25,0	15,8	24,2	20,8
7 +	58,7	64,6	21,4	52,6	50,0	60,8
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	7,5	100,0
Average	7.78	8.52	4.75	7.21	7.08	8.11

Nearly half of the households are built around a married couple, and the proportion has been relatively stable since 2008 (Table 12). The share of consensual unions in Buzi has actually gone down - which contradicts the trend in Maputo and Murrupula and indicates the importance of tradition Buzi. However, it is notable that there are consensual unions in 2011 headed by a women. Such a status is usually based on women having ownership to key assets such as housing and land and/or earning more than their male cohabitant. The proportion of widows has increased from 21 to 25 percent, probably reflecting the continued seriousness of the HIV/AIDS pandemic with 15.5 percent being infected in Sofala.

The age of household heads is, for good reasons, largely the same in 2008 and 2011 – with 30.8 percent being more than 55 years, 19.2 percent being between 36 and 45 years, and 18.3 percent being between 46 and 55 years of age. The proportion of household heads who do not know their age has fallen from 27.5 to 17.5 percent, which may reflect concerted efforts in adult education particularly among women as we will return to below (as many as 50 percent of the female heads of households did not know their age in 2008).

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

Civil Status	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Single	1,1	1,2	3,6	2,6	1,7	1,7
Married	63,0	65,9	3,6	10,5	49,2	48,3
Consensual union	31,5	25,6	0,0	5,3	24,2	19,2
Separated / divorced	1,1	3,7	14,3	10,5	4,2	5,8
Widowed	3,3	3,7	78,6	71,1	20,8	25,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Looking at changes in the composition of households (Table 13), the large majority contain a spouse (65.8 percent), children (88.3 percent), and grandchildren (39.2 percent), with only smaller changes having taken place between 2008 in 2011. At the same time, an increasing share of the households contain more distant relatives such as nieces and nephews (24.2 percent) and 'other relatives' – with the latter being especially prominent among female headed households who seem to have a particularly important role in taking care of elders and children (43.3 percent of the households have new members since 2008).

Table 13. *Household Member Categories by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Household Categories	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Spouse	94,0	91,4	0,0	14,7	72,5	65,8
Children	89,1	91,4	71,4	94,1	85,0	88,3
Grand-children	32,6	34,6	39,3	55,9	34,2	39,2
Nieces / nephews	19,6	29,6	7,1	14,7	16,7	24,2
Siblings	6,5	8,6	7,1	8,8	6,7	8,3
Parents / in-laws	5,4	8,6	10,7	8,8	6,7	8,3
Other relatives	14,0	17,3	14,3	23,5	14,2	18,3
Non-relatives	6,5	4,9	3,6	11,8	5,8	6,7

The increase in the size of households (see Table 11) is also accounted for by an increase in the proportion of polygamous household units from 27.2 percent in 2008 to 32.1 percent in 2011. Polygamy is, as argued in our first Buzi report, both a way for the better-off men to prove their status and for poorer men to try to secure access to agricultural labour and food by getting involved with more than one woman. Polygamy is most common in Estaquinha (with 47.6 percent), which is the

poorest of the four areas under study and least common in Nova Sofala with 15 percent (up from 10 percent in 2008).

The complexity and elasticity of the household as a socio-cultural unit is further underlined by the fact that 25 percent of the households have members who do not live under the same roof as the household head (Table 14). These may be spouses (11.8 percent), children who are still supported by their parents (64.7 percent) or other more distant relatives. Moreover, as many as 48.5 percent of the households have dependents who are not considered part of the household, an increase from 5.8 percent in 2008. This will normally be people whose primary belonging is with other household units, but who still need support. And finally 13.3 percent of the households have people living in their yard (*'quintal'*) who are not household members, which also is an increase from 2008. The complexity of the household units in Buzi verifies the flexibility of households in relating to poverty, but also confirms the heavy toll on many units who have a certain level of agricultural resources and income.

Table 14. *Households With Members Who do Not Live Under the Same Roof as the Household Head by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Absent Household Members	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Yes	31.5	23.1	14.3	30.8	27.5	25.0
No	68.5	76.9	85.7	69.2	72.5	75.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

4.2 Socio-cultural Indicators

In dealing with their poverty and well-being, households in Buzi actively practice their religion and relate to their traditions. As seen from Table 15, the large majority of households still belong to the Catholic or other 'traditional' Christian churches (Sedeluca, Reformada, Evangélica), but an increasing proportion are members of the new charismatic churches such as Zion and Assembleia do Deus. The proportion of Muslims is small and stable at 8.3 percent. 6.7 percent of the households do not belong to any religion, down from 8.3 percent in 2008.

Hand in hand with the religion, the large majority of households (70.0 percent) are practicing traditional ceremonies such as Kupashira, Kuphira and Muzimo – which is an increase of nearly 10 percent from 2008 and showing the need people have to relate to things 'spiritual' in times of hardship. In addition, witchcraft (*feiticaria*) continues to have a strong hold on the communities and individuals – and particularly so on elders who are often blamed for social problems and hence the victims of witchcraft accusations. As discussed in previous reports, people susceptible to witchcraft accusations are also often those who 'stick their heads out' either by being considered social outcasts or by improving their conditions in ways that people consider to be at the expense of others.

Table 15. *Main Religion Practised in Household by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Main Religion	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Catholic	26,1	23,2	35,7	34,2	28,3	26,7
Zion	10,9	9,8	10,7	21,1	10,8	13,3
Islam	6,5	8,5	14,3	7,9	8,3	8,3
Assembly of God	5,4	11,0	10,7	7,9	6,7	10,0
Other Christian*	40,2	40,2	25,0	23,7	36,6	35
Other	1,1	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,8	0,0
None	9,8	7,3	3,6	5,3	8,3	6,7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

In terms of the culture of language, as many as 94.2 percent of the households have Xindau as the language most commonly spoken at home with only 5.8 percent primarily being Portuguese speakers. At the same time however, there has been an increase from 85.8 percent to 94.7 percent in the proportion of households where at least one family member speaks Portuguese (Table 16), with the increase being highest (13.3 percent) among female headed households. Being able to speak Portuguese is increasingly important in order to secure employment and relate to public institutions, and this will be even more important if external companies start investing in the region.

Table 16. *Households With Family Members Speaking Portuguese by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Portuguese Speaking HH Members	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Yes	88.0	96.1	78.6	91.9	85.8	94.7
No	12.0	3.9	21.4	8.1	14.2	5.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In a place like Nova Sofala, beliefs in the supernatural is ever present. The agricultural season is never started without rainmaking ceremonies, fishing involves a number of rituals including the prohibition of women in fishery camps, and there are strict rules for how to pass and talk about the graveyard for former Chiefs (*régulos*). At the individual level, witchcraft accusations function as a social control mechanism - although often with negative implications for the people involved. There are examples of successful entrepreneurs who have had to leave the community due to accusations of having success at the expense of others. And there are numerous examples of old people who are completely marginalised from their extended families because they are blamed for misfortunes of children or other relatives.

4.3 Employment and Income

In all relevant participatory exercises ('Most important problem', 'Most important change', 'Forcefield analysis', see Chapter 1), employment and income stand out as the main preoccupation of people in Bândua, Estaquinha, Nova Sofala and Vila Buzi. Not only is employment and income important for access to food and basic commodities, but it is also important for access to education, health etc. as people know they have to pay for these services through an elaborate system of small-scale corruption. It is also important for people's self-esteem, and a bone of contention between men and women where the former see being a breadwinner as the fulfillment of being 'a man' and the latter increasingly realise that lack of economic independence will inhibit their independence.

Agriculture

As seen from Table 17, a large (and increasing) majority of households in the four study sites have access to agricultural fields. At the same time, however, only 14.4 percent of the households sold all or parts of their agricultural produce in 2011, which is a smaller proportion than the 19.8 percent who sold in 2008 (Table 18). Of those who do sell, moreover, 52.9 percent had an income of less than 1000 MT per year in 2011 with only 5.9 percent earning more than 5000 MT. This shows that agriculture is still predominantly done for own subsistence, despite strong policy-statements about increasing agricultural production. The dominance of production for subsistence is verified by the fact that 91.5 percent of the households use own labour only, with a mere 5.1 percent using permanent or occasional additional labour (up from 5.3 percent in 2008).

Table 17. Households Possessing Agricultural Fields by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

Possessing Machambas	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Yes	96.7	98.8	96.4	97.4	96.7	98.3
No	3.3	1.2	3.6	2.6	3.3	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 18. Annual Income from Agricultural Production by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

Annual Income (MT)	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
No income	83.1	85.2	70.4	86.5	80.2	85.6
250 or less	15,4	25,0	16,7	0,0	15,8	17,6
251 – 500	23,1	8,3	50,0	0,0	31,6	5,9
501 – 750	7,7	8,3	0,0	0,0	5,3	5,9
751 – 1000	15,4	25,0	16,7	20,0	15,8	23,5
1001 – 1500	7,7	0,0	16,7	60,0	10,5	17,6
1501 - 2500	23,1	0,0	0,0	20,0	15,8	5,9
2501 – 5000	0,0	25,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	17,6
5001 or more	7,7	8,3	0,0	0,0	5,3	5,9
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

People in the study sites argue strongly that the focus on subsistence production is not because they cannot produce sufficiently to sell, but because the difficult access to markets – with poor road systems and expensive transportation – makes it uninteresting to produce more. At the same time, a more substantial increase in productivity will be hampered by the rudimentary agricultural methods used (Table 19). Although there has been a small increase in the use of crop rotation between 2008 and 2011, other improved techniques such as the use of fertilisers and manure are hardly employed at all. There is also still a very limited number of agricultural extensionists in Buzi who could have encouraged such a development - again despite the emphasis given to increasing the number of extensionists by the District Administration in 2008.

Table 19. Improved Agricultural Techniques by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

Improved Agricultural Technologies	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
None	73.0	67.9	74.1	75.7	73.3	70.3
Rotation	19.1	29.6	25.9	24.3	20.7	28.0
Manure	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0
Fertilizer	0.0	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7
Other	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.4	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Fishing

In fact, fishing is in many ways an equal or even more important source of employment and income for households in the district of Buzi. While only 26 percent of the households do fish (up from 14.5 percent in 2008, see Table 20), 83.3 percent of those who fish sell all or parts of their catch either locally, in the Vila or in Beira. At the same time, a 'rule of thumb' is that for every fisherman there will be three others employed in the construction of boats and nets, as crew members (*marinheiros*) and in fish processing and commercialisation. People involved in the sector argue that while captures

have been reduced between 2008 and 2011, this has been made up for by increasing prices particularly in Beira.

