

CMI REPORT

"Xiculungo" Social Relations of Urban Poverty in Maputo, Mozambique

Margarida Paulo
Carmeliza Rosário
Inge Tvedten

R 2007: 13

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Margarida Paulo, Universidade Eduardo Mondlane
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Map 1. Mozambique and Project Field Sites



Source: Economist Intelligence Unit

1. Introduction

This is the second in a series of six participatory and qualitative studies of poverty in Mozambique, done with the objective of supporting the government in monitoring and evaluating the ongoing Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty, PARPA II (GdM 2005). The first report looked into social relations of rural poverty in northern Mozambique, with special reference to the District of Murrupula in the Nampula province (Tvedten, Paulo and Rosário 2006). This report will analyse social relations of urban poverty, with special reference to four settlement areas (bairros) in Mozambique's capital Maputo (see Terms of Reference, Annex 1).

The Government of Mozambique and donors have invested considerable effort and resources in economic development and the reduction of poverty. While this has led to improvements in terms of an economic growth of 8 percent per annum over the past ten years (Arndt et al. 2006) and a reduction in the proportion of Mozambicans living in poverty from 69 to 54 percent (INE 2004), key socio-economic indicators are still very serious: GDP per capita is USD 1,117, the adult literacy rate is 46.5 percent, and life expectancy at birth is 41.9 years (World Bank 2006; UNICEF 2007). This places Mozambique at number 172 of 177 countries in UNDP's Human Development Index, which makes it the least developed country in Southern Africa (UNDP 2007).

Research-based information about poverty is recognised as important for Mozambique's poverty reduction strategies, as these are expressed in the Government's Five Year Plan (GOM 2005) and the related PARPA II (GdM 2005). Key data for the monitoring and evaluation of poverty in Mozambique stem from the National Census (INE 1997 and forthcoming 2008), the National Household Survey IAF (INE 1997 and 2004) and the National Demographic and Health Survey (MdS 2005), as well as a number of analyses by the Government of Mozambique based on these data (see e.g. DNPO 2004; Chiconela 2004; Maximiano et al. 2005). In addition, international organisations have commissioned several studies on their own, of which those undertaken by UNDP (2006), UNICEF (2007) and the World Bank (2007) are the most recent and comprehensive.

1.1 Study Rationale

Common to most of these studies is that they are based on quantitative data and statistical analysis of material poverty and social indicators. While these yield important information on the mapping, profile and determinants of poverty in Mozambique, it is also recognised that they should be complemented by participatory and qualitative studies to better understand the coping strategies of the poor and the dynamics of poverty on the levels of communities, households and individuals (GdM 2005). People act and respond to their political and economic environment on the basis of their own (*emic*) perceptions of its constraints and opportunities and through a complex set of social relationships, both of which are important to understand to be able to design relevant and effective development policies and interventions for urban poverty alleviation (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002).

While there has been a substantive reduction in the rural poverty headcount, from 71 percent to 55 percent between 1996/97 and 2002/03, urban poverty in Mozambique has seen a more limited reduction from 62 to 51 percent – and even an increase in the capital city Maputo, where the poverty headcount rose from 47 to 53 percent in the same period (INE 2004). At the same time, there are indications of a rapid rate of urbanisation. Official data show that 29.8 percent of all Mozambicans live in cities and towns (INE 2004), and the United Nations (2007) operates with an urban population rate of 34.5 percent and projects that as many as 50.0 percent of Mozambique's

population will live in urban areas by 2025. Taken together, these points warrant paying increased attention to what may appear to be an urbanisation of poverty in Mozambique.

Having said this, a basic premise in our study is the importance of seeing urban and rural areas as effectively being part of the same political economy and socio-economic configuration. Urban-rural linkages are central to Mozambique's economic and social development, with the bulk of the country's GDP stemming from urban areas at the same time that the majority of Mozambicans live in rural areas and depend on agricultural production (World Bank 2007; DNPO 2004). And urban-rural relations are a key component of people's coping strategies, through the exchange of urban commodities and rural produce, and with social relationships representing an important source of social security. In fact, our study shows that one of the salient characteristics of the very poorest and most vulnerable in Maputo is their inability to maintain links with their rural areas of origin and to take part in urban-rural exchanges.

This study will take existing quantitative data on urban poverty in Mozambique as its point of departure, and focus on qualitative issues of cultural perceptions and social relations of poverty and well-being. Poverty will be broadly understood as a lack of the income and assets needed to attain basic necessities; a sense of voicelessness and powerlessness in relations to institutions of society and the state; and a vulnerability to adverse shocks. This is close to the broad definition used by the Government of Mozambique, which states that poverty is the "[im]possibility due to incapacity or lack of opportunity of individuals, households and communities to have access to minimal conditions according to the basic norms of society" (GdM 2005).

As in our first report (Tvedten, Paulo and Rosário 2006), the focus will be on the poorest parts of the population and processes of social marginalisation and exclusion. We argue that the impact of development policies and aid in Mozambique has been hampered by an inadequate focus on distinguishing between different levels and types of poverty below the set poverty line (see also World Bank 2007). This lack of focus has effectively defined the majority of Mozambicans as the target group while bypassing the most deprived sections of poor populations. Research shows that reaching the poorest and most marginalised requires targeted interventions and social protection measures rather than "trickle down" approaches (CPRC 2004). The "poorest" will be defined in terms of income and consumption, as well as of local perceptions about who the poorest are.

Socio-economic conditions of urban poverty and well-being are the outcome of complex historical developments, external structural, political and economic processes, and the population's own practices of complex social relations and cultural constructions. We hold the view that political and economic structures have a powerful, even determining effect upon human action and the shape of events, but also that a focus on human agency and ordinary lives is important for explaining processes of social change and internal differentiation (Bourdieu 1990; Ortner 2006). Of particular relevance for people's coping strategies in urban areas is the importance of money, which is an integrated part of most relationships in urban contexts. What has been called a "commodification" of social relationships (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997; see also Bank 2002) has profound implications for the coping strategies of the poorest. They lack the necessary means to enter and maintain vital relations of provisioning and social security, and are particularly vulnerable to changes in the economic environment, implying substantial movements between different levels of poverty.

As we see it, participatory and qualitative research is important for the monitoring and evaluation of poverty in the bairros of Maputo for several reasons. It can contextualise and inform the quantitative data and correlations by testing causal hypotheses on the ground. It can be used to discover relationships and interdependencies that are not easily captured in quantitative research. And it can involve the poor themselves in the analysis of their own situation in a way that is difficult with

formal questionnaire surveys. We have, for example, found that the characteristics of people's immediate community (or "urban space") have considerable implications for their poverty, well-being and vulnerability. The very poorest and most destitute are not only defined with reference to material poverty and lack of assets but also on the basis of the nature of their social relationships outside their households, with the term "*xiculungo*" used in the title of this study epitomising the most isolated, destitute and vulnerable members of the communities.

Our study focuses on urban poverty in Mozambique's capital Maputo, with a particular emphasis on the bairros Mafalala, Inhagoia, Laulane and Khongolote, the last of which is part of greater Maputo but formally located in the neighbouring municipality Matola. The selection of bairros was made in close cooperation with the Ministry of Planning and Development and the Municipality of Maputo, and is meant to reflect different histories and socio-economic configurations in the city's seven urban districts and 49 bairros.¹ These vary from Mafalala, which is located close to the city centre, was established during Portuguese colonial rule and is poor, dense and tense, to Khongolote, which was little more than a village prior to the floods in 2000 and has seen its population increase dramatically with a mixture of poor flood victims and better-off households moving out of central Maputo.

The communities and households in Maputo that are the focus of the current study will be revisited after a period of three years, as will be the case with the previous study on rural poverty in the district of Murrupula in Nampula and the planned upcoming study on poverty in the district of Búzi in Sofala (see Chapter 6). The objective is to follow the implications of government and donor policies and interventions at the local level and ascertain changes in the conditions, perceptions and relations of poverty – all as part of the monitoring and evaluation of Mozambique's poverty reduction efforts (GdM 2005).

1.2 Key Findings

The urban population in Mozambique is estimated at 30 percent of the total population, and the projected rate of urbanisation implies that 50 percent of the population will live in cities and towns by 2025 (INE 2004; United Nations 2007). While the rural poverty rate fell by 16 percent to 55 percent between 1996/97 and 2002/03, the urban poverty rate fell by 11 percent to 51 percent, with Maputo seeing an increase in its poverty rate from 47 to 53 percent in the same period. No other country in sub-Saharan Africa has a rural and urban poverty headcount as close as in Mozambique.

Maputo has an estimated 1.3 million inhabitants in 2007, making up seven percent of the total population in Mozambique.² The city is governed by a Municipal Assembly, an elected Mayor and a Municipal Council, and is divided into seven Urban Districts, which again are subdivided into between 8-11 bairros. Each bairro is divided into administrative quarters (*quarteirões*) and units of "ten houses" (*dez casas*). While the administrative structures and formal responsibilities of the municipality are clearly defined, it suffers from inadequate human and economic resources. Uncertainties related to security of tenure and the costs of housing are particularly important for the urban poor, and central urban services such as community roads, water, electricity, sanitation and solid waste management do not meet their needs.

¹ "Bairro" refers to all settlement areas in Maputo, but in daily discourses a distinction is made between bairros in the formal "cement city" (*cidade de cimento*) and informal "city of sticks" (*cidade de caniço*). Poor informal urban areas are known by different names and connotations. The term "squatter area" usually connotes illegality of settlement; the term "shantytown" highlights poor conditions in settlements and residential dwellings; and the term "informal settlement" comprises both. "Slum" is normally not used due to its strong derogatory connotations, even though it is closest to the local terms often used for such areas (see Chapter 3).

² The figure is an estimate published both by INE and the Municipality of Maputo. The results of the 2007 Census were not available at the time of writing.

Data from INE reveal an apparent paradox between superior conditions in Maputo in terms of employment, income, education and health on the one hand, and a high consumption-based poverty headcount and subsequent poor nutritional indicators on the other. One possible explanation is the actual insecurity and instability in formal as well as informal employment and income, which affects peoples' options for strategic planning and expenditure. A second is increasing *de facto* costs for basic necessities such as land, housing, water, electricity and transportation, which have forced people to spend less of their income on food. A third possible explanation, which cannot be properly tested within the confines of the current study, is the high poverty rates in the neighbouring provinces, which may have led to increased migration to Maputo by the rural poor and a reduction in access to rural foodstuffs for the urban poor.

The study focuses on the household as a decision-making unit and takes the key determinants of poverty defined in the National Household Survey as its point of departure. For Mozambique as a whole these have been defined as i) high levels of dependency within the family household; ii) a low level of education within the family household; iii) low diversification of sources of employment and income within the family household; iv) low returns from agriculture and industry compared with trade and services; and v) sex of household head. Reassessing definitions of the household and household headship, we find that households are larger, the dependency rate higher and the proportion of female-headed households greater in Maputo than INE data indicate. The high proportion of female-headed households has been seen as a sign of feminisation of poverty.

In a context where employment and income are vital, the poorest households depend on establishing external relationships to survive. By contextualising people's lives and focussing on their social relationships, we find that the socio-cultural configuration of individual bairros as communities and the commodification of social relations and networks are additional determinants of poverty and well-being in Maputo. People in all four bairros define unemployment as the most important reason for their own poverty and vulnerability, and realise that better income would improve their access to key commodities and services. The most dense and tense communities in the most centrally located bairros also find the urban environment as such insecure, unstable and violent, inhibiting their access to urban networks and commodities.

The type and nature of the social networks people use in their daily struggle for survival depend on their economic position and gender. People in urban bairros potentially have extensive networks such as the immediate family, neighbours, friends, associations, the church, workmates and rural relations. People also potentially have extensive relations with the state and government agencies in health, education and for security. However, in a commoditised urban context, where money is an integral part of most relationships, the very poorest households are more likely to be marginalised and excluded: they lack the "entrance fee" to key relations of provisioning and social security, and people simply cannot afford to have outstanding claims in what are considered reciprocal relationships.

Women and female-headed households tend to be poorer than male-headed households in material terms, and are still constrained in their actions and relationships by a patrilineal kinship system, a predominantly male-focussed socio-cultural setting and the continued practice of dowry (*lobolo*), which tends to bind women and children to the husband's extended family. The high proportion of *de facto* female-headed households in the bairros is the outcome of urbanism and poverty, as well as an increasingly common practice of "living-together" relationships which are less committing than formal marriages. There are indications that at least some women and female-headed households compensate for their inferior position and poverty by entering close female-focussed social networks, a trend seen also in other poor urban contexts in Southern Africa.

People in the four bairros have clear perceptions of different levels of poverty and well-being, with the very poorest being closely associated with social marginalisation and exclusion. The *xiculungo*, as the poorest of the five categories of poor people, are characterised by a combination of material poverty, social isolation and female-headedness, being considered destitute and with few if any options for upward social mobility. The *xigogo*, as the best-off of the three categories of the well-off, have become rich "by their own force" and expose their status both materially and through their behaviour. The very poorest are marginalised or excluded not only from town-based social relations such as neighbours, friends, associations and workmates but also from their extended family, either because they themselves cannot afford to maintain contact or because the family simply cannot afford to support their poorest members.

Thus the very poorest and most marginalised households and individuals are trapped in their poverty and destitution: they lack the necessary material basis and social relationships for improving their situation, and their condition seems to form the basis of what might be seen as subcultures of destitution. In other words, material poverty has consequences of its own in the sense that it narrows the room for constructive social relationships and channels people's relationships and cultural perceptions in ways that tend to impoverish and marginalise them further.

Our recommendations (see Chapter 6 for more details) include the following:

- More attention should be given to the issue of urbanisation and urban poverty
- The administrative capacity and revenue basis of the Municipality should be improved
- The relationship between administrative organs of the state and the party should be clarified
- Informal tenure arrangements in the bairros should be formalised and legalised
- Adapted credit facilities should be made available for housing construction
- Formal employment creation should be encouraged by removing existing constraints
- Informal economic activities should be legalised and conditions improved
- Urban-rural exchanges should be encouraged through improved terms of local trade
- Targeted interventions and social protection should be pursued for the very poorest

1.3 Methodology

The basic premise in our methodological approach is the importance of combining quantitative and qualitative poverty analysis. While there are inherent problems and weaknesses in the use of statistical data and regressions as the sole instrument for poverty analysis (see e.g. Little 1995; Tadcliffe and Lloyd-Jones 2002), their main advantages have been summarised as follows (Kanbur 2001):

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

The utilities of employing participatory and qualitative methodologies have been summarised as follows (Kanbur and Schaffer 2007): "Improve household survey design; interpret counterintuitive or surprising findings from household surveys; explain the reason behind observed outcome; probe motivations underlying observed behaviour; suggest the direction of causality; assess the validity of quantitative results; better understand conceptual categories such as labour, the household etc.; facilitate analysis of locally meaningful categories of social differentiation; [and] provide a dynamic dimension to one-off household survey data".

We use available quantitative statistical data to identify trends and variations between urban and rural areas, as well as between urban areas in general and the city of Maputo in particular (INE 1997 and 2004; MdS 2005; World Bank 2007). In addition, we have carried out a limited survey of 120 households in the four bairros under study, with the goal of collecting data on key variables related to socio-economic conditions and social relations of poverty (see Annex 2). Although not representative in any scientific sense, the survey gives an indication of the extent to which the areas under study are representative of socio-economic conditions in the city at large. In addition, it helps to establish patterns and regularities against which the qualitative information can be measured.

Enumeration areas in the four bairros were selected in cooperation with local bairro authorities to attain maximum representativeness, in most cases in the form of three to four *quarteirões* (quarters) consisting of 50-100 households. Households within each *quarteirão* were selected through random sampling, with the enumerators interviewing households with regular intervals within their area of responsibility. Most interviews took between one and one and a half hours, and in some cases households were revisited to check and replenish information. All the households are identified by bairro, *quarteirão* and (where relevant) house number, as well as by the name of the household head. This makes it possible to locate the same households (i.e. as "panel data") after a period of three years to ascertain changes in poverty and well-being. The questionnaire builds on the survey used in the study on rural poverty in Nampula (Tvedten, Paulo and Rosário 2006), which will make it possible to compare and contrast social relations of poverty in rural and urban settings.

Looking more closely at the participatory and qualitative part of the analysis, heavily populated and heterogeneous urban areas present particular challenges to anthropological research. Nevertheless, urban anthropology has a long history in Southern Africa, dating back to the Copperbelt studies in Zambia (see e.g. Epstein 1958; Mitchell 1969) and the East London studies in South Africa (see e.g. Mayer 1963). Max Gluckman (1961) argued that the density of settlement, heterogeneity, demographic disproportion and economic differentiation are all central aspects of Southern Africa urbanism. Other central topics in the early anthropological studies in Southern Africa were the extent to which migrants to urban areas became "permanently urbanised" and lost their "rural identity", and to what extent social relations were maintained between urban dwellers and their rural relatives and friends. Such topics, and the related issue of the relative importance of "tradition" and "modernity" as points of reference for people's coping strategies, have continued to dominate the urban anthropology of the region (Hansen 1997; Ferguson 1999; Bank 2002; Englund 2002).

The most important and controversial anthropological study of urban poverty – a condition that was largely disregarded by the anthropologists mentioned above – was Oscar Lewis' (1966) idea of a "culture of poverty". A culture of poverty, he argued, is an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to a marginal position in class-stratified, highly individuated urban settings – at the level of individuals in the form of a feeling of marginality, helplessness, dependence and inferiority; at the level of the family as social disintegration and competition for limited goods; at the level of communities as a minimal organisation beyond the level of nuclear and extended family; and finally at the level of society as a lack of effective participation and integration by the poor in major institutions in the dominant social order.

We will consider most of these issues as we move along, albeit within the limitations set by the short-term applied research done for this report. Ideally, anthropological methods are based on long-term fieldwork and participant observation (or "deep hanging out" as some prefer to call it). We have substituted this with a combination of literature reviews on the political economy of Maputo;³

³ The literature consulted is listed in Annex 5. We mention in particular a number of good and interesting theses written by students at the departments of anthropology, sociology and geography at the University of Eduardo Mondlane,

interviews with key stakeholders in government, the municipality and the communities; the adapted survey focussing on social relationships; and three weeks of intensive fieldwork using participatory methodologies. The methodologies were carried out with selected groups of community leaders, elders and/or youngsters, men and/or women, poor and/or non-poor or other relevant constellations and usually took 2-3 hours to carry out. The discussions themselves were as important as the final output in the form of maps, agreed lists of priorities, conceptual definitions etc. The methods used were:

Histograms – where the objective is to ascertain the history of the area under study, with an emphasis on events and processes that have been particularly important for the configuration of community and conditions of poverty and well-being.

Community mapping – where the objective is to map the people and institutions considered most important for relating to conditions of poverty and well-being.

Force-field analysis – where the objective is to capture perceptions of what conditions (political, economic, social) may inhibit or accelerate change and development in the community.

Wealth ranking – where the objective is to capture the community's own perception of poverty and well-being, and identify different categories of the poor and better-off.

Venn diagrams – where the objective is to identify social relations and networks used by the different categories of the poor and better-off (ascertained through the wealth-ranking exercise) as part of their coping strategies.

1.4 Report Outline

In Chapter 2, we present quantitative expressions of urbanisation and urban poverty as points of reference for the following qualitative analysis. We start by positioning Mozambique in a Southern African context, and then continue by comparing and contrasting urban poverty in Maputo with national figures on rural and overall urban poverty respectively.

Chapter 3 provides background information on the city of Maputo in general and the four bairros under study in particular, based on the assumption that the political, economic and socio-cultural context is important for understanding social relations and perceptions of poverty.

Chapter 4 is one of the two main chapters of the report. Built around the survey done for this study, it outlines socio-economic conditions and determinants of poverty in the four bairros under study with a focus on employment and income, infrastructure, education, health and urban-rural relationships.

Chapter 5 focuses on social relations and cultural perceptions of poverty, and processes of impoverishment, marginalisation and social exclusion. Its point of departure is people's own perceptions of poverty and their relationships within the household and with the extended family, community institutions, organs of the state and rural areas through urban-rural links.

Chapter 6 concludes the study, draws some preliminary policy implications and makes a brief preliminary comparative analysis of social relations of poverty in rural Nampula and urban Maputo.

including Bilate (2006); Chaúque (2004); Cintura (2003); Cossa (2004); Mbie (2004); Matos (2005) and Ndhimandhi (2005).

2. Quantitative Expressions of Urban Poverty

UN-Habitat has estimated that 2007 is the first year that the majority of the world's population will live in cities and towns (UN-Habitat 2006), and growing attention has recently been paid to the issues of urbanisation and urban poverty. Africa is the world's least urbanised continent with 38.3 percent, yet has the fastest growing urban population at approximately three percent annually, giving an estimated urban population of 47.9 percent by 2025 (United Nations 2007). Southern Africa is the most urbanised region in sub-Saharan Africa with the urban population ranging from close to 59 percent in South Africa to 17 percent in Malawi (see Table 1).

Table 1. *Urbanisation and urban growth in Southern Africa (in percent)*

Country	Urban Population 2005	Est. Urban Population 2025
Angola	53.5	65.5
Botswana	57.4	70.3
Lesotho	18.7	27.8
Malawi	17.2	28.4
Mozambique	34.5	50.0
Namibia	35.1	48.0
South Africa	59.3	69.0
Swaziland	24.1	33.6
Zambia	35.0	41.5
Zimbabwe	35.9	47.2

Source: United Nations 2007

Urbanisation in Africa has long been associated with economic growth and development and a recent study on urban development argues that the growth derives overwhelmingly from the urban-based industrial and service sectors, which accounted for an average of 80 percent of GDP growth on the sub-continent between 1990 and 2003 (Kessides 2006). Moreover, advances in governance and democracy are also often seen to have an urban base through a concentration of political power, municipal elections and political activism. At the same time, there has been increasing awareness that urban growth also poses serious challenges to development in terms of poverty, inequality and environmental degradation. Summing up recent reports on urbanisation in Africa (Kamete et al. 2001; UN-Habitat 2003; Kessides 2006), the main characteristics of African cities and towns are:

- There is an unequivocal correlation between urbanisation and economic development and growth.
- Urban areas play a significant role in the democratisation process, through political mobilisation as well as local government.
- There is a close link between urban and rural development, both in macroeconomic terms and through migration and urban-rural links.
- The environmental problems facing developing countries are increasingly associated with cities and urban centres.
- The proportion of women in migration flows to cities is increasing and the urbanisation process impacts significantly on the status and role of women.

- Poverty is increasingly an attribute of urbanisation, and urban poverty exhibits specific features which need to be better understood.

Largely due to a widespread perception among national governments and donors alike that urban areas have been favoured in the allocation of resources (the so-called “urban bias” thesis), urban areas have until recently received less explicit attention than rural areas in terms of national development priorities and development aid. Moreover, national governments as well as international donors have tried to halt the growing urbanisation by focussing on the development of rural areas and thereby discourage migration to cities and towns. But urban migration has not slowed down and has taken hundreds of thousands of men, women and children to cities and towns, ostensibly in search of a better life. The large majority of these people end up in poverty-stricken shantytowns or slum areas, currently believed to represent 72 percent of Africa’s urban population (UN-Habitat 2003; United Nations 2007).

2.1 Urban Poverty in Mozambique

Mozambique has also seen a general development towards increased urbanisation, even though there is controversy over its real level and direction. Measured at 20 percent in the 1997 Census, the urban ratio was set at 32 percent in the National Household Survey of 2002/03. However, the definition of “urban” was changed between the two surveys – from the ten regional capitals plus Maputo in 1997 to a total of 34 cities and 68 small towns or *vilas* in 2003 (World Bank 2007) – which effectively boosted the urban population by 50 percent, albeit at the same time bringing the definition closer to international standards (Fox et al. 2005; United Nations 2007). Recoding the sites consistently across the two surveys and adjusting weighing factors, INE is currently operating with an urbanisation ratio of 29.8 percent (INE 2004; see also World Bank 2007). Postulating an estimated annual urban growth rate of 2.77 percent (which is the average rate for Maputo in the period 1997-2007 based on the 1997 Census and the Municipality’s estimated population of 1.3 million in 2007), the ten largest cities and towns in Mozambique appear in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Mozambique’s largest cities and towns

City/Town	Population 1997	Estimated Population 2007
Maputo	989,386	1,300,000
Matola	440,927	579,469
Beira	412,588	542,226
Nampula	314,965	413,929
Chimoio	177,668	233,492
Nacala	164,309	215,936
Quelimane	153,187	201,319
Mocuba	127,200	167,167
Tete	104,832	137,771
Xai-Xai	103,251	135,693

Source: INE 2004

There is also uncertainty and controversy over the most likely scenario for urban population growth in Mozambique in the years to come. Increased urbanisation is usually the combined outcome of natural increase, the reclassification of rural and urban areas and migration, but data in Mozambique give a poor basis for assessing their relative weight. With the limited attention given to the process

of urbanisation in the country, we rely on data from the United Nations (2007). With an estimated urban population of 34.5 percent in 2005 as a point of departure, the UN projects that the annual growth rate in Mozambique will average about 3.5 percent from 2005 to 2025 (see Table 3). This would give an urban population of 13.8 million or 50.0 percent of the total population by 2025 (see Table 4).

Table 3. *Projected urban and rural growth rates in Mozambique 2000-2025 (in percent)*

AREA	2000-2005	2005-2010	2010-2015	2015-2020	2020-2025
Rural est. growth	0.87	0.53	0.36	0.23	0.09
Urban est. growth	4.33	3.92	3.63	3.38	3.12

Table 4. *UN urban population ratios and projections, Mozambique (No / Percent)*

Year	Total Population	Urban Population	Urban Pop.
2000	17,919	5,499	30.7
2005	19,792	6,828	34.5
2010	21,620	8,307	38.4
2015	23,513	9,959	42.4
2020	25,508	11,794	46.2
2025	27,556	13,783	50.0

Source: United Nations 2007

Politically, cities and towns in Mozambique are governed by elected municipal assemblies, a mayor and municipal councils, and have – according to the Municipal Legislation Package (*Pacote Autárquico*) of 1997 and the Local Government Act (*LOLE*) of 2005 – considerable political and financial autonomy. They are currently formally responsible for land use, housing and construction licensing, basic water and sanitation services, urban roads, solid waste management, the environment and municipal security, but there are also plans for expanding their responsibilities to primary schools and primary health care as formalised in Parliamentary Decree 33/2006 (Alberta and Mahiquene 2007).

However, in reality the municipalities' room for manoeuvre and options for fulfilling their responsibilities are constrained by limited administrative capacity and inadequate economic resources. Municipalities in Mozambique spend an average of only five USD per capita (of which about half is from their own revenue), compared with 15 USD per capita on average in sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank 2006). They consequently depend on transfers from central and provincial government, which amounted to MT 463 million or 0.7 percent of the government budget in 2007. Of this transfer, roughly 60 percent is for current expenditure and 40 percent for investment. The 33 municipalities in Mozambique are home to one quarter of the total population, and the transfers made are smaller in per capita terms than what is allocated to districts as administrative units (Alberta and Mahiquene 2007).

The political legitimacy of the municipalities is negatively affected by their inadequate service delivery. This is mirrored in a low turnout in the two municipal elections that have been held in the country so far. In 1998, when the election was boycotted by Renamo, the turnout was 15 percent and in 2003 it was 24 percent (EISA 2007). Nevertheless, municipal elections are currently the only arena with a real contest for political power and influence in Mozambique. All of the country's

largest cities and towns are currently governed by Frelimo with the exception of Beira, which has a Renamo majority, albeit with close races in major cities such as Nampula, Chimoio and Quelimane. Other Renamo-controlled municipalities are Angoche, Nacala and Ilha de Mozambique. The distribution of seats in the municipal assemblies in Mozambique's largest cities and towns appears in Table 5. New municipal elections are to be held in 2008.