Table 20. *Proportion of Households Fishing by Locality (Percent)*

Households Fishing	Bândua		Vila de Búzi		Estaquinha		Nova Sofala		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Yes	23.3	16.7	11.5	13.3	3.3	47.5	20.0	26.7	14.5	26.0
No	76.7	83.3	88.5	86.7	96.7	52.5	80.0	73.3	85.5	74.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The potential inherent in primary production is hence currently most evident in artisanal fisheries. In the first Buzi report we showed how fisheries is organised around 'acampamentos' along the coast in Nova Sofala (fisheries in rivers is done more on an individual basis), with boat owners (*patrões*), fishermen (*marinheiros*) and people in support functions (carpenters, cooks etc.). Meeting some of the fishermen again in 2011, many of the *patrões* had expanded their businesses considerably and had improved their lives with new houses, and technical utensils such as refrigerators and TVs - just waiting for the electricity to be turned on (see above). Some of the *marinheiros* had also managed to buy their own boats and nets, even though the system of fixed wages makes this difficult from fishing alone.³ Their main concern was still the difficult access to markets in the District of Buzi, and with improved transportation by boat Mozambique's third-largest city remained the main point for sales. While fresh fish still catch the highest prices, sun-dried and salted fish make the commercialisation of fish products more flexible.

Animal husbandry

There has been a small increase in the proportion of households owning domestic animals, from 78.3 percent in 2008 to 80.0 percent in 2011 (Table 21). The share is higher among male-headed households (81.7 percent) than among female-headed households (76.3 percent) – but female headed households have increased ownership the most. The most common animals possessed are chickens (owned by 91.7 percent of those who have animals), goats (owned by 62.5 percent) and ducks (owned by 28.1 percent). Around 55 percent of the animal owners sold one animal or more during 2011, which is about the same proportion as in 2008.

Table 21. *Proportion of Households Possessing Animals by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Possessing Animals	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Yes	81.5	81.7	67.9	76.3	78.3	80.0
No	18.5	18.3	32.1	23.7	21.7	20.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

For people in the four study sites, then, agriculture and animal husbandry are important but primarily for subsistence. As pointed out in our first Buzi report, the potential for agricultural production is grossly underutilised also considering the large market for agricultural products in Beira. Fisheries clearly indicate the potential of primary production both for consumption and income generation. Having said this, interventions to improve marketing options in agriculture through an active state must be combined with interventions to improve agricultural technologies and animal disease prevention.

³ As noted in the first Buzi report, the system of remuneration differs from northern Mozambique where the crew gets the payment as a percentage of the value of the catch.

Employment

Looking at the issue of employment and income in broader terms, Table 22 below shows that 69.2 percent of the households see agriculture as their main occupation – with a larger proportion (86.8 percent) for female headed households than for male headed households (61.0 percent). The overall proportion seeing agriculture as the main occupation has increased between 2008 and 2011.

Table 22. *Main Occupation of Household Head by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Main Occupation of HHH	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Farmer	56,5	61,0	89,3	86,8	64,2	69,2
Private sector empl.	17,4	8,5	0,0	2,6	13,3	6,7
Self-employed	9,8	7,3	0,0	2,6	7,5	5,8
Fisherman	5,4	4,9	3,6	0,0	5,0	3,3
Public sector empl.	5,4	11,0	0,0	0,0	4,2	7,5
Unemployed	2,2	2,4	3,6	2,6	2,5	2,5
Pensioner	2,2	1,2	3,6	0,0	2,5	0,8
Other	1,1	3,7	0,0	5,3	0,8	4,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

At the same time, private sector formal employment has decreased from 13.3 percent to 6.7 percent and public sector formal employment has increased from 4.2 to 7.5 percent - in both cases primarily involving male headed households. The drama of this low figure is evident from the fact that as many as 48.5 percent of the current heads of households have been permanently employed earlier in their lives (69.7 percent for male headed and 10.8 percent for female headed households) - with most of them having worked for the Buzi Company. The proportion of households considering self-employment (which would cover most informal economic activities) as the main occupation is relatively small at 5.8 percent (down from 7.5 percent in 2008). Even though the majority see agriculture as their main activity, however, most households have members who are involved in the informal economy in some way or another.

Among the 14.2 percent of the households that are involved in formal employment, the most significant change between 2008 and 2011 is the increase in households earning more than 5000 MT per month – from 8.3 to 35.9 percent (Table 23). Most of these are likely to be employed in the private sector, with government employees being employed as teachers and nurses earning less than 5000 MT per month (teachers earn between 3.000 and 3.500 MT). Still, however, as many as 51.3 percent earn less than 2.500 MT per month which is the minimum wage in Mozambique.

Table 23 *Monthly Income from Formal Employment and Pensions by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Monthly Income (MT)	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
No income	65.2	65.9	85.7	71.1	70.0	67.5
251 – 500	18,8	3,6	0,0	0,0	16,7	2,6
501 – 750	3,1	3,6	75,0	9,1	11,1	5,1
751 – 1000	0,0	3,6	0,0	27,3	0,0	10,3
1001 – 1500	18,0	14,3	0,0	18,2	16,7	15,4
1501 - 2500	31,2	21,4	0,0	9,1	27,8	17,9
2501 – 5000	18,8	14,3	0,0	9,1	16,7	12,8
5001 or more	6,2	39,3	25,0	27,3	8,3	35,9
Don't know	3,1	0,0	0,0	0,0	2,8	0,0
Total	100,0	100,0	1 000,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The potential implications of employment and income are demonstrated by a man we first met in the Vila in 2008. He was 'self-made', and had started his business first with the help of his family, then through close contacts with traditional leaders in his native village, and finally through access to the '7 Million MT Scheme (see above). He had managed to open two large *machambas* selling his products primarily to Beira where prices were higher, and had just bought a small truck to transport food and commodities from Beira to marketing stalls in the Villa. He was also in the process of building a new house, and had married two additional wives.

Meeting him again in 2011, his business had expanded further to also include his own shops and marketing stalls. In addition to his hard work, he told us, part of success came from the fact that his wives were actively working in his business rather than "other people I cannot trust". He also told us that he had joined Frelimo, and wanted to take part in politics "when Buzi becomes a municipality". This way, the success is built on a combination of hard work, use of his own family and people of trust, exploitation of rural-urban linkages, and – apparently – political contacts.

Social Protection

While the case above demonstrates the potential for employment, income and social mobility in Buzi, the large majority of people in the four study sites remain poor and many need external support to survive and improve their situation. However, as seen from Table 24 only 19.2 percent of the households (down from 22.5 percent in 2008) actually receive such support. This shows that poverty is endemic in the households and extended families affected, and that many simply cannot afford to help and have outstanding claims. In fact, the most common argument we hear for not seeking support is that 'my family is as poor as I am'.

Table 24. *Institutions/People From Which External Support is Received by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Institution / Person	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
No support	81.5	87.8	64.3	65.8	77.5	80.8
NGOs	50.0	20.0	10.0	23.1	31.8	21.7
INSS	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.7
INAS	0.0	10.0	20.0	23.1	9.1	17.4
Family members	41.7	60.0	50.0	84.6	45.5	73.9
Neighbours / friends	0.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	4.5	0.0
Other	8.3	10.0	40.0	0.0	22.7	4.3

The importance of the extended family is evident in that 73.9 percent of those who do get support from others do so from such relations, which is an increase from 45.5 percent in 2008. Moreover, more female-headed than male-headed households get support from their extended family. Female headed households are also overrepresented among the beneficiaries of Social Security support from government (National Institute for Social Action, INAS), but there is a heavy concentration of beneficiaries from Vila Buzi which verifies the inability of local government to reach outside the main population/administrative centres.

Support from NGOs is a source of support for 21.7 percent of those receiving external sustenance, down from 31.8 percent in 2008 (and apparently reflecting a reduced presence of NGOs during the period in question). Other potential sources of social protection, such as traditional authorities, churches and mosques (included under the heading 'Others') have reduced their social activities, reaching only 4.3 percent of the households receiving support as against 22.7 percent in 2008. The reduction is largest for female headed households.

In principle, a final resort for people to get access to money for consumption and to improve their lives would be informal saving schemes. However, only 13.3 percent of the households are involved in Xitique or save in banks (Table 25). Most of the poor do not have access to the necessary 'entrance fee' in the form of funds for a first instalment, and people already involved in the schemes argue that they will only take on board individuals who the community trust will be able to follow up the investment and use the money sensibly. This is yet another reason for thinking in terms of direct government support to the very poorest (see below).

Table 25. *Households Participating in Saving Schemes (Xitique/Bank) by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Saving	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Yes	14.1	17.1	3.6	5.3	11.7	13.3
No	85.9	82.9	96.4	94.7	88.3	86.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

One of the poorest families we met in the Vila in 2008 consisted of an older couple where the husband was handicapped after an accident in the Buzi company just prior to its closure in 1990, two of their daughters (one son and one daughter had already died), and a total of six grandchildren. The household rented a small shack in one of the bairros, and was under constant threat of eviction from the landlord - only saved by neighbours who realised that this would probably be the end of the family. They only had access to one small *machamba*, and the old lady worked for others in their agricultural fields (*ganho-ganho*). The husband was supposed to receive a small pension of 250 MT per month from the Buzi company, but only received it with irregular intervals. And the two daughters did their best by buying fish, smoking it and trying to resell it on a local market, but incomes were low and fluctuating.

Coming back to the family in 2011, their situation had deteriorated even further with one of the sisters having had to stop working due to illness and two grandchildren having died. With no external support (the husband had not received anything from the Buzi company since we were there in 2008), the old lady getting weak and fragile, and only one of the daughters earning money, the prospects for improving the situation without external support are very small and they have effectively become destitutes or *umbwa* (see below)⁴. *Ulombobasi* – or “poverty is all we know” – the old man told us.

4.4 Expenditures

There have been changes in the level of expenditures among the surveyed households over the past three years (Table 26). In 2008, majority of the households (over 65 per cent) spent less than 500 Mt within the two weeks prior to the survey. In 2011, this was the case for only 38 percent of the households. At the same time, 25.0 percent were spending more than 1.500 Mt in 2011, as against only 5.4 percent in 2008. Also female headed households had spent more than 1.500 Mt in 2011, while three years earlier none of them spent that sum. Nevertheless, the male headed households continue to have greater spending capacity than female headed households.

⁴ The other '*umbwa*' we met in 2008 (Rosário, Tvedten and Paulo 2008:61), who lived under a dismal conditions in the premises of the Buzi Company, was handicapped and saw his meagre income from INAS stolen from him, died in 2009.