Table 5. *Distribution of seats in municipal assemblies*

Municipality	FRELIMO	RENAMO	Others
Maputo	48	8	5
Matola	41	5	-
Beira	19	25	1
Nampula	24	19	1
Chimoio	24	15	-
Nacala	23	15	1
Quelimane	21	18	-
Mocuba	16	5	-
Tete	23	8	-
Xai-Xai	30	1	-

Source: EISA (2007)

Looking briefly at the socio-economic characteristics of urban areas in Mozambique (see Table 6), the rural poverty rate decreased from 71 to 55 percent between 1996/97 and 2002/03 while the urban poverty rate showed a smaller decrease from 62 to 51 percent in the same period. The poverty depth (poverty gap) and severity (squared poverty gap) reveal a largely similar situation in urban and rural areas. While the per capita monthly income is higher in urban than in rural areas, so is the expenditure, which in cities and towns exceeds earnings. At the same time, urban areas show more positive characteristics than rural areas in terms of levels of education and health, raising the key issue of what structural constraints make it difficult to transform superior social conditions in education and health into the employment, income and consumption necessary to escape poverty in urban areas.

Table 6. *Basic social indicators, rural and urban Mozambique*

Item	National	Rural	Urban
Poverty			
Poverty headcount (%)	54.1	55.2	51.6
Poverty gap (%)	19.9	20.4	18.9
Squared poverty gap (%)	9.9	10.3	9.0
Income and consumption			
Per capita monthly income (MT 000)	324	246	490
Per capita monthly expenditure (MT 000)	324	231	523
Education			
Illiteracy rate (%)	53.6	65.7	30.3
Primary school or higher (%)	27.9	14.6	53.2
Health			
Life expectancy (years)	47.1	45.7	50.8
Under five mortality (per 1,000)	178	192	143

Sources: INE (2004); World Bank (2007)

2.2 Poverty in Maputo

Looking more specifically at existing quantitative expressions of poverty and inequality in Maputo, the capital city has not only seen an increase in the poverty headcount from 47.3 to 53.2 percent but also increasing inequality (INE 2004). As appears from Table 7, a growing share of the Maputo population finds itself in the two lower quintiles across nationwide quintiles, rising from 18.2 percent in 1996/97 to 41.3 in 2002/03 (Fox et al. 2005). The inequality is further underlined by the consumption by quintile in Maputo, which in sharp contrast to the rest of the country saw a decrease in the three lowest quintiles and a substantial increase of 23.8 percent in the highest quintile (Table 8).

Table 7. *Changes in the distribution of population across quintiles (Maputo City)(in percent)*

Quintile	1 ST	2 ND	3 RD	4 TH	5 TH	Total
1996/97	7.5	10.7	19.1	23.5	39.3	100.0
2002/03	19.8	21.5	17.2	13.9	27.6	100.0
All	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	100.0

Source: Fox et al. 2005.

Table 8. *Growth of consumption by quintile between 1996/97 and 2002/03 (in percent)*

Quintile	1 ST	2 ND	3 RD	4 TH	5 TH	Total
All	23.4	25.6	27.8	28.1	36.1	30.9
Rural	21.6	30.0	31.1	31.1	30.1	27.5
Urban	27.0	11.2	14.8	16.5	28.2	24.4
Maputo	- 13.3	- 13.8	- 9.6	1.3	23.8	8.7

Source: Fox et al. 2005.

The negative development in terms of the poverty headcount seems to be related to a combination of changes in access to employment and income, and the costs for basic goods and services including food, housing and transportation (DNPO 2004; see also World Bank 2007). The Maputo consumption basket, on which the consumption based poverty line is based, captures expenses such as food, housing, water, electricity, education, health – but may have underestimated “hidden” expenditures for urban services, transportation and alcohol consumption which is a considerable expense for many households (pers.comm. Channing Arndt).⁴ The increased poverty headcount may also be related to population movements: Conventional wisdom has it that it is the poorest rural dwellers who are leaving for towns to seek better lives (UN-Habitat 2003 and 2007), but available information is inadequate to assess the relevance of this in the case of Maputo.

Looking more specifically at the socio-economic determinants of poverty defined by INE and MPD/DNPO (see Chapter 1), households in Maputo show a number of special characteristics. As seen from Table 8, they tend to be larger and the dependency rate smaller than in the rest of Mozambique. This implies a high number of ostensibly economically active household members. At the same time, however, INE data show that only 54 percent of persons over 15 years are involved in economic activities in Maputo as against a national average of 90 percent (INE 2004),

⁴ For an interesting discussion of the construction of poverty lines in Mozambique, see World Bank (2007).

indicating that the *de facto* dependency ratio may be considerably higher. The poorest households have more members and a higher formal dependency ratio (i.e. members under 15 and over 64 years of age) than the better-off.

Table 8. Average household size and dependency ratio (No / Percent)

	Household Size	Dependency Ratio
National	4.8	99.0
Rural	4.7	107.2
Urban	5.2	83.7
Maputo City	6.3	64.1
Richest quintile	5.2	51.8
Poorest quintile	8.4	77.2

Source: INE 2004 / MPD-DNPO calculations.

INE data further show that the proportion of female-headed households of approximately 27 percent is about the same in rural and urban areas, including Maputo. This is contrary to the situation in most other countries in Southern Africa, where the proportion is higher in urban areas (World Bank 2006). Our survey, using a *de facto* rather than a *de jure* definition, shows that 38 percent of the households in the four bairros in Maputo are female-headed (see Chapter 4). The proportion of female-headed households is relevant for the issue of poverty, as the bottom quintile in Mozambique saw the highest increase in female-headed households between 1996/97 and 2002/03, indicating a feminisation of poverty (Fox et al. 2005).

Table 9. Proportion of female-headed households (in percent)

	INE
National	27.3
Rural	26.9
Urban	27.7
Maputo City	27.8
Richest quintile	23.4
Poorest quintile	27.2

Source: INE 2004 / MPD-DNPO calculations.

INE data also reveal that there is a basic distinction between formal and informal employment in terms of income and social security – even though we shall show that this is also more arbitrary than the data imply. Among the people who are economically active, the proportion of people in formal employment is much higher in Maputo than in the rest of the country (see Table 10). Also, a considerably larger proportion of better-off households in Maputo are involved in the formal sector than among the poorest..

Table 10: *Types of employment among the economically active population (in percent)*⁵

	Formal Employment	Informal Employment	Other *
National	8.8	91.1	0.1
Rural	3.2	96.7	0.1
Urban	23.5	76.4	0.1
Maputo City	35.6	64.4	0.0
Richest quintile	50.5	49.5	0.0
Poorest quintile	15.4	84.6	0.0

Source: INE 2004/MPD-DNPO calculations.

Data from INE (2004) further reveal that 59.8 percent of the economically active population in Maputo receive remuneration in cash or kind, as against a national average of 11.5 percent; and only 6.6 percent of the economically active population in Maputo receive no remuneration at all as against a national average of 36 percent. Finally, the data show that only 7.5 percent of the population in Maputo have agriculture as their main economic activity (and hence direct access to food), which is well below the rural average of 90.5 percent as well as the urban average of 47.8 percent. All this points towards the widespread importance of employment and income for the population in Maputo, which we will argue has significant implications for the nature of people's coping strategies in the four bairros under study.

The challenges for poor households in Maputo of making ends meet is revealed by their income and expenditure pattern (Table 11). According to the National Household Survey (INE 2004), the per capita monthly income is considerably higher in Maputo at 828,000 MT than both the urban average of 490,000 MT and the rural average of 246,000 MT. However, as seen from the table the average hides considerable inequality in Maputo with the best-off quintile having a monthly per capita expenditure of 2932 MT and the poorest quintile having a monthly expenditure of 237 MT.

Table 11. *Per capita monthly income and expenditure (Old MT 000)*

	Income	Expenditure
National	335	334
Rural	253	235
Urban	505	543
Maputo City	853	1000
Richest quintile	n.a	237
Poorest quintile	n.a	2932

Source: INE 2004/MPD-DNPO calculations.

At the same time, the expenditure pattern in Maputo reveals a situation where people spend a large part of their income on non-food items (Table 12). The expenditures on housing and transportation are particularly high compared to both other urban and rural areas. Conventional wisdom has it that increased expenditure on non-food items is a sign of increased welfare, but we will argue that the poorest have no choice but to lower their food consumption as other key items become more

⁵ We have simplified data from the IAF report (2004) by defining the categories "public sector" and "private sector" employment as *formal employment* and "self-employment", "family employment" and "patrão" employment relationships as *informal employment*.

expensive. A brick house is considered essential for security of tenure, safety and for fulfilling socio-cultural expectations of city life, but many households, having been or being in the (often prolonged) process of constructing a house, are still poor as they forfeit other types of essential consumption, including food.

Transportation costs are also exceptionally high for households in Maputo: data on actual expenditures from INE [2004] show that the average household in Maputo spend 103,000 MT on transportation, as against a national average of 23,000 MT. The transportation costs are necessary to go to work for people in the peri-urban bairros and take a heavy toll on the household economy. High transportation costs also limit people's flexibility in looking for employment, seeking the best opportunities in the informal sector, attending the most relevant schools and going to the most relevant health institutions.

Table 12. *Per capita expenditures on selected items (in percent)*

	Food	Housing	Transport	Furniture	Other *
National	59.3	21.3	2.5	6.9	10.0
Rural	65.5	18.1	1.9	5.9	8.6
Urban	46.1	28.1	3.8	9.0	13.0
Maputo City	30.6	39.1	6.7	10.3	13.2
Richest quintile	16.3	42.7	7.9	13.8	19.3
Poorest quintile	42.7	34.8	4.9	8.9	8.9

Source: INE 2004 / MPD-DNPO calculations.

All these socio-economic indicators pointing in the direction of poverty and hardship in Maputo's poor informal settlements stand in apparent contrast to indicators for health and education. People in Maputo have better access to health faculties, with e.g. 34 percent consulting hospitals when sick as against a national average of 17 percent (INE 2004). And figures on under-five mortality, stunting and wasting are all better for Maputo than for the rest of the country (Figure 13). The main exceptions are HIV-AIDS where the proportion affected in Maputo is 20.7 percent as against a national average of 16.2 percent (MdS 2005), and recent data on child malnutrition among poor households show a negative trend (UNICEF 2005; World Bank 2007).

Table 13: *Selected health indicators (in percent)*

	Under 5 Mortality	Stunting (under 5)	Wasting (under 5)	Hiv/Aids Prevalence	Total Fertility Rate
National	17.8	41.0	4.0	16.2	5.5
Rural	19.2	45.7	4.3	-	6.1
Urban	14.3	29.2	3.1	-	4.4
Maputo City	8.9	20.6	0.8	20.7	3.2
Richest quintile ⁶	10.8	20.0	2.5	n.a.	3.8
Poorest quintile	19.6	49.3	5.6	n.a.	6.3

Sources: MdS 2005; Fox et al. 2005.

⁶ National quintiles, as no information has been accessible on quintiles in Maputo.

As regards education and literacy, Maputo has a higher school completion rate than rural and other urban areas, even though there are also here significant differences between the poorest and the best off (see Table 14). While only 30 percent in the highest quintile have not completed school, the equivalent figure for the poorest quintile is 61 percent.

Table 14: *Distribution of completed school level (in percent)*

	None	Primary 1st grade	Primary 2nd grade	Higher
National	61,8	21,5	10,9	5,8
Rural	81,1	14,4	3,5	0,9
Urban	48,4	26,4	16,1	9,2
Maputo City	40,3	27,9	17,7	14,1
Richest quintile	29,6	23,5	20,6	26,3
Poorest quintile	61,1	28,8	8,0	2,1

Source: INE 2004

One additional worrying indicator is the repetition rate in primary school, which is considerably higher in Maputo (with e.g. 30 percent in the third grade as against a national average of 14 percent) than elsewhere in the country (INE 2004), indicating that for some households schools may be a place for their children to be rather than a place to learn. Maputo is also the only area where the illiteracy rate has increased between 1996/97 and 2002/03, and there is a considerable difference in illiteracy between the highest quintile at 15.2 percent and the lowest quintile at 39.9 percent (INE 2004).

In sum, the figures above give a useful picture of the mapping and profile of poverty and well-being in urban areas in Mozambique in general and in Maputo in particular. They show that the increasing urbanisation in the country is accompanied by an emerging urbanisation of poverty: the reduction in the poverty rate has been smaller in urban than in rural areas and poverty is increasing in the country's main city, Maputo. The poverty headcount is currently near equal in rural and urban areas, and higher in Maputo than the national average. At the same time, the figures reveal a generally high but unequal access to employment opportunities, physical infrastructure, housing, education and health. In essence, this means that a large part of the population in Maputo are not in a position to exploit the opportunities in the urban environment to improve their situation and feed their families. In the remaining parts of this report, we will relate to all this by taking a closer look at the dynamics of poverty in Maputo – by focussing on the political and economic context and the perceptions and social relations of poverty among households and individuals in the four bairros Mafalala, Inhagoie, Laulane and Khongolote.

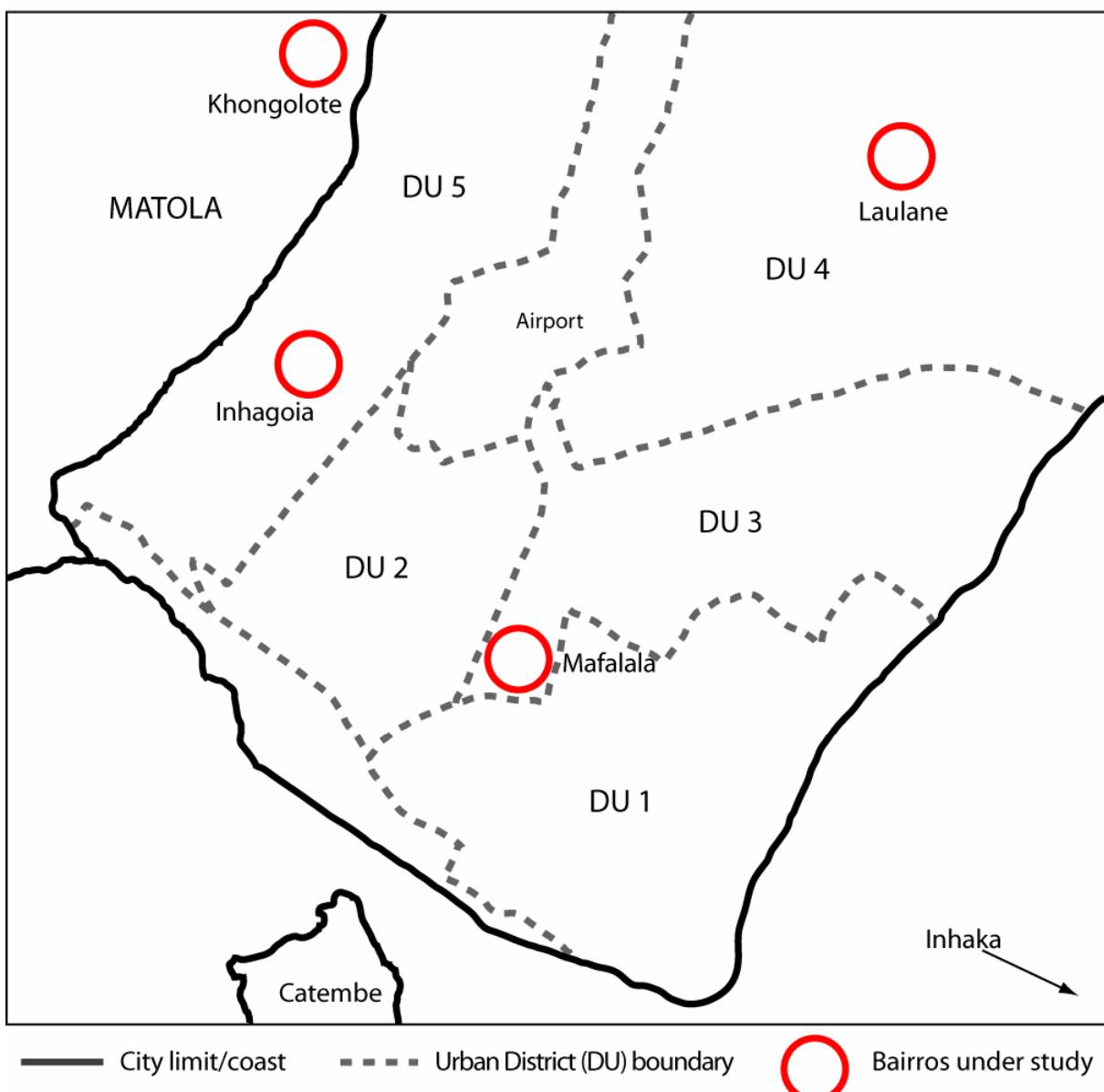
3. Background to the Study Area

The city of Maputo is located in the southern end of Mozambique (see Map 1), and has a special status as a separate municipal entity. It borders the Province of Maputo and its provincial capital Matola, which was separated from the city of Maputo in 1987 but effectively forms part of "Greater Maputo". The climate is sub-tropical with a rainy season from November to March, even though the seasons seem to be less clear-cut these days. Maputo boasts an international airport, railway and harbour, and is connected with South Africa and Swaziland via national roads with the border only about an hour away. Driving through the rest of the country to the north may take up to six days, epitomising the awkward position of Maputo as a national capital. Maputo is divided into seven urban districts ("Distrítos Urbanos"), including the primarily rural Catembe (about ten minutes by boat from the city) and the Island of Inhaka (about one hour by boat from the city). There is a total of 49 bairros in the five urban districts, and the three bairros under study in Maputo are located in Urban Districts 3, 4 and 5 respectively (see Map 2). Maputo covers an area of 466 km² and the total population is estimated to be 1.3 million in 2007, giving a population density of 2790 per km² (INE 2007). As seen from Figure 1, the population as well as the population density varies between the five different urban districts. Most of the formal "cement city" is located in Urban Districts 1 and 2, while the other districts contain a mixture of semi-formal bairros and informal bairros bearing the characteristics of informal settlements, shantytowns or slums.

Matola is the second largest city in Mozambique with a population of 600,000 (Município de Matola 2007). It is organised into the three administrative posts Matola Sede, Machava and Infulene and a total of 41 bairros (see Map 3). Matola Sede is adjacent to the national roads towards South Africa and Swaziland and contains the administrative centre; the northern parts Machava and Infulene are rural in their characteristics; and the bairros in the south-eastern parts of the municipality bordering the city of Maputo (such as Accordos de Lusaka, T.3 and Zona Verde) are among the most urbanised and congested in greater Maputo. Khongolote, which was chosen as the fourth bairro in this study, was originally rural in its character but has been rapidly urbanising since the floods in 2000, first with relocated flood victims from other parts of Matola and later with people from the city of Maputo who are leaving what they perceive as congested, expensive and violent bairros in the central parts of the city of Maputo. As such, Khongolote is representative of what seem to be an important internal movement from the Maputo city centre to the periphery of Maputo and Maputo Province, with considerable implications for the socio-economic fabric of greater Maputo.⁷ In the following pages, the main focus will be on the city of Maputo.

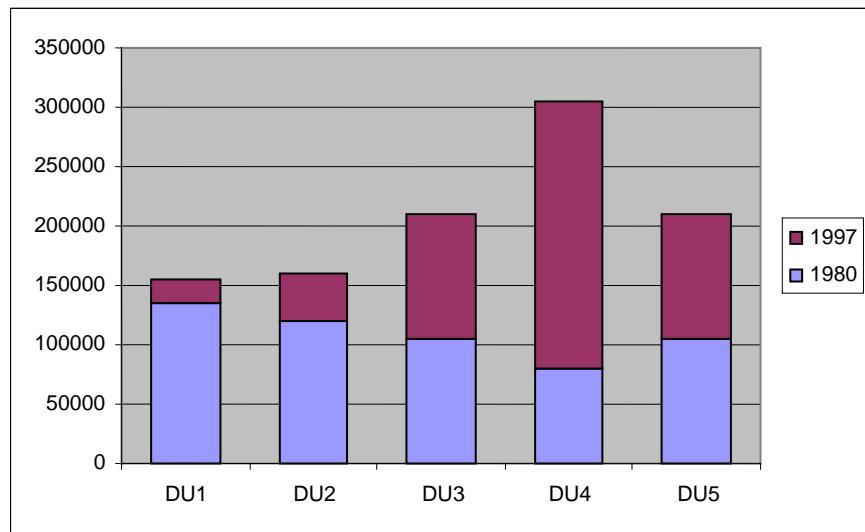
⁷ Very preliminary data from the 2007 National Census seem to confirm this by showing that the City of Maputo has grown by 11.3 percent and the Province of Maputo by as much as 51.6 percent between 1997 and 2007.

THE CITY OF MAPUTO



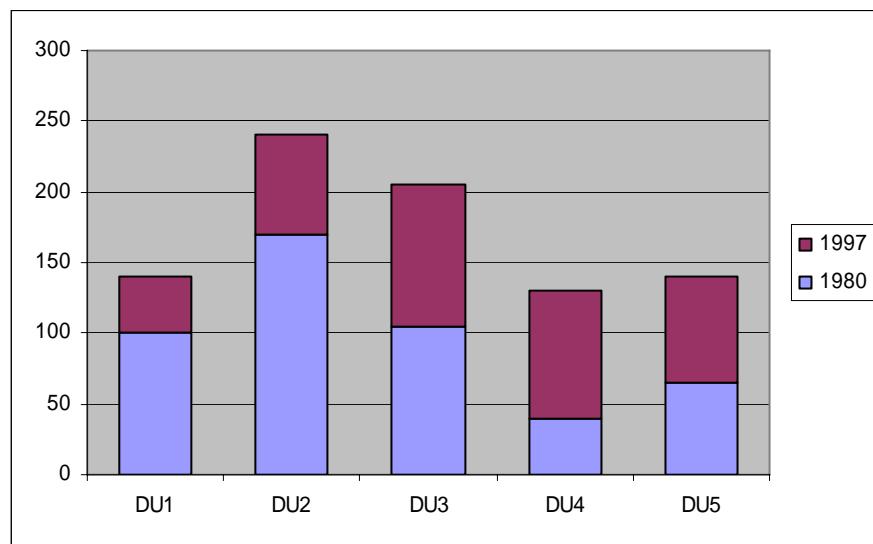
Distrito Urbano No.1	Distrito Urbano No.2	Distrito Urbano No.3	Distrito Urbano No.4	Distrito Urbano No.5
Central A	Aeroporto A	Mafalala	Mavalane A	Magoanine
Central B	Aeroporto B	Maxaquene A	Mavalane B	Zimpeto
Central C	Xipamanine	Maxaquene B	FPLM	Benfica
Alto Maé A	Micandjuine	Maxaquene C	Hulene A	George Dimitrov
Malhangalane A	Unidade 7	Maxaquene D	Hulene B	Luís Cabral
Malhangalane B	Chamancula A	Polana Caniço A	Ferroviário	Malhazine
Coop	Chamancula B	Polana Caniç B	Laulane	Nsalene
Polana Cimento A	Chamancula C	Urbanização	3 Fevereiro	Bagamoyo
Polana Cimento B	Chamancula D		Mahotas	Inhagoie
Sommerschield	Malanga		Albazine	
	Munhuana		Costa do Sol	

Figure 1: Population increase in Maputo's Urban Districts (DU) between 1980 and 1997



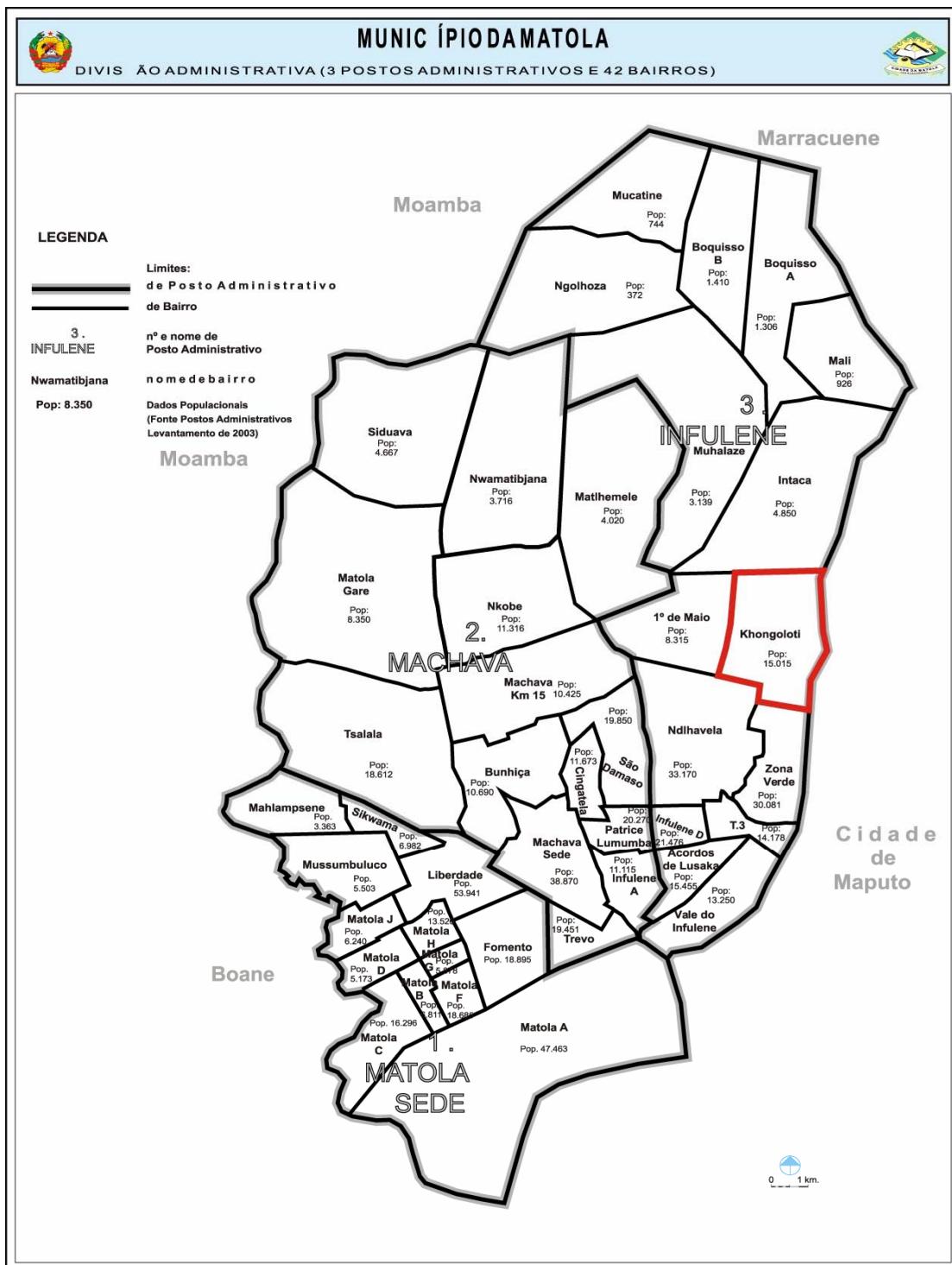
Source: Oppenheimer et al. 2001

Figure 2: Population density in Maputo's Urban Districts (DU) in 1980 and 1997



Source: Oppenheimer et al. 2001

Map 3: The City of Matola and study field site



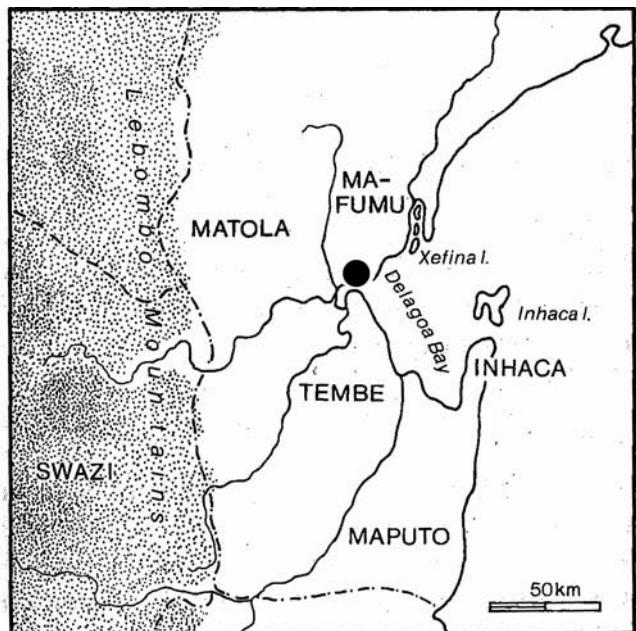
Source: CMMatola (2007)

3.1 A Brief History of Maputo

Urban life was an important characteristic of Mozambican society for centuries before the coming of the Portuguese. The main historical urban settlements were Mozambique Island, Sofala, Quelimane, Sena and Tete. These five towns, enhancing their size in the encounter with the Portuguese and their urban political culture from the 15th century onwards, provide the focus for much of the historical development of Mozambique until the late 19th century. The Island of Mozambique came to take on particular importance as the capital of the colonial state and main trading town (Newitt 1997).