Table 26. Household Expenditure in Past Two Weeks by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

Expenditure level (MT)	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
250 or less	30,3	18,8	47,8	25,0	33,9	20,5
251 – 500	31,5	12,5	34,8	31,3	32,1	17,9
501 – 750	12,4	11,3	4,3	18,8	10,7	13,4
751 – 1000	10,1	11,3	8,7	3,1	9,8	8,9
1001 – 1500	9,0	15,0	4,3	12,5	8,0	14,3
1501 - 2500	4,5	12,5	0,0	6,3	3,6	10,7
2501 – 5000	2,2	13,8	0,0	3,1	1,8	10,7
5001 or more	0,0	5,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	3,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

While the spending levels have increased in all the four studied communities, spending is highest in the Vila and in Nova Sofala with economies most closely linked to Beira (Table 27). In the Vila only 25 percent had spent 250 Mt or less the two weeks prior to the survey and 25 percent spent more than 2500 Mt, while only 6.9 percent had spent 250 Mt or less and 13.7 percent spent more than 2.500 in Nova Sofala. The higher expenditures in these two areas is not only related to the fact that people there earn more, but also reflect better access to goods and services in these two localities due to their proximity to Beira.

Table 27. Household Expenditure Past Two Weeks by Locality (Percent)

Monthly Income	Bândua		Vila de Búzi		Estaquinha		Nova Sofala		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
250 or less	37,5	20,7	32,1	25,0	33,3	30,8	33,3	6,9	33,9	20,5
251 – 500	37,5	24,1	17,9	17,9	40,0	11,5	33,3	17,2	32,1	17,9
501 – 750	12,5	13,8	14,3	17,9	3,3	15,4	13,3	6,9	10,7	13,4
751 – 1000	8,3	3,4	14,3	7,1	13,3	11,5	3,3	13,8	9,8	8,9
1001 – 1500	4,2	20,7	10,7	3,6	6,7	7,7	10,0	24,1	8,0	14,3
1501 - 2500	0,0	10,3	7,1	3,6	3,3	11,5	3,3	17,2	3,6	10,7
2501 – 5000	0,0	6,9	3,6	14,3	0,0	11,5	3,3	10,3	1,8	10,7
5001 or more	0,0	0,0	0,0	10,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	3,4	0,0	3,6
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

At the same time, however, the costs of living have increased considerably in all four areas (Table 28). According to our questionnaire survey, people make the assessment that the prices of sugar, corn and rice – i.e. food stuff consumed locally on a daily basis – have increased the most. All in all, a comparison between household expenditures recorded in 2008 and 2011 reveals that the average weekly costs of food have risen from 295 Mt/week in 2008 to 467 Mt/week in 2011. The pattern is similar for both male and female headed households. Table below shows the changes in prices on some key assets in 2008 and 2011 – as presented by people in the communities.

Table 28. Popularly Recorded Price Increases on Basic Consumption Items 2008 to 2011 (Meticais)

Product	Price 2008	Price 2011
Food-stuffs	295	467
Water	5	19
Cleaning products	62	91
School material	25	146
Medicines	7	44
Transportation	42	198

Changes in the pattern of expenditure are closely related to household decision-making (Table 29). In most cases, decisions related to the use of money are made by the head of household, who we have seen usually is a man. Having said that, however, there has been a tendency towards involving women more in household decision-making over the past three years (2008 to 2011). In male headed households, the proportion of women who decide alone on the use of the household income has increased from 10 percent to 23 percent, and at the same time, the proportion of households where the male household head make the decision alone has decreased from 62 percent to 48 percent.

Table 29 *Decision-making on Household Expenditure by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Decision-Making	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Head of household	62,0	47,6	85,7	76,3	67,5	56,7
Wife of HHH	9,8	23,2	0,0	5,3	7,5	17,5
The couple	26,1	23,2	0,0	2,6	20,0	16,7
Other adult male member	1,1	0,0	7,1	10,5	2,5	3,3
Other adult female member	1,1	6,1	7,1	5,3	2,5	5,8
All household	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Each ones	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

4.5 Housing and Other Assets

In addition to changes in household income and expenditures, changes in housing (as the most valuable commodity most households own) and other assets are important indications of the direction of economic developments in the communities. For the individual households, a good dwelling is an important investment in the future, for security from theft and from eviction, and as a symbol of upward social mobility. Changes in access to other assets are, of course, important indications of alterations in poverty and well-being and consumption patterns.

The vast majority of the surveyed families still live in precarious dwellings, with most houses (75.5 percent) being built with mud walls (*matico*) and only 21.7 percent being built with bricks that are stronger, considered more 'modern' and last longer. However, there has been a positive trend during the period between 2008 in 2011 (Table 30): The proportion of houses with mud walls has decreased with 4.2 percent and brick walls have increased with the same percentage, and the proportion of houses with thatched roof has been reduced by 5 percent while the proportion with zinc roof has increased at the same pace.

The positive trend is most notable among female headed households, which indicates that with increased income female headed households are more likely to improve the quality of their dwelling and invest in a 'common good' than men. In a similar vein, in 2011 there are more female headed households with electricity in their house than male headed ones in the two communities (Bândua and the Vila) that are connected to the electrical grid (15.8 percent vs. 11.0 percent). Electricity is also a 'common good', and important for adults as well as children.

Table 30. *Building Material Of Dwelling Walls by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Building Material Walls	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Mud	78.0	75.6	84.2	76.3	80.0	75.8
Bricks	18.3	20.7	15.8	23.7	17.5	21.7
Zink	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	3.7	3.7	0.0	0.0	2.5	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

There have been changes also in the possession of other assets (Table 31). Eating plates and machetes for agriculture are still owned by practically everyone. More expensive 'luxury items' such as radios and TVs have seen a slight drop (probably related to our emphasis in the last survey that they should actually work to be counted...). From a gender perspective, the most notable changes are the increase in the proportion of female headed households having access to cell phones (which are important practical tools and also has symbolic connotations), and a small but significant increase in the proportion of female headed households owning fishnets (which is a potentially important source of access to food and income). All in all, people have seen small improvements in their access to assets – with female headed households showing particularly important advances.

Table 31 Household Assets by Sex of Household Head (Percent)

Assets	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Cell phone	23,9	30,5	17,9	36,8	22,5	32,5
Fishnet	9,8	11,0	0,0	5,3	7,5	9,2
Machete	83,7	97,6	67,9	86,8	80,0	94,2
Axe	78,3	85,4	57,1	73,7	73,3	81,7
Bicycle	65,2	70,7	28,6	34,2	56,7	59,2
Motorbike	4,3	8,5	0,0	5,3	3,3	7,5
Boat	2,2	6,1	0,0	2,6	1,7	5,0
Radio	66,3	61,0	50,0	36,8	62,5	53,3
TV	12,0	11,0	3,6	5,3	10,0	9,2
Video / DVD	9,8	8,5	3,6	5,3	8,3	7,5
Plates	95,7	100,0	96,4	100,0	95,8	100,0
Cutlery	87,0	95,1	89,3	86,8	87,5	92,5
Kitchen utensil	22,8	14,6	7,1	5,3	19,2	11,7
Chairs	70,7	82,9	57,1	57,9	67,2	75,0
Bed	31,5	30,5	21,4	26,3	29,2	29,2
Sofa	10,9	9,8	7,1	5,3	10,0	8,3

4.6 Education and Health

Recently in Mozambique, education has been emphasised as a means to secure employment and income and improve people's lives in more general terms. However, as reported in the first Buzi report particularly young people were in the process of losing faith in education finding themselves without work even after having completed secondary school. The proportion of household heads without education (21.7 percent) – or with only primary education up to 5th Grade in which case they are functionally illiterate (37.5 percent) – is still high in Buzi (Table 32).

However, there has been a significant improvement in the proportion of household heads with adult education (teaching older people the basics of reading and writing) particularly among female headed households (from 10.7 in 2008 to 23.7 percent in 2010) – and a concomitant reduction in the proportion of female headed households without *any* education from 57.1 to 34.2 percent. There has also been an increase in the proportion of household heads with secondary school or more, from 10.0 to 15.0 percent.

Table 32. *Educational Level of Household Head by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Educational level of HHH	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
None	14,1	15,9	57,1	34,2	24,2	21,7
Adult education	7,6	6,1	10,7	23,7	8,3	11,7
EP1 (5 th grade)	53,3	39,0	21,4	34,2	45,8	37,5
EP2 (7 th grade)	13,0	19,5	7,1	2,6	11,7	14,2
Secondary (10 th grade)	8,7	13,4	3,6	5,3	7,5	10,8
Pre-university	3,3	6,1	0,0	0,0	2,5	4,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Looking at changes in the level of education in the households as a whole (Table 33), the proportion with household members who have secondary school or more has increased from 37.5 percent in 2008 to 50.9 percent in 2011. The share is higher among male headed households than female headed households, which probably relates to a combination of the preference still being given to boys and the (still) superior economic situation of most male-headed households compared to female-headed households. Nevertheless, members of female headed households are nearly as likely as those of male headed households to go to pre-university or university, which may reflect better options for scholarships or other types of external economic support at that level (both Estaquinha and Nova Sofala have such possibilities through the Catholic Church and its missionary schools).

Table 33. *Highest Level of Education in Household by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Educational level of HHH	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
None	5,4	2,4	17,9	13,2	8,3	5,8
Adult education	3,3	4,9	3,6	5,3	3,3	5,0
EP1 (5 th grade)	19,6	15,9	21,4	10,5	20,0	14,2
EP2 (7 th grade)	32,6	22,0	25,0	28,9	30,8	24,2
Secondary (10 th grade)	22,8	36,6	17,9	23,7	21,7	32,5
Pre-university (Medio)	15,2	17,1	14,3	15,8	15,0	16,7
University (Superior)	1,1	1,2	0,0	2,6	0,8	1,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The emphasis on education is also reflected in a significant reduction in the proportion of households with children at school age who do not send their children to school between 2008 and 2011, from 45.6 to 10.5 percent (Table 34). The reduction is highest among female-headed households. Part of the explanations for this positive trend is that at least two of the study sites (Bândua and Nova Sofala) have increased the number of classrooms and improved their teaching conditions since 2008. There have also been several campaigns initiated by the education sector for getting parents to send their children to school.

Table 34. *Households With Children at School Age Who do Not go to School by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Children Not Attending School	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Yes	45.3	11,6	46.7	7,7	45.6	10,5
No	54.7	88,4	53.3	92.3	54.4	89,5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

While the issue of education concerns longer term strategies for the improvement of the conditions for households and individuals, issues of health have more immediate implications for household well-being (as we saw in the first Buzi report, the quality of health facilities is also among people's major concerns). According to Table 35, the proportion of households with sick members two weeks prior to the survey interview has been reduced from 63.3 percent in 2008 to 52.5 percent in 2011 – again with a particularly positive trend among female-headed households.

Table 35. *Households With Sick Family Members Past Two Weeks by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Sick Members	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Yes	63.0	51.2	64.3	39.5	63.3	47.5
No	37.0	48.8	35.7	60.5	36.7	52.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Having said this, an indication of the continued serious health situation is the high proportion of households having experienced child (under five years) mortality – which has seen an increase between 2008 and 2011 (Table 36). Many people still consult traditional medicine before they go to the public health institutions; the health institutions in the smaller communities are often not equipped to treat serious illness; access to higher-level health-institutions is often difficult due to distance and high transportation costs; and medical personnel argue that it is still hard to convince parents about the importance of preventative methods such as mosquito nets against malaria and cleanliness. All in all, the issues of sanitation and disease prevention may have suffered in a health policy that the past few years primarily has focused on improving the basis for treating diseases.

Table 36. *Households Having Experienced Child (under 5) Mortality by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Child Mortality	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Yes	47.8	59.8	32.1	44.7	44.2	47.5
No	52.2	40.2	67.9	55.3	55.8	52.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

According to the responsible nurse at the Health Centre in Bândua, the Centre has been rehabilitated with funds from the government since 2008, more precisely with new houses for staff, one maternity ward, and one house for mothers and children. The Centre has two medical technicians, one pharmacist, and two elementary nurses. There are still serious health problems in this area. In the summer where they usually have around 50 patients per day, most people come with malaria and diarrhoea. In the winter around hundred patients appear per day, most commonly with the pneumonia and respiratory diseases. People who are very ill or sent to the Vila. The nurse acknowledges that HIV/AIDS is a big problem (Sofala has an HIV/AIDS prevalence rate of 15.5 percent), but claims he does not know how many carry the virus as they do not do tests in Bândua.

4.7 Relations With Public Institutions

While we have seen that people primarily turn to their own extended family in times of need, public institutions are also important for people in their daily lives. Table 37 shows the proportion of households who have used public institutions during the six weeks prior to the survey interviews. As can be seen, practically all institutions are more frequently used in 2011 than they were in 2008. With our assessment of overall improvements in the quality of such institutions discussed in the first part of this report, we may assume that the main reasons for increased use are better accessibility and better

quality – even though there are exceptions such as the Ampara part of Nova Sofala where hardly any public institutions are accessible.

The most frequently used institution is the Registry and Notary, which issues all necessary personal documents. The second most frequently visited is the District (including the Administrative Post) Administration, which often is the first entry point in order to contact other public institutions. Of these, the police (with 51.7 percent) and Agricultural Services (with 40.8 percent) are the most frequently consulted. Social Services (including INAS and other institutions for social protection) are still only contacted by around five percent of the households, which both reflect their limited accessibility particularly for people outside the District capital and the limited funds they have at their disposal. Associations, as an 'intermediate' level of organisation between the households and the state, still involve only two and three percent of the households with only minor changes between 2008 and 2011.

Table 37. *Use of State Services by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

State Services	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
District Administration	87,2	83,8	56,5	69,4	75,0	76,7
Registry and Notary	67,4	83,8	69,6	83,3	58,0	80,8
Police	50,0	52,5	52,2	55,6	43,0	51,7
Agricultural Services	38,4	46,3	34,8	33,3	33,0	40,8
Public Court	7,0	23,8	26,1	11,1	6,0	19,2
Social Services	5,8	6,3	17,0	5,6	5,0	5,8
Other Services	0,0	1,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,8

Despite a pronounced policy of increasing the local tax-base for the District Administration, only 50 percent of the households pay tax that in principle should be levied on everyone (Table 38). As discussed in the first Buzi report, the collection of taxes was the prime responsibility of local headmen (*sagutas*), who received a percentage of the taxes collected as remuneration. As from 2010, however, the *sagutas* have – at least in principle – received a monthly salary after the 2nd Official Salary Scale of 250 Mt and lost to right to keep part do what they collect. At the same time, *sagutas* argue that it is very difficult to collect taxes from people who get so little back in terms of tangible state interventions. The very limited proportion of female headed households who pay tax (10.5 percent as against 67.1 percent for male headed households) indicate that the local tax collectors take 'social considerations' by not insisting on taxes from the poorest and most vulnerable.

Table 38. *Payment of Tax by Type of Tax and Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

State Services	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
No Taxes Paid	40.2	32.9	82.1	89.5	50.0	50.0
Personal Tax	76,4	81,8	40,0	75,0	73,3	40,0
Bicycle Tax	63,6	65,5	80,0	75,0	65,0	32,5
Commercial Tax	21,8	7,3	0,0	0,0	20,0	3,3
Other	7,3	1,8	0,0	0,0	6,7	0,8

For the local populations in Vila Buzi, Bândua, Estaquinha and Nova Sofala the main source of access to funds for investment in the future is the 7 Million Mt scheme. The scheme was only in its very initial phase in 2008, but has since then increased both in terms of funds and number of projects (see Chapter 1). There is still a conflict between the potential importance of the scheme for development and poverty reduction on the one hand, and a system that keeps having considerable problems on the

other. The problems are related to the process of selection with inadequate transparency, to cases of corruption and a concentration of recipients in the main urban centres, and to the competence and capacity of the beneficiaries to actually implement the plans they have developed and submitted for assessment.

Among the 120 households in our survey, practically everybody (95.1 percent of the male-headed households and 80.6 percent of the female-headed households) had heard about the scheme in 2011, and 24.4 percent of the male-headed and 9.7 percent of the female headed households had actually benefitted (as we saw in the Introduction, the total number of projects has increased substantially from 2007) (Table 39). There are examples of successful projects both in commerce, agriculture and fisheries, but there are more examples where the money has been used for consumption and with limited or no implications in terms of development and employment creation. As noted in the introduction to this report, the District Administration is aware of the problems existing. Their policy is now one of reducing the number of projects in order to follow up each project in a better way – and see to it that enterprises become stronger and create employment.

Table 39. *Proportion of Household with Access to the 7 Million MT Scheme by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Access to 7 Million Scheme	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Yes		24.4		9.7		20.2
No		75.6		90.3		9.2
Total		100.0		100.0		100.0

The association “Orudu Owarime” (which in Ndau means ‘people who love agriculture’) in Bândua received 150,000 MT in 2008 for a project to produce maize, beans and rice on a jointly owned 20 hectares land area. Initially they were 10 women, but two died and they are now only eight. The first years production went well, except for rice that always got destroyed. The last two years they produced a surplus for sale, and they earn money. They will not admit more members until they have repaid the original loan – and will not accept men who they claim will create problems and “may run off with the money”.

4.8 Community Conflicts and Problems

While public institutions are increasingly important in people’s daily lives, they still rely heavily on community-based or traditional institutions for solving community conflicts. As seen from Table 40, the proportion of households claiming that there are *no* conflicts in the community has decreased from 35 percent in 2008 to 17.5 percent in 2011.

Theft has become an increasing problem in the communities during the three years in question, with 42.5 percent claiming that this is the main problem (up from 25 percent in 2008). This probably reflects the combination of improved access to commodities in the communities in question, and continued abject poverty. Informants blame the increase in drinking (seen as the main source of conflict by 13.3 percent in 2008 and 22.5 percent in 2011) on what they argue is a decrease in the general morale among young people – while one young man claimed that ‘we have nothing else to do’. Adultery is considered the main problem by 8.3 percent of the households (up from 7.5 in 2011), which is a problem with considerable ramifications for the stability of households. The proportion of households identifying land conflicts as a problem has decreased from 5.0 to 0.8 percent. On the other hand, the number of households claiming that water conflicts are important is on the rise.

Table 40. *Main Sources of Community Conflict Identified by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Source of Conflict	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Drinking	10,9	20,7	21,4	26,3	13,3	22,5
Adultery	5,4	8,5	14,3	7,9	7,5	8,3
Thefts	27,2	39,0	17,9	50,0	25,0	42,5
Land Conflicts	4,3	1,2	7,1	0,0	5,0	0,8
Water Conflicts	5,4	11,0	7,1	2,6	5,0	8,3
Other	8,7	0,0	7,1	0,0	8,3	0,0
None	38,0	19,5	25,0	13,2	35,0	17,5
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

The local community leader (primarily the *bairro* secretary in the Villa and the headmen or *sagutas* in the three rural communities) are still the most common first point of contact to solve community conflicts (Table 41) – with the police being most important for about 25.3 percent (people argue that they will take particularly severe community problems such as murder or rape to the police and formal court system). It should also be reiterated that the link between the traditional leaders and the formal public institutions seem to become closer, with an increasing number of the former being on the state payroll and the government increasingly realising the importance of maintaining close links with the community in districts such as Buzi where the opposition parties have a strong position.

Table 41. *Most Common Institutions Used to Solve Community Problems by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Source of Conflict	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Local Leader	56,1	50,0	57,1	60,6	56,4	53,5
Régulo	14,0	15,2	4,8	12,1	11,5	14,1
Police	22,8	25,8	28,6	24,2	24,4	25,3
Community Court	5,3	4,5	9,5	3,0	6,4	4,0
Family Representative	1,8	4,5	0,0	0,0	1,0	3,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In discussing community problems and challenges in more general terms, the emphasis is clearly on the importance of, and need for, employment and income. People see that employment is important for their own immediate well-being and self-esteem, but also that access to money will facilitate the access to other key services such as education and health and make it easier to maintain contact with people outside their immediate community - such as in Beira and Vila Buzi.

In participatory exercises in Bândua, for example, unemployment was considered most important in the Forcefield Analysis in 2008 (see the first Buzi report). Returning to the Forcefield Analysis in 2011 and the same focus group as three years earlier, the only problem that had *not* seen any progress was that of unemployment (see Table 42).

Table 42: *Forcefield Analysis, Bândua (2008-2011)*

2008	2011
We would like to have employment for the people	There are still no companies can give employment
We would like there to be a secondary school. People in Bândua do not have money to send their children away.	We already have a secondary school, even though there are no classrooms. The school is supported by UNICEF.
We would like to have energy from Cahora Bassa	We already have energy from Cahora Bassa, and people are involved in trade. But the energy does not reach all the communities.
We would like to be at least one doctor	We don't have a doctor but a medical technician (técnico de medicina), which is not sufficient for 30,000 people
We would like to be able to buy more products in Bândua	There are already more traders who sell in Bândua, so we don't have to go to Beira any more

A similar emphasis on the issue of employment was given by a focus group in Estaquinha on the most important problems in the community. Combining the perceived number of people affected and the seriousness of the problem, 'lack of employment for both adults and youth' received the highest score (see Table 43). The other issues highlighted were of a more specific nature, such as lack of ambulance, inadequate access to tractors, inadequate cell phone coverage and the dearth of a bridge over Buzi River.