Delagoa Bay (see Map 4), where present-day Maputo is located, is believed to have been inhabited from the first century AD but did not see urban development until the second half of the 1800s and was given town status only in 1876 (Jenkins 2000). The area was originally populated by patrilineal Tsonga groups organised into chieftaincies such as the Maputo and the Matola, who lived in small villages. The heartland of Tsonga culture consisted of the Bay and the fertile valleys of the rivers that led into it. The population comprised mainly cattle-holders and agriculturalists, but also hunted whales that bred in the bay and fished with ocean-going canoes. Political power was held by cattle-owning lineage heads and patriarchs, without larger political entities as in the central and northern parts of present-day Mozambique (Newitt 1997).

Map 4. Delagoa Bay



Source: Adapted from Newitt 1997

The region was not thoroughly explored by the Portuguese until the 1540s, when the trading voyages of Lourenço Marques revealed potential trade, particularly in ivory. Initially the Portuguese traded from semi-permanent encampments on Inhaca Island by sending boats to trade in the various waterways and tributaries, primarily cooperating with the Inhaca and Tembe, who developed into powerful chieftaincies on the basis of this trade. Later the Dutch East India Company and private

English traders became involved in the ivory as well as in the expanding slave trade, with the Dutch establishing an albeit short-lived permanent settlement in present-day Maputo in 1721. The Portuguese established their first permanent trading station in 1781 and started construction of a port for shipment of ivory and slaves three years later, after more than two centuries of contact.

Gold discoveries in the Transvaal in 1880 and the construction of a railway from Johannesburg to Lourenço Marques in 1895 radically transformed the town and Lourenço Marques was made the capital of the Portuguese territory in 1898. British and South African businessmen as well as Indian traders moved in and the African population in the Delagoa Bay area came to work primarily on the railway and in the harbour. The first bairro to be settled by African workers was Xipamanini in 1919, followed by Lagoa (now Maxaquene) (Ferreira 1968). At the same time an increasing number of people from southern Mozambique went as oscillating labour migrants to the mines in South Africa, their number reaching 91,000 by 1912. Both developments radically changed the socio-cultural fabric of the African communities in Maputo and its rural hinterland. Traditional authorities and lineage heads lost much of their influence as young men had alternative sources of income, leaving the decision to move to individual households. By 1930, Lourenço Marques had a population of 20,462 with an equal number of Europeans and Africans, and had become a place of "foreigners, African workers and prostitutes" (Newitt 1995).

With the establishment of the *Estado Novo* in 1930, the control of Lourenço Marques became more hands-on (Ferreira 1968). Taxes and other means to control and manage the workforce were introduced, and pass laws inhibited other than the workers themselves from settling in the town, having to leave their families behind in their rural areas of origin. Africans were legally established as an "inferior race" with the *Regime do Indigenato* separating "indígenas" from the supposedly Europeanised "assimilados". The need for labour increased with the establishment of a limited industrial sector in Lourenço Marques in the 1940s. This gave rise to a rapid growth of peri-urban settlements (then called *regedorias*) for workers. Lourenço Marques thus came to be organised into separate areas for the Europeans, the assimilados and the "indígenas" through a formal policy of segregation and by systematically giving different rights to people living in each type of zone.

Table 15: Population increase, Maputo

Year	Population
1940	74,000
1950	93,000
1960	181,000
1970	395,862
1980	755,300

Source: Jenkins 2000b

The population of Maputo increased steadily from the 1940s (see Table 15), particularly with the retreat from nationalist policies from 1965 opening the door to foreign investment. At that time, some 88 percent of land was privately owned and 75 percent of this was in the hands of 11 large landowners (Jenkins 2000). At the same time there was a *de facto* relaxation of the strict migration policies, with an increasing number of entire households and extended family members moving into the town. While the population in the formal part of town saw some increase, most of the people arriving settled in the informal settlement areas that effectively were managed by "urbanised" traditional leaders (*régulos*) (Grest 1995). In their struggle to maintain control over their colonial

territory, the Portuguese invested heavily in physical infrastructure and housing in the central city while leaving the peri-urban settlements largely untouched all the way up to independence in 1975.⁸

After independence, the renamed capital Maputo continued to grow rapidly. The population had grown to about 755,000 by 1980, despite the fact that an estimated 100,000 to 200,000 of the Portuguese residents had fled the city. The new Frelimo government largely built on the existing political structure of the town with a municipal president and an executive council (*Conselho Executivo*) headed by a political appointee, and they nationalised properties formerly owned by the Portuguese. Urban land and housing were formally made the property of the state, with a system of *de facto* transferable usufruct rights. Later, and at the higher end of the market, land and housing were sold to developers as private property, often with the involvement of the political elite and government employees. At the same time the Frelimo government tried to enhance its standing through the establishment of assemblies and "grupos dinamizadores" down to the level of individual bairros (Jenkins 2001).

However, the new government suffered from the near complete collapse of urban services and the housing stock after independence. The administration and development of Maputo became even more difficult with the new influx of people who fled the war between Frelimo and the nationalist movement Renamo in rural areas from the early 1980s, which effectively boosted the population. The Frelimo City Council initially tried to pre-empt spontaneous occupation by establishing a "Basic Urbanisation Programme" to create a belt of planned residential land around the city, but against too many administrative and financial odds. Later, it tried to regulate the influx by introducing a *guia de marcha* and the forced eviction of "unproductive" people from the city in "Operation Production" in 1984. These measures also had limited success in halting the migration to the city's informal settlement areas.

The most dramatic change in the social conditions of the population came with the structural adjustment programmes from the end of the 1980s (Abrahamson and Nilsson 1995). The combination of the retrenchment of a large number of government employees and the increasing cost of living for the urban population led to a mushrooming of the informal economy as well as an "informalisation" of the formal economy. The informal economy was estimated to involve 60 percent of the greater Maputo workforce. With the breakdown of formal employment opportunities and the dearth of urban services such as water and sanitation, living conditions in the informal settlements deteriorated further and some 70 percent of the population in greater Maputo was defined as poor in 1995 (Jenkins 2000).

In an attempt to counteract these developments and continue structural reform, the government embarked on a programme of local government reform in the mid-1990s (Oppenheimer and Raposo 2002). The objective was to promote financial and administrative decentralisation and greater autonomy of action for local government in key areas such as planning, physical infrastructure and social services. It was made effective through the Municipal Legislation Package (*Pacote Autáquico*) of 1997 and the subsequent first municipal election in 1998. In Maputo, the election gave Frelimo the majority in the City Assembly, the Mayor and control of the Municipal Council. However, only 10 percent of the electorate voted, implying limited trust in the electoral system and political representation. As we shall see in the next section, institutional and financial constraints have continued to limit the possibilities for urban development and poverty reduction in Maputo.

Within these broad political and economic developments, the different bairros have had their own particular history, as recounted to us by their community leaders and elders. In fact, the four

⁸ For a fascinating Portuguese view of the development of Maputo, see A. Rita-Ferreira 1968: "Os Africanos de Lourenço Marques". Memórias do Instituto de Investigação Científica de Moçambique, Série C, Vol. 9, 1967/68.

different bairros under study have very different histories as well as political, socio-economic and cultural dynamics. These are immediately discernable when entering the shantytowns: Mafalala, closest to the city centre, is dense and tense with narrow alleyways, a mixture of old and new buildings and with people constantly coming and going. Inhagoia, further out along National Road No. 1 to the north, gives a more tranquil first impression, but is still congested and contains a mixture of broad dirt roads and narrow tracks, old and new houses and shacks, and a large public space in its centre. Laulane, north-west of the airport is more private in its expression, with straight and broad dirt roads and houses on demarcated plots "hiding" behind hedges and fences. And finally Khongolote, located on the Matola side of national road towards the north seems to be a place of its own with a mixture of old houses and rural dwellings on agricultural land, neat rows of "match-box" houses as found in South African townships, and large and resplendent houses under construction.

In recounting their history through the histogram exercise (see Chapter 1), people from all four bairros emphasise the importance of the transition from the colonial era ("when we had work but no freedom") to independence ("when we had freedom but no work") as one put it. They also all emphasise the large implications of the war from 1983, in the cases of Mafalala, Inhagoia and Laulane because rural people came into their bairros to settle with relatives or friends or "wherever they found space", and in the case of Khongolote because people there had to flee to the inner city of Maputo for protection as "we were located right in the main track of the bandits". And they all emphasise the big changes in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when everything became much more expensive and people had to do "all kinds of work" to get by. Some also emphasised that this was the period when they started to see increasing differences between people, particularly mentioning the bairro of Alto Maé, Polana Cimento and Coop (with affluent Sommerschield apparently belonging to a different world not to be counted...).

Two other more recent incidents were also mentioned in all bairros, even though we shall see that they were differently affected by them. One was the floods in 2000, which wiped away houses, plots and streets in many parts of Maputo and Matola and left many dead. The second is the explosions in the Army Depot of Malhazine in 1987 and 2007, the latter having taken place only three months before our fieldwork and killed a number of people in two of the bairros. Both incidents are, as Leslie Bank (2001) has argued for devastating fires that take place in poor urban settlements in South Africa, apparently making "people believe in their own powerlessness and fear, [encouraging] them to be fatalistic and despondent and to view the urban environment as insecure, unstable and violent".

Looking more specifically at the history of Mafalala, the community leaders and elders taking part in the histogram exercise built their history around the following main points: "In the colonial period residents had medical cards and did not pay in the hospitals. When people committed petty crimes they were not put in prison but had to do community service. Furniture was cheap and anybody could have furniture in their house. The poor were recognised and respected. Widowers received food and clothes. 1955: Conditions were good in the bairro because of the Munhuana church, which helped the poor. 1965: Floods destroyed many houses. 1967: There was little money, but it was sufficient to feed a family. 1973: Floods destroyed houses and street lighting. 1975: The population received food rationing cards (*cartão de abastecimento*), but there was not enough food. 1977: The bairro population enjoyed itself with dances like *xigubo*, *makwaela* and *ngalanga*. 1983: There was no food, and [the government] started the evacuation campaign (*operação produção*). 1986: Refreshments were brought to the community leaders (*chefes de quarteirões*) for being observant (*vigilantes*) about what happened in the community. 2000: Floods destroyed the houses and brought a lot of mosquitoes [and illness]. 2002: The government rehabilitated three primary schools. 2005: The Municipality constructed drainage systems [to lead water away from the

houses]. 2006: The Municipality repaired and extended the main road through the bairro. Houses [had to be] destroyed. Some people received compensation. Some did not".

History, then, helps us explain Maputo and its bairros as political and geographical space, and it is also lived experiences for the bairro population that matter for their identities and social relationships in the contemporary world.

3.2 City Administration and Economy

The legislative branch in the city of Maputo is made up of an elected Municipal Assembly (*Assembleia Municipal*). The assembly has a president appointed by the majority party, which currently is Frelimo with 48 representatives out of a total of 61 (see Chapter 2). Other parties represented are Renamo with eight representatives and the citizens movement Joint Programme Committee (JPC) with five representatives. The municipality's legal and judicial branch includes municipal courts and the municipal police, both in an intermediate position between similar national and community-based institutions (see below).

The executive part of Maputo's administration is headed by an elected municipal president (*Presidente do Conselho Municipal*), who appoints 16 members (*Vereadores*) of an executive council (*Conselho do Município*). The current mayor, Mr. Eneas Comiche, received 75 percent of the votes in the last election for municipal president in 2003. The *vereadores* are divided in two groups, made up of appointed staff and elected counsellors respectively. The first group has the responsibility for specific areas of competence (i.e finance, human resources, urban planning and environment, infrastructure, economic activities, markets, health and education), while the members of the second group each head one of the seven Urban Districts (*Distritos Urbanos*), including the predominantly rural Catembe and the Island of Inhaca. Each of the urban districts has its own office, located in the district in question. The offices vary in their construction and size of staff, and are generally in poor condition and lack basic office equipment. As we shall see, moreover, they have very limited economic resources for any type of investment and seem to find themselves in a vacuum between the central municipal administration and the lower administrative levels, with the latter being in more direct contact with the population and in the "front-line" of the state.

Below the central and district municipal levels, each bairro has a (*de facto* party appointed) Bairro Secretary (*Secretário do Bairro*), normally with an assistant (*Secretário Adjunto*) and one person in support functions. None of these is currently paid by the state even though there is provision for this in the new Local Government Act; they are employed elsewhere and/or get support through contributions (*contribuições*) from the public who use their services. Each bairro is again subdivided into *quarteirões* (quarters) consisting of between 50 and 100 households. The *chefes de quarteirões* are in principle elected by the people in their area, but are often appointed by the Secretary of the bairro, who looks for people he can work with and who can relate well to the population. While the majority of these are men, there are also women in such positions. The lowest administrative level is the Head of Ten Houses (*Chefe de dez Casas*), but it seems to us that these are either not appointed or inactive in a number of bairros. At the bairro level the resources available for development intervention are very limited, and the main function of the community institutions seems to be popular mobilisation, to register people moving in and out of the bairro, to issue identity papers that people need to relate to any public office, and to collect municipal taxes.

There are unclear boundaries between the state and the Party in the bairros, as indicated by the fact that the *secretários do bairro* are always Frelimo party members. Some bairros also maintain an intermediate level of "cells" (*células*), which derives from the political history of the Frelimo party. Finally, office-bearers at all levels are used for the mobilisation of community residents in

connection with political manifestations. In fact, the office of the *Secretário do bairro* often houses a Frelimo party member, who may work there on a regular basis. It is our impression that neither the office bearers nor the party representatives (who in some cases is one and the same person) see this as a potential conflict of interest, which underlines the need for a clearer definition of roles and responsibilities to improve efficiency and accountability and reduce political favouritism or exclusion in service delivery on the basis of political affiliation.

The Municipal Assembly recently (October 2006) approved a large Municipal Development Programme, to be implemented by the City Council of Maputo over a period of ten years and funded by a USD 30 million credit from the World Bank and additional means from other donors and the Municipality itself (World Bank 2006). This may have considerable implications for the future administrative set-up of the city of Maputo. One objective is to reassess the existing political and administrative structures in order to reduce any ambiguities in their relationships. A second is to secure funding for the development of the city by improving the basis for revenue generation.⁹ It is estimated that only five percent of the total properties in the city are currently being taxed, and the Municipality lacks the tools to increase taxes and fees on land, water and electricity that are usually central income earners for municipal governments in Africa (Fjeldstad 2006).

According to the Municipal Legislation Package of 1997, Maputo is to have autonomous powers and be responsible for land use, housing and construction licensing, basic water and sanitation services, urban roads, solid waste management, the environment and municipal security. As mentioned in Chapter 2, it is also envisaged that municipalities will take over more functions as their capacities and financial base improve, including primary education and health care. Some of these services are to be provided in conjunction with state bodies. In practice, however, Maputo remains very weak in terms of both human and financial resources, which seriously hampers its ability to develop the city.¹⁰ In 2005, only 1.5 percent of the 2,500 staff in the City Council of Maputo had higher education and only seven percent had technical training. In 2005, moreover, the total budget for the City of Maputo only amounted to USD 6 per capita.¹¹ The budget for 2007, summarised Table 16 below, totals 278 million MTn. Despite sharing a poverty profile similar to the rest of the country, Maputo has had limited donor support, the World Bank being the main development partner through the Maputo Municipal Development Programme and GTZ, SDC and Danida giving additional support (World Bank 2006).

Table 16. Summary budget for the City of Maputo 2007

Item	Cost (MTn)
Staff expenses	147,500,000
Goods and services	58,685,713
Current transfers	550,000
Other current expenses	69,270,100
Past expenses (from earlier year)	3,994,187

Source: MMMaputo (2006)

⁹ The project has been criticised for favouring "product" over "process" (Jenkins 2005), thereby jeopardising the institutional, administrative, economic and technical basis for its implementation as well as the political basis for taking potentially unpopular action, such as increasing the local tax base.

¹⁰ According to the World Bank (2006), municipalities spend an average of USD 5 per year per capita compared with an average of USD 15 per capita in sub-Saharan Africa.

¹¹ Within the budget constraints existing, the Municipality has taken a number of important initiatives. A recent one is the relocation of the main wholesale market serving the informal sector in Maputo from Malanga to Zimpeto, and the subsequent upgrading of conditions at the new site (see Chapter 5).

The economic situation of Maputo Municipality makes it totally dependent on the state and donors for running costs and investment in the key areas mentioned above, even though they are formally the responsibility of the Municipality. The area of current municipal responsibility with potentially the most important impact on the poor is the system of land distribution and housing (UN-Habitat 2005). Security of tenure is vital for having land to construct a house, as well as for economic security and collateral. The Mozambican constitution provides that land is the property of the state, and the Land Law of 1997 defines three main categories of tenure: customary tenure, occupation in good faith and formal use rights. In practice, however, informal mechanisms are by far the most important means to access land for housing in Maputo, also for formally planned and demarcated plots. These mechanisms include allocations at local levels of the city administration, inheritance and ceding within families, swapping, direct occupation and private purchase.

Unlike land, housing may be privately owned. Ownership of a house that has complied with building regulations and other authorisations is in the form of a freehold right to the building linked to a leasehold right to land. Ownership of informal housing (i.e. houses that are in conflict with land use plans or do not comply with the building regulations) is normally demonstrated by a written declaration confirming occupancy by the community authority (i.e. the bairro secretary) (UN-Habitat 2005). While existing occupants in Maputo's bairros currently seem to have relatively secure tenure and evictions are rare, even though they have recently happened in at least two of the four bairros under study, increasing land scarcity may highlight the need for a formalisation of land rights that will hold in cases of dispute.

To prepare for a more active role, the Maputo City Council has carried out two data and information gathering exercises to improve the information base for municipal planning. One is a consultative Citizen's Report Card Survey (CCRC), which provided information on service coverage by district. The second is a preliminary poverty mapping exercise which uses multiple data sources to build a picture of relative poverty and inequality in service delivery across the municipal districts (World Bank 2006). The studies reveal that some 62 percent of the residents in Maputo live in temporary/unstable housing; 58 percent are without access to a sanitary waste-water system; 42 percent lack access to piped potable water inside or outside their dwelling; 85 percent live in areas where there is no rainwater drainage system; and 74 percent do not benefit from regular solid waste collection. They also show that the urban services vary considerably both between and within the different urban districts in Maputo.

While these figures may seem favourable compared with other provinces and municipalities in Mozambique, the implications of the inadequacy of physical infrastructure are severe in terms of people's immediate environment in a context of densely populated bairros. Deteriorated roads and walkways, poor drainage, inadequate domestic sanitation and waste disposal and widespread erosion of the natural habitat make parts of many bairros dangerous and unhealthy, as indicated by the fact that many people live in areas that are at risk of sliding out (such as in Polana Caniço) and that cholera has repeated broken out in some of the most congested bairros (such as Mafalala). Large areas that were evacuated during the floods in 2000 and deemed unfit for settlement have also been resettled (e.g. in Luís Cabral) by people who have found it difficult to cope in the peri-urban areas of resettlement.

As regards schools and health facilities, Table 17 below presents available data from the five Urban Districts in Maputo and the District of Fulane (in which Khongolote is located) as of June 2007. Three of the districts could not supply the information. Despite relatively good coverage in terms of the number and availability of such facilities, data from INE and the Ministry of Education indicate, for example, that schools in Maputo have a pupil-teacher ratio as high as 65 to one, which is close to the national average. According to the World Bank (2007), health facilities in Maputo are also

still badly targeted towards the poorest. Both types of institution also suffer from hidden costs levied on their users.

Table 17. Social infrastructure

Institution	DU 1	DU 2	DU 3	DU 4	DU 5	Fulane
Primary Schools (EP 1)	n.a	n.a	n.a	17	10	14
Primary Schools (EP 2)	n.a	n.a	n.a	9	15	9
Secondary Schools	n.a	n.a	n.a	3	3	2
Private Schools (prim/sec)	n.a	n.a	n.a	8	3	1
Hospital	n.a	n.a	n.a	1	-	1
Health Centres	n.a	n.a	n.a	2	2	2
Health Posts	n.a	n.a	n.a	-	2	1

Source: Relevant Urban District office

In sum, the challenges for the city of Maputo are enormous. The City Council of Maputo has developed a mission statement for the development of the city in the coming years which reads: "To lead the process of raising the quality of life of municipal citizens, [by] creating an environment conducive for investment and job creation through improved delivery of services and through the mobilisation of citizens and coordinated action between diverse actors". A long-time observer of Maputo has expressed the city's many challenges to reach this goal in the following terms (Jenkins 2000):

- The trend in population growth, and high poverty levels
- A weak economic base, resulting in high formal underemployment
- Limitations in the informal employment structure
- A vast imbalance in the quality of housing and access to infrastructure
- Lack of rationalisation of public and private transport services
- Widespread spontaneous occupation and informal allocation of land
- Health risks in areas of long-term and dense unplanned occupation
- Growing environmental problems in a wide variety of aspects
- Weak institutional, administrative and legislative capacity
- Division of greater Maputo into two distinct local authorities
- A limited political mandate with low turn-outs for municipal elections¹²

3.3 The *Bairros* as Communities

In this section, we will assess the administrative and economic challenges in Maputo from the point of view of the population in individual bairros. All bairros in the city have their own characteristics and dynamics. In anthropology, the notion of "community" has long been discredited with reference to processes of globalisation and the constant movement of people and commodities in the

¹² The importance of dealing with these issues is amply demonstrated by the case of Luanda in Angola, which is a city close to total breakdown. The large majority of the city's 4-5 million inhabitants live in overcrowded bairros or *musseques*; traffic is in the process of strangling the city; and the near complete lack of basic urban services contributes to one of the highest child mortality rates in the world at close to 30 percent (Robson and Roque 2001; Cain 2007). To "solve" the problems (at least for the elite), there are currently concrete plans to construct a completely new capital 40 kilometres outside the Luanda city centre.

contemporary world. However, Ortner (1997) has argued that the notion of community is well worth keeping, so long as we do not identify the concept with harmony and cohesion, nor imagine that the sole community is a group of people in one place. The importance of community studies, she states, “[i]s that they have the virtue of treating people as contextualised human beings. They portray the thickness of people’s lives, the fact that people live in a world of relationships as well as a world of abstract forces and disembodied images”.

The institutions and individuals people in the bairros defined as important for them through the mapping exercise (see Chapter 1) are largely confined to their own immediate community, rather than the city at large. Even though people leave their communities to work, to shop or sell in markets, to visit family and friends or for other purposes, their point of reference is their own bairro: people meeting outside their bairros quickly identify each other through area of residence. In fact, our impression is that there is a very strong sense of community in the bairros where we have worked. This relates to more subtle socio-cultural conditions such as shared rural areas of origin (“terra de origem”) and urban history, as well as contemporary characteristics related to place and space. At the outset it is a positive sense of belonging, but it may also carry a negative stigma that inhibits the establishment of vital relationships, e.g. of employment. People in Mafalala, in particular, told us how they try to avoid revealing that they live in that bairro when they seek work, as it is often associated with poverty, disease, crime and unrest.

Most of the more central bairros in Maputo (including Mafalala and Inhagoia) are congested and hectic, with overpopulated houses, narrow alleyways and filled with small shops, markets, vendors, repair-shops, bars and other institutions all contributing to what Hansen (1997) has called “crowded living”. People come and go the whole time, and there is a large number of “outsiders” who rent houses or rooms for shorter period of time to do business (*negócios*) in the city centre. This has implications for people’s sense of belonging and security, and many told us that they find it increasingly difficult to relate to people outside the closest neighbourhood (usually the *quarteirão*) in a situation where they do not know who most people in their bairro are. The darkness at night due to inadequate illumination of public space further inhibits encounters and relationships.¹³

In the less dense and tense peri-urban bairros (such as Laulane), there is more space, a more stable population and less movement in and out of the community by outsiders. But at the same time community life seems more “privatised” and fragmented, as exemplified by the careful demarcation and fencing of plots and the diligence with which people sweep and take care of their yards. While the central bairros are full of people during the day, bairros like Laulane with fewer commercial activities and movements are more empty. Children go to school and some elders and adults who are not in a position to work stay behind, but most leave early in the morning for work or to seek employment, sell or buy food and other products in the city, only coming home late in the afternoon when the bairro is dark and movement restricted for fear of crime.

Finally, some of the most peripheral bairros with near-rural characteristics (such as Khongolote) are currently undergoing dramatic changes as communities. With a mixture of the original rural population, who have seen much of their agricultural land taken away from them, well-off newcomers moving out from central bairros that have become too crowded, and poor newcomers who settle in areas where parts of the land are still relatively cheap, there are indications of increasingly divided communities. In Khongolote this division is clearly visible in neighbourhood characteristics of housing and land use, as well as in the existence of separate public and private schools and health facilities. Here the relationship with the city also separates the poor from the less poor: the trip to the city centre is expensive and may take up to two hours in the rush hours, leaving

¹³ In an admittedly non-scientific survey, five random taxi drivers in Maputo defined Mafalala, Xipamanine and Chamanculo as the three bairros they were most reluctant to take passengers to at night...

the poorest without means for transportation and with the option of doing their negócios in the bairro itself where customers are few and far between and prices are low.

Moving on to community perceptions of the relevance and importance of community institutions, the mapping exercise (see Chapter 1) confirmed the significance attached to institutions close to or in the bairros. Social institutions such as schools, health centres and ‘pharmacies’ and urban services such as water, waste disposal and transportation were highlighted in all four communities. At the same time, it was argued that they are not for everybody because they incur expenses that not everybody can afford. Community markets were also highlighted as important in all communities, but people complained about the high price level compared to the large markets such as Xhipamanine and Chamanculo. Churches and mosques were given considerable emphasis in all four bairros as a place to seek comfort as well as a possible source of support in times of crisis. Drinking places were seen as perhaps the most destructive community institutions. Some of these are bars selling “real” beer, wine and liquor, but the majority are informal drinking places or barracas that primarily sell home-made brew (such as tontonto and nipa). The use of alcohol and drugs is seen as leading to problems for both the community and individual households, and is closely associated with what is perceived as a high crime rate in the communities.¹⁴ Perhaps as a reflection of a general situation of poverty and insecurity and a longing for rural order, three of the four communities were, finally, preoccupied with the possibility of strengthening the role of traditional leaders or régulos.