Table 43: *Most Important Problems, Estaquinha (2011)*

Problem	Number of people affected	Seriousness of the problem	Total score
Lack of employment	15	15	30
Lack of ambulance	14	15	29
Lack of tractors	11	14	25
Inadequate cell phone coverage	12	12	24
Lack of bridge over the Buzi River	12	12	24
Lack of formal shops	8	7	15
Lack of police station/jail	6	6	12

In a context where there are very few formal employment opportunities, people largely depend on the informal economy to earn money. Most men and women do their best in the saturated market for household utensils, second-hand clothing, agricultural products and drinks, sweets and other commodities. People managing to grow their business are often those who have a relatively good point of departure in terms of capital and social relationships, such as a 30 years old man in the Vila. In 2008 he worked in his father's mechanical repair shop, but had left and started his own business in 2009. With his knowledge and support from the 7 Million Mt scheme (having been promised 100,000 Mt but eventually only receiving 20,000...), he entered an agreement with the District Health Services produce bicycle ambulances. With the money earned he also bought a new house with a large attachment, making it into a bar and subsequently a small discotheque. To be on the safe side, he also invested in coal sales and three larger agricultural fields. Part of his success rests on him employing young people on low salaries, but with the existing labour market he has no problems with recruitment.

4.9 Perceived Directions of Change

The immediate impression of change in Vila de Buzi, Estaquinha, Bândua and Nova Sofala outlined in the Introduction is largely confirmed when asking people about their own perceptions. Concerning alterations in people's own households between 2008 and 2011, as many as 56.7 percent believe that their situation has improved as against 36.7 percent in 2008 (Table 44). Notably, the perception of positive change is stronger among female headed households than among male headed households (with an increase of 38.3 and 15.0 percent respectively)

Table 44. *Perception of Changes in Household Past Three Years by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Direction of Change	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Improved	43.5	58.5	14.3	52.6	36.7	56.7
Maintained	28.3	25.6	35.7	23.7	30.0	25.0
Worsened	28.3	15.9	50.0	23.7	33.3	18.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The proportion of households claiming that conditions in their *community* have improved is the same in 2008 as in 2011 with 55.8 percent (Table 45). This implies that people experience a more consistent and steady improvement in the community than for their own household – where a larger share believe that their situation has improved in 2011 than in 2008. Responding to a question of main areas of positive change in the community, 86.7 percent answered health, 65.5 percent education, and 43.4 percent agriculture.

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

Direction of Change	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Improved	58.7	57.3	46.4	52.6	55.8	55.8
Maintained	18.5	18.3	28.6	23.7	20.8	20.0
Worsened	18.5	24.4	21.4	21.1	19.2	23.3
No Answer	4.3	0.0	3.6	2.6	4.2	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

People are also largely positive regarding the expected direction of change in the household and in the community the coming three years (i.e. until 2014). As many as 84.2 percent foresee continued improvements in the socio-economic situation for their own households, with only 6.7 percent believing that their situation will deteriorate. There is a near equal degree of optimism concerning future developments in the community the coming three years, with 80.8 percent expecting things to improve and 11.7 percent expecting things to deteriorate (Table 46 and 47).

Table 46. *Perception of Changes in Household the Coming Three Years by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Direction of Change	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Improved	87.0	86.6	60.7	78.9	80.8	84.2
Maintained	10.9	7.3	25.0	13.2	14.2	9.2
Worsened	2.2	6.1	14.3	7.9	5.0	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 47. *Perception of Changes in the Community Coming Three Years by Sex of Household Head (Percent)*

Direction of Change	MHH		FHH		Total	
	2008	2011	2008	2011	2008	2011
Improved	88.0	84.1	78.6	73.7	85.8	80.8
Maintained	5.4	3.7	14.3	15.8	7.5	7.5
Worsened	6.5	12.2	7.1	10.5	6.7	11.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Even though questions related to people's *perceptions* should be treated with caution (often being influenced by people's fear of being negative when asked questions like these by outsiders, and the understandable wish to present their household and community in a way that may bring development interventions or other benefits), the responses and trends are so clear in the current case that there is little doubt that people are optimistic about their own and their community's future. Again these figures stand in apparent contrast to the bleak picture painted about developments of poverty and well-being in Sofala in official national statistics – without thereby denying that there still is a considerable problem of poverty in the Province and in the District of Buzi. Or in the words of one poor man: “*No-one knows what will happen to the community [and us] in the future. To move forward [in a place like this] you need money. And if you do not manage to get money nothing will move*”.

4.10 Social Mobility

Summing up by way of assessing actual processes of social mobility in Buzi between 2008 and 2011, the majority of people in the four areas of study are still poor both in terms of income and assets, voice and power in relation to institutions of society and the state, and vulnerability in relation to adverse shocks (see the first Buzi report for our definition of poverty). People in Buzi themselves (through focus groups) made the following categorisation of the poor and the better-off in 2008:

Table 48. *Categories of Poor and Better-Off Households*

Category	Name in Ndau
THE POOR	
Destitute poor	<i>Umbwa</i>
Chronically poor	<i>Mulombo</i>
Transitory poor	<i>Kombo</i>
THE BETTER OFF	
Permanently rich	<i>Muthende</i>
Newly rich	<i>Kuganha</i>
Deservedly rich	<i>Mucupuki</i>

Our survey data, focus group interviews and case studies indicate that while few people have been able to make a move from being poor to becoming better-off, there are people who have improved their situation particularly among the *mulombo* category (defined as “households that work hard and do their best, but have problems improving their lives within the existing structural constraints”) and the *kombo* category (defined as “households who are poor because of misfortunes and bad luck but who are in position to improve their situation if their fortunes and luck change”). In the tables above, we have seen small advances in agriculture/fisheries, small-scale trade, housing and access to assets as well as in health and education.

‘Kombo’ is 37 years old, and takes care of two sisters and one brother between 18 and 10 years of age with his sister being sick with epilepsy. According to himself is not married because he cannot raise

enough money for the *lobolo* which requires between 1500 and 5000 Mt. In 2008 he had two *machambas* and three heads of cattle, which together with a little support from a sister-in-law in Chimoio and the NGO 'Terra de Homen' was enough to feed his little family and get his sister medicines. However, when the support from the NGO ended in 2009 he had to sell his cattle and work in the fields of others to get money - which gave less time to work in his own *machamba*. In 2010 his fortunes turned again, however, when he got a job as assistant for a mason at the Catholic mission through his uncle who work there as a janitor. This also meant that 'Kombo' himself as well as the three siblings were accepted to study at the school free of charge. 'Kombo's' dream is to become a teacher.

Having said this, people in the *umbwa* category (defined as "households that are so poor that they need help and support from the outside to cope") that we revisited in 2011 tended to be in an even more difficult situation than in 2008, and are basically *captured* in their poverty. They lack the basic resources necessary to invest in the future, they do not have access to social relationships that can help them out (primarily because poor people cannot afford to have outstanding claims), and they are usually not reached by public social protection measures – compelling them to act on an *ad hoc* basis in order to secure basic necessities on a day-to-day basis.

When we met 'Mulumbo' in 2008, she was ill and taken care of by her oldest daughter-in-law. 'Mulumbo' died in December 2008, and her daughter-in-law 'Umbwa' moved into the house. 'Umbwa' is 27 years old and was born in Estaquinha, where she still lives with four children between 13 and two years of age. The fathers of the children all abandoned her when they learned that she was pregnant. The house is in very poor condition, with mud walls, thatched roof, merely a straw mat to sleep on and with only one pot and two plates for cooking. She does not get support from any of the fathers of her children, nor from any of her own family members as 'they are as poor as I am'. Since 2008 she has started to receive support from the Lutheran Church twice a year in the form of blankets, some clothes for children and school utensils – but that is not enough to get her out of her situation of extreme poverty. Still she considers herself lucky because none of the children have become seriously ill, and she still has strength to work in her *machamba* and produce and sell *Kabanga* (a traditional drink).

As regards the better-off, our survey data and case studies indicate that they do have a basis for further improving their lives. There are some better-off households that are part of extended families that have always been well-off (the *muthende* or permanently rich); some households who have become well-off through their own hard work (the *mucupuki* or deservedly rich), and some who have become well-off through luck or chance and who like to show-off their wealth (the *kuganha* or newly rich). A common denominator for most of them seems to me that they have a very extensive social network and maintain close links with urban areas – particularly Beira. We have seen this in the case of local *comerciantes* and local fishermen, but also with smaller entrepreneurs such as builders for example.

'Kuganha' lives in Nova Sofala, with his wife and six children (one severely handicapped child died in 2010). When we met him in 2008, he worked hard on three *machambas*, had five heads of cattle and collected and sold coconuts in large quantities in Beira. He was also in the process of renovating his house, and had bought a TV in anticipation of electricity that was to come. Meeting him again in 2011, he had expanded his business with more cattle, more fields (primarily for rice production), and several marketing stalls in Barada (for students at the school) and in the Nova Sofala community itself. In addition, and exploiting his huge contact network in the Vila as well as in Nova Sofala, he was frequently used as an intermediary between public institutions in the Vila and the community – with his open support to Frelimo being a clear advantage. He also told us that he frequently went to Beira 'to take care of my business there'. His increased income had been used to paint the house he had in 2008 and build an additional annex, buy a motorbike and (according to himself) support a total of 11 children in difficult situations in the local community. His increased wealth thus went hand-in-hand with an enhanced status and influence in the local community.

Equally significant is the apparent positive developments for female headed households (see Tables above). Although generally having a poorer access to public institutions, being more dependent on agriculture, possessing fewer assets and revealing poorer indicators in terms of education and health than male headed households, female-headed household have seen a relative improvement compared with male-headed households. We showed in the first Buzi report that the position of women and female headed households must be understood on the basis of historical developments and contemporary structural constraints and opportunities, but there are indications that there is increasing social space for the agency of women. For some of the better-off women and female headed households increased economic independence seems to be part of the explanation, and for the poorer women there are enhanced opportunities in trade and commerce. Again, however, the poorest women and female headed households are in a double disadvantage by being both poor and women.

'Mucupuki' was born and grew up in Ampara, but married and moved to Bândua in 1990. She lives with her husband and five children in a brick house. All the children are going to school, the oldest having completed secondary education ('I have no education myself but I know it is important'). Despite a serious problem with asthma, 'Mucupuki' is always worked hard. She ran a small bakery where she sold up to 800 small roles per day (for 2 Mt each) when we visited her in 2008, and had extended her business to also include small-scale trade from *bancas* and *barracas* in 2011. She received support from the 7 million Mt scheme in 2010, and was also able to borrow 9000 Mt from a bank ('The neighbours did not believe it was for me when I first received an order of 10 bags of flour to my house'). With this money, she plans to make further investments in commerce. She gives her husband part of the credit for the success, as he 'has always supported me and helped me out'. With the money she plans to build a better house, she supports two sisters who are widows in Beira, and plans to send her oldest son to the University in the same city.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

The main structural constraints identified in the first Buzi report (2008) remain also in 2011. Political decision-making is still dominated by Frelimo in a context where the opposition has a strong standing, exemplified by the continued reluctance to give Vila Buzi status as a municipality for which it is clearly qualified and which would enhance the space for locally-based decision-making.

Economically, the formerly all-important *Companhia de Buzi* is still closed, with a number of attempts to identify new owners having failed and local government apparently being in doubt about what to do to next. The dearth of formal employment has made agriculture the main source of income for the large majority of households, but with the exception of a few smaller agribusinesses around the Vila the sector is subsistence-based and with rudimentary agricultural methods.

The social sectors of education and health have become more readily accessible in all the four communities under study, but the perceived utility of education is hampered by the inability of young people to gain employment and improvements in health are overshadowed by the continued high prevalence of HIV/AIDS. Moreover, social protection for the very poorest is still inadequate and heavily concentrated in the main population centres implying that the ultra-poor are still effectually captured in poverty.

Having said this, we have also recorded an enhanced competence and capacity in Buzi's District Administration (largely based on SISTAFE), and important interventions have been made in infrastructure (including electricity and roads). We have also seen small but positive improvements in terms of income, expenditure and assets (including housing) – also for female headed households. The developments are particularly positive in the Vila and Nova Sofala, which find themselves in the rural-urban interface and hence in a position to exploit both types of socio-economic configurations.

The fact that there have been positive developments in Vila de Buzi, Estaquinha, Bândua and Nova Sofala, *despite* the continued structural constraints referred to above, reveal a considerable potential for further development and poverty reduction with political will to remove the main constraints and intensify development efforts particularly related to agriculture and employment.

5.2 Recommendations

The enhanced competence and capacity of the District Administration should be combined with opening up political space. The first concrete measure should be to declare Vila Buzi a municipality and hold municipal elections.

To exploit the rural-urban linkages for which Buzi is favourably located, physical infrastructure in the form of a bridge across the Buzi River and roads between Buzi and Beira should be given priority.

The issue of ownership of and responsibility for the Buzi Company should be clarified as soon as possible, in order to save existing land areas, factories, living quarters and other structures and create employment before it is too late.

In addition to employment creation through the Buzi company, priority should be given to agriculture by introducing improved technologies, an elevated number of agricultural extension workers and secure marketing options through state- as well as private sector interventions.

The 7 Million Mt scheme remains the most relevant source of credit for the majority of the population, but the scheme will have to be made more transparent and effective. In order to raise the payback rate, the few who have reimbursed their loans should get their money back and the scheme should start afresh.

The very poorest, who are not affected by the overall economic improvements, should be targeted for social protection measures by improving the selection process for beneficiaries throughout the District and not only in its population centre.

Questionnaire

Nr. Questionário	_ _ _	Códigos Escreva 00 no tempo e distância se mora na Vila
Entrevistador	_ _	
Nr. da entrevista	_ _	
Localidade/Regulado	_____	
Bairro/Povoado	_____	
Quarteirão/Saguta	_____	
Distância da Vila	Distância _ _ km	
Distrito	Tempo _ _ : _ _	
Data da entrevista	_ _ / _ _ / _ _	
Hora de Início	_ _ : _ _	

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

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

O agregado foi entrevistado há 3 anos? _ _	01 Sim 02 Não
Se 01 passe para questão 1.	
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? _ _	01 Chefe do agregado 02 Esposa(o) 03 Outro adulto do agregado
Se 01 passe para questão 4.	
2. Sexo do entrevistado _ _	01 Homem 02 Mulher
3. Que idade tem 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? _ _	01 Sim 02 Não
Se 01 passe para questão 8.	

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? _ _ Se 01 passe para questão 15. Se 04 ou 05 passe para questão 14.	01 Solteiro 02 Casado (igreja, civil, tradicional/lobolo/nikah ou misto) 03 Casado de facto (apeas vivem juntos, sem terem feito cerimónia) 04 Separado/Divorciado 05 Viúvo
11. A/O esposa(o) do chefe do agregado é o mesmo que há 3 anos atrás? _ _	01 Sim 02 Não
12. O chefe do agregado está presentemente numa relação poligâmica (o chefe tem várias esposas ou o marido da chefe tem várias esposas)? _ _	01 Sim 02 Não
13. O chefe do agregado já estava numa relação poligâmica há 3 anos atrás? _ _ Se 01 passe para questão 15	01 Sim 02 Não
14. O chefe do agregado era casado há três anos atrás? _ _	01 Sim 02 Não
15. Qual é a principal ocupação do chefe do agregado? (<i>especifique em que função trabalha</i>) _ _ _____ Se 03 ou 04 passe para a questão 19	01 Camponês (agricultor) 02 Pescador 03 Funcionário público (trabalha para o Estado) 04 Assalariado privado (trabalha para um patrão privado) 05 Empresário ou proprietário 06 Trabalhador por conta própria 07 Reformado 08 Desempregado 98 Outro (especifique)
16. O chefe do agregado já alguma vez teve um emprego com contrato e salário todos os meses? _ _ Se 02 passe para a questão 19	01 Sim 02 Não
17. Em que empresa trabalhava? _____	
18. Quantos anos trabalhou lá? _ _ Anos (<i>se menos de 1 ano, escreva 00</i>)	

<p>19. Qual é o nível de escolaridade do chefe do agregado? _ _ _ </p>	<p>01 Nenhum 02 Alfabetizado 03 EP1 04 EP2/Elementar 05 Secund./Básico 06 Médio 07 Superior</p>																														
DEFINIÇÃO DO AGREGADO																															
<p>20. Quantos membros têm o agregado familiar? (pessoas que comem da ou contribuem para a mesma panela, mesmo que não vivam na casa. Não esquecer de incluir as crianças e a pessoa entrevistada) _ _ _ </p>																															
<p>21. Qual a relação de parentesco que tem cada membro do agregado com o chefe do agregado? (<i>quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias</i>) _ _ _ Chefe _ _ _ Esposa(o) _ _ _ Filhos/enteados _ _ _ Pais/sogros _ _ _ Irmãos _ _ _ Sobrinhos _ _ _ Netos _ _ _ Outros parentes _ _ _ Sem parentesco</p>																															
<p>22. Quais as idades dos membros do agregado? (<i>quantas pessoas existem em cada uma das seguintes categorias</i>) _ _ _ menos de 15 anos _ _ _ 15 anos – 64 anos _ _ _ 65 anos ou mais</p>																															
<p>23. Quantos destes membros <u>não</u> faziam parte do agregado há 3 anos atrás? _ _ _ Se 00 passe para questão 29</p>																															
<p>24. Qual a relação de parentesco que cada novo membro do agregado tem com o chefe do agregado? (<i>quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias</i>) _ _ _ Chefe _ _ _ Esposa(o) _ _ _ Filhos/enteados _ _ _ Pais/sogros _ _ _ Irmãos _ _ _ Sobrinhos _ _ _ Netos _ _ _ Outros parentes _ _ _ Sem parentesco</p>																															
<p>25. Destes membros do agregado quantos <u>não</u> vivem na casa? _ _ _ Se 00 passe para questão 29</p>																															
<p>26. Qual a relação de parentesco que cada membro do agregado ausente tem com o chefe do agregado? (<i>quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias</i>) _ _ _ Chefe _ _ _ Esposa(o) _ _ _ Filhos/enteados _ _ _ Pais/sogros _ _ _ Irmãos _ _ _ Sobrinhos _ _ _ Netos _ _ _ Outros parentes _ _ _ Sem parentesco</p>																															
<p>27. Onde vivem e porque razão? (<i>especifique o local e a razão</i>)</p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;">local</th> <th style="text-align: center;">razão</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>01 Chefe de Família</td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>02 Esposa</td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>03 Filhos/enteados</td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>04 Pais/sogros</td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>05 Irmãos</td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>06 Sobrinhos</td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>07 Netos</td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>08 Outros parentes</td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> </tr> <tr> <td>09 Sem parentesco</td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> <td> _ _ _ _ </td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		local	razão	01 Chefe de Família	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	02 Esposa	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	03 Filhos/enteados	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	04 Pais/sogros	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	05 Irmãos	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	06 Sobrinhos	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	07 Netos	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	08 Outros parentes	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	09 Sem parentesco	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _	
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07 Netos	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _																													
08 Outros parentes	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _																													
09 Sem parentesco	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _																													

<p>28. Quantas vezes vêm normalmente a casa?</p> <p>01 Chefe de Família _ _ </p> <p>02 Esposa _ _ </p> <p>03 Filhos/enteados _ _ </p> <p>04 Pais/sogros _ _ </p> <p>05 Irmãos _ _ </p> <p>06 Outros parentes _ _ </p> <p>07 Sem parentesco _ _ </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>29. Quantos dos membros do agregado são membros deste agregado por morte dos responsáveis pelo seu sustento?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p>Se 00 passe para questão 31.</p>	
<p>30. Qual a relação de parentesco que estes membros têm com o chefe de família? (<i>quantos membros existem nas seguintes categorias</i>)</p> <p> _ _ Filhos do irmão _ _ Filhos da irmã</p> <p> _ _ Netos _ _ Irmãos</p> <p> _ _ Outros parentes _ _ Sem parentesco</p>	
<p>31. Quantas pessoas que <u>não</u> pertencem a este agregado são dependentes do apoio monetário ou em géneros deste agregado?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p>Se 00 passe para questão 33.</p>	
<p>32. Qual a relação de parentesco que estas pessoas que não pertencem ao agregado têm com o chefe do agregado? (<i>quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias</i>)</p> <p> _ _ Outras esposas _ _ Pais</p> <p> _ _ Filhos de outras esposas _ _ Sogros</p> <p> _ _ Outros parentes do chefe _ _ Outros parentes da(o) esposa(o) do(a) chefe</p>	
<p>33. Quantas pessoas vivem no mesmo quintal que o agregado, mas <u>não</u> fazem parte deste agregado familiar?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p>Se 00 passe para questão 35.</p>	
<p>34. Qual a relação de parentesco que estas pessoas que não fazem parte do agregado têm com o chefe do agregado? (<i>quantas pessoas existem nas seguintes categorias</i>)</p> <p> _ _ Filhas _ _ Outros parentes</p> <p> _ _ Filhos _ _ Sem parentesco</p>	
<p>35. Qual a religião mais praticada pela família?</p> <p> _ _ _____ </p>	<p>01 Católica</p> <p>02 Islâmica</p> <p>03 Outra cristã (especifique)</p> <p>04 Nenhuma</p> <p>98 Outra (especifique)</p>
<p>36. Faz culto dos antepassados (Kupashira/Kuphira Muzimo)?</p> <p> _ _ </p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>37. Qual a língua mais falada em casa?</p> <p> _ _ _____ </p> <p>Se 04 passe para a questão 40.</p>	<p>01 Xindau</p> <p>02 Xisena</p> <p>03 Xitswa</p> <p>04 Português</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>38. Alguém do agregado fala português?</p> <p> _ _ </p> <p>Se 02 passe para questão 40.</p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>