Looking more closely at the mapping of central institutions and individuals in Mafalala (see Annex 4), the focus was also here on the bairro and not the city at large. In fact, bairro boundaries were seen as significant particularly for access to health institutions: all relevant health centres are located outside Mafalala, with the nearest health post in Urbanização, the nearest health centre in Malhangalane and the nearest hospital in Mavalane. People claimed that as they belonged to another bairro, they were often turned away from these. The main alternative was seen as the health post belonging to the Assembly of God, which recently started to accept non-members as “they did not earn enough from the members”. Mafalala also has four primary schools “that are important because they are close”. While parents have high ambitions for their children (“It is important that children go to school because they can become doctors and engineers and can help us”), teachers complain that many children are often ill-prepared from home in terms of food, clothes and conditions for studying. One school had listed 30 percent of the children as so vulnerable that they needed special care and attention.

Other institutions considered important in Mafalala were the pharmacy (“but the medicines there are more expensive than at the hospital”) and local markets (“[t]hey are more expensive than at Xipamanine and Fajardo, but important because they are close and we mainly buy matapa, rice, sugar, beans, potatoes and fish there”). Some shops sell meat and chickens, but they “are more for the rich people”. Also in Mafalala, mosques and churches are seen as very important, not only because it is “important to pray” but also because they give help: “At the time of jejum the mosques offer rice, sugar and clothes. The churches have also started to follow the example of the mosques, but they also give clothes”. Another church-affiliated institution mentioned is a Centre for the Elderly (Centro dos Idosos) run by the church of Munhana. It helps the elderly that have nothing, and gives food and soap. The Sisters visit the elders who have no family or other relations, and cook for them. Finally, two individuals were mentioned as the pride of the bairro. One was Lázaro Mathe, who “lives in the bairro, but is now the Governor of Cabo Delgado”. And the other was Eusébio, “who was also born in the bairro, and was the first international soccer star from

¹⁴ Drug abuse among youngsters was repeatedly mentioned as a problem, but not attached to specific institutions, as was the abuse of alcohol. According to one old lady, the problem with drugs is that “we don’t know who they [i.e. the dealers] are”.

Mafalala". Perhaps no coincidence, the football field in Mafalala was specifically highlighted: "The children play in the field, and the adults play soccer. We play on Saturdays at two o'clock in the afternoon. There are even people who come from Chamanculo to play".

There are, then, a number of economic and social institutions that are relevant for the bairro communities and people in their daily lives – even though some are mainly "for people with money". Significantly, no one drew the buildings housing the Municipality in the central part of the city, the office of the relevant Urban District administration or the office of the Bairro Secretary. While people are aware of these institutions and have expectations of them (see Chapter 6), they do not currently consider them important for their community and their daily lives as they are not seen to deliver in material terms. They are primarily seen as representatives of the state and the Party, and to have administrative tasks. The office of the Bairro Secretary (being in the most direct contact with the population) summons public meetings, messages from government institutions are put up on the office walls, and they organise public celebrations of public holidays. People also go to the Secretário do bairro to register when they move into the area, and to get the written confirmations of their name and address that are needed in most public offices. The lack of resources was illustrated at the time of our fieldwork: piles of second-hand clothes given by people in Mafalala to victims of the flood in Gaza in early 2007 were still in the building as "the government does not have the money to transport them to the people who need them", we were told.

Summing up by way of a table from our survey (Table 18), the main problem faced by the communities is the issue of unemployment, which is seen to be the main reason for poverty and vulnerability. The second problem is crime, which is closely linked to the problem of unemployment and underlines the issue of insecurity for lives and property in congested urban communities. People also emphasise the importance of access to physical infrastructure (housing, water, sanitation) and to social institutions of health and education, but from the point of view of the communities employment and income is the main problem because it also helps resolve some of the other problems in a context where practically everything costs money. In the following chapter, we will look more explicitly at the socio-economic characteristics of households and individuals in the four bairros under study, with special reference to the survey carried out for this study (see Annex 3).

Table 18: Main problems in the bairros (in percent)

Problem	MHH	FHH	Total
Unemployment	34.2	38.6	35.8
Crime	23.7	22.7	23.3
Water	9.2	9.1	9.2
Health	7.9	11.4	9.2
Sanitation	7.9	2.3	5.8
Education	2.6	4.5	3.3
Housing	1.3	2.3	1.7
Other *	13.2	9.1	11.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

4. Socio-Economic Determinants of Poverty

Our focus in this chapter is on the household as a socio-economic and decision-making unit, and on key determinants of household poverty and well-being. We wish to ascertain the extent to which the quantitative expressions of poverty in Maputo identified by INE (2004) and outlined in Chapter 3 are representative for the four bairros Mafalala, Inhagoia, Laulane and Khongolote, and to establish quantitative patterns and regularities against which the qualitative analysis in Chapter 5 can be measured.

Recent years have seen major changes in the anthropological analysis of the household (Moore 1994; Moser 2006). One is a shift away from the perception of the household as a bounded unit towards a view which stresses its permeability in form and structure. A second is a move away from understanding the household as a social unit mobilising around common interests to an understanding of the household as a locus of competing interests and obligations, particularly around gender and age. As a consequence of the first shift, intra-household relations are now seen as significantly affected by political, economic and social processes outside the household; and as a consequence of the second those processes are understood to affect individual members of a household in diverse ways. A central outcome of our survey is the complexity and changing composition of households in the four bairros under study, and the need to take these into consideration in order to understand the dynamics of poverty and the coping strategies of the poor.

The key determinants of poverty for Mozambique as a whole have been defined as i) high levels of dependency within the family household; ii) a low level of education within the family household; iii) low diversification of employment and income within the family household; iv) low returns from agriculture and industry compared with trade and services; and v) the sex of the household head (INE 2004, see also Maximiano et al. 2005). Our survey largely supports the importance of these factors, even though our findings also reveal particular household characteristics and interconnections for the four bairros. We also highlight additional factors as important for understanding the dynamics of poverty in the study areas, including i) the economic and socio-cultural configuration of bairros as communities, ii) the importance of money for social relations of poverty and well-being, ii) access to land, housing and urban services, and iv) the extent and nature of urban-rural links and relationships.

The chapter is based on the survey carried out for this study (see Annex 2). For comparative purposes it is largely similar to the survey used in our study of social relations of rural poverty in Nampula (Tvedten, Paulo and Rosário 2006), but has been adjusted for an urban context primarily by substituting some of the questions on agriculture with questions on the informal economy as the central source of employment and income.

4.1 Household Composition and Dependencies

The National Household Survey and ongoing Census have defined the household as "people living under the same roof *and* eating from the same pot" (INE 2004, 2007). For the purpose of our survey, in which we have not predetermined the definition of the household but rather let it reflect peoples' own perceptions, we have found that the definition used by INE does not adequately reflect conditions on the ground. We have chosen to define the household as "one or more persons – who are not necessarily related by kin and who do not necessarily live under the same roof – who share and use the same resources". In other words, households in the four bairros are composed of people who eat from the same pot but who do not necessarily live under the same roof. In fact,

temporarily or semi-permanent “split households” are an important part of the flexibility and coping strategy of poor households as we have come to know them.

Household Composition

A total of 120 households were surveyed, 30 in each of the four bairros. Of these, 63 percent were headed by men and 37 percent by women. The proportion of female-headed households is considerably higher than the 27 percent identified by INE in the National Household Survey (INE 2004). The main reason for the difference lies between the *de jure* definition used by INE (defining female heads as single women who are unmarried, divorced or widows) and the *de facto* definition used here that emphasises people’s own perceptions of who heads the household and makes the important decisions.

While the majority of the female heads of household are single, divorced or widows (with the high divorce rate implying household instability), Table 19 shows that 21 percent of the women leading female-headed households are married or in a “living together” relationship. Our qualitative data also indicate that some of the female household heads are in fact part of a polygamous relationship, where the frequent absence of their husbands puts them in charge of the household. Data from the Ministry of Health (MdS 2005) show that as many as 39.6 percent of all men in Maputo have more than one wife, but it is unclear if this definition also includes what people consider to be lovers (*amantes*). “Living together relationships” or consensual unions seem to be less stable (and more flexible in terms of headship) than formal unions, with the latter involving the respective extended families and a set of matrimonial instalments and ceremonies (*lobolo*).

Table 19. Civil status by sex of household head

Civil Status	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Single	14.5	11	13.6	6	14.2	17
Married	48.7	37	13.6	6	35.8	43
Consensual union	34.2	26	6.8	3	24.2	29
Separated/divorced	0.0	0	31.8	14	11.7	14
Widowed	2.6	2	31.8	14	13.3	16
No information	0.0	0	2.3	1	0.8	1
Total	100.0	76	100.0	44	100.0	120

The average age of the heads of household in our survey is as high as 46 years, with female heads being somewhat younger than male heads (see Table 20). At the same time, the average household size is 7.5, which is higher than what INE data show for Maputo (Table 21). Together, these results suggest that younger families may be ‘hidden’ in households of their parents’ generation. This is further demonstrated in Table 22, revealing that most households (85 percent) include children of the household head, a large proportion (43 percent) include grandchildren, and over 20 percent of households include brothers, brothers- or sisters-in-law, nephews and other relatives. Some 14 percent of households also include parents or parents-in-law of the household head.

Table 20. Age of household head by sex of household head

Age Category	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
25 years or less	3.9	3	4.5	2	4.2	5
26 – 35	14.5	11	22.7	10	17.5	21
36 – 45	31.6	24	29.5	13	30.8	37
46 – 55	22.4	17	18.2	8	20.8	25
More than 55	19.7	15	18.2	8	19.2	23
Don't know	7.9	6	6.8	3	7.5	9
Total	100.0	76	100.0	44	100.0	120

Table 21. Number of household members by sex of household head

Household Members	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
1 – 2	3.9	3	2.3	1	3.3	4
3 – 4	14.5	11	22.7	10	17.5	21
5 – 6	28.9	22	13.6	6	23.3	28
7 +	52.6	40	61.4	27	55.8	67
Total	100.0	76	100.0	44	100.0	120

Table 22. Household member categories by sex of household head

Household Members	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Spouse	82.9	63	20.5	9	60.0	72
Parents	15.8	12	11.4	5	14.2	17
Children	81.6	62	90.9	40	85.0	102
Grand-children	32.9	25	59.1	26	42.5	51
Nephews/nieces	27.6	21	15.9	7	23.3	28
Siblings	22.4	17	22.7	10	22.5	27
Other relatives	22.4	17	15.9	7	20.0	24
Non relatives	6.6	5	2.3	1	5.0	6

As we will describe in more detail in Chapter 5, the size and complexity of the household unit is the combined outcome of the socio-economic challenges of the urban context (including elevated prices for land and housing) and a conscious strategy to diversify sources of employment and income. The size and composition of the households indicate a large number of working hands, as well as a high rate of dependency. But they also show the importance of the family household for coping with vulnerability. Children such as nephews, nieces and grandchildren are often taken into a household at the death of their parents. Adults (normally siblings or in-laws) are often included with the deaths of their spouses. The inclusion of other adults may also follow from separation or divorce, constituting hidden female heads within the households. The extent to which people become a

burden will depend on their ability to contribute to the household economically – i.e. the *real* dependency ratio.

Permeable Boundaries

Further complicating the household as a socio-economic unit is the fact that close to 30 percent have at least one member that does not live in the household on a regular basis. The most common category of absentees is children (15 percent), who often live in rural areas on a temporary or semi-permanent basis to be taken care of or to help old grandparents or other relatives. Some youngsters also work in South Africa or Swaziland with a parent or other relatives. The second largest category of absentees are heads of the household (9 percent), usually men working in South Africa or Swaziland, who may be away for years. They are all included as household members because they “eat from the same pot”, either by contributing to it (as in the case of migrants) or by “eating” from it on a regular basis (as in the case of children staying away in rural areas or school).

Moreover, 28 percent of the households regularly contribute to members of other households, indicating the continuing importance of the extended family for many urban household units. Relatives most commonly supported include siblings, parents of the head of the household and, albeit to a lesser extent, relatives of the spouse of the head of the household. The ability to contribute with money and goods to such households is, as we shall see below, important in order to maintain linkages with rural areas. Interestingly, our data reveal that the poorer urban households are more involved in such support and exchanges than the better off, which shows that maintaining linkages is an important part of the coping strategy of the poor. In fact, better-off households will often try to limit relationships with poor relatives as they can be a serious drain on their resources.

Finally, household complexity is underlined by the fact that 20 percent of the households in our survey have non-household members living in their dwellings or on their plots (i.e. in annexes), who thereby “share the same roof” without necessarily “eating from the same pot”. Some of these people rent single rooms in the dwelling, contributing either in cash or in kind to the household but often with blurred boundaries between the individual units. Particularly in the central bairros there are also a number of dwellings solely consisting of small rooms for rent (reminiscent of ‘single quarters’), where some live for years while others just pass by. These overcrowded plots and dwellings are called *aldeias comunais* (communal villages), and are often stigmatised as particularly poor and violent.¹⁵

Migration

As noted in an earlier chapter, we know too little about the importance of rural-urban migration in Mozambique. In our sample, 61 percent of the household heads were born outside Maputo and 32 percent were born in the city (see Table 23). Those born outside the city mainly come from the provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane, which are among the poorest in the country. Moreover, 64 percent of the households have changed bairro since they arrived in Maputo. Our qualitative data throw some light on urban careers. Migrants with relatives or friends in the central parts of the city first seek out possibilities there, to be as close as possible to employment or other sources of income. When in a position to build their own home and dwelling, which may take several years, they normally move to peri-urban areas where land and housing are cheaper. Migrants with no personal contacts in the city seek out peri-urban bairros where land is relatively cheap, but with inferior options for employment and income.

¹⁵ ‘Aldeias comunais’ or communal villages were the result of the compulsory villagisation programme under the socialist Frelimo regime, which was inspired by the Tanzanian Ujaama model.

Table 23. Place of birth of household head

Place of birth of HHH	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Maputo City	25.0	19	47.7	21	33.3	40
Maputo Province	9.2	7	15.9	7	11.7	14
Gaza	32.9	25	18.2	8	27.5	33
Inhambane	25.0	19	18.2	8	22.5	27
Other	7.9	6	0.0	0	5.0	6
Total	100.0	76	100.0	44	100.0	120

Level of Education

As seen from Table 24, most heads of households in our sample have at least primary education, with male heads of households generally having a higher educational level than female household heads. Only 9.2 percent of the household heads have no education at all. Some household heads have only undertaken adult education, which gives a very basic literacy. While the level of education is relatively high and underlines the accessibility of educational facilities in urban areas like Maputo, we shall see later that this does not necessarily lead to employment and income and an enhanced standard of living, as implied by the importance attached to education as a determinant of well-being in the National Household Survey (INE 2004; Maximiano et al. 2005).

Table 24. Educational level by sex of household head

Educational Level HHH	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
None	5.3	4	15.9	7	9.2	11
Alphabetisation	3.9	3	11.4	5	6.7	8
EP1 (5th Grade)	31.6	24	38.6	17	34.2	41
EP2 (7th Grade)	25.0	19	27.3	12	25.8	31
Second/basic	22.4	17	4.5	2	15.8	19
Middle school	10.5	8	2.3	1	7.5	9
University	1.3	1	0.0	0	0.8	1
Total	100.0	76	100.0	44	100.0	120

Religious Affiliation

Religious affiliation has a number of implications, both for the individual and for social relationships (Table 25). In our sample the Catholic faith is the religion with the highest percentage of adherents (28 percent), followed by the Zion church (23 percent), God's Assembly (13 percent), and 12 Apostles (11 percent). The latter three have been called "female churches" and are gaining ground at the expense of the more traditional churches. Muslims (under 'Other') represent only 2.5 percent of the sample, which may be an under-representation. Churches and mosques represent, as we shall see in the next chapter, an important social network for people in urban contexts where extended family and neighbourhood relations are under pressure, albeit also, in some cases, a source of impoverishment through fees charged for heavenly cure and salvation. Having said this, as many as 43 percent of the households still practise "ancestor cults", suggesting continued spiritual and social ties with rural areas and tradition. Only 2.5 percent are not part of any religion.

Table 25. Religious affiliation

Religious Affiliation	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Catholic	28.9	22	25.0	11	27.5	33
Zion	17.1	13	34.1	15	23.3	28
God's Assembly	17.1	13	4.5	2	12.5	15
12 Apostles	11.8	9	9.1	4	10.8	13
Other	23.7	18	22.7	10	23.3	28
None	1.3	1	4.5	2	2.5	3
Total	100.0	76	100.0	44	100.0	120

Associations

Contrary to what is reported from many other urban areas in Southern Africa (see Tostensen et al. 2001), relatively few households (6 percent) in our sample are members of any formal association (Table 26).¹⁶ Women are more often part of associations than men. Men primarily belong to socio-cultural and professional associations, such as burial societies and unions, underlining their stronger connections with employment and the formal sector. This priority also indicates the strong perception of vulnerability in the event of death and funeral expenses. Women are more inclined to be members of religious and community-based associations, such as church organisations and the Mozambican Women's Organisation (OMM). In addition, they are much more likely than men to be part of credit societies (*xitique*), a factor to which we will return in more detail below.

Table 26. Association membership

Association Membership	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
None	84.2	64	79.5	35	82.5	99
Professional	2.6	2	0.0	0	1.7	2
Socio-cultural	7.9	6	4.5	2	6.7	8
Political	2.6	2	0.0	0	1.7	2
Religious	0.0	0	6.8	3	2.5	3
Other	2.6	2	9.1	4	5.0	6

Language Abilities

Language ability is important for communication, and says something about the interrelations between different groups in an urban context. 55 percent of the household in our sample use Xangana/Ronga (originating from Maputo and Gaza) as their main language of communication, with 10 percent speaking Chope originating from northern Gaza and Inhambane. 28 percent of the households use Portuguese as their main language of communication, but practically all households have at least one member who can communicate in Portuguese. The language most spoken in the house does not necessarily reflect the origin of the household, since members of some households

¹⁶ As associations form a very important part of the coping strategies in other comparable urban settings, the reasons for their apparently limited importance in Maputo should be further investigated.

may have adopted the most common language in the bairro for communication within the community.

4.2 Income Diversification and Expenditure

Turning to the issue of employment and income, the most salient feature is the diversification of sources of provisioning among most households. The survey found that 70 percent of the households are involved in informal economic activities, with the percentage being higher in female-headed households (86 percent) than male-headed households (62 percent). The most common type of informal economic activity (involving 38.6 percent of female- and 21.1 percent of male-headed households) is the sale of products such as foodstuffs and petty commodities. Many are also involved in what people call *desenrascar* which literally means "finding a way out" and involves everything from small-scale repairs to illicit activities such as theft and prostitution. The household income from informal economic activities appears in Table 27, showing that male-headed and female-headed households have largely comparable incomes from such activities. The most profitable activities are in hairdressing, the sale of second-hand clothes, and traditional medicine. Other types of informal activity include production of building material and furniture, letting rooms and the sale of charcoal and home-made brew.

Table 27. Informal income (MTn)

Informal Income	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
< 250	14.9	7	7.9	3	11.8	10
251 – 500	12.8	6	15.8	6	14.1	12
501 – 750	8.5	4	5.3	2	7.1	6
751 – 1,000	4.3	2	18.4	7	10.6	9
1,001 - 1,500	6.4	3	10.5	4	8.2	7
1,501 - 2,500	19.1	9	13.2	5	16.5	14
2,501 - 5,000	14.9	7	26.3	10	20.0	17
> 5,000	19.1	9	2.6	1	11.8	10
Total	100.0	47	100.0	38	100.0	85

65 percent of the households have some kind of formal regular income, ranging from relatively well-paid and stable employment in the public sector to badly paid and unstable work as security guards or work for *patrões*. Among the households with formal employment, 58.9 percent of the male-headed households have a regular income of more than 2,500 MT per month, the equivalent figure for female-headed households being 31.6 percent (Table 28). This follows a pattern demonstrated by other studies, where women not only have more limited access to formal employment but also earn less from it (see e.g. Horne et al. 2000).

Table 28. *Regular income (MTn)*

Regular Income	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
251 - 500	0.0	0	5.3	1	1.3	1
501 - 750	3.4	2	0.0	0	2.6	2
751 - 1,000	8.6	5	10.5	2	9.1	7
1,001 - 1,500	10.3	6	31.6	6	15.6	12
1,501 - 2,500	19.0	11	21.1	4	19.5	15
2,501 - 5,000	34.5	20	26.3	5	32.5	25
> 5,000	24.1	14	5.3	1	19.5	15
Total	100.0	58	100.0	19	100.0	77

As can be seen from Table 29, total household expenditure is high. 50 percent of all male-headed households and 38.6 percent of all female-headed households spend more than 2,500 MT per month, implying that many households spend more than they earn and hence rely on support from outside to cope. Our survey also shows that food is considered to be their main expense by 43.3 percent of the households (an additional 22.5 percent saw food as their second-largest expense), with the remaining households considering their main expense to be health (24.2 percent), education (11.7 percent), water (8.3 percent) and electricity (5.8 percent). Housing was not considered the main expense by any household, probably because of its intermittent (but thereby not less burdensome) impact on the household economy.

Table 29. *Household expenditure by sex of household head (MTn)*

Expenditure	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
No expenditure	1.3	1	2.3	1	1.7	2
< 250	0.0	0	2.3	1	0.8	1
251 - 500	0.0	0	4.5	2	1.7	2
501 - 750	1.3	1	4.5	2	2.5	3
751 - 1,000	5.3	4	6.8	3	5.8	7
1,001 - 1,500	9.2	7	18.2	8	12.5	15
1,501 - 2,500	32.9	25	22.7	10	29.2	35
2,501 - 5,000	40.8	31	29.5	13	36.7	44
> 5,000	9.2	7	9.1	4	9.2	11
Total	100.0	76	100.0	44	100.0	120

Some 27 percent households receive assistance from outside the household to get by in the form of remittances, most of them from the extended family. This is support both in cash and in kind. As seen from Table 30, more female-headed than male-headed households receive support of this type. Neighbours, churches and mosques are additional sources of support, primarily in the form of food and clothing. State agencies and NGOs do not appear as sources of support in our survey, except for a few cases involving the elderly and the INSS (National Institute for Social Security).

Table 30. Reception of remittances

Reception of Remittances	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Yes	19.7	15	38.6	17	26.7	32
No	80.3	61	61.4	27	73.3	88
Total	100.0	76	100.0	44	100.0	120

People do not consider exchanges with rural relatives to be "remittances", and as can be seen from Table 31 people visit their rural areas of origin quite regularly: 23.3 percent have members who visit at least once a month, and only 9.3 percent of the households never visit rural areas. Significantly, female-headed households seem either to visit rural areas very often (with many caring for relatives or working in *machambas*) or never (implying that they have problems leaving the city due to domestic responsibilities or meeting the expenses of transport).

Table 31. Rural-urban relations by sex of head of household

Rural-Urban Visits	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
At least once a month	19.7	15	29.5	13	23.3	28
At least once a year	48.7	37	45.5	20	47.5	57
Less than once a year	14.5	11	4.5	2	10.8	13
Never	9.2	7	15.9	7	11.7	14
Other	7.9	6	4.5	2	6.7	8
Total	100.0	76	100.0	44	100.0	120

Rural-urban relationships are maintained at different levels: through regular visits to relatives in the rural areas; through maintenance of rurally-based agricultural activities; and through the continued worship of and respect for ancestors through ceremonies and celebrations carried out in villages. Our qualitative data and other studies (see e.g. da Costa 2007) imply that maintaining such ties is considered important as part of people's identity and sense of belonging, and as a source of social and economic security. Urban goods (such as plastic utensils, soap, detergents, sweets etc.) are often exchanged against rural foodstuffs for consumption or resale in town. Moreover, as many as 30 percent of the households in our survey claim that they have access to their own plot either nearby the city or in their rural area of origin, representing a vital source of food and protein. Of households with access to their own plots, 25 percent produce enough for sale. 25 percent of the households also rear some kinds of animal, primarily hens and ducks. Such animals are important for consumption, but 31 percent of households with domestic animals also sell them in times of need. No households in our survey have cattle or other larger domestic animals, which are a sign of both wealth and prestige.

While people engage in a wide range of activities and relationships to cope in their urban environment on a daily basis, many also plan for the medium or longer term by saving. Over 50 percent of the households participate in saving schemes or *xitique* in an attempt to improve their situation. The large majority of those participating in *xitique* are women, and while the majority (61 percent) only manage to save limited amounts of less than 500 MTn per month it is still important as a buffer in times of difficulties. In addition to *xitique*'s economic importance, the institution also

functions as social support and a source of relief in the event of death (or '*infelicidade*' as it is often called), serious illness, ceremonial expenses such as baptism, bridewealth or *lobolo* / *apresentação*',¹⁷ and weddings. Having said this, our qualitative data show that it is difficult for the most destitute to join *xitique* groups as they lack the "entrance tickets" in the form of necessary contacts (new members have to be proposed by existing members of the group, who have to 'guarantee' their solvency) and money for their *xitique* contribution.

In sum, then, households in our study bairros diversify their income as best they can. Combining formal and informal employment, their income is relatively high, but so are their expenses. Many of the poorest households depend on relationships outside their own household to get by, and relations with rural areas are a central part of their coping strategies.

4.3 Economic and Social Assets

In this section we will discuss economic and social indicators of poverty and well-being, including ownership of land and housing, access to other commodities, education and health, and the use of state institutions. These indicators are relevant as signs both of relative poverty and well-being and of social and economic security. Generally, those who are poor in terms of income and consumption have fewer and cheaper assets and are hence in a more vulnerable situation, but as we shall see in the case of housing, assets are not always a good indicator of overall poverty and well-being.

Land and Housing

The most important and usually most expensive assets for urban populations are ownership of land and housing. This is important for having a safe and healthy place to live and as a source of social security and collateral, and is very often a basis for informal economic activities. According to our survey, 92 percent of the households own the plot (*talhão*) upon which their house is built, with the remainder renting or borrowing the plot. Yet our own qualitative data show that "ownership" is a rather ambiguous concept (see also Chapter 3): very few have written deeds that will hold in case of disputes, and people complain that a major problem in the bairros is the "chaotic erection" of houses, making the bairros too congested. Our survey shows that as many as 75 percent of the plots were obtained through payment in cash, with 14 percent living on "donated" land (primarily flood victims), showing the extent to which the land market is commoditised despite the formal provision of state ownership.

56 percent of the households claim to have built the house they live in themselves, with the remainder either having bought it (20 percent), rented it (8 percent) or acquired it from family or others (see Table 32). Reflecting this is the fact that 74 percent of the houses are considered to be owned by the head of the household, with the remainder being owned by other private owners (3 percent), the state (3 percent), or other family members (6 percent). For many households it takes years to construct a house, and our observation is that many houses are never fully completed. In the event of the death of the owner, children are considered to be the ones to inherit the house by 54 percent of the interviewees and the spouse in 32 percent of the cases. However, our qualitative data show that conflicts easily arise, particularly between widows and children and between siblings and their respective households.

¹⁷ In urban areas, it has become common that the boy presents himself to the parents of the girl and requests formal permission to date her. In some cases this precedes the *lobolo*, in others it is the same ceremony, and in yet others it may substitute it.

Table 32: Mode of acquisition of own dwelling

	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Self-construction	59.2	45	50.0	22	55.8	67
Purchase	22.4	17	15.9	7	20.0	24
Inheritance	3.9	3	13.6	6	7.5	9
Renting	3.9	3	13.6	6	7.5	9
Given	5.3	4	6.8	3	5.8	7
Other	5.3	4	0.0	0	3.3	4
Total	100.0	76	100.0	44	100.0	120

The large majority of the households in our survey have houses made of brick walls, covered with tin roofs and with an average of between three to four rooms (Table 33). Housing material is used as a main indicator of well-being in urban areas (INE 2004). However, our data also show that many families with ‘proper’ houses may still be poor and lack basic assets, reflecting the importance attached to housing in the bairros for security as well as for fulfilling notions of ‘urban life’ (see Chapter 5). The life cycle of families and social, political and economic changes over time should also be taken into account in explaining these seemingly contradictory indicators. There may have been moments where the improvement of housing conditions might have been easier to make, and life conditions may since have deteriorated. Housing as an indicator of poverty and well-being should therefore be used with care, and in combination with other indicators. Fencing is also an asset with multiple purposes and meanings. A fence in concrete material is important as a demarcation of what the household considers its own land, for security and to deter trespassing. But it also serves a symbolic function of what is considered “one’s own” in an often overcrowded urban context, indicated by the great care and diligence with which households take care of the plot inside their fence.