<p>39. Quem do agregado consegue falar mais português? _ _ </p>	<p>01 Os homens adultos 02 As mulheres adultas 03 Os jovens homens (12-18 anos) 04 As jovens mulheres (12-18 anos) 05 Os meninos (menores de 12) 06 As meninas (menores de 12) 07 Todos adultos 08 Todos jovens 09 Todas crianças</p>																
EDUCAÇÃO																	
<p>40. Qual o nível de escolaridade mais elevado atingido no agregado? _ _ </p>	<p>01 Nenhum 02 Alfabetizado 03 EP1 04 EP2/Elementar 05 Secund./Básico 06 Médio 07 Superior</p>																
<p>41. Quantas crianças em idade escolar existem no agregado familiar? (<i>dos 6 aos 15 anos</i>) _ _ Rapazes _ _ Raparigas _ _ Total Se o total = 00 passe para questão 44.</p>																	
<p>42. Destas, quantas <i>não</i> estão a estudar? _ _ Rapazes _ _ Raparigas _ _ Total Se o total = 00 passe para questão 44.</p>																	
<p>43. Indique a razão principal por desistente (<i>não necessita repetir se a razão for a mesma entre diferentes desistentes do mesmo género</i>)</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black; width: 80%;"></td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; width: 20%; text-align: center;">Rapazes</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"></td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"></td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"></td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"></td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"></td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"></td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border-bottom: 1px solid black;"></td> <td style="border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black;"></td> </tr> </table>		Rapazes															
	Rapazes																
SAÚDE																	
<p>44. Quantas pessoas do agregado ficaram doentes nas duas últimas semanas? _ _ Se 00 passe para a questão 46.</p>																	
<p>45. Qual o primeiro local onde foram para ser tratadas? (<i>especifique o lugar por cada doença, se a doença e o lugar forem os mesmos, não precisa repetir</i>)</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%;"> <tr> <td style="width: 15%;"></td> <td style="width: 45%; text-align: center;">Lugar</td> <td style="width: 10%;"></td> <td style="width: 30%; text-align: center;">Doença</td> </tr> <tr> <td> _ _ </td> <td> _____ _____ </td> <td> </td> <td> _____ </td> </tr> <tr> <td> _ _ </td> <td> _____ _____ </td> <td> </td> <td> _____ </td> </tr> <tr> <td> _ _ </td> <td> _____ _____ </td> <td> </td> <td> _____ </td> </tr> </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>46. Há algum membro do agregado que sofra de doença prolongada ou sem cura? _ _ </p>	<p>01 Sim 02 Não</p>																

47. Quantas crianças faleceram neste agregado antes de completar 5 anos? _ _ Meninos _ _ Meninas Se 00 nos dois passe para questão 49.	
48. Quais as razões principais para essa(s) morte(s)? _____ Rapazes _____ _____ _____ Raparigas _____ _____	
MOBILIDADE	
49. O chefe do agregado vivia neste local há 3 anos atrás? _ _ Se 01 passe para questão 53.	01 Sim 02 Não
50. Onde vivia o chefe do agregado antes? _ _ _____	01 Beira 02 Vila de Búzi 03 Outro local do distrito (especifique) 04 Outra cidade na província (especifique) 05 Outra cidade fora da província (especifique) 06 Outro (especifique) 99 Nenhum
51. Em que ano se mudou o chefe para esta zona? _ _ _ _	
52. Porque razão se mudou o chefe para esta zona? _ _ _____	01 Trabalho 02 Casamento 03 Guerra 04 Cheias 98 Outro (especifique)
53. Para que lugares fora da zona costumam ir com mais frequência os membros do agregado? (mencione até 3) _ _ _____ _ _ _____ _ _ _____ Se 99 passe para questão 57.	01 Beira 02 Nova Sofala 03 Quelimane 04 Nampula 98 Outro (especifique) 99 Nenhum
54. Quem do agregado costuma viajar mais? _ _	01 Chefe do agregado 02 Esposa(o) 03 Filhos/enteados 04 Pais/sogros 05 Irmãos 06 Sobrinhos 07 Netos 08 Outros parentes 09 Sem parentesco

55. Quanto tempo costuma ficar esse membro do agregado, quando viaja? _ _		01 Menos de 1 dia 02 Menos de 1 semana 03 Menos de 1 mês 04 Menos de 1 ano 05 Mais de 1 ano
56. Qual costuma ser a razão principal (aquela que acontece mais vezes) dessas viagens? _ _ _____		01 Pesca 02 Negócios (sem ser para pesca) 03 Visitas familiares 04 Compras 05 Saúde 06 Educação 98 Outro (especifique)
BENS E PADRÕES DE CONSUMO		
57. Que bens possui a família?		58. Possuía estes bens há 3 anos atrás?
01 Possui 02 Não possui 03 Possui, mas está avariado/estragado		01 Sim 02 Não 03 Já estava estragado/avariado
Rádio	_ _	_ _
Aparelhagem	_ _	_ _
TV	_ _	_ _
Vídeo/VCD/DVD	_ _	_ _
Geleira/congelador	_ _	_ _
Fogão eléctrico	_ _	_ _
Fogão a gás	_ _	_ _
Bicicleta	_ _	_ _
Motorizada	_ _	_ _
Veículo automóvel	_ _	_ _
Tractor	_ _	_ _
Máquina de costura	_ _	_ _
Barco	_ _	_ _
Rede de pesca	_ _	_ _
Celular	_ _	_ _
Sofá	_ _	_ _
Cadeiras	_ _	_ _
Cama (não esteira)	_ _	_ _
Pratos	_ _	_ _
Talheres	_ _	_ _
Baldes/Bacias/Tigelas	_ _	_ _
Enxada	_ _	_ _
Catana/foice	_ _	_ _
Machado	_ _	_ _
59. Qual o material do telhado/cobertura da casa do agregado?		

<input type="text"/>	01 Palha/vegetação 02 Chapa de zinco 03 Telha 98 Outro (especifique)
60. Qual era o material do telhado/cobertura da casa há 3 anos atrás? <input type="text"/>	01 Palha/vegetação 02 Chapa de zinco 03 Telha 98 Outro (especifique)
61. Qual o material das paredes da casa do agregado? <input type="text"/>	01 Maticado 02 Blocos 03 Chapa 98 Outro (especifique)
62. Qual era o material das paredes da casa do agregado há 3 anos atrás? <input type="text"/>	01 Maticado 02 Blocos 03 Chapa 98 Outro (especifique)
63. Quantas divisões tem a casa do agregado? <input type="text"/>	
64. Quantas divisões tinha a casa do agregado há 3 anos atrás? <input type="text"/>	
65. A casa tem energia eléctrica? INCLUI GERADORES <input type="text"/>	01 Sim 02 Não
66. Existem outras edificações no quintal, para além da casa? Latrina <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Quarto de banho <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Celeiro/armazém <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Dependência/anexo <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Capoeira <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Cozinha <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> Outro (especifique) <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/>	01 Possui 02 Não possui
67. Quanto gastou na <u>semana passada</u> nos seguintes artigos: Produtos alimentares <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> Mt Produtos de limpeza <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> Mt Iluminação <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> Mt Água <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> Mt Roupa/vestuário <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> Mt Material escolar <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> Mt Medicamentos/consultas <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> Mt Transporte <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> Mt Outras despesas (especifique) <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> . <input type="text"/> Mt <input type="text"/>	
68. Desde o ano passado, diga que produtos ou artigos sentiu que aumentaram mais de preço? (liste os três principais) 1. <input type="text"/> 2. <input type="text"/> 3. <input type="text"/>	

<p>69. Quanto pagava no ano passado, e quanto paga este ano por esses produtos ou artigos? <i>(diga na mesma ordem que colocou na questão acima)</i></p> <p>Produto/quantidade valor ano passado valor este ano</p> <p>1. _____ __ . __ __ __ Mt __ . __ __ __ Mt</p> <p>2. _____ __ . __ __ __ Mt __ . __ __ __ Mt</p> <p>3. _____ __ . __ __ __ Mt __ . __ __ __ Mt</p>		
<p>70. Quais foram as categorias de despesas em que foram obrigados a cortar (deixar de comprar ou pagar menos) por causa do aumento dos preços?</p> <p>1. __ __ _____ </p> <p>2. __ __ _____ </p> <p>3. __ __ _____ </p>		<p>01 Produtos alimentares</p> <p>02 Produtos de limpeza</p> <p>03 Iluminação</p> <p>04 Água</p> <p>05 Roupas/vestuário</p> <p>06 Material escolar</p> <p>07 Medicamento/consultas</p> <p>08 Transporte</p> <p>98 Outro (especifique)</p> <p>99 Nenhuma</p>
<p>71. Que produtos trocou nas últimas duas semanas por outros? __ __ <i>(se não trocou produtos preencher 99 nas caixas ao lado)</i></p> <p>Produto entregue Produto recebido em troca</p> <p> _____ _____ </p> <p> _____ _____ </p> <p> _____ _____ </p> <p> _____ _____ </p>		<p>99 Nenhum</p>
<p>72. O agregado pagou algum imposto no <u>último ano</u>?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p>Se 02 passe para a questão 74.</p>		<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>73. Pagou algum dos seguintes impostos?</p> <p>Pessoal (para a totalidade do agregado) __ __ __ . __ __ __ Mt</p> <p>Bicicletas __ __ __ . __ __ __ Mt</p> <p>Comercial (loja/banca) __ __ __ . __ __ __ Mt</p> <p>Agrícola __ __ __ . __ __ __ Mt</p> <p>Outro _____ __ __ __ . __ __ __ Mt</p>		<p>98 Não sabe</p> <p>99 Nenhum</p>
ATIVIDADES DE RENDIMENTO NÃO AGRÍCOLAS		
<p>74. Quantos membros do agregado têm emprego com salário regular ou beneficiam de reforma?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p>Se 00 passe para questão 76.</p>		
<p>75. Qual a soma do rendimento dos <u>salários e reformas</u> de todas 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 1.500MT</p> <p>06 1.501MT a 2.500MT</p> <p>07 2.501MT a 5.000MT</p> <p>08 > 5.000MT</p>