Table 33. Dwelling characteristics

Characteristics of the House	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Own Plot	100.0	76	93.2	41	97.5	117
Concrete fence	48.7	37	25.0	11	40.0	48
Tin roof	89.5	68	90.9	40	90.0	108
Brick walls	78.9	60	79.5	35	79.2	95

Other Commodities

The most commonly owned commodities in the households surveyed are beds, tables and chairs, considered essential parts of a complete dwelling (see Table 34). While a poor household normally will not have beds for every member (it is most common for children to sleep on straw mats or *esteiras* on the floor), a sufficient number of chairs for visitors is considered an important part of urban social lifestyle. A surprisingly large proportion of the households have invested part of their meagre income in commodities such as radios, watches, videos/DVDs and TVs, reflecting the importance attached to such items for urban modern living. Less surprisingly, very few households have cars, motorcycles and bicycles, with the latter being both expensive and difficult to use in the

sand tracks in the bairros and the congested and dangerous traffic in the city. A fairly large proportion of households have access to electricity and potable water, even though only a few have access to these on their own plot or in their own house. Finally, the majority of the households possess agricultural tools (ploughs, machetes and axes), indicating the importance of agriculture for food and food security also in urban contexts.

Table 34. Possession of assets (proportion of household ownership)

Asset	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Beds	93.4	71	71.4	30	85.6	101
Chairs	93.4	71	81.0	34	89.0	105
Tables	90.8	69	78.6	33	86.4	102
Radio	78.9	60	40.9	18	65.0	78
Watch/clock	64.5	49	54.5	24	60.6	73
TV	64.5	49	40.9	18	55.8	67
Cars	9.7	7	4.5	2	7.5	9
Motorcycles	2.6	2	4.8	2	3.4	4
Bicycles	10.5	8	11.9	5	11.0	13
Electricity	60.5	46	36.4	16	51.7	62
Water	36.8	28	29.5	13	34.2	41
Machete	56.6	43	45.5	20	52.5	63
Axe	51.3	39	40.9	18	47.5	57
Plough	63.2	48	61.4	27	62.5	75

Meals

Meals constitute another indicator of poverty and well-being, both in terms of number of meals and diversity of food intake (see Table 35). In the week prior to our survey, all households had had at least one meal of rice or maize pap (*shima*), which is the staple in urban Maputo; 93 percent had at least one meal of bread; and 89 percent had at least one meal of *matapa* (green-leaf stew). Fruit was eaten by 70 percent of the households. Of animal protein, fish is by far the most important with 87 percent having eaten it at least in the week prior to the survey. Meat is less frequent at 45 percent. Noticeably, female-headed households have less diversity in their food than male-headed households. The diversity of food stands in sharp contrast to our findings in the rural north where the low-nutrient cassava was the main meal, and is probably a major reason for the better health indicators in Maputo (see Chapter 3). Having said this, people complain about rising food prices and argue that it is becoming increasingly difficult to buy particularly fish and meat. The most common source of fish is horse mackerel (*carapau*) from Angola, which is sold through shops located in the bairros called "Peixe da Mamã", while meat is primarily imported from South Africa and sold through informal markets (see Chapter 5). It is also common in many poor families that the fish and meat is insufficient for all household members.

Table 35. *Food consumption*

	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Rice / pap	100.0	76	100.0	44	100	120
Bread	92.1	70	95.5	42	93.3	112
Matapa	88.2	67	90.9	40	89.2	107
Fruit	92.1	70	77.3	34	86.7	104
Fish	69.7	53	70.5	31	70.0	84
Poultry	63.2	48	43.2	19	55.8	67
Meat	56.6	43	25.0	11	45.0	54

Education

The overall level of education in households has been identified as one of the main indicators of poverty or well-being in rural as well as urban Mozambique (INE 2004; Maximiano et al. 2005). Formal education is seen as putting households in a better position to obtain employment and income as well as to cater for the basic needs of household members. While we have seen that the majority of the surveyed household heads had obtained the (upper) primary level or below, the level of education reached in the households as a whole is higher with 31 percent having members with secondary and 26 percent with middle school education (Table 36). The maximum level of education is higher among male-headed than female-headed households. The level of education is a reflection of improved emphasis on and access to education, resulting in a larger proportion of the younger generation going to school.

Table 36. *Highest level of education in household by sex of household head*

Highest Level of Education	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
None	2.6	2	2.3	1	2.5	3
EP1 (5th Grade)	3.9	3	20.5	9	10.0	12
EP2 (7th Grade)	21.1	16	27.3	12	23.3	28
Second/basic	30.3	23	31.8	14	30.8	37
Middle school	31.6	24	15.9	7	25.8	31
University	10.5	8	2.3	1	7.5	9
Total	100.0	76	100.0	44	100.0	120

While 78 percent of the households in our survey have school-age children, 16 percent of the boys at school age and 9 percent of the girls are not enrolled in school. One reason given by the households themselves is that the children are "not old enough" (implying that their parents think they are too young to send to school despite having reached formal school age), and another is that there are not enough resources to send them to school (meaning that they cannot afford the costs for uniforms, school materials and possible "hidden" fees). With the high level of unemployment among young people (see Chapter 3), it may also reflect an emerging decreasing belief in education as a strategy for improving conditions for the household and the extended family.

Health

As many as 64 percent of the households said they had had at least one person ill in the two weeks prior to the survey. The most common causes of illness were pain in the limbs or rheumatism (46 percent); colds, flu and coughs (30 percent); stomach aches (29 percent); and malaria (24 percent). Problems with the limbs are primarily seen as being related to age, and affect the ability to work. Colds and flu are seen as being related to general pollution and the large amount of dust and sand in the bairros. Stomach aches are attributed to the low quality of available water. And malaria is associated with the accumulated garbage and still waters by people with whom we discussed the matter in the bairros.

When households have sick members, they will normally first go to the nearest health post (31 percent), although some first go to the health centre (22 percent) and hospital (26 percent). More than 15 percent of the households first try to treat themselves at home, with common knowledge herbal medicine (5 percent) or by going straight to the pharmacy (12 percent). Our impression, based on the large number of traditional doctors or *curandeiros* in the bairros and interviews with staff in health institutions, is that the importance of traditional medicine may be underreported. Many people are reluctant to admit that they use *curandeiros* to cure illness or treat bad luck or spirits, as it is not considered compatible with urban life and modernity.

As many as 25 percent of the households have had at least one child who died before the age of five (i.e. "child mortality"). The most common causes of these deaths (see Table 27) are attributed to malaria and dysentery symptoms, i.e. vomiting and diarrhoea. Child mortality is lower in the city than in the rural areas (MdS 2005), which is probably the combined effect of better education among parents, better nutrition and easier access to health institutions. Still, the child mortality rate is high and affects the well-being of the households concerned through the grief it entails.

Table 37. Perceived reasons for child mortality by sex of household head

Reason for Deaths	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Doesn't know	20.0	4	20.0	2	20.0	6
Malaria	15.0	3	20.0	2	16.7	5
Vomiting, diarrhoea	15.0	3	10.0	1	13.3	4
Epilepsy	5.0	1	10.0	1	6.7	2
KutsEmiwa *	0.0	0	10.0	1	3.3	1
Kulala **	5.0	1	0.0	0	3.3	1
Other	40.0	8	30.0	3	36.7	11
Total	100.0	20	100.0	10	100.0	30

* Means 'to cut' indicating sudden inexplicable death ** Means 'losing weight [and disappearing from life]

Finally, as many as 32 percent of the households have at least one member who suffers from a "long-term disease without cure". This will often, but not necessarily, imply HIV/AIDS. Various forms of handicap and paralysis also fall under this category. As noted in Chapter 3, the overall HIV/AIDS infection rate in Maputo is 20 percent. HIV/AIDS is, according to our own observations and the health workers we talked to, still difficult to be open and talk about for most of those affected (see also Paulo 2004). With various relevant health centres located in other parts of the city, people can seek treatment without revealing their illness in the local community and neighbourhood.

Use of State Services

Our data shows that the use of community-based state services is higher (63 percent) than that of more distant state services at district (56 percent) and centralised city levels (13 percent) (see Table 38). "Use" seems to have been interpreted broadly in the survey, involving "contact with" as well as actual utilisation of the service in question. Personalised services such as the notary and registry are used by as many as 76 percent of the households, reflecting the importance of formal procedures for obtaining documents ranging from identity cards to permissions to sell in municipal markets. In general, female-headed households use state services less frequently than male-headed households. This further adds to their vulnerability, and implies that female-headed households are least likely to seek support or help from the state.

Table 38. Use of state services by sex of household head

Use of State Services	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Bairro admin.	64.5	49	61.4	27	63.3	76
District admin.	57.9	44	52.3	23	55.8	67
Central admin. (INSS)	10.5	8	15.9	7	12.5	15
Notary/registry	81.6	62	68.2	30	76.7	92
Police	36.8	28	34.1	15	35.8	43
Courts	18.4	14	9.1	4	15.0	18

The state also makes its presence felt through tax collection. 60 percent of the households had paid taxes in the course of the year prior to the survey, including taxes to the National Institute of Social Security (INSS); individual revenue tax (IRPS); municipal taxes (garbage etc.); taxes for commercial activities; bicycle tax; and radio tax. In principle, all households are liable to pay at least one of these taxes, meaning that tax collection is still inefficient. Our interviews with institutions as well as households reveal that people are positive about paying taxes or fees for services they actually receive, but are much less positive towards paying for services they never see, which they argue is the most common phenomenon. In sum, while the state is perceived as present in most peoples' lives there is more scepticism towards what it is actually capable of delivering.

Solving Domestic and Community Problems

The main domestic problems identified in our survey are lack of money to buy essential goods, domestic conflicts and lack of money to organise or attend funerals. Very often households are not able to deal with such problems alone and have to resort to other people or institutions for help. The continued importance of the extended family in the urban context of Maputo for solving domestic problems is indicated by the fact that 58 percent of the households claim they will first resort to the extended family when such problems arise, with an additional 20 percent stating "other family or friends". 16 percent say they will first resort to the police (in cases of domestic violence or other criminal violations), and only 4 percent will first go to the bairro secretary, who is the most immediate representative of the state.

The main conflicts identified on the level of the community are related to theft and assaults, followed by drinking, conflicts over water and conflicts over land. For such cases, 46 percent claim that they will first contact the "police" (which may be the municipal or community police with the latter largely having substituted the former *vigilantes*), followed by 30 percent who will first go to

the *chefe de quarteirão* (who may or may not involve the Secretary of the bairro) (see Table 39). Interviews with police officers confirm that they are becoming involved in an increasing variety of cases to maintain community order. However, people also complain that most cases are not followed up by court prosecutions and convictions, which is often explained by "corruption" or the lack of an effective legal system from community courts upwards. In fact, people argue that there is a tendency to "take the law into own hands", as one expressed it, which is exemplified by a number of cases of public floggings and lynchings (see also Amoproc 2006).

Table 39. Institutions used to solve community problems

Institution	MHH		FHH		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#
Police	42.1	32	31.8	14	38.2	46
Head of quarteirão	23.7	18	27.3	12	25.0	30
Head of bairro	5.3	4	4.5	2	5.0	6
Other local leaders	9.2	7	2.3	1	6.7	8
Religious authority	1.3	1	0.0	0	0.8	1
Other	9.2	7	6.8	3	8.3	10

4.4 Place and Space in the Urban Context

In this section we will address the relevance of space and place for conditions of poverty and well-being. As we argued in our first report, local economic structures, the presence or absence of relevant institutions and infrastructure, particular sets of norms and specific demographics serve to impact on a place's poverty profile. To make this comparison we will ascertain possible differences in the demographic characteristics of households, mobility, employment and income, access to infrastructure and social services and use of state institutions.

Among the bairros in our study, Mafalala will be seen as representative of the most central and congested settlements in line with, for example, Maxaquene, Malanga, Xipamanine, Chamanculo and Urbanização. Khongolote will be seen as representative of the peri-urban bairros in line with, for example, Zimpeto Machava, CMC and Magoanine, which are all likely to see the largest population increase in the years to come due to the congestion in the central bairros. Finally, Laulane and Inhagoia are representative of a number of intermediate bairros such as Hulene, Ferroviário, Luís Cabral and 25 de Junho, which were on the periphery of Maputo but have become increasingly incorporated into it as the city has grown.

Looking first at demographic characteristics, the most striking difference between the most central and the most peripheral bairro relates to the size of the households (Table 40). Households in Mafalala (average of 8.5 members) are generally larger than in Khongolote (average of 6.5 members), reflecting the advantages of living in central bairros for employment and income and the concomitant pressure on households there to include other family members. While this implies more hands and potentially more employment and income, it also implies more mouths to feed and more "crowded living". Other household indicators, such as the sex and age of household heads, are relatively equal between the four bairros.

Table 40. Number of household members by bairro

Household Mmbers	Khongol.		Inhagoia		Laulane		Mafalala		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
1-2	3.3	1	0.0	0	10.0	3	0.0	0	3.3	4
3-4	26.7	8	6.7	2	16.7	5	20.0	6	17.5	21
5-6	30.0	9	23.3	7	20.0	6	20.0	6	23.3	28
7+	40.0	12	70.0	21	53.3	16	60.0	18	55.8	67
Total	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	120

The differences in living conditions between the central and congested bairros like Mafalala and the more peripheral and sparsely populated bairros like Khongolote are also reflected in differences in perceptions of the main problems in the respective communities (Table 41). While all four bairros emphasise employment and crime as the main problems, the latter is considered most severe in the central bairros. Moreover, inadequate urban services are considered most important in the bairros close to the city centre, and health problems are considered most important in Khongolote, which is most distant from the main health institutions.

Table 41. Main community problems by bairro

Household Mmbers	Khongol.		Inhagoia		Laulane		Mafalala		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
Unemployment	26.7	8	40.0	12	33.3	10	43.3	13	35.8	43
Crime	13.3	4	26.7	8	33.3	10	20.0	6	23.3	28
Water	6.7	2	3.3	1	16.7	5	10.0	3	9.2	11
Health	20.0	6	3.3	1	6.7	2	6.7	2	9.2	11
Sanitation	0.0	0	10.0	3	3.3	1	10.0	3	5.8	7
Education	3.3	1	3.3	1	0.0	0	6.7	2	3.3	4
Housing	3.3	1	0.0	0	3.3	1	0.0	0	1.7	2
Other	26.7	8	13.3	4	3.3	1	3.3	1	11.7	14
Total	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	120

As regards the economic situation of households, our data show that the proportion of households having a regular income (i.e. publicly or privately employed) is higher in the centrally located bairros such as Mafalala than in the more peripheral bairros such as Khongolote, as indicated by the distribution of types of employment of household heads (Table 42). The larger proportion of unemployed household heads in peripheral bairros like Khongolote may be the combined effect of living far away from the major employers in the city centre and the costs of travelling to the centre in order to take part in the informal economy there.

Table 42. *Types of employment of household head by bairro*

Regular Income	Khongol.		Inhagoia		Laulane		Mafalala		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
Public empl.	16.7	5	10.0	3	16.7	5	23.3	7	16.7	20
Private empl.	23.3	7	13.3	4	40.0	12	20.0	6	24.2	29
Self empl.	26.7	8	36.7	11	33.3	10	26.7	8	30.8	37
Pensioner	6.7	2	13.3	4	3.3	1	10.0	3	8.3	10
Unemployed	23.3	7	26.7	8	6.7	2	13.3	4	17.5	21
Other	3.3	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	6.7	2	2.5	3
Total	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	120

As mentioned earlier, however, the settlement pattern appears to be changing. This is partly spurred by increasing costs and congestion in central areas, but also by perceived advantages of living on the periphery of the city. Some informants argue that they prefer to live in peri-urban areas to escape the violence in central areas and have a more peaceful life. For others, the main advantage of living in peri-urban areas is easier access to agricultural land. As seen from Table 43, the proportion of people with access to land is considerably higher in the peripheral bairros like Khongolote than in the centrally located Mafalala. The high proportion of people in Inhagoia with access to their own plots reflects the proximity of that bairro to the "green belt" (*zona verde*).

Table 43. *Households owning agricultural plots per bairro*

Plot ownership	Khongol.		Inhagoia		Laulane		Mafalala		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
Yes	46.7	14	40.0	12	20.0	6	10.0	3	29.2	35
No	53.3	16	60.0	18	80.0	24	90.0	27	70.8	85
Total	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	120

Turning to the situation in terms of education and health, households in the four bairros show a fairly similar pattern with respect to the former but not to the latter. The proportion of households that had at least one sick family member in the two weeks prior to our survey was considerable higher in the central and congested bairros of Mafalala and Inhagoia than in the less congested bairro of Laulane and the peri-urban bairro of Khongolote. Population concentration affects sanitation negatively and therefore increases the incidence of water-borne diseases such as diarrhoea and malaria (Table 44).

Table 44. *Proportion of households with sick family members per bairro*

Disease in HHH	Khongol.		Inhagoia		Laulane		Mafalala		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
No disease	70.0	21	66.7	20	63.3	19	56.7	17	64.2	77
Disease	30.0	9	33.3	10	36.7	11	43.3	13	35.8	43

Our data also show that households are relatively mobile in their daily lives. 34 percent of the household heads work in other bairros than the one where they live, 22 percent work in their own bairro and 10 percent work outside the city (see Table 45). Moreover, around 50 percent of households have at least one member who goes to the central parts of Maputo or other bairros to work or pursue other economic activities at least once a week, 32 percent have at least one member who goes less than once a week but more than once a month, and the remainder have members who go to the centre of town less than once a month but more than once a year (7 percent), or less than once a year or never (11 percent).

Table 45. *Location of employment for household head*

Location of Employment	Khongol.		Inhagoia		Laulane		Mafalala		Total	
	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
No employment	46.7	14	40.0	12	13.3	4	40.0	12	35.0	42
In own bairro	13.3	4	30.0	9	30.0	9	13.3	4	21.7	26
In other bairro	30.0	9	23.3	7	36.7	11	46.7	14	34.2	41
Outside the city	10.0	3	6.7	2	20.0	6	0.0	0	9.2	11
Total	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	30	100.0	120

Even though the four bairros under study have different histories and appear different in terms of physical characteristics and population density, the differences in terms of socio-economic characteristics are not very striking. The main reason for this is obviously that we have selected our bairros from among the majority of Maputo's settlement areas that are generally poor and generally vulnerable. The indicators would have been very different had we included bairros such as Alto Maé, Bairro Central, Polana Cimento and Sommerschield.

4.5 Perceptions and Experiences of Social Change

To get a picture of peoples' perceptions of the development of poverty and well-being over time, we asked whether they thought that the conditions for their own households and their communities had changed. The main message is that while a majority of households argue that the situation has improved or remained the same, a fairly large minority consider that the situation for themselves and their communities has deteriorated. Our own understanding of this is that many households have experienced a real improvement in their life situations, and many see that there are a number of initiatives and interventions in physical and social infrastructure that are affecting other households. However, there is also a relatively large number of households who not only experience a deterioration in their situation but who also perceive that the interventions taking place do not really concern them. More precisely, 43 percent of the households in our survey claim that their lives have improved compared to their situation five years earlier; 23 percent claim that it has remained the same; and 34 percent claim that it has deteriorated (see Table 46). For the community at large, 61 percent of the households argue that the situation has improved; 18 percent that it has remained the same; and 15 percent that it has deteriorated. The more positive assessment of developments in the community is probably related to what people see in terms of ongoing activities such as road rehabilitation, improved water supply, electricity lines and improved sewage systems, more schools and more health institutions, even though we saw in Chapter 3 that this is qualified by strong perceptions of the negative impact of unemployment and crime.¹⁸

¹⁸ It should be noted that questions like these always are ambiguous. The National Household Survey (INE 2004) showed that 64 percent of Maputo's population believed that their situation had become 'much worse' or 'worse' in the year prior

Table 46. *Pereived changes for households and communities over the past five years*

Institution	Households		Communities	
	%	#	%	#
Improved	42.5	51	64.6	73
Remained the same	23.3	28	19.5	22
Deteriorated	34.2	41	15.9	18
Total	100.0	120	100.0	113 ¹⁹

At the same time, people are optimistic as regards future developments. Over 80 percent of the households expect that their life situation will improve in the next five years, with the equivalent figure for expected improvements for the community at large being 78 percent. The most important areas to improve are, still according to our survey, the issue of employment (36 percent), crime and security (23 percent), water (9 percent), health (9 percent), sanitation (6 percent) and education (3 percent). Asked who is responsible for improving the situation, as many as 74 percent of the households answered "the government". This points towards a heavy responsibility for central as well as local government authorities, to which we will return in more detail in the last chapter of this study.

to the survey with 14 percent saying that it had become 'better' or 'much better' – which was the most negative result in Mozambique.

¹⁹ Seven households did not live in the community five years ago.

5. Perceptions and Social Relations of Poverty

In the preceding chapters, we have analysed the political and economic context and the statistical expressions of poverty and well-being in Maputo and its bairros. Key factors explaining the persistence of poverty were underemployment, low income, high costs of living, "crowded" households, dense and tense communities and an urban political economy that inhibits the conversion of a relatively good situation in terms of levels of education into employment and income, leaving 53 percent of the Maputo population below the official poverty line. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse people's own perceptions and social relations of poverty and well-being in order to understand better the coping strategies of poor households and individuals and processes of social continuity and change.

As argued in our first report, we hold the view that political and economic structures have a powerful influence on human action and ordinary lives (Bourdieu 1990; Ortner 2006), meaning that urban development interventions in the form of changes in the current political economy are vital for poverty alleviation. But there is also room for social change through the agency of social actors. Individuals and households act on the basis of their own perceptions of their socio-economic context, and options for upward social mobility depend on their economic position (i.e. income and assets) and their ability to establish and maintain relationships with relevant institutions and individuals in the city as well as in rural settings. Poor households and individuals generally have a more limited range of human, social, physical and financial resources or 'capital' to draw on, which limits their alternative choices and strategies and may lead to further marginalisation and exclusion (Bourdieu 1990; see also CPRC 2005).

Urbanism, or "the socio-cultural consequences of urban life" (Goody and Eames 1996), is often seen to be characterised by "modernity" in its socio-cultural expressions and by economic differentiation, density of settlement and demographic heterogeneity (Rakodi and Lloyd-Jones 2002; UN-Habitat 2006). Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of urban life is the importance of employment and income, and the extent to which money is central not only for acquiring basic needs but also for establishing and maintaining social relationships. The literature on urbanism and urban development also emphasises the importance of urban-rural links, both for economic exchange and in socio-cultural terms through the persistence of tradition and rural relationships (Satterthwaite and Tacoli 2002; Englund 2002). We will argue that "tradition" as culture and practice is constantly reinvented and used strategically by individuals and households, in the city as well as through relationships with rural areas (see also Knauf 2002).

Furthermore, poor urban bairros are situated communities with their own particular characteristics and social relationships that matter for people's identity and coping strategies (Appadurai 1997). They are also what they are because they are different from other social formations. People in the poor bairros are constantly reminded about their poverty and vulnerability through overt signs and symbols of economic inequalities. For some, better-off bairros and households function as points of reference for their own aspirations and coping strategies. One indication of this is the frequency with which people in the bairros use the word "dignity" (*dignidade*) to explain why they aspire to get better organised bairros, better houses, better access to services etc. For others, however, the inequality serves to instil in them a sense of hopelessness and despair that further trap them in poverty. This sentiment is expressed by many of the poorest in the bairros in notions of having given up making more out of their lives, which is reminiscent of Lewis's notion of an urban "culture of poverty" (Lewis 1966; see also Hannerz 1997).

Our main argument in this chapter is that the poorest bairro dwellers are marginalised and excluded from vital urban and rural relationships, as they cannot fulfil them with money or material means in an increasingly commoditised social context. Being unable to establish and maintain constructive relationships with the extended family, neighbours, employers, the state and other institutions, they come to depend on a more limited range of social relations and networks, which further limits their access to economic resources and enhances their sense of powerlessness and vulnerability. In other words, material poverty has consequences of its own in the sense that it narrows the room for constructive social relationships and channels people's relations and cultural perceptions in ways that tend to impoverish and marginalise them further (see Bourdieu 1990).

In the following we will analyse the cultural perceptions and social relations of poverty by focussing on i) people's perceptions of the main constraints and options in the city at large and their communities; ii) people's perceptions of categories of poor and better-off households and their main constraints and options; and iii) the more specific social relationships of the poor and less-poor in practice with the extended family household, agents of employment and income, and the state and civil society respectively. The analysis will be based primarily on people's cultural perceptions and social practices, as these have been expressed, through methodologies of force-field analysis, wealth ranking and Venn diagrams (see Chapter 1), but we will also refer to other anthropological studies when relevant (see e.g. da Costa 2007; Ndhimandi 2005; Francisco and Paulo 2005; Vletter 1992; Loforte 1989).

5.1 Perceptions of Poverty and Well-Being

Characteristics of a Poor Community

We have separated people's perceptions of the characteristics of poor communities emerging from the force-field analysis into two categories. One refers to structural conditions and processes which people believe they cannot influence and have to relate to as best they can. The second refers to conditions on the level of households and individuals that people believe they can do something about themselves (see Table 47).²⁰

Table 47: Emic perceptions of the characteristics of a poor community

Structural conditions	Social conditions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unemployment (in the formal sector) • Low returns (in the informal sector) • Everything in the city has to be bought (with money) • Difficult to maintain relations with rural areas to get (direct access to) food. • Increase in prices, especially of bread and fuel, have made things harder • Lack of proper health posts and piped water make things more difficult • Lack of public transport makes it expensive to go to work. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People live too crowded and there is no proper demarcation (between plots) • Young people do not respect the elders any more • Youngsters and children become thieves because they don't have food. • There is no respect for the law (because the police cannot do anything) • Some people do not want to work in the <i>machamba</i> • Many people have HIV/AIDS, but often we do not know who they are.

²⁰ The list in Table 47 is made on the basis of the outcome of the force-field methodology (see Chapter 1) in Mafalala, Inhagoia, Laulane and Khongolote, and reflects the most common points mentioned in response to the question "what are the most important conditions that make this community poor".

By far the most important structural constraints on poverty reduction or improved well-being identified by the groups are related to unemployment and low income. People see that more employment opportunities and higher income is a key issue for improving the general conditions for individual households as well as for the community at large. They ascribe the responsibility for the limited access to formal employment to the state (many elders with reference to superior employment opportunities "under the Portuguese") and argue that the low returns in the informal sector are partly related to "competition", but they also request better conditions and security in the markets and for street vendors. Perhaps most recurring phrases in our discussions with groups and individuals in the bairros were around the themes that "everything in the city costs money" and "here in the city there is nothing left to share".

Our group discussions further show that people in the bairros have a close and conscious relationship with their rural area of origin ("terra de origem"), also that people who were born in the city know very well where their rural area of origin is. They argue that it is important to maintain relationships with relatives and others in the village, and that being involved in agriculture is important as "we do not have to spend so much money on food". Having *machambas* in the village is considered the best option as this attaches people to their extended family, but many also have small plots on the outskirts of Maputo (in the 'Zona Verde') or in the bairro itself (as in Khongolote). People who do not work in the *machamba* are seen as either "so rich that they can buy the food they want"; as people who are lazy and "don't want to work"; or as people who are too poor and weak to do agricultural tasks.

Food prices are considered a particularly important reason for impoverishment and many people "have to live only on bread", which is considered insufficient for an adequate diet. Water is becoming privatised as part of municipal policy for water provision, and many households make contracts with private owners and pay up to 350 MTn per month. Fuel is important for illuminating the house and when it is too expensive people have to "live in the dark", as one put it. Health posts and hospitals are in many cases located in other bairros, and people complain that it is expensive to go to other settlements and that they are not popular there because they come from another area. And the transportation system is considered inadequate not only because it is expensive, but also because the *chapas* do not stop where people want: "People are just dropped off and have to walk, or take another bus if they have the money".

In describing the social problems in the bairros that relate to people's own behaviour, the crowdedness is a reoccurring theme. There are too many people coming and going ("I used to know people here, but now I don't know any", an older man in Mafalala complained), and people also acknowledge that many houses have "too many dwellers", which may create "poverty and conflicts between people". A recurring theme in the groups was also the lack of respect among young people, which makes it difficult for older people to talk sense to them and renders the bairros unsafe at night. In several groups alcohol and drugs were presented as a main problem, but most participants acknowledged that the real problem was that "the young people have nothing to do".

All groups emphasised the issue of crime and how that affects life in the communities. Local police confirmed that crime is a big problem and argue that it is on the rise, even though this is not reflected in the available statistics (Amoroc 2006). People argue that most crimes are not taken to the police and court, saying that "the police do not do anything" or that it does not help the victim if the culprit is put in prison.²¹ The main emphasis in the groups was on murder and violent robberies as these are seen to have the most serious consequences for the community, but they acknowledge

²¹ An argument put forward for traditional courts is that they can order compensation to the victim from the culprit or his or her extended family, while formal courts sentence people to jail without such compensation.

that theft from houses and shops is a much more common problem. No group mentioned domestic violence, which may be considered too private to discuss in public forums.

The groups were reluctant to talk about HIV/AIDS (often referred to as a “*doença prolongada*”) in any detail, even though people acknowledge that it exists and that it has implications for the community and relations between people there. In one bairro they argued that it was difficult to know who had the disease “as so many people are sick here”, and that “people who get treatment go to the city”. It was also argued that it was a particular problem for “those [women] who work on the 24th July Avenue” (i.e. prostitutes). The implications of HIV-AIDS were most strongly expressed when a funeral procession passed by during a group discussion in one of the bairros. Before, people said, all relatives, friends and neighbours would come to a funeral. It would take several days, and the guests were well treated with food and drinks and had time to talk. Now it is all much quicker, not so many people come, there is little food, and “you will even find people who go to a bar during the funeral”. Death is in a sense becoming commonplace, without thereby being less painful for the people directly concerned (see also Paulo 2004).

In sum, people have clear perceptions about problems and challenges in their communities and (as we shall see in Chapter 6) clear ideas about what should be done about them. The points listed were nevertheless the outcome of long and at times heated discussions in the groups. Differences of opinion were primarily between the old and the young, with the former often stating that things were better before and (indirectly at least) blaming problems on lack of respect for traditional values and the latter primarily blaming lack of opportunities for employment and income in a rough urban context. Women also tended to give stronger emphasis to conditions in the bairro than men, who were more occupied with the problem of employment. Despite all the problems identified in the communities, however, very few expressed a preference for moving back to their village of origin or other rural areas. This implies that people after all do see advantages in living in the city, or alternatively that they perceive the situation to be even more difficult in rural areas.²²

Characteristics of a Poor Household

In this section, we will present the perceptions of the characteristics of a poor household as these were presented to us through the participatory methodology of wealth ranking (see Chapter 1). Following discussion about the broader definition of poverty, we asked the community how one can tell whether a household is poor or not. Self-ascribed characteristics or identities of this type are important for our understanding of the dynamics of poverty as they have implications for people’s own perception of their situation, for the way others perceive their situation, and hence for peoples’ strategies and action. Table 48 presents the perceptions of poor households separated into material and social characteristics respectively.

²² This is in apparent contrast to the situation in urban areas in other countries in Southern Africa, where studies show that many households make strategic decisions with the ultimate goal of moving back to their rural areas of origin once they have stopped working (see e.g. Ferguson 1999; Bank 2001).

Table 48: *Emic perceptions of a poor household*

Material characteristics	Social characteristics
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households with children who do not have proper clothes (at school) • Households who cannot cook because they do not have food • Households with beautiful houses, but no furniture • Households with small houses, without doors and windows • Households where they sleep outside on an <i>esteira</i> (mat) • Households without cups, plates and chairs • Households who don't have money to buy tea. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Households with no employment, no income and hunger • Households where the husband and wife don't stay together • Households with no women [to work in the informal sector and take care of the house] • Young women who become pregnant, with no one taking responsibility • Young girls and boys who abandon school and become thieves or prostitutes • Old people (singles, widows, divorcees) with no one to support them • Orphans of parents [who have had 'untimely deaths']

The groups highlighted the inability to take proper care of children as a central sign of poverty and destitution, epitomised by children who go to school without proper uniforms or clothes. Not taking care of children is considered shameful and associated with poverty and an urban context where adult family members are too busy earning a living to follow up their children. When we asked the groups if having many children is a good thing in the city, some answered it is a good thing when the households meet adequate conditions for raising them. But others answered that it is not good because the children will not find jobs to help the parents, which will perpetuate a situation of poverty or destitution for the household. In any case, as we saw in Chapter 4, people in the four bairros do get many children.

The material characteristics of poor households further focussed on the dwelling and the ability to put food on the table, which is epitomised by ownership of chairs, cups, plates and tea as central urban cultural signs of poverty and well-being. Not being able to entertain visitors and guests is considered shameful. The "ritual" when entering a house is elaborate and important: instead of greeting first, the owner will disappear into the house or to the back yard to collect chairs and make sure that the visitor is comfortable, and then greet with the equivalent of "bom dia, boa tarde or boa noite" (or more elaborately with people where it is important to identify area of origin and possible family connections) and offer refreshments. Not being able to fulfil such expectations (by making guests sit on the ground and with nothing to offer) is seen as a sign of poverty or destitution and has implications for the nature of social relationships.

Equally significant are the contrasts put up between appearance ("beautiful houses") and the real situation of poverty and well-being ("no furniture"). A large number of households have houses under continuing construction and people in the groups agreed that it often takes years to finish a house – if ever. Asked why people do not construct simpler and cheaper houses which would leave money for food as well as furniture, responses varied from the importance of having a proper brick house for economic security to arguments that brick houses are signs of urban belonging and success (i.e. with economic and cultural connotations largely like cattle in rural areas). Following from this, living in cheaper rural "stick houses" (casas de caniço) or corrugated iron shacks is one of the clearest signs of poverty and destitution in the four bairros, even though it may make sense for

the household living there to spend money on food, clothing, education and health rather than on bricks.

Identifying the social characteristics of poor households, the groups focussed on the general condition of unemployment, low income and "hunger" (fome), but also on more specific characteristics. The importance of households being "complete" to be able to cope and relate to the urban environment is indicated by the identification of households where husband and wife do not live together as particularly poor and vulnerable. Interestingly, people in the groups also highlighted households without women as particularly vulnerable to poverty and destitution. This may be interpreted as an acknowledgement of women's multiple roles in the urban setting as income earners, usually in the informal economy, and for social reproduction through childcare, cooking, cleaning, getting children ready for school, nursing the sick and multiple other tasks. Or conversely, that poor single men are unable to combine employment and income with domestic responsibilities and childcare, "which they are not prepared to do in our culture". Such men are in real trouble, one group underlined, and they have to find a relative or another woman who can help them if they are to avoid misery (miséria).

The identification of single mothers (with no one taking on the responsibility of fatherhood) and boys and girls who abandon schools and become "thieves or prostitutes" points to two issues that are closely associated with urban life. People in the groups argued that it is difficult to force men to take on responsibility for fatherhood if they refuse or cannot afford to because "the extended family is not here" and young men "lack respect". If not related to rape or other violent crime, fatherhood is also considered a private matter for the household or extended family to solve: in rural Mozambique, people told us, traditional courts may still force the boy or his extended family to assume responsibility or pay compensation. Single mothers, particularly with several children, also face problems in finding other men who want to take on responsibility for the children. The identification of young school drop-outs as poor seems to be based on a combination of the problems they face in getting employment and income (and the concomitant burden they represent for their respective families) and the stigma of idle young people staying in the bairros the whole day being "thieves or prostitutes".

Finally, old people without anybody to support them and orphans were singled out as particularly poor and vulnerable. These cases were also presented as specifically urban problems, as old people and orphans "are taken better care of in the village". There are social institutions in Maputo both for old people and orphans (see Chapter 4), but the extended family is still seen as responsible. Most of the poor and marginalised old people are seen to be women who are widows or divorced, who in a patrilineal context have few people to turn to if the husband's family or their children are not in a position to or do not want to assume responsibility (see below). While most orphans are taken care of by family or institutions, those ending up alone on the streets are seen as a particular ignominy in a society where children traditionally have had a central place.

Summing up this section, perhaps the most striking feature of peoples' perceptions of poverty is the focus on the immediate household rather than its place in a larger extended family context as in rural Nampula, where for example the absence of a maternal uncle was seen as a central feature of poor households (Tvedten, Rosário and Paulo 2006). This confirms the notion of poor urban households being "on their own" despite living in crowded contexts. The importance attached to having women in the household to avoid poverty and destitution may also be interpreted as a sign of their importance for social reproduction in an urban setting where men face increasing problems in their traditional role as providers due to formal unemployment. Finally, individual poor people such as single mothers, single elders and orphans are considered poorer and more destitute in an urban environment where the extended family and traditional institutions, such as the clan (nihimo), play a more limited role than in rural areas. The general notion of urban poverty can perhaps best be

exemplified by a statement in one of our discussion groups: in rural areas, an old man argued, “you at least have something”, referring to the family and the machamba. But here in the city there are people who have nothing (não têm nada).

Categories of Poor Households

Following up our discussion of the general perceptions of characteristics of poor communities and households in Maputo’s bairros, we will now take a closer look at the more concrete categorisations of poor and better-off household units as these came out in the wealth-ranking exercise (see Chapter 1). Our point of departure is, again, that such classifications reflect realities on the ground and are important for the actual strategies and relationships people pursue in their daily lives.

The general name for poverty in Ronga/Shangana is “*xisiwana*”, which means “somebody who has nothing” or alternatively “people who are afraid to talk to other people” or “infertile land” – effectively emphasising the dual attribute of material poverty and social isolation. The groups taking part in the wealth-ranking exercise identified a total of five categories of poor households, namely, i) *xisiwana xantumbuluku*, ii) *xisiwana xangamo*, iii) *xisiwana xakwiancha*, iv) *xisiwana nkansakaia* and v) *xisiwana xakwiantxahana*.

Xisiwana xantumbuluku means “poor by nature”. This signifies that the household is poor because the extended families of which it is a part have always been poor. The household tries to do something to get out of poverty, but it is difficult because it does not have the means to improve its members’ lives. Inside of the *xisiwana xantumbuluku* category we find a sub-category known as *nfelacase*, which means widow in Shangana (“*nfela*” means death and “*case*” means husband). Nfelacase is also considered “poor by nature”, because death is a natural thing.

Case 1 – Xisiwana xantumbuluku

“Xantumbuluku” was born in the district of Macia in the province of Gaza. He first moved from Gaza to the bairro of Hulene, ‘pushed’ by poverty, and moved in with his extended family. After some years in Hulene the household moved to Laulane. Xantumbuluku is single because he does not have money to marry, but he left a child with his mother in Macia. Xantumbuluku lives with four persons (one nephew with his wife and two children), but they all struggle to get by. The major problem in Xantumbuluku’s family is the small house, which only has one room, as they do not have money to build a bigger house. Xantumbuluku sells biscuits, detergent and vinegar among other basic products in front of his house. His brother- and sister-in-law help to sell. When they sell they may make up to 60 MT a day, which they use to buy food. There is nothing left for other things, such as education for the children and to go to the hospital.

Case 2 – Nfelacase

There are different types of widows or “*nfelacase*”. Some live in the dead husband’s house and some have left it. The *nfelacase* who continues to live there is the most vulnerable because her in-laws can decide to stop helping her at any moment. If she is not working and totally depends on her dead husband’s family, she might have difficulty in getting even basic necessities. One widow in Khongolote had experienced that her dead husband’s nephew took over her house in central Maputo with the support of her in-laws and left her with nothing, and she had to move to a bairro where land was cheaper and available. She now stays with four of her children and says she is trying to re-establish relations with her own family in Inhambane. She has visited them (bringing

sugar, bread, tea and other “urban” items) and they have visited her (bringing sweet potato, lettuce and banana). She makes a living by selling soft drinks in the local market in Khongolote and producing onions and lettuce that she sells at a local market in the bairro T 3. Though her income is small and irregular, she has been able to send two of her children to school.

Xisiwane Xangamo are households that have become poor or destitute as a result of specific events or discontinued relationships. Distinctions are made between those who have experienced downward social mobility through no fault of their own (and are worthy of support) and those who have created problems for themselves (and hence are not equally worthy of support). They may have a dwelling, but no furniture. And they may have food one day, but not the next. The category includes the sub-category *xiculungo*. Xiculungo is a poor household usually headed by a single, divorced or widowed woman with no social network in the bairro or in her rural village of origin.

Case 3 – Xisiwana xangamo

“Xangamo” is a man. He was born in Chibuto, has lived in Mafalala since 1963 and used to work for the Laurentina brewery. Xangamo is now retired. After his first wife died, her family gave him another woman to marry. He became a widower for the second time in 2002. His wife had fallen ill with diarrhoea and malaria. Xangamo took his wife to the traditional healer (*sangoma*) but she died. Xangamo says he has thirteen children, and eleven of these are unemployed and survive through informal activities (*biscatos*). Two sons are footballers, but they do not earn enough to give support. And two sons are working in South Africa. None of the children visit him or help him regularly, but contribute a little when things are really difficult. The children do not help him because of his behaviour (he consulted a *sangoma* instead of taking his wife to the hospital and still sees *sangomas*) and he is drinking too much.

Case 4 – Xiculungo

“Xiculungo” is a woman living in Khongolote. She used to be married to a man who left her with their two children when he found another woman five years ago. He stopped supporting her, and she could no longer afford to rent rooms in the centre of town and moved to Khongolote, where she put up a small ‘rural’ house (*casa de canço*) in between houses under construction. She has lost contact with her family in Inhambane, only has one sister in Maputo who is sick, and her husband’s family stopped relating to her when he left her. She spends the day around her dwelling trying to sell biscuits and vegetables and sometimes she cooks for builders working on houses being constructed for people from Maputo. Her two sons do not go to school because she cannot afford transportation, school material and an extra fee they want to charge her because the school is ‘full’. Practically all the money she earns is used for food and she does not see how she can improve her life.

Xisiwana xakwiancha are poor households that know how to use the little they have. They have bread and tea everyday. In this category there is a sub-category known as *kupfumala*, which means “because I do not have”.

Case 5 – Xisiwana xakwiancha

“Xakwiancha” is a man. He was born in Macia in 1931 and arrived in Maputo on foot when he was young. He is now a widower and has ten children, thirty-two grandchildren and six great-grandchildren. He moved to Laulane bairro in 1968. When he arrived, the *régulo* Laulane gave him a plot of land to build his house. Xakwiancha said that at the time there were not a lot of people in the bairro. When he arrived in Maputo he started working at Mozambique Railway. He did not forget what happened when the *turra* (freedom fighters) arrived. He was part of the labour movement and started to mobilise the workers to fight for their rights. Now he is retired and he is working as a guard at the Community School of Laulane. He does not earn much, but says that he has what he needs. He is also active in the community and likes to help other people and advise students the best that he can.

Xisiwana nkansakaia – *nkansakaia* means “stay at home” (*pilar em casa*). Xisiwana nkansakaia is a single mother who has many children with different men who do not stay with her. In this category are also included women with twins, who traditionally are considered bad luck.

Case 6 – Xisiwana nkansakaia

“Nkansakaia” was born in Maxaquene. Her family moved to Laulane when she was a child, but she does not know why they moved. Nkansakaia is a single mother. She has four children. Two children go to school in Laulane but the other two do not go to school because she does not have money to buy uniforms and books. She thinks that she has a problem because the men do not stay with her. Men impregnate her and leave. Nkansakaia thinks that they leave because she is very poor. She usually asks for things before they run away. Nkansakaia lives with four sisters, who all are single mothers. They survive selling coal to neighbours in their yard. She thinks that she and her sisters are unlucky. They have a lot of children and they do not have husbands to help. Nkansakaia thinks that it is nice to have many children when a family has the means to raise them. All the money she earns she uses to buy food. The money is not enough to save. The main problems she has in her family are the lack of food, clothes and money to finish her house. Nkansakaia’s house is made with cement covered with zinc but the house does not have windows and the floor is not properly made. When she or a member of her family is sick it is also a big problem. Thus Nkansakaia’s family members may suffer and in some cases die because of the lack of extended family and institutional support. Yet another problem for Nkansakaia is that she cannot marry because of children. Children give rise to expenses and children that are not yours become difficult to tolerate.

Xisiwana xakwiantxahana – *xakwiantxahana* means “medium poor”. Such households have a small but regular income, but it is not enough because there are many mouths to feed in the family.

Case 7 – Xisiwana xakwiantxahana

“Xakwiantxahana” was born in Maxixe and moved to Maputo in 1976. When he arrived in Maputo he first lived in the bairro of Chicabela (now CMC). He moved to Inhagoia in 1982 because his aunt lived there. Xakwiantxahana worked in the Aícola enterprise before he was transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture, where he earns a minimum wage of 1800 MT per month. Xakwiantxahana has two wives and nine children. Six live with him and three live in Infulene with his second wife. All his children are studying.

He shops in Inhagoia because the transport to the city is expensive. He said that the city is only for working and the rest of his activities he undertakes in Inhagoia. Despite the fact that Xakwiantxahana works and earns minimum wage, it is not enough to sustain his family. His situation is particularly difficult because he does not have a *machamba* that can help him and he does not have enough time to do *biscates*. Xakwiantxahana's situation will become worse when his children reach higher school levels where fees and school material costs are paid. Xakwiantxahana worries because he knows that when he retires he will have even less.

In sum, the various categories of poor people teach us that there is not one concept of poverty that fits all realities. It also shows that people define and relate to categories of poor people on the basis of their degree of material poverty, the nature of their social relations of poverty and the extent to which their poverty is considered their own fault or not.

Categories of Well-Off Households

We also asked the communities to identify categories of rich or well-off households and people belonging to them. People were more reluctant to do this than to identify poor households, as wealth and success are closely associated with witchcraft and magic. The general word in Ronga/Shangana for being rich or well-off is “*aganhile*”, which also means “to win”. Three main categories were identified, namely *xantumbuluku*, *xigogo* and *aganhihana*.

Aganhile xantumbuluku – *xantumbuluku* means “to have something by nature”, or always to have been rich and worked hard.

Case 8 – Aganhile xantumbuluku

“Xantumbuluku” was born in the district of Manjacaze, province of Gaza. He is 54 years old and arrived in Maputo in 1964. Xantumbuluku is the son of his father’s third wife. The other wives thought that Xantumbuluku’s father spent too much time with his mother and she ran away from the conflict and moved to Manhiça where she stayed at her husband’s uncle’s house. Xantumbuluku’s uncle was a *régulo* and well off. In Lourenço Marques, Xantumbuluku’s mother wanted him to study. While he was studying he started working as a domestic worker in Mafalala. The first salary that Xantumbuluku earned was \$100 (colonial *escudos*). With this money he bought clothes and shoes. Xantumbuluku later studied at the Swiss Mission. To write an exam he needed to be *assimilado*. When he finished his studies he began working in the Student Association of Mozambique. In 1973, Xantumbuluku asked to be transferred to the Ministry of Public Housing and in 1980 he went to Cuba to study business and management. In 1989, he borrowed 30,000 MT from Banco Austral to start a chicken business and to buy a lorry, while continuing to work for the government. In 1995, he opened a well and provided water for households in Laulane and opened a plant nursery, which he now has expanded into a flower business for weddings, anniversaries and baptisms. Xantumbuluku has five children and employs eight workers. Xantumbuluku has yet another project planned, namely a garage. To start this project, he has asked for funding from Socremo (a micro-credit bank).

Xigogo – *xigogo* means “something big”. This category contains households that have become rich relatively quickly and like to show off their wealth (“newly rich”). They have children in private schools, when they are sick they go to the hospital, and they shop at Shoprite (until recently the only shopping mall in Maputo).

Case 9 – Xigogo

“Xigogo” was born in Inhambane. He is married and has six children. All the children are studying. Xigogo has three projects in the bairro of Inhagoia: piped water, hairdressing and a private *chapa* transportation company. He is preparing to open a shop in Inhagoia with the money he saves from the three businesses. Xigogo has two houses, one in Inhambane where he was born and another in Inhagoia. Before he started these businesses Xigogo worked as an accountant for Stanex, a Dutch enterprise that closed and gave him compensation. After that he decided to work for himself. Xigogo said that he does not like to imitate anybody, and likes living his own way. When a member of his family becomes sick he takes him or her to the central hospital of Maputo because the attendance is good and fast. He started the water business in 2002 and has 118 clients. Xigogo sells water from 6 am to 9 pm every day. He runs his businesses with the help of his household. The water business gives him 19,000 MT per month. With the *chapa* company Xigogo does the Anjo Voador/ Hulene route. He does not work during the weekend.

Aganhinhana or *kutsamiseka*, which means “stable. This type of household does not have too much but has what it needs. It has a pleasant and stable life with children in public schools and tea and bread with butter every day.

Case 10 – Aganhinhana

“Aganhinhana” was born in Chibuto. She has lived in Mafalala since 2002. Aganhinhana is married and has four children. Two children are studying and one is married. Aganhinhana’s husband is a journalist. Sometimes Aganhinhana visits her family in Chibuto. Her family also visits her and brings food to offer her. Aganhinhana thinks that having many children is good if the children help the family. The important places in the city are the Malanga market, down town (*baixa*), Xipamanine and Alto Maé, because she can shop for good products there. When a member of Aganhinhana’s family is sick they go to Malhangalene’s health post. If the illness is not cured she takes the sick person to the (private) Polana Caniço clinic. Aganhinhana thinks that the city area and the hospital are the most important things for the Mafalala bairro. Aganhinhana is in a category of well-off households that many poor households would prefer to be, because they believe that if they become *xigogo* they will have a lot of trouble with jealousy and retribution (i.e. witchcraft).

In summary, the three categories of rich families represent different careers and levels of well-being. They are also associated with different types of behaviour and social responsibility. Most people in the bairros have a mixed perception of them: they would like to be as successful as them, but they also see that being well-off may create distance to others and additional problems.

5.2 Social Relations of Poverty and Well-Being

Having discussed people’s perceptions of poverty and well-being, we will now take a closer look at the actual social relationships people pursue as part of their coping strategies. As already argued, the nature and extent of the social relationships people manage to establish and maintain largely define their options for upward social mobility or continued poverty and deprivation. We have taken households from the different categories identified through the wealth-ranking exercise as our points of departure, and have examined their relations through a combination of Venn diagrams and in-depth interviews (see Chapter 1). The households were asked to identify the most important institutions and individuals for their coping strategies, and we will label these under three main

headings: relations with the extended family and other personal connections (friends, neighbours, acquaintances); relations of employment and provisioning; and relations with the state, civil society and aid organisations. The overall finding is that the better-off households have the most extensive sets of social relationships to build on, while the poorest have much more confined relations with a narrower set of institutions and individuals.

The Extended Family and Other Personal Relations

Perhaps the clearest expression of the importance of the household and extended family in the bairros is the size and complexity of the domestic units (see Chapter 4). Households in southern Mozambique are at the outset established with reference to a patrilineal kinship system and a patrilocal residence pattern in which wives and children become the ‘property’ of the man’s family. This is symbolically confirmed through the continued widespread practice of bridewealth or *lobolo*: the woman’s family get “compensation”, traditionally in the form of cattle but currently in the form of commodities or money, and she moves to the husband’s family and area of residence (*munti*). The husband’s family exerts considerable influence on a woman’s life and she easily becomes marginalised if she does not bear any children, becomes divorced or her husband dies. There is also a strong tradition of polygamy, with the first wife having a more central position in terms of rights and responsibilities than the additional wives (see also Costa 2007).

While people are very conscious of this “cultural model” (see also da Costa 2007), our case studies also show that the organisation of family and households is influenced by the conditions in the city and poverty. One basic characteristic is that the extended family’s places of residence are more scattered, with relatives in different parts of the city as well as in rural areas. Another is the practical implications of limited space in crowded bairros and households, which may inhibit the establishment of “optimal” households in terms of size and composition. Furthermore, marriage as an institution is weakened by the inability of many of the poor in the bairros to pay *lobolo* and by the concomitant practice of living together without formal marriage relations (i.e cohabitation, or *kukandza*). This in itself makes households less stable as they are not equally involved in the extended family network. Moreover, the ability of unemployed and poor men to take care of their wives and children as tradition prescribes is often weak, at the same time as many women have their own economic base through the informal economy. The cultural basis for polygamy is also weakened through the widespread practice of ‘substituting’ second or third wives with lovers (*amantes*).

Combining the continued strong patrifocal tradition with the realities of urban life, the salient characteristic of the extended family household in the bairros is its complexity and instability. People live in large and complex households because a separate dwelling is unaffordable for many, as well as for practical reasons: coping in an urban environment makes it important to diversify sources of provisioning, cooperate in taking care of children or elders and maintain vital ties with rural areas and agricultural production. At the same time, the relationships are under constant pressure from urban realities, particularly among the poorest households, with the combination of poverty, congestion and crowdedness being central. Older people complain about the lack of respect from their children and grandchildren; younger parents complain about lack of control over or the “laziness” of their children; men complain about women who do not take proper care of the house and children; and women complain about men who do not bring home sufficient money to feed the family.

People emphasise how young men in particular have become unstable partners “who often don’t even bring the little they earn to their family but rather spend it on themselves”, as one put it. This situation seems to have led women to take on increasing responsibility for their own lives by

voluntarily forming female-headed households,²³ and to establish close female-focussed social networks, leaving some young men as the poorest and most marginalised category of urban dwellers. While the patrilineal tradition and male-dominated cultural configuration in Southern Mozambique still seems to leave men in control, people refer to an increasing number of households where women make the decisions. Among the households involved in our study are units consisting of single mothers, mothers and daughters, sisters, female cousins and female friends – all without men in a present and active role.

To meet the challenges of urban living, then, many households in our study go through periods of fission and fusion based on flexible interpretations of "traditional culture". While the nucleus may be a man, his wife or wives and their children, it may also for shorter or longer periods contain people from their parents' generation (usually but not necessarily the man's parents); brothers or sisters (usually but not necessarily of the man); nephews or other young relatives sent to the city by rural relatives (usually but not necessarily of the man); or other relatives or close acquaintances from the *terra de origem*. Likewise, people from the urban household may leave to live in rural areas for longer or shorter periods of time, including women who go to stay with their in-laws in early periods of marriages and to help out during agricultural seasons (or with their own extended family in cases of marriage conflict); children who are sent away from congested urban bairros to live with rural family, often for several years; and men who stay with additional wives or lovers for months, either in other bairros or in rural areas. Several households in our study also contain men who have lived in South Africa or Swaziland for long periods of time (see also Costa 2007).

With the important but permeable relationships within the household and with the extended family, neighbours and friends have become important social relations in the daily lives of many households. In particular, single-headed and younger units seem to rely on such contacts both in their daily lives (to look after children, to "watch the house" when the owner is at work, to cooperate in daily tasks from borrowing sugar to getting rid of garbage, or to help sell small items from *bancas* by the house), as well as at times of severe difficulty (to give emotional support in times of domestic crisis, to lend money for school material costs or visits to the hospital, to give material and practical support when people have to go to take care of relatives in rural areas, or to house people who have lost their home to floods, fires or landslides). In fact, some of the poorest and most destitute households in our sample totally depend on neighbours for food and basic necessities. People also emphasise nevertheless that such relations are fragile. The poverty and the stress of bairro life limit the number of people that one really can count on and trust. And the neighbours and friends people do trust are often poor themselves and may be in situations where they simply have nothing to share. The following two cases are relevant illustrations of the role of the extended family and other personal relations for change and continuity in poverty and well-being (for additional analyses and case-studies see e.g. Andrade and Loforte 1997; Espling 1999; da Costa 2007).