<p>76. Que outras actividades de rendimento são levadas a cabo no agregado, e quanto rendeu no mês passado? _ _ _ _ (se não leva a cabo nenhuma outra actividade preencher 99 nas caixas ao lado)</p> <p>Se 99 passe para questão 77.</p> <p>Artesanato _ _ _ _ _ Mt Medicina tradicional _ _ _ _ _ Mt Produção de carvão/lenha _ _ _ _ _ Mt Fabrico/venda de bebidas _ _ _ _ _ Mt Loja _ _ _ _ _ Mt Banca _ _ _ _ _ Mt Venda ambulante _ _ _ _ _ Mt Construção _ _ _ _ _ Mt Carpintaria _ _ _ _ _ Mt Serralharia _ _ _ _ _ Mt Electricista _ _ _ _ _ Mt Ganho ganho _ _ _ _ _ Mt Outro _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ Mt Outro _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ Mt Outro _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ Mt</p>	<p>99 Nenhuma</p>
<p>77. Para além das actividades de rendimento, algum membro do agregado recebe assistência ou apoio monetário de alguém de fora do agregado? _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Se 02 passe para questão 79.</p>	<p>01 Sim 02 Não</p>
<p>78. De que pessoas/entidades recebe, e quanto recebe mensalmente?</p> <p>ONGs _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _ _ INSS _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _ _ Acção Social _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _ _ Familiars de fora do agregado _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _ _ Vizinhos/amigos _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _ _ Outro _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _ _ Outro _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _ _ Outro _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ Mt _ _ _ _ _ </p>	<p>Se forem produtos escreva os seguintes códigos nas caixas ao lado: 01 Roupa 02 Comida 03 Diversos 98 Outros (especifique)</p>
<p>79. Algum membro do agregado participa de algum grupo de poupança/estique? _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Se 02 passe para questão 82.</p>	<p>01 Sim 02 Não</p>
<p>80. Quanto gasta, em média, na poupança/estique, de cada vez que contribui para a poupança?? _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ Mt</p>	
<p>81. De quanto em quanto tempo contribui para a poupança/estique? _ _ _ _ </p>	<p>01 Todos dias 02 1 vez por semana 03 De quinze em quinze dias 04 1 vez por mes 05 Irregularmente</p>
ACTIVIDADE AGRÍCOLA E PESQUEIRA	
<p>82. A família possui machamba? _ _ _ _ </p> <p>Se 02 passe para questão 87.</p>	<p>01 Sim 02 Não</p>
<p>83. Que método de fertilização usa normalmente na(s) sua(s) machambas? _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ </p>	<p>01 Rotação/pousio 02 Estrume 03 Adubo 98 Outro (especifique) 99 Nenhum</p>

84. Que mão de obra usa normalmente para cultivar os produtos na(s) sua(s) machamba(s) __ _ _____	01 Membros do agregado 02 Assalariados permanentes 03 Contratados eventuais 98 Outro (especifique)
85. Vendeu algum produto da última campanha? __ _ Se 02 passe para questão 87.	01 Sim 02 Não
86. Quanto arrecadou na última campanha (soma do arrecadado pela totalidade dos produtos vendidos)? __ _ _ _ . __ _ _ _ _ Mt	
87. Alguém do agregado pesca? __ _ Se 02 passe para questão 91.	01 Sim 02 Não
88. Quais são as alturas do ano em que pesca? __ _ a __ _	Escrever o número do mês. Se for todo ano, colocar 01 a 12
89. Costuma vender o peixe? __ _ Se 02 passe para questão 91.	01 Sim 02 Não
90. Quanto arrecada normalmente por dia? __ _ _ _ . __ _ _ _ _ Mt	
91. A família cria animais? __ _ Se 02 passe para questão 96.	01 Sim 02 Não
92. Quais os animais que o agregado cria? NÃO INCLUI BURRO, CÃO E GATO Galinhas __ _ Patos __ _ Cabritos __ _ Porcos __ _ Outro _____ __ _ Outro _____ __ _ Outro _____ __ _	01 Cria 02 Não cria
93. No último ano vendeu algum animal? __ _ Se 02 passe para questão 96.	01 Sim 02 Não
94. Quanto rendeu a última venda? __ _ _ _ . __ _ _ _ _ Mt	
95. Porque razão vendeu os animais, da última vez que vendeu? __ _ _____	01 Para comprar comida 02 Para outras despesas da casa (para além de comida) 03 Para fazer uma cerimónia (casamento ou falecimento) 04 Por causa de doença 98 Outro (especifique)

PROPRIEDADE E RELACÕES INTRA-FAMILIARES	
<p>96. Como foi adquirida a machamba principal do agregado? _ _ _ _____ Se 01, 03 ou 06 passe para questão 99.</p>	01 Não tem machamba 02 Comprada 03 Alugada 04 herdada 05 Doadada 06 Cedida 07 Abriu sozinho 98 Outro (especifique)
<p>97. A quem pertence a machamba principal do agregado? _ _ _ _____ </p>	01 Ao Chefe do agregado 02 A(o) esposa(o) 03 Aos dois 04 À família do homem 05 À família da mulher 06 A todos 98 Outro (especifique)
<p>98. Em caso de morte do proprietário quem herda a machamba? _ _ _ _____ </p>	01 A(o) esposa(o) 02 Todos filhos 03 Só as filhas 04 Só os filhos 98 Outro (especifique)
<p>99. Como foi adquirida a casa onde o agregado vive? _ _ _ _____ Se 02 ou 05 passe para questão 102.</p>	01 Comprada 02 Alugada 03 herdada 04 Doadada 05 Cedida 06 Construiu sozinho 98 Outro (especifique)
<p>100. A quem pertence a casa onde vive o agregado? _ _ _ _____ </p>	01 Ao homem 02 À mulher 03 Aos dois 04 À família do homem 05 À família da mulher 06 A todos 98 Outro (especifique)
<p>101. Em caso de morte do proprietário quem herda a casa? _ _ _ _____ </p>	01 A(o) esposa(o) 02 Todos filhos 03 Só as filhas 04 Só os filhos 98 Outro (especifique)

<p>102. 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 02 Esposa do chefe 03 O casal 04 Um homem adulto do agregado 05 Uma mulher adulta da família 06 Todo agregado 07 Cada um decide o que fazer com o seu rendimento</p>
RELACÕES EXTRA-FAMILIARES	
<p>103. 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>Se 99 passe para questão 105.</p>	<p>99 Nenhum</p>
<p>104. A quem recorreram para resolver esse problema?</p> <p>__ __ _____ </p>	<p>01 Polícia 02 Representantes da família alargada 03 Familiares e amigos 98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>105. Qual é a fonte de conflito mais comum na comunidade e que necessita de intervenção das autoridades para resolver?</p> <p>__ __ _____ </p> <p>Se 99 passe para questão 107.</p>	<p>01 Bebedeiras 02 Adultério 03 Furtos 04 Conflitos de terras 05 Conflitos de água 98 Outro (especifique) 99 Nenhum</p>
<p>106. A quem recorrem, normalmente, os membros da comunidade para resolver esse problema?</p> <p>__ __ _____ </p>	<p>01 Chefe da aldeia/povoado 02 Régulo 03 Autoridade religiosa 04 Polícia 05 Tribunal comunitário 98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>107. Quais são os serviços públicos que os membros do agregado usam?</p> <p>Administração/Posto administrativo __ __ </p> <p>Agricultura __ __ </p> <p>Acção social __ __ </p> <p>Registos e Notariado __ __ </p> <p>Polícia __ __ </p> <p>Tribunal __ __ </p> <p>Outro _____ __ __ </p>	<p>01 Usa 02 Não usa 03 Não existe na zona</p>

<p>108. Com que frequência usam esses serviços?</p> <p>Administração/Posto administrativo __ __ </p> <p>Agricultura __ __ </p> <p>Acção social __ __ </p> <p>Registos e Notariado __ __ </p> <p>Polícia __ __ </p> <p>Tribunal __ __ </p> <p>Outro __ __ </p>	<p>01 Pelo menos 1 vez por semana</p> <p>02 Pelo menos 1 vez por mês</p> <p>03 Pelo menos 1 vez por ano</p> <p>04 Menos de 1 vez por ano</p> <p>05 Nunca</p>
<p>109. Algum membro do agregado faz parte de alguma associação?</p> <p> __ __ Homens __ __ Mulheres</p> <p>Se ambos 02 passe para questão 111.</p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>110. A que tipo de associação pertencem?</p> <p> _____ Homens</p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ Mulheres</p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>111. Já ouviu falar dos '7 milhões' que o governo dá aos distritos para o seu desenvolvimento?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p>Se 02 passe para questão 116.</p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>112. Já alguma vez alguém do agregado concorreu para esses fundos?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p>Se 02 passe para questão 116.</p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>113. Em que área aplicaram esse financiamento?</p> <p> __ __ </p>	<p>01 Produção agrícola</p> <p>02 Comércio</p> <p>03 Educação</p> <p>04 Saúde</p> <p>08 Outra (especifique)</p>
<p>114. O agregado familiar teve alguma dificuldade para aceder a estes fundos?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p>Se 02 passe para questão 116</p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>
<p>115. Indique os principais constrangimentos que o agregado familiar teve para aceder a estes fundos?</p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>116. Comparando com a situação da família há 3 anos atrás, como avalia a situação da família hoje?</p> <p> __ __ </p>	<p>01 Melhorou</p> <p>02 Manteve-se</p> <p>03 Piorou</p>
<p>117. Explique porquê</p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>118. Comparando com a situação da comunidade há 3 anos atrás, como avalia a situação da comunidade hoje?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p>Se 04 passe para questão 121.</p>	<p>01 Melhorou</p> <p>02 Manteve-se</p> <p>03 Piorou</p> <p>04 Não vivia na comunidade</p>
<p>119. Explique porquê</p> <p> _____ </p>	

<p>120. Em que áreas mais sentiu mudança (indique as três principais) ESPECIFIQUE O QUE MUDOU EM CADA UMA DAS ÁREAS</p> <p>1. __ __ _____ </p> <p>2. __ __ _____ </p> <p>3. __ __ _____ </p>	<p>01 Produção agrícola</p> <p>02 Comércio</p> <p>03 Educação</p> <p>04 Saúde</p> <p>08 Outra (especifique)</p> <p>99 Nenhuma</p>
<p>121. Como espera que a situação da família esteja daqui a 3 anos?</p> <p> __ __ </p>	<p>01 Melhorará</p> <p>02 Manter-se-á</p> <p>03 Piorará</p>
<p>122. Explique porquê</p> <p> _____ </p>	
<p>123. Como espera que a situação da comunidade esteja daqui a 3 anos?</p> <p> __ __ </p>	<p>01 Melhorará</p> <p>02 Manter-se-á</p> <p>03 Piorará</p>
<p>124. Explique porquê</p> <p> _____ </p>	

<p>Hora de Término __ __ : __ __ </p>	
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INDEXING TERMS

Mozambique

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Evaluation

This is the final report in a series of six studies to monitor and evaluate Mozambique's Poverty Reduction Strategies PARP/A (2006-2012). The series focuses on three different areas in the country, including the District of Buzi in the central province of Sofala. Despite severe structural political and economic constraints, people in Buzi have seen small improvements in their socio-economic conditions between 2008 and 2011. In addition to their own hard work, the proximity to the city of Beira is a major reason for the advances made. Rather than counting on economic growth to 'trickle down', the government should remove constraints related to agriculture and income and facilitate rural-urban interaction.