"Mariana Inhacule" was born in 1955 in Marracuene. She arrived in Maputo with her parents when she was a child. As an adult she first lived in bairro Aeroporto and then moved to Inhagóia "B". Mariana has a machamba; she works out of the house washing clothes, carrying water and collecting metals to sell; and she collects bottles in the street to sell. She has had a number of relationships with men and many children. She first met a man with whom she had four children. After a while the man left for Swaziland to work and when he came back he went to Marracuene where he married another woman. He wanted to present his second wife to Mariana, but she refused because she did not want to share the same house with another woman. One of Mariana's sons has died of tuberculosis, one daughter is married and the last son lives with Mariana even though he is

²³ In South Africa and Namibia, female-headed households currently represent more than 50 percent of households in urban areas (BRIDGE 2001; World Bank 2007).

grown up. The son repairs radios and is also a constructor, but he does not get along well with his mother and they eat from separate pots. He accuses his mother of witchcraft and wants to take over the house, which was originally built by his father. When Mariana's first husband lived in Swaziland, she met a second man with whom she had two children, who deserted her. Mariana now has a relationship with a third man, with whom she had one child who lives with the father. He tried to help her, but her other children created a "barrier" and he therefore had no authority [in the house] and left. She does not know where one of the two children she had with her second man is, and the other is living at her sister's house in another bairro in Maputo. Mariana also lives with two grandchildren. The one who is at school age does not go to school because "I forgot to send him", as she put it. Mariana and her present husband are still together, but they live in separate houses. He does not come to her house because once he brought money and the money disappeared. He accused Mariana's eldest son of stealing and the latter became so upset that he asked him to leave and never come back. The third husband has built a house for both of them to live together, but she was reluctant to leave her children and the house she built with the first husband. As she put it, "my children are my husband". However, this man always helps when she is in real difficulty. Mariana belongs to Christ Star Salvation church. When she is sick, the church helps her with medicines.

"Victor Hilário" came to Khongolote with his wife and nine children in 2000 as a result of the flood in Polana Caniço, where they used to live. Three of the children have since then moved out. One works in South Africa ("I am not sure with what"); one goes to school in the bairro CMC (staying with his aunt); and one lives in Maputo with a friend ("I still pay for her as she does not have a job yet"). Victor has worked for the Maputo Municipality for more than 30 years, most of the time with control (*fiscalização*) of municipal markets. The family received economic support from the state when they had to leave Polana Caniço, but had to find the new place to stay themselves. Victor started by buying two plots (*talhões*) and constructing three reed dwellings, but is slowly substituting these with brick houses. He still works for the Municipality, but complains that it is an expensive and long journey (costing 1000 MT per month as he has to use two *chapas* and "taking up to two hours each way if the traffic is bad"). In addition, the household has a *machamba* towards Marracuene and maintains close contact with his extended family in Gaza by going there several times a year. Victor has also become involved in his new community in Khongolote and soon became head of the *quarteirão* where he lives ("the old *chefe* was fired because he sold [the same piece of] land twice"). Victor takes his assignment seriously even though he complains that "I work a lot but get no salary [from the state]", but people give him "compensation" when he helps them. One of his tasks is to try to help in family conflicts, talking to them or, if that does not help, taking them to the [community] tribunal or the *curandeiro*.

Relations of Employment and Income

In pursuing relations of employment and income in the lives of the bairro residents that have been involved in our study, it has become clear to us that people prefer formal employment to informal employment - not only because the former usually yields higher remuneration but also because it is more secure and gives more predictable returns. There is also a perception that formal employment is "real" employment, with some claiming that it is more "dignified" (*digno*) with an office and office hours than working in markets or on the streets. At the same time, the residents argue that it is best to work for the government because "then you can also get a house", referring to what they perceive as arrangements yielding additional benefits. Private sector employment is usually seen as less attractive because "you can easily get fired", as one put it. Being a security guard, which is the most easily accessible work for many of the poor, is particularly unpopular as it has low status, gives low remuneration and has limited job security.

In explaining why it is so difficult to get formal employment, people acknowledge that most bairro residents do not have the necessary education, knowledge and experience for many of the "good

jobs". But they also emphasise the problem of "having to pay", referring to what seems to be a widespread system of paying a "fee" (*contribuição*) for somebody to recommend you to the management of a potential employer. For people in the community who have formal employment and a regular income, such a situation also poses challenges. They are under strong pressure to share and contribute to their extended family as well as neighbours and other community members, and people argue that "the rich do not want to show their wealth" to avoid this. In fact, there is a widespread perception that "success" in terms of employment and income is somehow related to witchcraft and sorcery and it is therefore 'taboo' (*psahila*) to talk about. People in the bairros were very reluctant to identify who the employed and better off in their communities were, usually stating, as one group did, that "[i]t is easy to recognise the well-off families [in this community]. They have a big houses built with cement and covered with zinc. Some of them have a motorcycle and car".

For the majority of our sample households, the most relevant and important source of employment and income is the informal sector. The sector has been called "a system of permanent negotiations without receipts" (Serra 2001:19), reflecting its intensity as well as its semi- or illegality. Although the informal economic activities pay less, are less predictable and less "dignified" than formal employment, our case studies show that there are nuanced perceptions of the different possibilities it entails. The most common type of informal economic activity is trade in imported and locally produced goods and commodities (such as vegetables, fruits, fish, cosmetics and batteries), which is dominated by women. Informal production (such as brick-making, carpentry, tailoring and car repairs) is dominated by men and is generally considered to be more predictable and give larger profits. People in the four bairros are also involved in a large number of informal service functions, ranging from house-letting to prostitution.

In their daily lives, the bairro residents relate to a large number of different informal markets. These include the main wholesale market (recently moved from the centrally located *Malanga* to *Zimpeto* on the outskirts of the city); the large informal markets where just about anything is sold (such as *Xipamanine*, *Estrela Vermelha* and *Fajardo*); formal municipal markets where prices are higher but the quality better (such as *Mercado Central*, *Mercado do Povo* and *Mercado Janet*); a number of specialised markets (such as *Xiquelene* for building material, *Estrela* for car spare parts and *Museu* – with its central location as the end station for minibuses or *chapas* – for beverages and foodstuffs); a number of smaller markets (*barracas*) close to or in the bairros where the range of goods tends to be small and prices high; and finally all the individual pedlars (*ambulantes*) who sell their goods and carry out their services in their communities, on street corners or by constantly moving around in search of customers.

As sources of employment and income, each type of informal economic activity has different costs and challenges. The *mukheros*, who are wholesalers buying and transporting goods from South Africa (passing through Ressano Garcia) and Swaziland (passing through Namaacha) to the largest markets in Maputo, are considered the "aristocracy" of informal traders. The majority of traders are individual women and men who are part of sophisticated networks of people who buy products abroad, in rural areas or in wholesale markets in Maputo, and resell them to others who transport them to yet other markets in the city or in the bairros, where they finally reach the customers. At the other end of the hierarchy are the *dumba nengues* ("trust your feet"), who trade their goods on an individual basis on the streets of Maputo with small options for profits and considerable insecurity in the form of harassment from the police or other authorities. The informal economy thus serves as an absolutely essential source of employment and income for the poor bairro population, but it is equally clear that the low and varying returns from the informal economy leave many households on the margins of social sustainability.

Finally, our in-depth interviews indicate the importance of various illicit activities for people's coping strategies, even though it is difficult to ascertain the extent of such actions. Reports show that petty corruption is widespread, with 60 percent of urban households in Maputo having paid bribes (Austral 2005). Data from the General Commando of the Maputo Police show that a total of 5196 and 5216 crimes were reported the first six months in 2005 and 2006 respectively, including murder (59 and 31), attempted murder (20 and 26), robbery (1257 and 1509), theft (970 and 883), threats (158 and 188) and rape (55 and 56) (Amoroc 2006). This may not seem much for city of 1.3 million inhabitants, but the real figures are probably higher and crime and illicit activities have negative effects on both communities and households and hence on social as well as economic relationships. Corruption, for example in education and health, means additional expenses or unfulfilled needs for many households; theft may push the very poorest victims over the edge to utter destitution; and serious crime in the communities inhibits social interaction and relationships.²⁴

The following two cases illustrate the importance of relations of employment and income for the bairro population (for additional analyses and cases see e.g. Serra 2003; Cossa 2004; Francisco and Paulo 2006).

"Celeste Soto" is in her mid-40s and lives in Mafalala. She moved from the province of Zambezia with her husband in the late 1980s, and while he started to work in South Africa she stayed in Maputo selling cassava and beans that she received from her husband's relatives in their home village. The couple built a brick house in the bairro Luis Cabral with money from the husband's salary, while Celeste took care of daily expenses for herself and their two children through her trade activities. Celeste's life was turned upside down when her husband died in South Africa five years ago. Soon after, she had to sell the house and move into a room in a single quarter in Mafalala. She also lost her trade contacts with in-laws in Zambezia, and started to sell vegetables in a small local market that gave much smaller returns. When we met Celeste she had been sick for a year, her children had stopped studying, and she told us she had no one to turn to. She was entitled to a pension from her husband but did not have money to go to South Africa to claim it; she had no relatives in southern Mozambique she could turn to; her neighbours were "as poor as I am", as she put it; and she was slowly getting too sick to work. She only kept her room due to an understanding landlord, but did not know for how long she would be able to stay. Her hope was to make it back to Zambezia and her own family, but she could not see how she would be able to earn enough money for the journey.

"Fernando Moiane" is in his late 30s, lives in a brick house still under construction in Khongolote and has a wife and four children aged from 3 to 12 years. His sister also stays with them, looking after the children. Fernando spent several years of his youth in Germany where he was trained and later worked in agriculture, and came back to Maputo in 1998. He used to live in one of the central bairros with his brother and work for the Ministry of Agriculture as a technician, but when his brother married the house became too crowded. Fernando then married his girlfriend, bought a plot of land (*talhão*) in Khongolote for 3000 MTn, and started constructing his own brick house. He argues that life in Khongolote is better than in central Maputo, where it is "too full and too much criminality". Immediately after moving to Khongolote he stopped working for the Ministry (apparently of his own free will) and started a new career as a *mukhero* taking coconuts and cashew nuts to Johannesburg and bringing back eggs, cooking oil and fruit to Maputo. He works with his own wife, his brother and her wife, taking turns to go to Johannesburg where they rent a room together with other people in the same trade. Fernando claims the business is good; they are

²⁴ According to an older man in Laulane, people don't really know who the criminals are. In the old days, he said, when officials of the bairro caught "bandits and witches" they were transferred to the other side of the railway so that the officials and the community "could control them".

planning to buy their own truck to reduce the expenses of transportation; and he wants to expand the business to include second-hand clothes.

Relations with the State, Civil Society and Aid Organisations

As shown in Chapter 4 and confirmed in our group discussions and in-depth interviews, a large proportion of the households in the four bairros acknowledge relations with the state in their communities. Most better-off households are public employees and argue that their employer as well as colleagues are important for them both economically and socially. Many households acknowledge the state as relevant through schools and health facilities, even though our case studies show that the poorest often cannot afford to send their children to school and/or cannot afford the transport and fees to health institutions. The state and the municipality are seen as important for access to public services (water, electricity, sanitation, waste collection etc.), even though lack of money also in this case inhibits access for the very poorest. People observe new investments in the city or in their bairro in the form of roads, sewage systems, street lights, housing renovation, market up-grading etc., which we have seen makes people optimistic about the future even though their own household may not (yet) directly benefit from state interventions. The state is also given credit for its support to communities and individual households in times of big calamities, such as the floods in 2000 and the explosion of the army depot Paiol in 2007, after which several households in our sample received support.

The most salient feature of the state for the poorest is nonetheless that it is not considered relevant for their daily necessities, such as employment and income. Few of the households interviewed (12.5 percent) receive direct support from the state in the form of pensions or other types of social protection from the National Institute for Social Security (INSS) and the Ministry of Women and Social Action (Acção Social), and no households list other state bodies as sources of direct support. In the absence of direct support from the state, churches and mosques seem to have taken on increasing importance not only for spiritual comfort and guidance but also for support in times of need. Our case studies reveal a considerable reliance on churches in general and the new charismatic churches in particular. A large proportion of the households list churches or mosques as institutions they turn to in times of need or crisis, both as an institution per se and through "friends in the church". As we have seen, many churches are also increasingly becoming involved in education, health and other types of counselling. Only a few households list other civil society organisations as relevant in their coping strategies, even though a number of such organisations are active in the bairros.²⁵ One of those mentioned is the Organisation of Mozambican Women (OMM), which people argue is losing influence in the communities as it does not deliver on its promises but which is important as a social network for the members themselves. A second is AMETRAMO (Associação dos Médicos Tradicionais de Moçambique), which addresses problems stemming from witchcraft accusations within the communities. Finally, no household listed foreign aid organisations as relevant for their daily coping strategies. This reflects the limited direct engagement by such organisations in issue of urban poverty, even though they are involved indirectly by contributing to general state budgets.

The following two cases aptly illustrate the importance of relations with the state, civil society and aid organisations (for additional analyses and cases see e.g. Agadjanian 1998; Cumbe 2004; Spaviliero 2006).

²⁵These include "Machaca", which is an association working with young people; "Associação dos Canalizadores", which works on problems related to water and sanitation; and "Associação das Mulheres", which teaches women sewing activities and helps women to start small business.

"Victor Hilário" was born in Inhambane and moved to Maputo in 1977. He has a wife and six children. They rented a house together with his brother and family in Maxaquene until 2002, when it became too crowded and Victor moved to Khongolote with his wife and four of his children (two stayed behind in his brother's house to go to school in Maputo and Victor still supports them). Victor has worked for the government since 1994 in an office "dealing with employment of people". His wife does not work. In the course of only a little over a year he has constructed three brick houses on two *talhões* ("I have not paid for the land") and is in the process of setting up a fourth dwelling. He says the contact with Inhambane is important for him ("I have a family there which takes care of my *machambas*") and may move back when he is pensioned. His oldest children have all gone to public schools, but in Khongolote his children go to a new private school for which he pays a monthly rate of 350 MTn for each (arguing that the teachers in the public schools "don't show up"). When family members are sick, Victor always takes them to the hospital "because the health post [in Khongolote] has nothing"). Victor is happy with developments in the bairro, saying that the government will bring electricity, water and roads and that Khongolote will be a good place to live.

"Carlos Chamba" was born in Maputo and grew up in one of the central bairros where he lived with his parents, brothers and sisters "and other people". He continued to stay in the house after he got married and had two children, but one year ago "it became too full" and he moved to Khongolote. Carlos' big problem is money: he works as a security guard for 1500 MTn per month and spends 500 MTn just on transportation to and from work. He paid 3000 MTn for half a *talhão* of land, and expects to pay between 2500 and 3000 MTn to construct a brick house "which I will not be able to in a long time". With expenses for food and clothes "there is nothing left", and his wife spends most of the day selling chickens at a nearby market "to be able to send the children to school and pay for medicines" (the oldest child has asthma). However, at the time of our interview the children had not been to school for several weeks ("it is far away and my daughter is sick"). In explaining whom he can turn to for help, Victor said that his own family is too poor to support them; that the government "only help their own people"; and that his church in Maputo will not help him because he doesn't go there any more following his move. His main concern now is his daughter, who gets sick from living with the dust that enters their provisional reed dwelling, and he is afraid she will die.

5.3 Processes of Marginalisation and Social Exclusion

In the preceding analysis we have revealed systematic differences between households in the bairros of Maputo in terms of household composition, income and assets (Chapter 4), and we have seen how people in the bairros categorise the poor on the basis of the depth of poverty and their social relationships, all with implications for processes of social marginalisation and exclusion.

The poorest households we have encountered usually manage to get by on a daily basis by channelling their income and consumption towards basic necessities in food and shelter, but their vulnerability becomes evident in times of inability to work, reduction of income, or extraordinary expenses, e.g. for education, illness or loss of property. The extent to which poor households manage to recuperate from such situations, or become trapped in their poverty, is largely determined by their ability to enter and maintain relations with institutions and individuals that can support them. The challenge in commoditised social settings like urban bairros is that most relations are framed in some kind of monetary exchange: the "entrance ticket", or initial investment, into formal or informal employment is high; poor urban relatives, neighbours and friends often cannot afford to give support to people they know will not be able to repay; it costs money the poorest usually do not have for transport and other "fees" to seek help in public offices or other institutions;

and the poorest are often too weak and sick to lift themselves out of poverty and destitution, for example through agriculture.

We have also encountered households who have apparently succumbed to their fate as poor urban dwellers and who against too many odds seem to have given up improving their lives. Some of these are particularly vulnerable people such as elders without families to support them; single mothers without support from the children's fathers; people sick with AIDS with nobody to take care of them and orphans. Many are also ordinary households that have not been able to make a living in the city and find themselves in a situation of chronic poverty with no one to turn to for help. Over time, such situations can lead to the disintegration of the family household, which may further worsen conditions for each member. Other studies from urban shantytowns or slums indicate that such situations may lead to a "culture of poverty" in the sense of a feeling of marginality, helplessness, dependence and inferiority that in itself inhibits people from acting to improve their situation and effectively traps them in poverty (see e.g. Bank 2001; Barbarin and Richter 2001). While the short period and methodologies of our study limit our options for pursuing this issue in any depth, we will nevertheless end this chapter with a brief presentation of four households that we have found to be particularly poor and vulnerable.²⁶

One poor household in Laulane consist of eight brothers and sisters. Their mother is dead and their father abandoned them three years ago when he found a new wife. He bought the piece of land and constructed a house for them, but they have no contact with him and get no support either from him or from other members of his family. The oldest brother of 21 years is the main provider for the household. He works outside the city and comes to the bairro once or twice a week to look after his siblings and give them money.

A poor household in Khongolote consists of a husband, his wife and five small children. They used to get by on small-scale trade until the depot explosion hit them hard in early 2007: the husband was hit and paralysed and their house was nearly destroyed. Since then, they have had no income ("we don't have money to start negócios") and depend on donations from the church.

A young sero-positive woman in Inhagoia lives together with two children, who are also sero-positive. She got the disease from her husband, who did not tell her about it, abandoned her and their children when they got sick and has had no contact with them for months. The household totally depends on support from the woman's sister, who has a small *machamba* and sells agricultural products from a small sales booth in her yard.

A poor household in Mafalala lives in a small shack and is formally headed by a man, "but he is never here". The real head is his sister, who works as a domestic servant for a very low income. With this money she supports her old mother-in-law, who is blind and sits in her bed all day, her brother's daughter, who is a prostitute and never brings money home, and her two children, who seem sick and feeble.

The situation for all these households appears to be extremely difficult and their very survival depends on a narrow set of fragile relationships.

²⁶ The cases were selected by the enumerators taking part in the study as examples of poor households that had made a particular impression on them.

6. Conclusions and Policy Implications

While the reduction of the poverty headcount in Mozambique from 69 to 54 percent between 1996/97 to 2002/03 is a significant achievement, socio-economic indicators in the country are still among the most severe in Southern Africa. Urban poverty is exceptionally high at 51 percent and has hitherto received limited attention from government and donors alike. This study has focussed on poverty in the capital city Maputo, where the poverty rate is 53 percent.

The Municipality of Maputo has clear administrative structures, but its role in service provision and poverty alleviation suffers from inadequate human and economic resources. At the level of the four bairros that are the focus of this study, the state is present with its provision of education and health yielding positive indicators. The provision of urban services such as secure tenure, potable water, electricity, sanitation and solid waste collection is inadequate or too expensive for the poorest.

Albeit having their own separate histories and revealing different socio-cultural characteristics, the four bairros under study share problems of crowded communities, unemployment and general poverty. Dense and tense urban bairros lead to a basic sense of insecurity and fragile social relationships; the high formal unemployment rate makes many households and individuals depend on an informal economy with limited predictability and low returns; and poverty and disparities lead to instability in the social organisation of many households.

People define unemployment, low income and crime as the main reasons for their poverty and vulnerability. The bairros have a high portion of female-headed households, large and complex household units and high dependency rates. People have clear perceptions about different categories of poor and better-off households. Coping strategies are influenced by people's economic position in terms of income and assets, and their concomitant ability to relate to the extended family, neighbours, friends and institutions of the state and civil society. The poorest households generally have a narrow range of relationships to draw on, leaving many of them marginalised and excluded.

6.1 Policy Implications

This study is primarily to serve as a baseline for the monitoring and evaluation of the Mozambican government's poverty alleviation policies, and Maputo and the four bairros under study will be revisited after three years (i.e. in 2010) to ascertain changes in the poverty situation. We will nevertheless present a set of broad policy implications that we believe are important for the alleviation of urban poverty in particular. The proposals largely reflect the opinions expressed by the bairro population through group discussions and the force-field methodology, even though these were more concretely formulated as "factories for employment", "hospitals", "schools", "better transport", "less rubbish [*lixo*]"; "better police [to stop crime]; "more streetlights" etc. While they all ascribe the main responsibility for improving conditions in the bairros and alleviating poverty to the state (often with very specific statements about the level of government and type of ministry), they also acknowledge their own responsibility for relating constructively to the interventions they expect (or hope) will take place. In one of the bairros, this was expressed as the need to organise their communities better [*in quarteirões*], the need to identify intermediaries [*intermediários*] to help them, a willingness to contribute with their own labour, and their willingness to pay more tax 'that stays in the community'.

Our preliminary recommendations include the following:

- More attention should be given to the issue of urban poverty in Mozambique than is the case today, both because urban poverty shows a less positive (and in the case of Maputo even a negative) trend and because urban poverty reduction will have strong repercussions also for rural poverty due to the extensive urban-rural interlinkages.
- In order to ensure that data for the monitoring and evaluation of urban poverty reflect the situation on the ground, we recommend that definitions of key concepts such as the household, female-headedness, dependency ratio and the informal economy as well as the very notion of poverty are reassessed.
- We also recommend that the issue of urban-rural linkages is given a stronger focus in data collection and research by focussing on their material content as well as social ramifications. Particular attention should be given to 'split' households and vulnerable children torn between urban and rural family units.
- The policy of decentralisation through the establishment of municipalities is positive as it brings political decision-making closer to the urban population, but municipalities must be supplied with sufficient human and economic resources to implement their growing responsibilities.
- In Maputo, it seems particularly important to strengthen the lower administrative structures at the levels of urban districts and bairros to secure the municipality's political legitimacy and effective interventions.
- Particular care should be taken to separate the responsibilities of the state and the leading party, to enhance efficiency and accountability and reduce favouritism or exclusion in service delivery on the basis of political affiliation.
- Formal employment is the key to reducing poverty in Maputo, and efforts should be made to simplify red tape and attract national as well as international investment.
- Informal economic activities are currently the lifeline of the majority of poor households, and conditions for the informal economy should be improved by legalising it and improving its working environment.
- Quantitative data point towards a feminisation of poverty in Maputo, at the same time as women's responsibilities for social reproduction increase through female-headed households. Policies and interventions to support employment creation should give special attention to female providers.
- Land and housing are the most important assets for the urban poor in Maputo. The land tenure system should be reassessed with the objective of giving formal tenure rights to residents in the bairros. To reduce the drain on the resources of poor households for housing, lending and credit systems should be developed.
- The overcrowding in bairro communities is a major source of poverty and vulnerability, and community development interventions should ensure proper demarcation of sites and services. The systems for supplying water, electricity, sanitation and other services should provide equal access at affordable prices, which is also vital for the political legitimacy of the municipality.
- Urban-rural links and exchanges are vital for the reduction of urban as well as rural poverty, and increased contact with the provinces should be encouraged by improving roads, transportation and accessible markets for rural products.
- The very poorest and most destitute part of the population in Maputo is characterised by a lack of essential capital for urban survival and marginalisation in relation to state institutions and social exclusion. To reach this group, targeted interventions and social protection in areas such as income generation, health and housing will be necessary.

6.2 Further Research

This has been the second in a series of three participatory and qualitative baseline studies on poverty in Mozambique. The two studies on rural and urban poverty have revealed a number of common trends in the profile and dynamics of poverty, such as the toll of high household

dependency rates, the higher rate of poverty among-female headed households, the importance of employment and income diversification, and the importance of maintaining a wide set of social relationships. But we have also revealed important differences between rural and urban poverty. While the urban poor have a broader potential set of economic and social relationships than the rural poor, their access to such resources is constrained by the importance of money in urban settings. The superior conditions in education and health in urban settings are difficult to convert into employment, income and consumption in the current urban political economy. And while the rural poor usually have something in the form of direct access to food and an extended family network, the urban poor more easily find themselves without such options. The third study in this series will be carried out in the district of Búzi in Sofala Province in the last half of 2008 and will focus on small town or "vila" Mozambique and a population finding itself at the interface between rural adaptation based on agriculture and fisheries and its relative proximity to the city of Beira.

The three studies in Nampula, Maputo and Sofala will be used as baselines for monitoring and evaluating Mozambique's poverty alleviation efforts by following the impacts of government and donor policies and interventions at the local level and ascertain changes in the conditions, perceptions and relations of poverty. To do this, we will return to the three study areas after a period of three years (i.e. in 2009, 2010 and 2011 respectively), revisiting the relevant communities, carrying out participatory research exercises and interviewing the approximately 400 households that have been involved through the questionnaire survey and in-depth interviews.

Appendix 1: Terms of Reference

Social Relations of Urban Poverty in Maputo, Mozambique

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

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

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

Outline of the project. The following is an outline of the second study in a series of three studies on qualitative aspects of poverty in Mozambique. It will use existing quantitative data as point of departure, and focus on qualitative issues of social relations and cultural perceptions in a geographically confined area through anthropological "thick description". The first study focussed on social relations of rural poverty in northern Mozambique with the district of Murrupula in Nampula province as its point of reference. The second study will look at social relations of urban poverty in the Mozambican capital Maputo.

Mozambique has a relatively low urbanisation rate compared to other countries in the region of 30.1 percent (INE 2004a; see also United Nations 2004). With peace and economic development, it is likely that the urbanisation rate in Mozambique will increase significantly in the future. According to the United Nation's World Urbanisation Prospects (UN 2004), Mozambique has the highest urban growth rate in sub-Saharan Africa at 6.1 percent. Studies show that increased urbanisation in countries in the region has led to positive macro-economic developments, but there are also clear indications of an urbanisation of poverty (Kamete, Tostensen and Tvedten 2003). There are signs of such a trend in Mozambique. The 2002/03 Household Survey (INE 2004a) shows that while rural poverty decreased from 71 percent to 55 percent between 1996/97 and 2002/03, the decrease in urban areas was from 62 to 51 percent. Maputo, by far the largest city in Mozambique and a likely trendsetter, saw an actual increase in the incidence of poverty from 47.3 percent to 53.2 percent in the same period (Fox et al. 2005).

Poverty will be broadly understood as lack of freedom to meet the daily needs of individuals and their dependants, and poverty reduction entails expanding those freedoms (Jerve et al. 2003). As such, poverty involves lack of income and assets to attain basic necessities (alleviated through a combination of increased opportunities and increased capacity to capitalize upon available opportunities); sense of voicelessness and powerlessness in relation to the institutions of society and the state (alleviated through increased

(empowerment); and vulnerability to adverse shocks, linked with the ability to cope with them through social relationships and legal institutions (alleviated through increased security).

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

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

Methodology.

The study will be initiated by discussions with DNEAP/MPD to secure its relevance; acquisition of relevant quantitative data from INE; and identification of more localised socio-economic baseline-studies in Ministries, academic institutions and in the donor-community. Particular care will be taken to consult the City Administration and its research department.

The study will be carried out in four older and more settled bairros (probably Mafalala and Malanga) as well as two more recently established peri-urban bairros (probably Zimpeto and Malhazine) in order to analyse differences social relations of poverty. The final decision on choice of study areas will be taken in cooperation with the Maputo City authorities.

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

Output:

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

Personnel

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2. Carmeliza Soares da Costa Rosário (CR). Social Anthropologist. Austral Consultoria e Projectos. Maputo, Mozambique.
3. Margarida Paulo (MP), Social anthropologist, from the Department of Anthropology at Universidade Eduardo Mondlane
4. Enumerators

Appendix 2: Questionário

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

Bom dia (boa tarde), o meu nome é _____ e sou entrevistador para a Austral Consultoria e Projectos, Lda. Neste momento estamos a conduzir um estudo sobre a pobreza em Moçambique. Passaremos algum tempo no seu bairro a conversar com várias pessoas. O Sr.(a) foi escolhido(a), entre outros(as) do bairro para falar um pouco sobre o seu agregado familiar e a sua condição de vida. Todas informações aqui recolhidas são privadas e confidenciais e serão usados apenas para efeitos deste estudo, sem qualquer referência ao seu nome ou a qualquer outro membro da sua família.

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

6. Sexo do chefe do agregado __ __	01 Homem 02 Mulher
7. Qual é a idade do chefe do agregado? __ __	99 Não sabe
8. Qual é o estado civil do chefe do agregado? __ __	01 Solteiro 02 Casado (igreja, civil, tradicional/lobolo ou misto) 03 Casado de facto (apenas vivem juntos, sem terem feito cerimónia) 04 Separado/Divorciado 06 Viúvo
9. Qual é a <u>principal</u> ocupação do chefe do agregado? (<i>depois de colocar a categoria, especificar o tipo de trabalho</i>) __ __ _____	01 Funcionário público (trabalha para o Estado) 02 Assalariado privado (trabalha para um patrão privado) 03 Empresário ou Proprietário 04 Trabalhador por conta própria 05 Reformado 06 Desempregado 98 Outro (especifique)
10. Qual é o nível de escolaridade mais elevado frequentado pelo chefe do agregado? __ __	01 Nenhum 02 Alfabetizado 03 EP1 04 EP2/Elementar 05 Secund./Básico 06 Médio 07 Superior

DEFINIÇÃO DO AGREGADO		
11. Quantos membros tem o agregado familiar? (<i>pessoas que fazem parte da casa - comem da ou contribuem para a mesma panela - mesmo que não vivam na casa. Não esquecer de incluir as crianças e a pessoa entrevistada</i>) __ __		
12. 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		
13. 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		
14. Destes membros do agregado quantos <u>não</u> vivem normalmente na casa? __ __		
<i>Se 00 passe para questão</i>		
15. 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		
16. Onde vivem e por que razão? (<i>aponte a categoria, especifique o local e a razão</i>) __ __ _____ _____ __ __ _____ _____		01 Chefe 02 Esposa(o) 03 Filho 04 Pais/sogros 05 Irmãos 06 Sobrinhos 07 Netos 08 Outros parentes 09 Sem parentesco

<p>17. Quantas vezes vêm normalmente a casa? (<i>escreva na mesma ordem que os locais nomeados acima</i>)</p> <p> __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ __ </p>	<p>01 Pelo menos 1 vez por semana 02 Pelo menos 1 vez por mês 03 Pelo menos 1 vez por ano 04 Menos de 1 vez por ano</p>
<p>18. 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</p>	
<p>19. Qual a relação de parentesco que estes membros têm com o chefe do agregado? (<i>quantos membros existem nas seguintes categorias</i>)</p> <p> __ __ Irmãos __ __ Sobrinhos __ __ Netos __ __ Outros parentes (especifique) __ __ Sem parentesco _____ </p>	
<p>20. Quantas pessoas que <u>não</u> pertencem a este agregado são dependentes do apoio monetário ou em géneros deste agregado? (<i>não incluir os membros do agregado que não vivem na casa, mencionados na pergunta Error! Reference source not found.</i>)</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p>Se 00 passe para questão</p>	
<p>21. 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 __ __ Filhos de outras esposas __ __ Sogros __ __ Outros parentes chefe __ __ Outros parentes da(o) esposa(o) do(a) chefe</p>	
<p>22. Quantas pessoas vivem na casa, quintal, dependência ou anexos da propriedade do agregado, mas <u>não</u> fazem parte deste agregado familiar?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p>Se 00 ou 97 passe para questão</p>	<p>97 A casa não tem anexo</p>
<p>23. 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> __ __ Parentes __ __ Parentes a alugar __ __ Sem parentesco __ __ Sem parentesco a alugar</p>	

24. Qual a religião <u>mais</u> praticada pelo agregado? __ __ _____	01 Católica 02 Islâmica 03 Outra cristã (especifique) 04 Nenhuma 98 Outra (especifique)
25. Pratica o culto aos antepassados? __ __	01 Sim 02 Não
26. Qual a língua mais falada em casa? __ __ _____	01 Português 02 Xangana/Ronga 03 Xitswa 04 Chope 05 Macua 06 Xisena/Ndau 98 Outro (especifique)
EDUCAÇÃO	
27. Qual o nível de escolaridade mais elevado atingido no agregado? __ __	01 Nenhum 02 Alfabetizado 03 EP1 04 EP2/Elementar 05 Secund./Básico 06 Médio 07 Superior
28. Quantas crianças dos 6 aos 15 anos existem no agregado familiar? __ __ Rapazes __ __ Raparigas __ __ Total <i>Se o total = 00 passe para questão Error! Reference source not found..</i>	
29. Destas, quantas <u>não</u> estão a estudar? __ __ Rapazes __ __ Raparigas __ __ Total <i>Se o total = 00 passe para questão Error! Reference source not found..</i>	

<p>30. Indique a razão principal por cada criança que não vai à escola (<i>não necessita repetir se a razão for a mesma entre diferentes crianças do mesmo género</i>)</p> <p> _____ Rapazes _____ _____ _____ Raparigas _____ _____ </p>	
SAÚDE	
<p>31. Quantas pessoas do agregado ficaram doentes nas duas últimas semanas?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p>Se 00 passe para a questão</p>	
<p>32. Quais as doenças de que sofreram? (<i>nomeie no máximo 3, não necessita repetir se a razão for a mesma para as diferentes pessoas que adoeceram</i>)</p> <p> _____ _____ _____ </p>	
<p>33. Qual o primeiro local onde foram para ser tratadas? (<i>escreva na mesma ordem que as doenças nomeadas acima, não necessita repetir se o local para onde foram for o mesmo</i>)</p> <p> __ __ _____ __ __ _____ __ __ _____ </p>	<p>01 Posto de Saúde 02 Centro de Saúde 03 Clínica do bairro 04 Hospital 05 Enfermeiro 06 Curandeiro 07 Farmácia 98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>34. Há algum membro do agregado que sofra de doença prolongada ou sem cura?</p> <p> __ __ </p>	<p>01 Sim 02 Não</p>
<p>35. Quantas crianças faleceram neste agregado, antes de completar 5 anos?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p>Se 00 passe para questão</p>	

36. Quais as razões principais para essa(s) morte(s)? _____ _____ _____	
MOBILIDADE	
37. Onde nasceu o chefe do agregado? (<i>especifique o nome do local – se Maputo indicar o bairro, se fora da cidade de Maputo, mas dentro do país indicar província e distrito, se não se lembra apenas a província serve</i>) _____ _____	01 Neste bairro 02 Noutro bairro 03 Noutra cidade (zona urbana) 04 Noutra província (zona rural) 05 Noutro país
Se 01 passe para questão Error! Reference source not found.. Se 02 passe para a questão Error! Reference source not found..	
38. Em que ano se mudou o chefe do agregado para Maputo? _____ _____ _____	99 Não sabe/não se recorda
39. Qual a razão principal para se mudar para Maputo? _____	
40. Para onde foi viver o chefe do agregado quando se mudou para Maputo? (<i>se outro bairro, especifique o nome do bairro</i>) _____ _____	01 Este bairro 02 Outro bairro
Se 01 passe para questão	
41. Onde vivia o chefe do agregado antes de se mudar para este bairro? (<i>especifique o nome do local – se Maputo indicar o bairro, se fora da cidade de Maputo, mas dentro do país indicar província e distrito, se não se lembra apenas a província serve, se fora do país indicar apenas o país</i>) _____ _____	01 Noutro bairro 02 Onde nasceu 02 Noutra cidade diferente de onde nasceu (zona urbana) 03 Noutra província diferente de onde nasceu (zona rural) 04 Noutro país diferente de onde nasceu
42. Qual a principal razão para se mudar para este bairro? _____	
43. Alguém do agregado pretende mudar-se do bairro aonde vivem? _____	01 Sim 02 Não
Se 02 passe para a questão	

<p>44. Para onde se pretende mudar? (<i>especifique o nome do local – se Maputo indicar o bairro, se fora da cidade de Maputo, mas dentro do país indicar província e distrito, se não se lembra apenas a província serve)</i></p> <p> __ __ _____ </p>	<p>02 Para outro bairro 03 Para outra cidade (zona urbana) 04 Para outra província (zona rural) 05 Para o lugar onde nasceu 06 Para outro país</p>
<p>45. Qual a principal razão para se mudar?</p> <p> _____ </p>	
RELAÇÃO COM A CIDADE	
<p>46. Onde trabalha o chefe do agregado? (<i>especificar o nome do bairro</i>)</p> <p> __ __ _____ </p> <p><i>Se 04 ou 05 passe para a questão</i></p>	<p>01 Trabalha no bairro 02 Trabalha noutro bairro 03 Trabalha fora da cidade, mas vem dormir a casa 04 Trabalha fora da cidade e não vem dormir a casa 05 Não trabalha</p>
<p>47. Quanto tempo leva de casa para o trabalho?</p> <p> __ __ </p>	<p>01 < 30 min 02 30 min a 1 hora 03 > 1 hora</p>
<p>48. Quanto tempo se leva do bairro até à terminal do chapa na cidade (baixa ou museu)?</p> <p> __ __ </p>	<p>01 < 30 min 02 30 min a 1 hora 03 > 1 hora</p>
<p>49. Com que frequência vai algum membro do agregado ao centro da cidade?</p> <p> __ __ </p>	<p>01 Pelo menos 1 vez por semana 02 Pelo menos 1 vez por mês 03 Pelo menos 1 vez por ano 04 Menos de 1 vez por ano 05 Nunca</p>

50. Qual a razão mais frequente para ir ao centro da cidade? __ __ _____	01 Trabalhar 02 Compras 03 Negócios 04 Passear 05 Estudar 98 Outro (especifique)
RELAÇÃO CAMPO-CIDADE	
51. Com que frequência visita, pelo menos um membro do agregado uma localidade fora da cidade de Maputo? __ __	01 Pelo menos 1 vez por semana 02 Pelo menos 1 vez por mês 03 Pelo menos 1 vez por ano 04 Menos de 1 vez por ano
52. Qual foi a razão principal da ultima visita? __ __	01 Visita a familiares 02 Produção na machamba 03 Comércio 04 Acontecimento importante (casamento, funeral, baptismo, etc.) 98 Outro (especifique)
53. Onde se localiza a localidade que os membros do agregado mais visitam fora da cidade de Maputo? (especificar o nome da localidade, se no país indicar a província e o distrito, se fora indicar apenas o país) __ __ _____	01 Na província de Maputo 02 Noutra província 03 Noutro país

BENS E PADRÕES DE CONSUMO		
54. Que bens possui a família?		
Rádio	__ __	01 Possui 02 Não possui 03 Possui, mas está estragado
Aparelhagem/Rádio reproduutor	__ __	
TV	__ __	
Vídeo reproduutor/DVD	__ __	
Relógio	__ __	
Bicicleta	__ __	
Motorizada	__ __	
Viatura automóvel	__ __	
Electricidade	__ __	
Água canalizada	__ __	
Mesa	__ __	
Cadeiras	__ __	
Sofá	__ __	
Cama	__ __	
Enxada	__ __	
Catana	__ __	
Machado	__ __	
Tractor	__ __	
55. A casa tem quintal?		
__ __		01 Sim 02 Não
<i>Se 02 passe para questão</i>		
56. Existe alguma edificação, para além da casa (dependência, anexo, garagem, capoeira, celeiro, etc.)?		
__ __		01 Sim 02 Não
57. Qual o material da cerca/muro?		
__ __ _____		01 Espinhosa 02 Madeira 03 Chapa 04 Cimento 98 Outro (especifique)

58. Qual o material do telhado da casa do agregado? __ __ _____	01 Madeira 02 Chapa 03 Telha 04 Cimento 98 Outro (especifique)
59. Qual o material das paredes da casa do agregado? __ __ _____	01 Maticado 02 Madeira 03 Chapa 04 Cimento 98 Outro (especifique)
60. Quantas divisões tem a casa? __ __	
61. Quanto gastou no <u>mês passado</u> nos seguintes artigos: Produtos alimentares __ __ _ . __ _ _ Produtos de limpeza __ __ _ . __ _ _ Electricidade/iluminação __ __ _ . __ _ _ Água __ __ _ . __ _ _ Aluguer da casa __ __ _ . __ _ _ Roupa/vestuário __ __ _ . __ _ _ Produtos escolares __ __ _ . __ _ _ Medicamentos/consultas __ __ _ . __ _ _ Transporte __ __ _ . __ _ _ Creche/infantário __ __ _ . __ _ _	
62. Na semana passada as refeições do agregado incluíram alguma das seguintes categorias? Shima/arroz __ __ Matapa (verduras ou vegetais) __ __ Pão __ __ Carne (sem ser aves) __ __ Galinha (ou outras aves) __ __ Peixe __ __ Fruta __ __	01 Sim 02 Não

63. O agregado pagou impostos, no <u>último ano</u> ? __ __	01 Sim 02 Não
<i>Se 02 passe para a questão</i>	
64. Pagou algum dos seguintes impostos? Pessoal (INSS, IRPS, taxa municipal) __ __ Bicicletas __ __ Comercial (banca ou loja) __ __ Taxa de lixo __ __ Outro _____ __ __	01 Sim 02 Não
ACTIVIDADES DE RENDIMENTO NÃO AGRÍCOLAS	
65. Quantos membros do agregado têm emprego com salário regular ou beneficiam de reforma? __ __	
<i>Se 00 passe para questão</i>	
66. Qual a soma do rendimento dos <u>salários</u> e <u>reformas</u> de todas pessoas que possuem emprego com salário regular? __ __	01 < 250Mtn 02 251Mtn a 500Mtn 03 501Mtn a 750Mtn 04 751Mtn a 1.000Mtn 05 1.0011MTn a 1.500Mtn 06 1.501Mtn a 2.500 Mtn 07 2.500mtn a 5.000 Mtn 08 > 5.000 Mtn

<p>67. Que outras actividades de rendimento são levadas a cabo no agregado, e quanto rendeu no mês passado?</p> <p> __ __ (preencher apenas se não leva a cabo nenhuma outra actividade)</p> <p>Se 99 passe para questão</p> <table border="0"> <tbody> <tr><td>Aluguer de propriedade</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Artesanato</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Medicina tradicional</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Produção/venda de carvão</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Fabrico/venda de bebidas</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Loja/banca</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Comercio ambulante</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Carpintaria</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Construção</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Oficina mecânica</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Biscates</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Gai-Gai/Tchova/Carregador</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Alfaiate</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Cabeleireiro/tranças</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Outro _____ </td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Outro _____ </td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Outro _____ </td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Aluguer de propriedade	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Artesanato	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Medicina tradicional	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Produção/venda de carvão	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Fabrico/venda de bebidas	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Loja/banca	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Comercio ambulante	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Carpintaria	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Construção	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Oficina mecânica	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Biscates	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Gai-Gai/Tchova/Carregador	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Alfaiate	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Cabeleireiro/tranças	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Outro _____	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Outro _____	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Outro _____	__ __ __ . __ __ __	<p>99 Nenhuma</p>
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Outro _____	__ __ __ . __ __ __																																		
<p>68. Para além das actividades de rendimento, algum membro do agregado recebe assistência ou apoio monetário de alguém de fora do agregado?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p>Se 02 passe para questão</p>	<p>01 Sim</p> <p>02 Não</p>																																		
<p>69. De que pessoas/entidades recebe, e quanto recebe aproximadamente por mês?</p> <table border="0"> <tbody> <tr><td>ONGs</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>INSS</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Acção Social</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Familiares de fora do agregado</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Vizinhos/amigos</td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> <tr><td>Outro _____ </td><td> __ __ __ . __ __ __ </td></tr> </tbody> </table>	ONGs	__ __ __ . __ __ __	INSS	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Acção Social	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Familiares de fora do agregado	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Vizinhos/amigos	__ __ __ . __ __ __	Outro _____	__ __ __ . __ __ __	<p>97 Em artigos</p>																						
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Outro _____	__ __ __ . __ __ __																																		

70. Algum membro do agregado participa de algum grupo de poupança/xitique ou tem conta bancária? __ __	01 Sim 02 Não
Se 02 passe para questão	
71. Quanto consegue poupar, em média? __ __	01 < 250Mtn 02 251Mtn a 500Mtn 03 501Mtn a 750Mtn 04 751Mtn a 1.000Mtn 05 1.0011MTn a 1.500Mtn 06 1.501Mtn a 2.500 Mtn 07 2.500mtn a 5.000 Mtn 08 > 5.000 Mtn 99 Não sabe
72. De quanto em quanto tempo contribui para a poupança/xitique ou conta bancária? __ __	01 Pelo menos 1 vez por semana 02 Pelo menos 1 vez por mês 03 Pelo menos 1 vez por ano
RENDIMENTOS COMPLEMENTARES	
73. O agregado possui machamba ou horta? __ __	01 Sim 02 Não
Se 02 passe para questão	
74. Produziu algo nesse terreno? __ __	01 Sim 02 Não
Se 02 passe para questão.	
75. Vendeu algum produto da última campanha? (<i>soma do arrecadado pela totalidade dos produtos vendidos</i>) __ __	01 Sim 02 Não
Se 02 passe para questão	
76. Quanto arrecadou no último ano? __ __ __ . __ __ __	

77. A família cria animais? __ __	01 Sim 02 Não <i>Se 02 passe para questão.</i>
78. Quais os animais que o agregado cria? Galinhas __ __ Patos __ __ Cabritos __ __ Porcos __ __ Outro _____ __ __ Outro _____ __ __ Outro _____ __ __	01 Cria 02 Não cria
79. Costuma vender animais? __ __ <i>Se 02 passe para questão</i>	01 Sim 02 Não
80. Quanto rendeu a última venda? __ __ __ . __ __ __	
PROPRIEDADE E RELAÇÕES INTRA-FAMILIARES	
81. Como foi adquirida a casa onde o agregado vive? __ __ _____	01 Comprada 02 Herdada 03 Doada 04 Construiu sozinho 05 Alugada 06 Cedida 98 Outro (especifique)
82. A quem pertence a casa onde vive o agregado? (<i>em nome de quem esta o título de propriedade</i>) __ __ _____	01 Ao chefe do agregado 02 Ao proprietário do aluguer 03 Ao Estado 04 À familiares do homem 05 À familiares da mulher 98 Outro (especifique)

<p>83. Em caso de morte do proprietário ou titular do contrato com quem fica a casa?</p> <p> __ __ _____ </p> <p><i>Se 98 explique porque</i></p> <p> _____ </p>	<p>01 A(o) esposa(o) 02 Os filhos 98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>84. A quem pertence o quintal/terreno onde está a casa?</p> <p> __ __ _____ </p>	<p>01 A casa não tem terreno 02 À casa 03 Ao Municipio/Estado 98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>85. O agregado possui um terreno separado da casa?</p> <p> __ __ </p> <p><i>Se 02 passe para a questão</i></p>	<p>01 Sim 02 Não</p>
<p>86. Como foi adquirido esse terreno?</p> <p> __ __ _____ </p>	<p>01 Comprado 02 Herdado 03 Doadoo 04 Abriu sozinho 05 Alugado 06 Cedido 98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>87. 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(o) do chefe 03 O chefe em conjunto com a(o) esposa(o) 04 Todo agregado 05 Cada um decide o seu rendimento 98 Outro (especifique)</p>

RELAÇÕES EXTRA-FAMILIARES	
88. 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? __ __ (<i>preencher apenas se não teve nenhum problema</i>) <i>Se 99 passe para questão</i> _____	99 Nenhum
89. A quem recorreram para resolver esse problema? __ __ _____	01 Polícia 02 Secretario do bairro 03 Família alargada 04 Familiares e amigos 98 Outro (especifique)
90. Qual é a fonte de conflito mais comum no bairro e que necessita de intervenção das autoridades para resolver? __ __ _____ <i>Se 99 passe para questão</i> _____	01 Bebedeiras 02 Adultério 03 Furtos/Assaltos 04 Conflitos de terras 05 Conflitos de água 98 Outro (especifique) 99 Nenhum
91. A quem recorrem, normalmente, os membros da comunidade para resolver esse problema? __ __ _____	01 Chefe do quarteirão 02 Secretario do bairro 03 Chefe de 10 casas 04 Autoridade religiosa 05 Polícia 06 Conjunto da comunidade 98 Outro (especifique)

92. Quais são os serviços públicos (do Estado) que os membros do agregado usam?		
Administração do bairro	__ __	01 Usa 02 Não usa
Distrito Urbano/Grupo Dinamizador	__ __	03 Não sabe se existe na zona
Acção social	__ __	
Registos e Notariado	__ __	
Polícia	__ __	
Tribunal	__ __	
Outro _____	__ __	
Outro _____	__ __	
Outro _____	__ __	
93. Com que frequência usam esses serviços?		
Administração do bairro	__ __	01 Pelo menos 1 vez por semana
Distrito Urbano/Grupo Dinamizador	__ __	02 Pelo menos 1 vez por mês
Acção social	__ __	03 Pelo menos 1 vez por ano
Registos e Notariado	__ __	04 Menos de 1 vez por ano
Polícia	__ __	05 Sempre que precisam
Tribunal	__ __	06 Nunca
Outro _____	__ __	
Outro _____	__ __	
Outro _____	__ __	
94. Algum membro do agregado faz parte de alguma associação?		
__ __ Homens	__ __ Mulheres	01 Sim 02 Não
<i>Se ambos 02 passe para questão</i>		
95. A que tipo de associação pertencem?		
Homens		
__ __ _____		01 Credito
__ __ _____		02 Social/cultural
__ __ _____		03 Politica
		98 Outra (especifique)
Mulheres		
__ __ _____		
__ __ _____		
__ __ _____		

PERCEPÇÕES DE BEM-ESTAR																													
<p>96. Ordene por ordem de importância decrescente as despesas relacionadas com o agregado (<i>entrevistador use os cartões como auxiliares</i>):</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="width: 15%;">Comida</td><td style="width: 15%;"><input type="text"/></td><td style="width: 15%;"><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Água</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Electricidade</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Renda/Habitação</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Transporte</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Saúde</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Educação</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Cuidados infantis/creche/infantário</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Outro _____</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> </table>		Comida	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Água	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Electricidade	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Renda/Habitação	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Transporte	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Saúde	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Educação	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Cuidados infantis/creche/infantário	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Outro _____	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	99 Não tem gastos nesta categoria
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<p>97. Ordene por ordem de importância decrescente as despesas relacionadas com o agregado há 5 anos atrás (<i>entrevistador use os cartões como auxiliares</i>):</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr><td style="width: 15%;">Comida</td><td style="width: 15%;"><input type="text"/></td><td style="width: 15%;"><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Água</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Electricidade</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Renda/Habitação</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Transporte</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Saúde</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Educação</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Cuidados infantis/creche/infantário</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> <tr><td>Outro _____</td><td><input type="text"/></td><td><input type="text"/></td></tr> </table>		Comida	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Água	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Electricidade	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Renda/Habitação	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Transporte	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Saúde	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Educação	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Cuidados infantis/creche/infantário	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	Outro _____	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	99 Não tem gastos nesta categoria
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Cuidados infantis/creche/infantário	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>																											
Outro _____	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>																											
<p>98. Comparando com a situação da família há 5 anos atrás, como avalia a situação da família hoje?</p> <input type="text"/> <p>Explique porquê</p> <input type="text"/>		01 Melhorou 02 Manteve-se 03 Piorou																											
<p>99. Comparando com a situação da comunidade há 5 anos atrás, como avalia a situação da comunidade hoje?</p> <input type="text"/> <p>Se 04 passe para questão</p> <p>Explique porquê</p> <input type="text"/>		01 Melhorou 02 Manteve-se 03 Piorou 04 Não vivia na comunidade																											

<p>100. Como espera que a situação da família esteja daqui a 5 anos? __ __ Explique porquê _____ __ </p>	<p>01 Melhorará 02 Manter-se-á 03 Piorará</p>
<p>101. Como espera que a situação da comunidade esteja daqui a 5 anos? __ __ Explique porquê _____ __ </p>	<p>01 Melhorará 02 Manter-se-á 03 Piorará</p>
AVALIAÇÃO DA DINÂMICA URBANA	
<p>102. Na sua opinião, qual é a questão <u>mais importante</u> a ser resolvida para melhorar a situação do seu bairro? __ __ _____ </p>	<p>01 Emprego 02 Segurança Crime/ 03 Água 04 Educação 05 Saúde 06 Saneamento 07 Habitação 98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>103. Quem é responsável por resolver essa situação? __ __ _____ </p>	<p>01 Governo 02 Conselho Municipal 03 Autoridades do bairro 98 Outro (especifique)</p>
<p>104. Na sua opinião, quais são as principais <u>vantagens</u> de viver na cidade? (enumere as três principais) _____ __ _____ __ </p>	
<p>105. Na sua opinião, quais são as principais <u>desvantagens</u> de viver na cidade? (enumere as três principais) _____ __ </p>	
<p>Hora de Término __ __ : __ __ </p>	

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SUMMARY

This report is the second in a series of six participatory and qualitative studies on poverty in Mozambique, undertaken as part of the monitoring and evaluation of Mozambique's poverty reduction strategy. The urban population of Mozambique is estimated at 30 percent, and of Maputo's 1.3 million inhabitants 53 percent are defined as poor. The large majority live in congested semi-formal and informal settlement areas, or bairros. While the structures and formal responsibilities of the various administrative levels are clearly defined, the municipality suffers from insufficient human and financial resources and consequently from inadequate provision of services such as water, electricity, sanitation and secure tenure.

The study reveals the primary importance of employment and income for coping in an urban environment, where money is an integral part of most relationships. Formal employment opportunities are scarce and most people depend on a fragile informal economy with low returns. Upward social mobility is also inhibited by the high costs of land, housing, public services and transportation. Despite relatively high levels of education, the urban political economy makes it difficult for the poor to convert this into employment and increased income and consumption.

The coping strategies of people in the bairros are characterised by a high degree of mobility and flexibility at the levels of households and individuals. Households are large and complex, a high proportion are female-headed, and they frequently go through processes of fission and fusion – all being expressions of social change and fluidity. Asked to identify the most important types of social relationship for their coping strategies, people emphasise relations with the extended family and other personal connections (such as friends, neighbours and workmates); relations of employment and provisioning (including rural linkages); and relations with the state, civil society and aid organisations.

Perhaps the most distinguishing characteristic of life in Maputo is the extent to which money is central to acquiring basic needs as well as to establishing and maintaining vital social relationships. The poorest have problems maintaining relationships with extended family members, who often live in rural areas or other parts of the city; they have little to offer in other reciprocal personalised relationships; they have problems in getting employment and establishing their own sources of income; and they often lack the necessary social capital and 'entrance ticket' to relations with institutions of the state and civil society.

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